Cultural Diplomacy of a Different Kind: A Case Study of the Global Guggenheim

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ABSTRACT

Cultural Diplomacy of a Different Kind: A Case Study of the Global Guggenheim

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This thesis explores the online dimension of non-state cultural diplomacy, as a new form of contemporary cross-cultural communication in a highly globalized and multilateral environment of contemporary international politics. By looking at the Guggenheim museum, this thesis investigates how this powerful cultural institution with a world recognized global brand engages international audiences and exerts strong cultural impacts. Focusing on one of the Guggenheim's online global communication activities, the YouTube Play project, implemented in cooperation with Google in 2010, this thesis analyzes a new form of cultural diplomacy exercised in an online environment through social media channels.

Understanding the Guggenheim as a non-state actor in the international arena and its YouTube Play project as an example of digital diplomacy, the research demonstrates that the new epoch of neoliberal globalization and digital forms of human interactions have given birth to a completely new phenomenon in the field of cross-cultural communication. This type of communication, unlike governmental forms of cultural diplomacy between nation states, projects cosmopolitan messages and values, going beyond a traditional promotion of national cultures and traditions. Furthermore, this new form of cultural diplomacy has a strong economic component. On one hand, this component ensures the autonomous character of the international activity, distancing it from the direct control of the government. On the other hand, the economic component brings new corporate politics into play. However, like state forms of diplomacy, online manifestation of contemporary cultural diplomacy has two dimensions: cultural projection and public relations. On the level of cultural projection, the YouTube Play exerts a powerful influence upon international audiences, pushing forward global forces of cultural and linguistic homogenization. On the level of cultural relations, the project brings together people from different countries for productive cross-cultural exchanges with strong educational impacts leading to better understanding and respect between participants.

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Chapter I.
Introduction

Cultural diplomacy, understood in a traditional sense as a form of cross-cultural communication between countries to improve international relations, has traditionally played a unique role. Its intangible form of power can bring people together for establishing bridges of mutual trust and understanding which can further improve international economic and political relations among nation states (Schneider 2003). Recently, it has received a renewed interest around the world from governments, cultural practitioners, and academics as an effective communication tool to inform, engage, and influence domestic and international audiences (Solomon 1998; Melissen 2005; Fisher 2008; Snow and Tyler 2009; Sharp 2009; Constantinou 2010). Though cultural diplomacy remains an important part of international communication among nation states, the new century, marked by such processes as economic and cultural globalization, has introduced new diplomatic players that have acquired significant powers in the international arena to engage international audiences and communicate specific cultural and political messages. These messages are not necessarily aligned with the cultural diplomacy agenda of the countries to which these new players belong. Furthermore, new technological developments in the 21st century have offered new digital tools for exercising cultural diplomacy, making cross-cultural communication among governments, peoples, and institutions much easier and faster, as well as more transparent, unpredictable and less centralized and controlled. This thesis focuses on the two critical aspects of contemporary communications that influence the international political climate: first, the appearance of powerful non-state actors who increasingly intervene in cross-cultural relations among countries, and second, the advancement of new media technologies and the Internet that provide new channels and means of cross-cultural communication for exercising cultural diplomacy.

In the epoch of neoliberal globalization, transnational corporations and international organizations increasingly compete for economic, cultural, and even political powers with traditional agents in international relations, such as nation states. As Kelley stresses, the impact of globalization on politics has provoked an emergence of new players "who have progressively increased their influence, power, legitimacy and credibility in the global arena" (Kelley 2010, 286). In international politics a wide range of new, non-state actors "which owe little or nothing to geographical location, time of day and, most important of all, to government permission or regulation" (Langhorne 2005, 332), form a whole new generation of players on the global stage.

These actors acquire great efficiency in operating in the international arena to "mobilize the global public domain, taking on issues 'no longer coterminous' with national interests, but oriented towards over transnational issue areas instead" (Kelley 2010, 302).

This new power dynamic welcomes theoretical hypotheses and philosophical debates on the growing transnational dimension of politics in the post-modern international system. For example, Jürgen Habermas in his book *Post-national Constellations* (2001) questions the implications of globalization in order to comprehend its dramatic influence on contemporary international politics, as well as on the complex processes of forming new transnational identities. Sociologist and philosopher Ulrich Beck's (2001, 2006) also contributes to critical analysis of the contemporary international political environment through his "cosmopolitan perspective," which identifies and stresses the power of such important mechanisms of globalization as transnationalization (the intensification of trans-border human, informational, media or financial flows), deterritorialization (the growing disconnection between place and culture) and cosmopolitanization (the changing relationship between the local and the global), leading to dissolution of the absolute powers of nation states in the global environment and appearance of new non-state actors operating on the transnational level and communicating cosmopolitan messages and identities.

Moreover, these processes of transnationalization, deterritorialization, and cosmopolitanization are reinforced in the digital realm of contemporary communications, which transcends geographical and political boundaries and allows a greater scope and diversity of information circulation as well as cross-cultural contact and exchange. Known as "digital" diplomacy, diplomacy 2.0, or e-diplomacy, diplomatic practices through digital and networked technologies, including the Internet, mobile devices, and social media channels have become increasingly important and popular among various international actors aiming to establish more efficient and productive communications with global publics (Potter 2002; Nye 2004; Melissen 2006).

Traditionally, the implementation of various cross-cultural exchanges has been quite limited by various financial, political, social, and cultural constraints. One of the mechanisms through which the scope and frequency of cross-cultural exchanges was significantly advanced in the 21st century was through the new technology of the Internet. As cultural diplomacy was exercised several decades ago, cross-cultural communication was a process, but at the same time a great achievement in itself because it took much more effort to bring people from different countries together. In

contemporary society these cross-cultural encounters are happening all the time in various online spaces: the "digital age holds the promise of dramatically expanding the reach of interpersonal contact that is at the core of all exchange programs" (Schneider 2010, 103). Various online environments created by powerful institutions can thus become important media channels of projecting cultural and political discourses and, at the same time, social or public spaces of cross-cultural encounter and influence that can reach and engage much wider and more diverse audiences on the global scale.

Drawing on these theoretical observations, my thesis explores online dimension of non-state cultural diplomacy, as a new form of contemporary cross-cultural communication in a highly globalized and multilateral environment of contemporary international politics. First, I look at new powerful cultural institutions with strong powers and authority engaging global audiences and communicating cultural and political messages that exert strong impacts. Second, I analyze non-state cultural diplomacy, exercised in an online environment through social media channels that engage wide and diverse international publics. By investigating online global practices of powerful cultural institutions, I intend to understand how this new form of non-state cultural diplomacy is being operationalized and how it is different from cultural diplomacy exercised by state actors.

Specifically, this project explores the Solomon R. Guggenheim Foundation, a world recognized museum of contemporary and modern art, which in recent decades has been very active in the international cultural arena. It was established by a successful American family, the Guggenheim brothers, who immigrated from Switzerland and Germany around 1848 and in a short time managed to develop a thriving mining businesses. Guggenheim and Sons was the corporate crown of a classic American success story: "Meyer Guggenheim, the son of an immigrant Swiss tailor, had grown from his modest beginnings as a street peddler to accumulate a small fortune in the wholesale goods and lace trades" (O'Brien 1989, 124). Starting in Colorado, the family soon opened mining companies in Mexico, Alaska, and Chile. With the growth of their wealth two of the brothers, Benjamin and Solomon Guggenheim, became associated with art collecting. As members of New York's Jewish aristocracy, and confident that New York would become a world-renowned center for art, the Solomon brothers began to collect modern European and American art works, which by the mid-1930s totaled several hundred pieces (Davis 1994).

After the Guggenheims met young Hilla Rebay von Ehrenwiesen, a German baroness, artist, curator, and inspiring and enthusiastic supporter of non-objective abstract art, the developing Guggenheim collection started to be guided by her strong passion for avant-garde art (Vail 2009). Under her influence, Solomon toured Europe to visit artists' studios and to purchase their works, which eventually formed one of the largest collections of important modern paintings by such artists as Vasily Kandinsky, Paul Klee, Marc Chagall and others (Davis 1994). In 1937, the Solomon R. Guggenheim Foundation was established "as an educational corporation for the mental or moral improvement of men and women, the promotion and encouragement of art and education in art and the enlightenment of the public, especially in the field of art" (Vail 2009, 25). The collection was first exhibited in a small Art of This Century Gallery on East 54th Street in New York. In 1959, it was moved to a new building designed by Frank Lloyd Wright, the landmark work of 20th century architecture that to this day attracts a great number of visitors and tourists impressed by the unique museum design (Sylvester 2009, 114).

Even though the museum was first established as a private family foundation, in 1970 it changed its status to public to attract larger investments to the foundation's endowment for institutional growth (Lawson-Johnston 2014). Registered as a nonprofit corporation and retaining its tax-exempt charitable status, the Guggenheim Foundation became a world recognized global institution through its revolutionary development of the first global franchise network of museums located in different countries. With a main museum in New York (1939), and branches in Venice (1951), Bilbao (1997), Berlin (1997-2013), and planned future franchises in Abu Dhabi (2015) and Helsinki (2017), the Guggenheim network is more than just an "American" institution, but a global brand, constantly expanding to new cultural markets and larger international audiences.

Peter Lawson-Johnston, the Honorary Chairman of the Guggenheim Foundation and the grandson of Solomon R. Guggenheim, reflecting on the Guggenheim museum history, once shared:

> …the legendary enterprise of the Guggenheim family had come round in a shining, golden circle. What had begun with my Swiss family great-great-grandfather, peddling his meager wares in mid-nineteenth-century Philadelphia, had grown through the early twentieth century into a multinational mining conglomerate that drew profits from the four corners of the globe. Newly mined family wealth in turn spawned a wide range of philanthropic endeavors, the most famous of which was and is the Solomon R. Guggenheim Museum of

New York City. Now, as the twentieth century closed, the Guggenheim Museum and its governing foundation had effected a revolution in the role of museums in modern society. […] I am sure my grandfather never envisioned a global Guggenheim when he decided to house his collection in Frank Lloyd Wright's incredible building, I think he would have been as pleased as I am that we have blazed a new trail in the museum world, making it possible for people in faraway places to view the Guggenheim's collection (Lawson-Johnston 2014, 10).

The franchise practices of the Guggenheim Foundation are known in the professional museum world as corporate strategies, transferred from transnational businesses and adopted to the museum agency, and allowing the Foundation to reach such global visibility and recognition. On the one hand, the Guggenheim benefits from its charitable privileges, outlined in the U.S. Internal Revenue Service (IRS) status 501(c)(3), which exempts the museum from having to pay taxes on its activities (IRS 2015). Additionally, the organization is allowed to receive government grants and loans, as well as to get financial support from a wide variety of donors whose donations are also tax deductible (IRS 2015). On the other hand, the museum has created a unique global franchise model that is a hybrid between nonprofit organizational management and a new behavior of museums as autonomous actors in the economic sector of culture seeking to expand their financial opportunities in international cultural markets. In this thesis, the Solomon R. Guggenheim Foundation is analyzed primarily as a nonprofit organization, however I place a strong focus on the corporate strategies it employs to secure its financial stability and enhance its competitiveness in the world.

Peter Lawson-Johnston (2014), who oversaw the development of the Foundation as its Board President and Chair for more than 40 years, reveals: "the real secret of the Guggenheim's success in the world of art is that […] few of the Guggenheims […] have themselves been deeply informed collectors or curators," rather, they had strong "business acumen" and talents "responsible for success of the entire enterprise" (10). As a former director of the Guggenheim, Thomas Krens, once remarked: "Art institutions are not really different from other businesses, at least not when they act like them" (Kimmelman 2002). Employing corporate strategies, the Guggenheim manages its cultural "assets" as liquid economic funds, builds its global chain of franchises, and partners with transnational corporations. These strategies ensure the survival of the museum in the new global economy and make it a powerful actor with a strong institutional agenda and interests.

Moreover, being active in the global arena with numerous cross-cultural initiatives and international projects, the Guggenheim has a strong potential to exert cultural impacts over the "hearts and minds" of international audiences. In this way, it represents an interesting case for exploring non-state cultural diplomacy, which can illuminate if and how new forms of diplomacy are being exercised in a new global reality.

Considering the increasing powers of new media technologies to advance global outreach and communications, this thesis explores one of the Guggenheim's online activities, the YouTube Play project, developed by the museum in 2010 in cooperation with Google. This project was based on an international online creative video contest that celebrated the creativity, participation, and unique opportunities provided by YouTube, the largest global channel for video sharing. Throughout the project, the museum received more than 23,000 submissions from all corners of the world, out of which 125 were shortlisted and exhibited on the YouTube Play channel, while 25 finalist videos were celebrated at a special event at the Guggenheim museum in New York. Until today, YouTube Play remains a very popular channel among international online audiences with a constantly growing number of views of the featured videos, as well as an increasing number of online discussions about the video content.

Among a wide range of global projects and activities organized by the Guggenheim, I chose YouTube Play for many reasons. First of all, this project represents an example of the Guggenheim, as a cultural institution, cooperating with Google, the largest transnational media corporation in the world. This cooperation suggests a strong corporate logic, and economic interests that impose certain conditions on the partnership agreement and shape cultural messages and narratives communicated through and promoted on YouTube Play. On the one hand, the project represents a case of an international public relations campaign with global reach and significance. On the other hand, the important cultural implications of the project make it an interesting example of a new form of cultural diplomacy exercised under the neoliberal conditions of globalization. The project provides rich material with which to explore messages, ideas, and values projected by the Guggenheim to the international community in the online world. YouTube Play was promoted as a "global" contest of creative videos, embracing contributions of artists from around the world. It is also a powerful communication platform for investigating institutional discourses constructed and projected by the Guggenheim and Google, which with their constant commitment to international expansion promote their global brands and identities.

Finally, the online platform offers an illumination of institutional strategies for both constituting online audiences and for establishing a dialogue with participants in the virtual museum space. The "live voice" and online feedback of the publics, who followed YouTube Play and submitted their own work or comments to the channel, provide necessary material to examine how the specific museum messages of the Guggenheim are received, interpreted, and challenged by individuals from various cultural backgrounds. An in-depth analysis of the interactional dynamic between the museum's constructed narratives and an audience's perception of these messages can reveal the power of the museum to exert cultural influence on global publics and validate its position as an actor of a new type of cultural diplomacy. Furthermore, considering that the YouTube Play communication platform enables people to meet and connect to each other online, exploration of these interactions can reveal if/how an online cross-cultural encounter and exchange occur in the digital realm and if it is instrumental for establishing bridges of cross-cultural understanding and respect.

In summary, my thesis looks at YouTube Play as an example of global online communication and argues that this social media initiative represents a new form of contemporary cultural diplomacy. Understanding the Guggenheim as a non-state actor in the international arena, this project intends to demonstrate that the new epoch of neoliberal globalization and digital forms of human interactions have given birth to a completely new phenomenon in the field of cross-cultural communication. This type of communication, unlike old forms of cultural diplomacy between nation states, projects cosmopolitan messages and values, going beyond a traditional promotion of national cultures and traditions. Furthermore, this new form of cultural diplomacy has a strong economic component which, on the one hand, ensures the autonomous character of the international activities from the direct control from the government, but on the other hand, brings new corporate politics into play.

The dissertation proceeds as follows: Chapter II presents a detailed literature review comprising an analysis of academic scholarship on three important subjects, including 1) cultural diplomacy, 2) museums and their role in cultural exchanges and international communications, and 3) new media technology and their influences on both contemporary museums and diplomacy. Based on the literature review, this chapter works out important definitions of cultural diplomacy, cosmopolitanism, and non-state actors that are further used to understand and explore the institutional ability and power of the Guggenheim to play an important role in the international

arena as a new player of diplomacy. Furthermore, the chapter is instrumental in outlining an important framework which helps to analyze and assess the legitimacy of museums to serve as non-state diplomatic actors, and their cultural power to influence audiences on the national and international levels. Finally, the chapter illuminates important transformations brought about by new media technologies which introduce new communication channels and tools utilized by contemporary cultural institutions and diplomatic actors.

The methodology section, Chapter III, briefly describes three main methods employed in this case study: 1) institutional analysis, including document analysis and focused semi-structured interviews with the Guggenheim managers; 2) discursive content analysis of the YouTube Play online portal; and 3) virtual ethnography. The latter helps to explore the online behavior of international publics on YouTube Play, in their interactions with the video content and with each other. This mixed methodology helps to analyze the Guggenheim museum and its YouTube Play project from different angles: 1) from the institutional perspective, illuminating the museum's history, established tradition, and the philosophy shaping its contemporary international agenda and engagements; 2) from the angle of the online project design and architecture reflecting the main interests, purposes and strategies of this collaborative initiative between the Guggenheim and Google; and 3) from the perspective of the power, essence, and meanings of messages and narratives communicated through the online portal which engage and influence global publics.

The following chapters are devoted to three main layers of analysis of the case study. Chapter IV explores the institutional capacity of the Guggenheim to be a non-state actor of contemporary cultural diplomacy. Drawing on the analysis of its corporate strategies, international partnerships and commitments, as well as its historical involvement in various diplomatic initiatives, the chapter assesses the main sources of power and reputation of the Guggenheim to serve as an important player in cultural diplomacy. Illuminating the diversity of its funding sources, important multilateral partnerships, transnational activities and commitments, as well as the established reputation of the global brand, the chapter demonstrates the Guggenheim's institutional ability to be an actor of contemporary cultural diplomacy.

Chapter V looks at the YouTube Play portal as a carefully designed and constructed space and a channel of cross-cultural communication through which the museum creates its international image and identity and sets up a space for cross-cultural engagements with international publics.

The chapter provides an analysis of the project design, illuminating such key components as popular culture appeal, public participatory character, and its global outreach. A thorough analysis of these design components not only reveals their important role in boosting the project's popularity and appreciation among wide international audiences, but also exposes various strategies and techniques used by the project organizers to construct their institutional identities, to promote their global brands, and to elevate their reputations in the minds of the global publics.

The following three chapters explore in greater detail three types of messages communicated by the Guggenheim and its partners through the YouTube Play channel, as well as analyze various ways online audiences engaged with these messages. Drawing on the classification proposed by public diplomacy scholar Kathy Fitzpatrick (2010), Chapters VI, VII and VIII of the thesis investigate three types of messages according to their functionality in the framework of diplomatic communication. These include *promotional*, *informational*, and *relational* messages, which stand for such functions in communication as: 1) promoting or "selling" specific ideas or national images; 2) informing or educating foreign publics about national cultural values and traditions; and 3) establishing trustful relationships with people through communicative practices (Fitzpatrick 2010). Taking this classification as the basis for the functional analysis of YouTube Play messages, the thesis identifies and analyzes political and cultural implications of the constructed narratives communicated to online publics through the platform, as well as it highlights the impacts exerted through these messages over global audiences.

These chapters are designed not only to expose and discuss the messages articulated by organizers of the YouTube Play project, but additionally to explore and demonstrate the dynamics of public engagement with each specific idea. These three chapters further reveal the Guggenheim's position as a non-state actor of cultural diplomacy, by demonstrating and assessing the power of the museum to influence global publics' perceptions, as well as the ability of the online portal to create a space of cross-cultural encounter where audiences influence each other. In this way, the case study demonstrates that the global online initiative developed by the Guggenheim with Google can be understood as a form of non-state cultural diplomacy, because it provides an alternative channel where non-governmental institutions can reach out to and directly communicate with international publics while exerting important cultural impacts.

Chapter II.
Literature review

2.1. Introduction

Considering the key tasks of this dissertation to explore new forms of cultural diplomacy exercised in the digital realm of communication by such non-state actors as museums, this chapter consists of three sections, providing a literature review of three interrelated subjects.

The first section defines cultural diplomacy and situates it within the framework of international activities of states, illuminating its goals in furthering foreign policy objectives. Furthermore, the section looks at scholarship that investigates the key transformations of cultural diplomacy in the 21st century leading to the adoption of cosmopolitan narratives and messages in the rhetoric of diplomacy, as well as to the empowerment of non-state actors of diplomacy. These non-state actors include transnational nonprofit organizations and corporations that significantly intervene in processes of international communications and acquire their own institutional powers to influence foreign audiences' cultural perceptions. Drawing on the literature review, this section provides working definitions of such important concepts as cultural diplomacy and cosmopolitan diplomacy, used in the analysis of Guggenheim international engagements and activities. The section also establishes key criteria for exploring and assessing the legitimacy and credibility of non-state actors. These criteria are employed to demonstrate the institutional power and authority of the Guggenheim in the international arena.

The second section, "Museum diplomacy" is devoted to museums as specific actors of cultural diplomacy. It brings together scholarship investigating the cultural powers of museums to constitute national and international audiences, and project important cultural messages within and beyond national borders. The section looks at museums as cultural institutions of memory preservation and production to demonstrate their role in cultural diplomacy. This kind of diplomacy is exercised through international exhibitions, museum tours, and cultural programming in cooperation with other countries. The section also illuminates the new economic powers that define a museum's operational reality in the context of neoliberal globalization. The "market-economy" model, explored in the final part of the section, sets up a specific corporate framework. This framework informs the international activities of museums, which are, on the one hand, nonprofit organizations with cultural missions and goals, and on the other hand, institutions that

increasingly employ corporate strategies for their financial sustainability and growth in international cultural markets. This framework, outlining various corporate strategies for financial survival in contemporary economic conditions, is further used in the analysis of the international activities and partnerships of the Guggenheim for demonstrating and assessing its institutional power as a non-state actor of diplomacy.

Finally, the chapter provides a literature review on new media technologies which transform contemporary forms of international communications and destroy the traditional modes of conduct in cultural diplomacy. The section specifically focuses on the opportunities and challenges brought about by digital technologies to state and non-state actors of cultural diplomacy, and investigates the power of new means of communication to transcend geographic boundaries between cultural communities. Additionally, it explores the implications of the increased scope and diversity of international outreach through digital channels of communication. Furthermore, the section, "New Media Diplomacy," situates the digital paradigm of cultural diplomacy within a museum context and identifies scholarship gaps in understanding digital museum diplomacy as a new trajectory for further investigation and analysis. In this way, the concluding section illuminates the capacity of this thesis to improve the deficit of academic research on online museum diplomacy, which is an area of diplomacy growing in power and outreach in the present era of increased digital communication.

2.2. Cultural diplomacy

2.2.1. Definition and basic paradigms of cultural diplomacy

Cultural diplomacy received its legitimate status as an official state activity in the midst of the Cold War between the USA and the Soviet Union in the 20th century. Initially, cultural diplomacy was defined by the U.S. State Department in 1959 as, "the direct and enduring contact between people of different nations […] to help create a better climate of international trust and understanding in which official relations can operate" (US Department of State 1969, iv). It is based on cross-cultural exchanges of ideas, information, art, and other aspects of culture among nations and their peoples to foster mutual understanding (Melissen 2006). More recently, cultural diplomacy has started to be conceptualized through the notion of "soft power," coined and developed by Joseph Nye (2004), who argues that a country possesses "soft power" if it is capable

of exploiting information to shape and inhabit the "mind space" of another country through the persuasive powers of attraction rather than coercion, by appealing to and promoting common cultural values and principles. Within Nye's power typologies, ranging from the hard power of military might to the multilateral diplomacy of institutional structuration, "soft power" is understood as a more advanced and sophisticated tool for achieving foreign policy objectives by simply "seducing" other actors (Nye 2004). Within this paradigm, cultural diplomacy offers an alternative solution to address the complexity of international relations by employing culture as the foundation of "soft power."

There are different taxonomies proposed by different scholars that aim to explain the "persuasive" power dynamics in international communication through cultural diplomacy activities (Wolfer 1962; Nye 2004; Barnett and Duvall 2005; Watanabe and McConnell 2008; Van Ham 2010; Singh 2011). According to these categories, there are two main powers influencing the identities and perceptions of the "other" that can be distinguished: ***instrumental power*** and ***meta-power***.

In the *instrumental* dimension, power operates by enhancing or constraining the particular identities of one party over another through different means of influences (Singh 2011). The *instrumental* perspective focuses on how agents exercise influence over subjects; this power is agent specific and it is possible to identify particular rhetorical, psychological, or social means of influence that lead to another party's change in perceptions. In contrast, the transformative aspect of *meta-power* involves both parties equally in the act of change through their interaction, wherein they shape each other's identities (Singh 2011). This perspective focuses on how power operates through the environment or, in other words, "structures or discourses" that are not necessarily agent-specific, and may refer to contextual factors that affect all the players in the international arena. According to this classification of power modalities, there are two main paradigms of cultural diplomacy that aim to constitute the essence of this form of cross-cultural communication: ***national projection*** and ***cultural relations.***

The paradigm of ***national projection*** is representative of the exercise of the *instrumental* type of power. It is based on the idea that the most important role of cross-cultural communication is to create a positive image of the nation in the minds of foreigners, to promote and support national political and economic policies and secure states' interest in the international arena. *National projection* is built on a one-way communication model and within the constructivist approach can

be described as a specific social construction system, promoting and imposing national cultural values and beliefs upon global audiences (Herz 1981; Mor 2007). John Herz observed that half of international politics consists of image-making: "Who appears as what in the eyes of 'others,' as well as in his and in his people's own eyes constitutes a basic element in the formation of the world views that underlie action" (Herz 1981, 187).

Known in the 20th century also as nation-branding, the paradigm of *national projection* has a long history, with the most illustrative examples from the 19th century, when Universal Expositions started to take place in Europe (Anholt 2007, Dinnie 2008). These engaged countries in the global competition "for economic modernity, social equilibrium, and political stability" (Kaiser 2004, 46). As Kaiser indicates, these expositions provided countries with opportunities to construct their national representations, enabling them to "create a favorable national image abroad, form or strengthen national and ideological alliances, set international or domestic agendas and to facilitate culture transfer"(Kaiser 2004, 46).

Focusing on historical explorations of cultural diplomacy institutions abroad, Paschalidis (2009), also traces roots of *national projection* activities in the rise and development of the most prominent and oldest European institutions of cultural promotion, such as the Goethe Institute, British Council, Dante Alighieri Society, Alliance Française and others. Since the 1870s, these institutions, opened in many foreign countries, have developed rich cultural programming and resources for international audiences, facilitating language education and promoting national artistic, scientific, or sports achievements. At the end of the 19th century, the rapid geographical spread of these cultural institutions around the world represented "European powers' nationalist aspirations and geopolitical rivalries," and served as a "major ideological force… [of] a pervading cultural nationalism, with its characteristic emphasis on language and education" (Paschalidis 2009, 279). "This emphasis was subsequently adopted by all newcomers who felt the need to comply to the European standards of high culture in order to project the image of a culturally advanced country" (Alasuutari 2001, 163).

In the context of the USA, cultural diplomacy, following the European tradition, also emerged as a field of international relations activities that focused on the affirmation and promotion of American culture in the global arena. Founded in July 1938, the U.S. Division of Cultural Relations "adopted a 'European-style' – Kulturpolitik" which was based on the political project of national

promotion (Rietzler 2011, 150). Frank Ninkovich (1996) confirms that cultural diplomacy in the USA with the first official governmental support was based on "promoting an understanding of American culture abroad." A definition from an earlier era describes the main purpose of American cultural diplomacy in terms of creating conditions and opportunities for "a perfect understanding of the life and culture of America" by people from around the globe (Thayer 1959, 740). The U.S. State Department cultural affairs diplomat Helena Finn has repeatedly emphasized in her public speeches that cultural diplomacy consists of "efforts to improve cultural understanding" and "winning foreigners' voluntary allegiance to the American project…" (Finn 2003, 16). In this way, cultural diplomacy has traditionally been understood as a project based on *national projection* exercised by "formal diplomats, serving national governments" in order to "shape and channel this natural flow to advance national interests" (Lenczowski 2008).

However, *national projection* is not the only dimension of cultural diplomacy activities which usually go far beyond a mere representation of the nation in the international arena and strongly depend on building friendly *relations* with other countries that allow further exchange of information about their cultures and values. ***The cultural relations*** paradigm presupposes interaction between parties, providing an "infrastructure" for mutual influence, in this way enabling *meta-power* that challenges cultural identities and reshapes the perspectives of all actors involved in cross-cultural interaction. From the constructivist perspective, social and cultural identities of people are situated "within a specific, socially constructed world," in which actors collectively create meanings and understandings of themselves and others (Wendt 1992, 398). However, according to Wendt, traditional meanings can be reconstructed and identities can be "invent[ed] de novo" (Wendt 1992, 398). Such a reconstruction occurs in "the presence of new social situations that cannot be managed in terms of pre-existing self-conceptions," when people are confronted with new social environments and engage in a close interaction with members of a different societies (Wendt 1992, 398).

These "situations" have been strategically created through various diplomatic exchange programs constituting an important part of building mutually beneficial relationships between countries. As some historians point out, from the era of the Crusades and even from earlier times, "ordinary people, travelers, pilgrims, missionaries, and interlopers across the globe, concocted ways of […] establishing relationships with people who did not speak their language, wore different garb, and worshipped other gods" (Trivellato et al. 2014, 2). Looking at cultural exchanges in pre-modern

and modern times, Bentley (2011) also argues that cross-cultural interactions and exchanges have always had a strong influence on other societies throughout the world's history whether by bringing new cultural products to active use in other countries or changing the ways people approached various tasks in their daily routines, not to mention historical transformations of cultural beliefs and traditions, or adoptions of new or mixes of languages.

The predominant model of this type of communication is a *two-way interactive dialogue* that provides an arena for contested ideas and beliefs to be discussed and negotiated among participants from different traditions and backgrounds (Parkinson 1977; Melissen 2005; Snow 2009). The core principle behind these diplomatic activities is the claim that bringing people from different countries together helps to achieve mutual understanding, because through personal connections program participants can learn about each other's differences and commonalities and negotiate common values (Parkinson 1977). As Kelman points out, the exchange experience is most likely to produce favorable attitudes in the context of a positive interaction among people sharing their cultures and traditions through a personal contact (Kelman 1962, 78). For example, in the context of U.S. cultural diplomacy, "triumphant success" and the strong power of exchange as a means of establishing a productive dialogue with foreigners is documented in various practices of Cold War diplomacy. Described in many historical works or memoirs written from both sides of the Iron Curtain (the USA and Soviet Russia), cultural exchanges between people from the two societies had a strong impact on the participants' perceptions of each other's cultures (Prevots 2001; Lucke 2002; Cummings 2003; Richmond 2003; Arndt 2005).

American historian Yale Richmond (2003), in reviewing strategically designed educational, scientific, artistic, and cultural exchanges implemented during the epoch of the great tension between the largest super powers of the 20th century, emphasizes that their effects in both societies were instrumental to exposing participants to life "on the other side." These exchanges incited participants' interest and curiosity in national traditions and customs, engaged human emotions, established strong human connections, and generated a positive sentiment toward the "other" (Richmond 2003).

Even though cross-cultural exchanges emphasize the idea of mutual influence and creating shared meanings and values through processes of communication between international participants, employed as a political tool, U.S. cultural diplomacy exchanges "operated very much within the model largely representing the transmission of American skills and values to others" (Giles 2008,

176). Focusing on American influence exercised through these programs, Schneider explains that these Russian-American interactive activities or collaborative projects "exposed foreign audiences to American (democratic) manners of […] interacting" and illuminated values of "equality of opportunity in a merit-based society" (Schneider 2003, 8). In changing the perceptions of Soviet participants about the economic and political structure of American society, Schneider further argues, the Cold War cultural exchanges "played a great role in undermining the Soviet Union and sowing the seeds for its eventual dissolution" (Schneider 2006, 1).

Thus, *cultural relations* and *national projection* have traditionally constituted the most important paradigms of cultural diplomacy practices. It would be wrong to empirically explore cultural diplomacy relying on exclusively one or another theoretical paradigm. In each particular case, the activities of *national projection* and *cultural relations* can complement each other and build upon each other in a meaningful way. *In this project, I look at cultural diplomacy as cross-cultural communication that comprises both models and can be defined as a strategically designed cultural activity, or a project that exerts cultural impacts upon international audiences, through both 1) promoting certain cultural values and identities, as well as 2) setting up conditions which enable international participants to influence each other through personal interactions.* My project advances literature on cultural diplomacy through empirical exploration demonstrating if and how *cultural relations* and *national projection* are modified in the new environment of global communications, and how each of these paradigms are operationalized by new diplomatic actors. As this section highlights, in both paradigms of diplomacy a political focus on national culture to communicate the country's identity and to promote its values has remained strong in historical practices exercised by different governments. However, in recent decades, cultural diplomacy as a means of establishing bridges of cross-cultural understanding and respect has acquired a new communication dimension beyond the national paradigm. The next section looks at cosmopolitan messages of diplomacy and explores conditions of contemporary international politics that necessitate the employment of cosmopolitan rhetoric as a more advanced communication tool in the arsenal of "soft power."

2.2.2. Messages of cultural diplomacy: National promotion versus cosmopolitan appeal

The paradigm of *national promotion* has been especially important, and strongly shaped cultural diplomacy practices, since the times of the structuration of the "modern state" or "Westphalian

state." This period was marked by such processes as setting and strengthening strict political, economic, and cultural boundaries among territories belonging to different nations (Batora and Hocking 2008, 4). Reinforced in the 19th century, *national promotion* remained a dominant diplomatic paradigm which defined how nation states constructed their identities in the international arena and communicated with other countries (Habermas 2001, 69). However, in recent decades, new technological developments accompanied by a significant improvement of means and tools of contemporary communications have increased global mobility and the circulation of capital, labor, and information, which have challenged the "traditional" models of diplomatic conduct. Processes of globalization, defined by Giddens (1990) as "the intensification of worldwide social relations which link distant localities in such a way that local happenings are shaped by events occurring many miles away and vice versa" (64), widened, deepened and accelerated global interconnections between countries and people who increasingly need to find meaningful ways to share norms and knowledge for a productive coexistence (Steger 2010). These processes significantly influenced the agenda, foreign policy objectives, and goals of international communications (Held 1999).

Globalization, as some scholars point out, gave rise to a new "ideological dimension" in international politics, which added new layers of social and cultural "norms, claims, beliefs, and narratives," defining the communicative behavior of nation states confronted with new economic and political realities in the global arena (Steger 2009, 11). Under the pressure of global environmental, humanitarian, and social and cultural challenges, diplomacy has acquired a new level, where cross-cultural negotiation and problem solving go beyond exclusively national interests. Some scholars identify a "new dimension" of diplomacy that is placed within a *cosmopolitan* framework of interests and values, shifting diplomatic outreach to a transnational agenda (Rivas 2010; Villanueva 2010). British diplomat Harold Nicolson stressed, "the progress of diplomatic theory has been from the narrow conception of exclusive tribal rights to the wider conception of inclusive common interests" (Nicolson 2004, 17). Beck (2001) also argues that globalization produced "a shift from autonomy based on national exclusion to sovereignty based on transnational inclusion" (87).

He points out that in the conditions of globalization, a focus on national paradigms in international political communication only weakens states' "position against the global economy […] The national narrowness of the state thus becomes a hindrance to transnational inventiveness. […]

Governments have to surrender national independence, tie each other's' hands, in essence, in cooperative agreements, in order to deal successfully" with national and international tasks (86). Highlighting the shortcomings of national ideologies which progressively lose their relevance in global communications, Kriegman (2006) also observes that contemporary diplomacy stresses that, "specific boundaries framing national identities are somewhat arbitrary, while the case for global identity is more objective: we all share one world" (7).

In the framework of political communication, the idea of *cosmopolitanism* according to Beck (2001) is based on the "separation of state and nation" which guarantees the "co-existence of national identities," "open[s] the way for genuine diversity" and "establish[es] fundamental human rights" (87). Being "the new master concept" for addressing urgent questions of politics, identity, and society in the new context of globalization, *cosmopolitanism* is defined by Beck as a political ideological construct which allows a new type of "global citizenship" with "meaningful affiliations without renouncing one's origins" (87). This "global citizenship" helps to avoid destructive contradictions between "living together and giving up our differences" and "living apart in homogenous communities that communicate only through the market or through violence" (Beck 2001, 87).

In a similar way, but from a cultural perspective, *cosmopolitanism* is understood as a way of "handling of diversity," "an intellectual and aesthetic openness toward divergent cultural experiences, and an ability to make one's way into other cultures" (Hannerz 2006, 6). Cultural cosmopolitanism is based on understanding, embracing and dealing with diversity without a "real commitment to any particular other culture" (Hannerz 2006, 7). Combining the political and cultural dimensions, *cosmopolitanism* is defined by Kriegman (2006) as a respect and value of diverse cultures in the new context of globalization that forges "global citizenship," attempting to construct identity in a multinational world (6). Other scholars also base their definitions of *cosmopolitanism* on such important principles of political and cultural behavior as "respect for foreign cultures, assisted by an intellectual distance from one's own national or local culture" (Turner 2002, 57), as well as "transnational loyalties and attachments" that "precede national affiliations" (Nussbaum 2006).

Even though many authors point out that the idea of a "cosmopolitan state" may seem a mere utopia in the contemporary global political climate, where there are still "explosions of strong

nationalists' movements" and national ideologies are used as powerful weapons to deal with national and international problems (Beck 2001; Hedetoft and Hjort 2002; Kriegman 2006), there is a new layer of cultural diplomacy which extends the narrow *national promotion* paradigm of political communication. A cosmopolitan framework in diplomatic communication stresses transnational ties and constructs an image of the country as a diligent, collegial, and responsible "global citizen" that actively contributes to the collaborative efforts of the international community to solve common problems and invests national human and economic resources in addressing global problems (Hoffman 2006; Lipschutz 1994; Hocking et al. 2012).

 With the advancement of new media technology, which made the processes of international communications between states more transparent and more exposed to the eyes of global publics, the classical model of bi-lateral relations between states has now been replaced by a new diplomacy based on polylateral communication. Within this model, states are dealing in the international arena with a wide range of actors from various countries (Jora 2013, 46). Also, contemporary diplomacy is not oriented exclusively toward foreign publics, and directs communication outreach equally to domestic and international audiences (Potter 2002; Vlahos 2009; Sharp 2009). The increasing trend of diplomacy to communicate to actors coming from various cultural backgrounds on the global scale requires a much broader and more inclusive approach in communicating messages that can target a wide variety of audiences and meaningfully communicate messages of good will, cooperation, and friendliness. In this way, *cosmopolitan* diplomacy allows governments to address a multitude of participants involved in the communication processes, to discuss common transnational issues. Thus, in recent decades*, cosmopolitan* diplomacy has been increasingly employed by many governments as a *political rhetorical tool* to promote the cooperative nature of diplomatic negotiations among various actors and societies in achieving cross-cultural consensus on different issues (Lea McCarthy 2011).

Discussing this *political* intent of cosmopolitan diplomacy, Hannerz (2002) makes a strong distinction between two major facets of cosmopolitanism: one is "aesthetic," understanding it as a mode of respect and appreciation of cultural diversity, and the other is "*political,*" a mode of political control and domination (227). Mendieta also identifies and juxtaposes two types of cosmopolitanism: "imperial" and "dialogical," or critical. The latter can be described as a type of epistemic construction of the world that acknowledges, reflects, and celebrates the standpoint of the "other" (Mendieta 2009, 242), and rests upon such foundational principles as "a respect for

difference;" "a commitment to dialogue;" and an expansion of the "boundaries of moral concern to the point of universal inclusion" (Jordaan 2009, 736; Dobson 2006; Jordaan 2009).

However, "aesthetic" or dialogical cosmopolitanism exists more as a theoretical concept or ideal that serves as a reference point in constructing cosmopolitan discourses. Hannerz (2002) particularly stresses that in contemporary diplomacy, "the emphasis has shifted toward the more *political* aspect of cosmopolitanism…" which is associated with communication efforts to which the cosmopolitan label is attached as a means to legitimatize state actions and secure state positions in transnational activities with a variety of purposes (228). Some authors specifically point out that cosmopolitan political discourse, promoting and defending "universal" human rights, stems from the most powerful political actors in the international arena, such as the USA (Spinelli 2000; Hauser and Grim 2004; Ish-shalom 2008; Crick 2010; Carothers 2011). For example, Slaughter and Hale indicate, American "soft power" "has a deeply cosmopolitan dimension," promoting "a better life for all the world's citizens" (Slaughter and Hale 2010, 176).

As Huntington (2004) argues, the other side of an American "commitment" to cosmopolitanism is a strong imperial ambition to "reshape those other peoples and cultures in terms of American values" guided by the intentions to "remake the world" (363). In line with this opinion, Rayan (2007) indicates that "no other power has such rhetorical influence," defining for the rest of the world what global "democracy," "freedom," "human rights," "social justice" and "gender equalities" are, leaving "very little room for greater pluralism within the global order" (52). Other scholars also stress that the *political* cosmopolitanism of American diplomacy within its "imperial" project in fact aims to impose the national values of the USA as "universal" (Hayden 2012; Skillen 2005), thus using cosmopolitanism as a mere cover-rhetoric in advancing its international leadership and powerful position on the global scene. Such a strategic use of cosmopolitan rhetoric strongly corresponds to conditions conducive to strengthening the country's "soft power." As Nye (2004) indicates, "if a country can shape international rules that are consistent with its interests and values, its actions will more likely appear legitimate in the eyes of others" (11).

Combining the observations and definitions provided in this section, this thesis focuses on the new *cosmopolitan* dimension of cultural diplomacy, understanding *cosmopolitanism as a rhetorical construct that helps a contemporary actor of diplomacy to advance its position on the international arena by 1) constructing a global identity dissociated from national affiliations, 2) stressing and*

promoting its transnational commitments in addressing "universal" problems and issues shared by people from different countries, and finally 3) communicating its respect for cultural diversity through increased international outreach and inclusion. This work seeks to further explore a cosmopolitan dimension of contemporary cultural diplomacy and explain what this cosmopolitan diplomacy means when communicated by the Guggenheim museum and how it is different from the cosmopolitan rhetoric of American cultural diplomacy.

Another important objective of this thesis is to look at "the other side of the coin" of cosmopolitan projections by exploring the possibilities of a "dialogical" cosmopolitanism manifested in the global audiences' response and public engagement with ideas of cosmopolitanism promoted by new actors of cultural diplomacy. A more informed understanding of whether or not these narratives acquire global relevance for international publics requires an exploration of how ordinary people engage with ideas of cosmopolitanism and if they really help them to construct their social and cultural realities. Following the question, "Is 'global' more an imaginative, ideological, or marketing expression than a spatial reality?" (Jenkins 2002, 73), my thesis aims to reveal what specific messages, narratives, ideas, or images dominating the rhetoric of cosmopolitanism become a meaningful part of the lives of international audiences.

Understanding cultural identification as "not a top-down process of imposition," but "a dialectic involving agency, imagination, and resistance" (Jenkins 1996; Morley and Robins 1995), my project intends to contribute to important findings provided by studies on the complex processes of cultural globalization, which challenge the academic discourse on the growing cultural homogenization empowered by cosmopolitan discourses. For example, Tomlinson (1991) points out that "global culture" does not represent an indivisible package that is simply consumed and adopted by local cultures. Instead, some aspects of it are being appropriated while others are resisted because they are found to be irrelevant (Tomlinson 1991). Other scholars also find evidence of both "massive cultural change" and, at the same time, the "persistence of distinctive cultural traditions" (Inglehart and Wayne 2000). Similarly, Hamilton argues that globalization does not necessarily lead to "increasing uniformity, in the form of a universalization of culture, but rather the continuation of civilizational diversity through the active reinvention and reincorporation of civilizational patterns" (Hamilton 1994, 184).

Norris and Inglehart (2009), in their book *Cosmopolitan Communications: Cultural Diversity in a Globalized World,* further reveal that the impact of cosmopolitan communications has a less radical influence and causes less dramatic change on deep-rooted societal differences than many scientists predict. Their study indicates that the effect of cosmopolitan communications has been commonly exaggerated; the authors agree that it is possible that societies can gradually assimilate the ideas and images they are exposed to by transnational communication channels, and this assimilation can eventually lead to long-term cultural convergence. But alternatively, they insist that there could be another reaction by societies against global communication messages, and people can choose to reinterpret meanings in their local cultural contexts or simply ignore them. Following these important observations claiming the powers of "active" audiences to challenge cosmopolitan discourses, my thesis explores audiences' responses to the messages being communicated and promoted by contemporary actors of cultural diplomacy. In this way, the project offers empirical evidence illuminating the power dynamics between promoted narratives of cultural diplomacy and expressed identities of global audiences.

This section provides background literature explaining a new dimension of cultural diplomacy such as the cosmopolitan paradigm. The next section looks at a different development of contemporary cultural diplomacy specifically from the institutional perspective. It investigates the emergence of new players of diplomacy, that are not necessarily nation states, but that increasingly gain institutional powers and authorities in the global stage, allowing them to communicate with international audiences outside of governmental control.

2.2.3. Non-state actors of cultural diplomacy

Cultural diplomacy has traditionally been placed within a framework of activities developed and coordinated "exclusively around the state" (Jora 2013). Jora stresses that cultural diplomacy "is normally accepted as [a] kind of 'Diplomacy' in the strict meaning of the term as far as it remains bounded by governance and keeps its instrumental nature" (Jora 2013). As Anheier and Isar also confirm, the primary actors of cultural diplomacy are "government agents" and envoys engaged in the practice of "cultural policy on display" (Anheier and Isar 2007, 47). Hocking et al. call this approach to diplomacy the "statist perspective," indicating that it is based on processes and structures engaging traditional agents of diplomacy, such as foreign ministries and their networks of overseas missions. As such, this type of diplomacy is predicated on centralized control; it is

usually separated from domestic political environments and mediated through distinctive organizational structures (Hocking et al. 2012, 17).

However, under the conditions of growing globalization and acceleration of informational flows that make the international conduct of diplomacy more transparent and allow a variety of players to get an access to information and resources, new actors of diplomacy get a foot in the door (Potter 2002; Nye 2004; Melissen 2005; Kleiner 2008; Tallberg and Jönsson 2010; Hocking et al. 2012). Even through diplomacy remains generally state-centric, in recent decades there has been a rise of non-state actors who "have global interests and the will to make them felt on the world stage" (La Porte 2012, 1; McConnell et al. 2012; Spiro 2013). As Kelley (2010) explains, from the 1990s on, the state monopoly on diplomacy has been steadily declining due to "expanding perceptions of international agency to include firms, non-governmental organizations and other actors" who increasingly intervene in diplomatic activities (287).

Addressing this global rise of "'non-state diplomacy' whether it is focused on the international activities of multinational business enterprises or transnational social movements related to ever-expanding and interlinked policy agendas," Hocking et al. (2012) identify a new "post-globalist" approach in diplomacy that allows an embrace of the complexities of the contemporary situation on the world stage. This approach provides a space for "diplomacies pursued by states, international organizations and non-state actors […] integrated into the complex, multi-faceted patterns of world politics" (18). Non-state actors can be defined as "non-sovereign entities that exercise significant economic, political, or social power and influence on the national or international levels" (La Porte 2012, 4). This definition is rather broad and includes a wide range of entities, ranging from terrorist networks to non-governmental organizations (NGOs) and civil society groups of activists to transnational business corporations (Spiro 2013, 1103).

Arts et al. (2001) distinguish among three major categories of non-state actors: *public-interest-oriented NGOs*, *profit-oriented corporate actors*, and *public inter-governmental organizations* (2). *Inter-governmental organizations* are institutions, established and financed by nation-states; they are not private, but public in their forms and purposes (Arts et al. 2001, 2). The other two types refer to organizations that have not been founded, and are not formally controlled by, national governments. Rather, they are initiated and ruled by citizens to pursue public or private objectives that are likely to have domestic or transnational public effects (Reinalda and Verbeek 2001, 149).

These *public-interest-oriented NGOs* and *profit-oriented corporate actors* are the main focus of this literature review because they are the closest types of non-state actors relevant to describing, analyzing, and exploring the global communication efforts of the Guggenheim and Google as new actors of cultural diplomacy. A *nonprofit public-interest* organization (referred to in this work as NGO) is a legal entity which has been incorporated under the law of its jurisdiction for social, religious, charitable, educational, athletic, literary, cultural, or other purposes other than making profits; it uses its surplus revenues to further achieve its purpose or mission (Hopkins 2009). NGOs are funded by governments, foundations, businesses, private donations or through direct public support. A *profit-oriented* corporation is a company authorized to act as a single entity that is owned by shareholders, whose liability is limited to their investment and managed by a board of directors to control the corporation in a fiduciary capacity (Hopkins 2009).

Both types of organizations are important in this research, because the Guggenheim is nonprofit organization that employs corporate strategies for its transnational operations and programming. Furthermore, the YouTube Play project analyzed in this work as an example of contemporary cultural diplomacy is a result of collaboration between the Guggenheim and Google, a transnational media corporation. Therefore, a literature review that investigates both corporations and nonprofit organizations as non-state actors of diplomacy is important for the thesis because it allows us to better understand how collaborations between *public-interest* and *profit-oriented* organizations transform contemporary cultural diplomacy.

Before this section proceeds to illuminate literature exploring legitimacy and sources of influence of these organizations as non-state actors of diplomacy, it is important to discuss their limitations as institutions that receive their legal status in their countries of origin. First of all, it is vital to stress that both of these types of organizations are subjects to government regulations and legal obligations in regard to their incorporation and dissolution, management, accountability, auditing provisions, as well as tax statuses (Hopkins 2009).

NGOs have charitable status or can register for tax exemption based on state recognition of their social purpose. Clark (2010) differentiates among the following important areas in which governments hold control and shape the operational environment of NGOs: the legal framework, such as registration and reporting; taxation policies; collaboration with other organizations; official support in terms of government funding; and direct official contracts. Most non-profit

organizations depend on external funding such as grants, donations, or sponsors' contributions. This dependence on donors' money necessitates organizations stay in good standing with their funding agencies to guarantee the quality of their services. As a result, as some scholars indicate, nonprofit NGOs in certain cases "are disinclined to develop an independent stance over matters of general policy" (Toulmin 2008, 2). Mitchell (2014), in his analysis of nonprofit organizations, also points out that their reliance on external financial support obviously "exposes them to resource dependence and the possibility of external control" (67). Considering that in certain cases financial support comes directly from their governments (Clark 2010), ties between NGOs and governments can be "deep and binding" (Gourevitch et al. 2012, 2017). Governments influence NGOs not only through various financial incentives, they also standardize reporting requirements and rules concerning conflicts of interest within organizations, require financial transparency from NGOs, and oblige them to report on their assets and profits. As well, governments disseminate norms of best practices which guide the organizational development of NGOs in the national context (Gourevitch et al. 2012, 2017).

On the one hand, in less democratic societies, State-NGO relationships can be too "close," which can significantly influence the activities of organizations; under these circumstances, NGOs "fail to inject the grassroots perspective" (Clark 2010; Heurlin, 2010). In some cases, when NGOs prefer to keep well separated from the government orbit and outside of their direct control, it can make them more vulnerable to government attack (Clark 2010; Heurlin, 2010). Finally, depending on foreign donors, an NGO might be put into a difficult situation wherein the government can be suspicious that its activities are "guided by a foreign hand" (Clark 2010). In some countries foreign donations are even regulated by certain legal restrictions on funding amounts as well as the scope of international support that an NGO can receive from abroad (Sundstrom 2005; Hawkins and Jones 2011).

On the other hand, even in more democratic countries, governments can directly outsource from the non-profit sector and employ organizations to "facilitate inter-state cooperation by preparing background papers and reports, educating delegates and representatives of states to narrow [a] technical gap, serving as [a] third party source of information, expanding policy options, facilitating agreements, and bringing delegates together in third party fora" (Ataman 2003, 47). Nonprofits can also conduct activities which directly compliment governmental objectives and

contribute to their national and international tasks. Thus, NGOs can develop and implement different programs by "harmoniz[ing] state policies and […] enhancing public understanding," and supporting various government causes at home and abroad (Ataman 2003, 47). For example, in the context of the United States, the Institute for International Education—an "independent not-for-profit founded in 1919"—has been working in close partnership with the U.S. Department of Educational and Cultural Affairs to administer and implement the Fulbright Program (Desruisseaux 1998; McMurtrie 2009), which sponsors domestic and foreign students for educational and cultural exchanges, to "increase mutual understanding between the people of the United States and the people of other countries" (CIES 2015). Another example is the American Alliance of Museums (AAM), a national nonprofit organization that supports American museums. The AAM has been an important player in U.S. cultural diplomacy, by facilitating the participation of American museums in cross-cultural exchanges under the aegis of the International Partnership among Museums program, which is supported by the Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs within the U.S. Department of State. Since 1980, the AAM has arranged 245 exchanges among U.S. institutions and counterparts in 85 foreign countries, and as of 2007 it continued its direct collaboration with the government through a new program, Museums and Community Collaborations Abroad (MCCA), recently renamed Museums Connect (Dickey et al. 2013, 14).

Even though transnational business corporations enjoy more institutional independence from direct government financial control and usually are very multinational in their for-profit operations, they retain their "nominal nationality" and are still highly dependent on their national base (Castells 1996, 192). Consequently, in global activities they have to navigate across private governance and international interests and public regulations established within their country of origin (Cohen 2003, 1). Moreover, home governments "tend to have jurisdiction over a major portion of the corporate empire's assets" (Nye 2004a, 164). Some scholars also point out that transnational enterprises can even serve as a government tool or "a medium by which the law[,] politics, foreign policy and culture of one country [can] intrude into another" (Hymer, 1970; Bock and Fuccillo 2002). Nye (2004a) indicates that the U.S. government, for example, "used guidelines on capital transfers by multinationals to strengthen its international monetary position" (157). Finally, Baldwin argues that in certain cases corporations are dependent on their governments' specific activities to protect their interests abroad. These activities range from comprehensive efforts to develop a favorable investment climate "through more specific techniques such as

advice, blackmail and diplomacy" to cutting off economic aid to deter acts of expropriation or nationalization (Baldwin 1966, 193).

Despite all of the limitations and restrictions that define the relationships between non-state actors and governments in their activities within and beyond their countries, many scholars argue that non-state actors increasingly play an important role in foreign policy and even "significantly influence [governments'] foreign policy behavior" by communicating directly with foreign audiences, thus having an impact on global public opinion (Ataman 2003, 60). As La Porte stresses, in recent decades non-state actors have been empowered by financial, political and technological resources available to them, making it possible to have a global reach and increase their autonomy from the direct control of their own governments (La Porte 2012, 4). Arts et al. (2001) point out that non-state actors increasingly play an important role in international relations, because "they are part of political, policy and institutional arrangements in the international system," and because they have acquired powers to "influence political discourse and agenda setting" (3).

Thus, transnational NGOs as non-state actors have become "crucial participants in the international policy process" (Brown 1995, 268), by participating in global networks, mobilizing resources for addressing global social and cultural issues, responding to emergencies around the world, and engaging with civic societies from various countries (Ataman 2003; Saner 2006). Specifically in cultural diplomacy activities across countries, there has been a rapid rise in participation by non-profit cultural organizations, community groups of artists, international cultural foundations, and diaspora associations. These organizations have assumed roles previously taken as exclusively those of a state prerogative, such as organizing exchange programs, traveling exhibitions and performances in different countries, or promoting arts and culture among foreign audiences (Snow 2009; Van Ham 2010; Laos 2011; Gienow-Hecht and Donfried 2013).

For example, in the United States since 2009, there have been several research publications aiming to identify and explore forces and powers of American NGOs in developing cultural programming among national artists and publics and international counterparts. Commissioned by the American Foundation supporting national arts and culture, Fullman (2009) surveyed many nonprofits across the country to construct a framework for researching American NGOs' engagement in cultural diplomacy programs and activities implemented outside of the government's direct control and

support. McLagan and McKee (2012), in their book *Sensible Politics: The Visual Culture of Nongovernmental Activism,* have collected numerous case studies illuminating the proliferation of American nonprofit cultural organizations created with the major purpose of developing meaningful exchanges with different countries. Drawing on the work of a diverse group of contributors, including anthropologists, art historians, artists and filmmakers, the book situates cultural diplomacy forms of manifestation within a broader activist context, "and in so doing offers critical insight into the practices of mediation" between culture and international politics (McLagan and McKee 2012).

Transnational corporations, frequently argued to be the "most powerful among non-state actors" (Ataman 2003; Spiro 2013), have also increasingly intervened in international relations to protect their investments and pursue their interests. Cohen (2003) demonstrates that corporations play a significant role in the "shaping and diffusion of the rules and practices that constitute the regulatory structure of the contemporary world economy" (Cohen 2003, 1). Nye (2004a) argues that corporations can exert a direct influence on the national political environment of different countries by directly bargaining with host governments for favorable policies through inducements, or promises of new investment, or in contrast, through deprivations or threats of withdrawal (Nye 2004a, 156). Furthermore, the activities of transnational corporations in various countries are bringing significant social and cultural changes which make them important actors of transnational diplomacy. "Modern corporations seek to develop their active participation in society, adding new dimensions to their traditional perceived role of generating wealth, employment, and quality products or services" (Ordeix-Rigo and Duarte 2009, 557).

Thus, corporations create charitable foundations in hosting countries, give their support to the nonprofit cultural sector, establish support funds for social and cultural issues and concerns and involve themselves in various "bidirectional processes to engage publics" (Grunig et al., 2002) which serve as a tool to create a favorable climate for the development of their businesses in foreign social and cultural environments. Frank Ninkovich (1993), in his seminal work *Diplomacy of Ideas,* demonstrates that before the "cold war epopee" cultural relations between the United States and the rest of the world were dominated by civil society groups, which included academic associations and privately-funded philanthropic foundations. Such large organizations with established international reputations as the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, the

Rockefeller Foundation, the Laura Spelman Rockefeller Memorial and the Carnegie Corporation provided financial support for academic and cultural exchange projects (Ninkovich 1993). Among more recent studies there is Szanto's (2003) research investigating the involvement of American corporate foundations in non-state cultural diplomacy activities. Specifically, Szanto identified and explored the dynamics of the funding activities of six the biggest foundations, such as the Duke, Ford, Freeman, Mellon, Rockefeller, and Starr (Szanto 2003).

Apart from foundations, there is direct corporate support and sponsorship for foreign art organizations and cultural activities, which influence culture in other societies. Through his research of the various cultural philanthropic practices of such transnational corporations as AT&T, BMW, Daimler Chrysler, IBM and Philip Morris, Rectanus (2002) demonstrates that "corporate cultural politics […] define and shape culture," because these activities "respond to dynamic social forces and public policies […] that the corporations can partially defuse or strategically redirect" (3-4). Despite this contribution to the scholarship, there is still a deficit of academic literature on the direct involvement of global business specifically in cultural diplomacy activities. However, the discourse on cultural diplomacy implemented by corporations has started. For example, at a recent international conference in Washington DC, Mark Donfried, Director of the Institute for Cultural Diplomacy, emphasized that the traditional definition of cultural diplomacy must be expanded to include transnational business activities. "In many ways corporate diplomacy is the next step in cultural diplomacy," Donfried asserted, supporting his presentation with some empirical examples illuminating the growing role business plays in contemporary cultural diplomacy (Wislon 2013).

Among the most outstanding and the most recent examples of transnational corporations investing substantial resources in developing separate programming in the field of global cultural support is the Google Cultural Institute, founded in 2011 as a "not-for-profit initiative that partners with cultural organizations to bring the world's cultural heritage online" (Google 2015). The institute has been working closely with cultural institutions and associations around the world to preserve and share thousands of archives, images and videos telling the history of humanity by developing and providing free tools and technologies "for the cultural sector to showcase and share its riches, making them more widely accessible to a global audience" (Google 2015).

Discussing and analyzing the new roles that non-state actors started to play in the international arena, the academic literature raised important questions about the legitimacy of these actors as diplomatic players. The issue of legitimacy is crucial in the world of official diplomacy, as it stands for recognition of the key players and their power to intervene in international affairs. State or official diplomats receive such recognition in relationship to representing a democratically elected government (Wheatley 2007).

Many scholars emphasize that even though some organizations indeed gain a certain reputation and power in the international arena they cannot be called "actors of diplomacy." For example, Langhorne observes that non-state actors are uncertain of their respective roles and the powers they represent in diplomatic negotiations, and cannot guarantee that agreements will be observed. In this way, they can hardly be understood as "diplomatic" actors in a traditional sense (Langhorne 2005, 332). They "can be helpful in diplomacy, but that does not make them diplomats" (Kleiner 2008, 341). As Kelley (2010) further explains, the "new diplomats" heavily depend on their networking capabilities rather than on official "orthodox" diplomatic connections established in a political environment (293). They rely on transnational advocacy networks and promote their institutional causes and "beliefs to motivate political action and to use leverage to gain the support of more powerful institutions" (Keck and Sikkink 1998, 30).

However, as Kelley argues, non-state actors' power of leverage and legitimacy in international diplomacy stems from different sources: "Official diplomats derive their legitimacy from their affiliation via the rule of law; nonofficial diplomats […] derive their legitimacy through the pursuit of social goals widely viewed as desirable" (Kelley 2010, 300; Barnett and Finnemore 2005). The origin of their legitimacy is based on the "moral authority" earned through their experience and capacity to resolve global issues and problems, developed upon their actual specialized knowledge, expertise, or even the "quality of their principles and values" (Avant et al. 2010). Specifically, non-state actors are able to develop strategies for effective social influence and use these to effect important changes in societies; "citizens end up by handing over the task of defending their interests to non-state entities, or to local institutions that seem to be more effective in calling for improvements" (La Porte 2012, 5). In this way citizen approval, support and trust give special "rights" to institutions to exercise their power, thus legitimizing their actions in dealing with certain public concerns and issues. Edwards (1999) defined non-state legitimacy as "the right to

be and to do something in society; a sense that an organization is lawful, proper, admissible and justified in doing what it does and saying what it says, and that it continues to enjoy the support of an identifiable constituency" (26). In this way, even though non-state actors may lack official legitimacy, they earn their right and authority through public support.

In the world of non-profit international activities this support is measured through public donations, volunteer contributions, or in-kind help which ensure the development of their activities (La Porte 2012, 6), as well as through direct public participation and activism around major organizational activities. For transnational enterprises, as Post et al. explain, "the legitimacy of the contemporary corporation as an institution within society—its social charter, or 'license to operate'—depends on its ability to meet the expectations […] of constituents" (Post et al. 2002, 9). To earn their legitimacy, corporations increasingly engage in various social and cultural activities or "corporate diplomacy" (Asquer 2012; Sarfati 2009) to position the company within foreign communities, earn the general public's trust, and strengthen relationships with constituents (Ordeix-Rigo and Duarte 2009, 557). Focusing specifically on cultural projects, Rectanus (2002) points out that "corporate cultural political [activities are an] attempt to legitimize corporate interest in globalized societies – in cultural, social, economic, and political spheres – but in doing so they also expose their stake in institutional and communal discourses and values" (3). Thus, Palm (2013) points out that in recent years cultural corporate diplomacy has served powerful businesses (she provides an example of the Deutsche Bank), as a tool to create a "foundation of trust" through demonstrating companies' values and developing a unique way to reach out to young people, non-elites, and broader audiences with a much reduced language barrier (Palm 2013, 2).

The legitimacy of non-state actors, as La Porte summarizes, rests upon actors' power and ability "to prove that they represent the common values of the general public, linked with universal values in the case of global actions," to maintain a high level of transparency, participation, consensual decisions in the eyes of those who support them, and to demonstrate a high effectiveness in their activities (La Porte 2012, 8). These main principles of legitimacy are closely connected with the major **sources of influence** of a non-state player of diplomacy. Focusing on main sources of influence, Reinalda and Verbeek (2001) distinguish among four of the most important, such as non-state actors' **expertise**, **closeness to target groups**, **resources** and **alliance building**.

Expertise of non-state actors refers to more specialized professional knowledge on issues of global public concern and their efficiency in the implementation of transnational tasks which bring important changes to societies (Reinalda and Verbeek 2001, 150). Measuring non-states' legitimacy in terms of their *expertise* in addressing urgent social problems, Jora (2013) explains that in many ways non-state actors go beyond the reach and power of the states. They outperform certain nation states that are more unstable and unpredictable than major NGOs or transnational corporations with their powerful financial capabilities and solvency:

> They seem to be also more adapted to the globalization conditions being cause and effect of a post-national post-sovereign international system. They may be the pioneers of the future international system. The way they act or adapt instantly to the new realities, the solutions they found in various circumstances may be a laboratory for many open minded foreign offices around the world (Jora 2013, 36).

Exploring international NGOs, Mitchell (2014) emphasizes that developing specialized *expertise* in specific fields not only helps to build a strong reputation among international communities, but also directly influences the financial stability of organizations and gives them more freedom to select their donors. He defines organizational *expertise* in terms of specialization, which "occurs when an organization differentiates itself with a core competency in a specific programmatic area typically characterized by high […] demand and relatively low organizational supply" (Mitchell 2014, 82). Organizations adopting specialization usually establish well-recognized reputations and provide high quality services, bringing in return the organization's freedom to select their sponsors, be more autonomous from political influence and control, and even "to actively shape the preferences of their donors" (Mitchell 2014, 82).

This strategy is also closely linked to *resources* and *alliance building,* which are important sources of non-state actors' powers. As Reinalda and Verbeek (2001) indicate, *resource building* is based on attracting additional and diversified contributions to operational budgets of organizations from a wide range of private donors, governments, and international organizations. This allows them to leverage their organizational interests to stand across various actors and maintain their institutional authority against dependency or the influence of a single donor. Mitchell (2014) also understands *resource building* in terms of a diversified funding base, or securing "a high proportion of funds from a large number of private individuals," or other sponsors, to ensure a healthier balance from

influence of only one party and to keep the organization some distance from a close relationship with each of the donors (Mitchell 2014, 83).

Transnational corporations are likewise involved in building and mobilizing their resources, however these resources are measured not through financial support, as in the nonprofit world, but through cross-national *alliances* among themselves, as well as with political actors or international NGOs (Reinalda and Verbeek 2001, 151). Especially in developing cultural diplomacy projects, coupling with NGOs that have already developed strong *expertise* in cultural activities across borders allows both businesses and public charities to combine their resources (financial and public trust) to achieve mutually beneficial goals. Guittard (2014), in her article *The Global Five: Key Corporate Diplomacy Trends for 2014/2015,* emphasizes that "Tri-sector engagement, the bringing together of the public, private and NGO communities, to work together on joint corporate diplomacy efforts" helps to develop more robust initiatives that serve the collective interests of involved parties and produce long-term impacts and better influence targeted audiences. This "engagement" is based on cultivating and nurturing a relationship with local and international NGOs serving specific purposes within targeted communities (Guittard 2014).

The third sector of engagement is identified as general public, which in the language of Reinalda and Verbeek (2001) stands for *closeness to target groups,* as another *source of influence.* It is defined as building strong contacts and trustful relationships with a direct constituency, and is closely linked to issues of credibility. In their analysis of institutional credibility, many scholars point out that non-state actors demonstrate strong advantages over more official diplomats, because they usually establish much closer ties and connections with the public and thus can better serve the populations they claim to represent (Snow 2009; Melissen 2006; Kelley 2010; La Porte 2012). The "diplomatic" role of non-state actors "seem[s] to encounter less […] antagonism from their overseas counterparts" (Wang 2006). As Kelley also observes, non-state actors can leverage their legitimacy, because they are able to exploit their mobility, flexibility, and less centralized organizational structure (than those of governmental agencies) to better communicate with publics and establish strong relationships (Kelley 2010, 289). "The non-state actors are already ahead of the states in credibility precisely because they have a better understanding of the citizens' concerns and deal with them more effectively" (La Porte 2012, 10). Specifically, a dependence of non-state actors on the public support and on the social perception of their reputation push these players of

diplomacy to excel their strategies of communication, constantly improving their messages' quality nurturing credibility (La Porte 2012).

Focusing on the public perceptions of NGOs in international public and cultural diplomacy activities, Zatepilina (2008) argues that "most audiences overseas are suspicious of governments," and "NGOs enjoy more credibility among foreign publics," because they work directly with people outside of bureaucratic control and limitations (162). Furthermore, their freedom of speech within host countries is "being seen as truth worthy by local publics" (Zatepilina 2008, 163). As international relations increasingly operate through complex, multi-level and interdependent networks, "engaging with foreign civil societies is often best done by the nongovernmental agents of our own civil societies" Riordan (2006) stresses (191). Lee indicates that contemporary international diplomatic discourses are marked by the "creation of a new form of 'we' identity, that of 'the people' that is at the heart of many modern social imaginaries," which help to build credibility and trust (Lee 2002, 238). Jora also asserts that in order to be effective, cultural diplomacy should be based on "…achieving a sense of 'we.'" Facilitating the integration of communities in cultural diplomacy practices and establishing strong ties with societies helps to accumulate organizational power to be recognized actors of diplomacy (Jora 2013, 51).

In recent decades, the U.S. government recognized the power of NGOs' credibility in the eyes of foreign audiences and has enthusiastically promoted the concept of so-called "citizen diplomacy" or "backyard diplomacy," encouraging the nonprofit art sector to take the lead in cross-cultural outreach and to serve as a diplomatic force on behalf of the country (Wolf and Brian 2004). "The American people are some of our nation's best ambassadors" former American president George W. Bush stressed, "We must find ways to utilize their talents and skills more effectively… and we need more of our citizens involved in our public diplomacy" (U.S. Department of State Archive 2005). "Today's diverse diplomatic challenges […] cannot be accomplished from Washington. These objectives require frontline activity by skilled diplomatic professionals operating […] increasingly outside of embassies" (Argyros et al. 2007, 1). This government approach to cultural diplomacy through the public sector, on one hand, is rather instrumental. It aims to capitalize on citizens' ability to build trustful relationships with other countries, which can help the state to achieve national goals and objectives. On the other hand, it is a certain delegation of governmental power to the public sector, demonstrating that "informal diplomacy is becoming ever more

important than formalized institutions" (Vezirgiannidou 2013, 636). However, as scholars observe, the instrumental approach to, and "guardianship" of, citizen diplomacy significantly undermines the credibility of the relationship among actors and destroys the positive impact of cross-cultural contacts (Scott-Smith 2009, 52). As Jenkins confirms, cultural exchanges motivated by diplomacy transform these initiatives into a form of government propaganda (Jenkins 2009).

Within the context of American NGOs, government involvement in the cultural activities of organizations is rarely supported with enthusiasm and appreciation. In contrast, direct government support or control of cross-cultural exchanges implemented by community organizations have always raised a lot of concerns in society. For example, the above-mentioned Museum Connect Program, wherein American museums receive funds from the U.S. government through AAM for their cultural diplomacy activities, has always raised a lot of controversy and debate. When discussing Museums Connect on National Public Radio (NPR), Steve Inskeep, host of the "Morning Edition" and Elizabeth Blair, Senior Producer on NPR's Arts Desk, questioned whether American museums really "want to be used to promote foreign policy," building on "the Marshal Plan" (Blair 2007). Lee Rosenbaum, who writes for *The Wall Street Journal* and *The New York Times*, also emphasized: "cultural ties can assuredly improve relations between countries, but not when they are conceived as an instrument of political propaganda. AAM has done a dis-service to its members by signing up for this dubious government-curated enterprise" (Rosenbaum 2007). This public civil society discourse around governmental practices in cultural diplomacy not only reinforces the academic observation about the power of NGOs' credibility in international cultural relations, but also stresses that for a successful operation on the international arena, and to reach out to publics from other countries, nonprofits need to demonstrate strong institutional autonomy from their governments' control and incentives to serve national goals and objectives on the global scene.

In the corporate world, the credibility of a company refers to the extent to which consumers and other stakeholders believe in the company's trustworthiness, expertise, and likeability, elements which contribute to a corporation's whole image (Fombrun 1996) and influence a company's business success (Goldsmith et al. 2000). Prior research has established that the more credible a corporate brand, the higher the purchase intention toward the brand (Winters 1988). Thus, in comparison with nonprofit organizations that pursue public interests to serve their mission,

corporate social responsibility has an instrumental function to achieve economic ends, such as "preparing" transparent, appropriate, but mostly desirable environments and conditions for setting up effective businesses and enlarging markets (Lipschutz and Rowe 2005; Cutler 2008). Corporate diplomacy activities, when not supported by communities and the general public, decrease the level of the company's credibility in the eyes of a foreign constituency. Because corporate diplomacy significantly influences the brand's credibility, many corporations work under the claim that they are satisfying a general social demand, addressing the public needs and not only a market demand, and aligning their strategies and public image with the social values of the societies where they operate. In this way, corporate diplomacy aims to directly influence public space, shaping positive improvements in corporate labor, human rights, as well as in environmental practices, "opening up space for broader participation and the articulation of a variety of social concerns" (Kilbane 2008, 1).

Furthermore, corporate credibility as social power influencing consumers' brand perception might depend on the company's country of origin. For example, if foreign audiences perceive the country of origin as "negative" in terms of its international reputation and standing, then consumers have less favorable and positive attitudes toward the brand, resulting in lower trust in its corporate responsibility activities and lower purchase intention toward the products and services of this company (Li et al. 2011, 60). Kilbane (2008) conducted interviews with many American corporations' top managers that revealed that U.S.-based multinational corporations in their corporate responsibility and foreign public relation activities prefer to disassociate the company's image from the image of the USA, because in many cases association prevented the development of favorable public perceptions and relationships with constituents in foreign countries. Specifically, interviewees highlighted a perceived dichotomy between U.S. products, services and people, and U.S. foreign policy, which raises a lot of concern, frustration and irritation in the global community:

> Charles Merin (Managing Director–BKSH) thinks that "being an American company does not enhance your viability. It's either neutral, in some cases positive, in many cases it's negative. So for a multinational corporation where image matters—McDonald's, Coca-Cola, especially where you have an iconic American brand, I think that there is great awareness, there's great sensitivity" (Kilbane 2008, 30).

In many cases, transnational corporations act beyond their national determinism and adapt to various cultural environments in a global world. Considering that transnational businesses have quite geographically diverse sites of operations and markets, it is essential for global companies to create a public image which would appeal to larger international audiences, constituents, and consumers. This necessity to be accepted and understood in multiple contexts pushes corporations to adopt more *cosmopolitan* and transnational identities which shape their public relations campaigns and diplomatic efforts. "The point was put rather dramatically by Carl Gerstacker, Chairman of Dow Chemical, when he admitted to dreaming of buying a neutral island for Dow's headquarters, 'beholden to no nation or society'" (Nye 2004a, 163). Corporations need to align their short-term interests with different governments at different times, as well as secure their long-term interests following their own policies and agenda, which do not necessarily correlate with the interests of any particular state.

Within the framework of corporate responsibility studies, Ordeix-Rigo and Duarte (2009) also indicate that multinational corporations increasingly adopt diplomatic strategies which address global issues and problems; "some major corporations like IKEA and Leroy Merlin have decided to publicly commit themselves to the fulfilment of some of Kyoto Protocol aims" (Ordeix-Rigo and Duarte 2009, 558). The goal of adopting such transnational focus through corporate commitments is to demonstrate that their values are shared in a global environment, which makes the company more accepted or seen as more legitimate to pursue its business (Jablin and Putnam, 2001). As a result, some scholars point out that transnational corporations can become a source of transnational identities, a "withering away of the nation" (Hannerz 2002, 106).

As Nye (2004) argued, actors of diplomacy that are likely to be more attractive in postmodern international relations are those whose cultures and ideas are presented as more aligned to prevailing international norms, which reinforces the credibility of their actions. In this way, the credibility of non-state actors, both in the case of corporations as well as NGOs, rests not only on the accountability of the organization and its reputation in the eyes of the foreign public, but also on its ability to project cosmopolitan identity in a strong disassociation from the national government, its foreign policy objectives and agenda. Aligning these scholarly observations with the cosmopolitan paradigm of diplomacy, defined in the previous section, it is important to stress that non-state cultural diplomacy of transnational actors, both nonprofit and corporate, is based on

communicating strong cosmopolitan messages claiming to serve global audiences to address universal issues of public concern.

Summarizing findings presented in this section, it is important to give a working definition of a non-state actor of cultural diplomacy which will guide further analysis of the institutional structure, philosophy and activities of the main actors of cultural diplomacy in this thesis. A *non-state actor of cultural diplomacy is a non-governmental organization that is able to exercise powerful social or cultural influence at the national and international levels. It accumulates its influence in the international arena through foreign public support and appreciation of its activities, and gains sources of its influence through: 1) constant development of its expertise or reputation; 2) effective resource and alliance building with a diverse body of international constituents; and 3) nurturing its credibility through its autonomous standing outside of the direct control of a national government as well as through its strong transnational commitment to serve global publics.* Applying this framework to understand the nature of the institutional power and global authority of the Guggenheim in its diplomatic activities, this thesis contributes to the academic scholarship focused on researching non-state actors of diplomacy. Specifically, it fills the gaps in the literature within a narrow field of research on cultural diplomacy from the perspective of how non-state actors such as NGOs and transnational corporations are involved in processes of cultural exchanges.

Shifting the focus from the legal institutional framework to the organizational function, the next part of this chapter looks at key literature specifically exploring museums as important actors of cultural diplomacy.

2.3. Museums as actors of diplomacy

2.3.1. Museum diplomacy: From national projection to transnational/global narratives

Historically, museums have been important to cultural diplomacy, aiming to build cultural bridges across borders whether by developing cultural tourism or by organizing traveling exhibitions and international programming. "In Europe exporting individual collections of art, as a national policy, had been practiced between monarchs since the Renaissance" (Arndt 2005, 363). For example, since its founding, the British Museum in London has been an important diplomatic actor, following its mandate as set by parliamentarians in 1753: "To allow visitors to address through

objects, both ancient and more recent, questions of contemporary politics and international relations" (MacGregor 2004). Similarly, the Louvre Museum, founded in the century of the Enlightenment and the French Revolution, has been promoted by the French government as the "museum among museums"—a "model and a recognized authority" with a strong mission to "play a major role in cultural diplomacy" of France (Louvre 2012). As Bennett observes, museums have always fulfilled the function of "broadcasting the messages of power throughout society" (Bennett 1995, 61).

With the concept of the museum as an instrument for the democratic education of the "masses" or the "citizen" (Hooper-Greenhill 1989), museums are powerful forces that shape and define collective values and social perceptions in national and international contexts (Wallis 1994; Poulot 1997; Luke 2002). Specifically, museums constitute epistemic spaces of "representation" that do not only display objects but also display the ways in which objects relate to words, names, and concepts—systems of representation, which Foucault (2002) calls a discursive formation (Lord 2006, 10). Kratz argues that museums produce the value of culture and identity through multilayered communication directed toward audiences, with the visual and verbal means of exhibition design. The notion of "design" covers important features with strong political implications, because "color, form and meaning are charged with aesthetic-political idioms" (Kratz 2010, 22). Ferguson (1996) writes about constructions of meanings through a museum exhibition in the following way:

> …this is precisely what an exhibition is—a strategic system of representations. The system of an exhibition organizes its representations to best utilize everything, from its architecture which is always political, to its wall colorings which are always psychologically meaningful, to its labels which are always didactic (even, or especially, in their silence), to its artistic exclusion which are always powerfully ideological and structural in their limited admissions, to its lighting which is always dramatic…to its security systems which are always a form of social collateral guards and video surveillance, to its curatorial premises which are always professionally dogmatic, to its brochures and catalogues and videos which are always literary specific and pedagogically directional, to its aesthetics which are always historically specific to the site of presentation rather than to the individual art work's moment of production (178-179).

The narratological perspectives encoded in exhibitions and the discursive strategies employed by museum curators define the process of meaning-making that these strategies suggest to the audience (Bal 1996, 208). The power of museum influence upon audience perceptions can be compared to means of political rhetorical persuasion, which, according to Aristotle, is constituted in three important components of verbal influence, such as *pathos, logos,* and *ethos* (Aristotle 1991, 6). *Pathos*, which is described by Aristotle as the use of emotional appeals to evoke specific feelings in audiences, is operationalized in museum rhetoric through exhibition communication strategies that are designed to "invoke a range of experiences for visitors through creating cross-cultural links and resonances," involving personalization and internalization of values, identities, and attitudes (Kratz 201, 25). Aristotelian *logos*, which refers to the logical reasoning employed by speakers to prove truth, real or apparent, in a museum setting can be attested to in the ways "that evaluative meanings are produced through the multiple media and communicative resources combined in an exhibition" (Kratz 201, 25). The act of logical persuasion is experienced by visitors as they move through the predominant path of physical arrangements: "the viewer's decisions are aided and abetted through choices made by curators and affected by designers and lighting technicians," who work to develop a sense of persuasive perspective within the museum landscape which leads to certain conclusions and opinions (Roberts 1994; Thorne 2008).

Finally, *ethos*, which Aristotle views as the authoritative power or *credibility* of a rhetor, is one of the most forceful dimensions of museum rhetoric because museums are considered to be social institutions that provide the most credible public information (Goodnow et al. 2008). According to an AAM survey on public trust of various sources of information, "museums are the most trusted source of information, ahead of books and television news" (MacArthur 2010). On both levels, *ethos* and *logos*, much of the museum's logic and argumentation, as well as its authority as a truthful storyteller, is rooted in its collections, which create a convincing argumentation of "authenticity" (King, 2006). In many cases, historical artifacts as visual evidence that speak the "truth" of events provide "visual records that stabilize the transient nature of memory itself, which, not unlike reality, is subject to continued reconstruction" (Zelizer 1995, 233).

Thus, museums employ the rhetorical powers of their collections and exhibitions to construct national community, and to constitute and regulate citizens through a careful and ordered deployment of knowledge within institutionally controlled and publicly monitored spaces. They organize shows and design exhibit spaces that allow reinterpretation of the original meanings of

their cultural resources and contribute to the promotion of political discourses constituting national citizenry (Hooper-Greenhill 1989, 2010; Bennett 1995; Pearce 1995; Karp 1991; Luke 2002). As Bennett (1995) points out, museums have always been responsible for contributing to the formation of its citizens' national identity and have always played an important role in developing and sustaining a spirit of national belonging and patriotism (73). Kaplan (1996) also stresses the power of particular symbolic objects housed and promoted by museums to "stand for the nation" by articulating specific cultural significance and value within a national framework. By bringing together meaningful cultural objects and collections, museums are usually readily appropriated as "national expressions of identity" (Macdonald 2003, 3).

In the academic scholarship there are a number of fundamental works which, through case studies of museums from different countries and continents, examine museums as cultural institutions of national representation that communicate strong political messages through their exhibit displays and collection management (Tailor 1999). Examples include Janet Minihan's *The Nationalization of Culture* (1977), Nicholas Pearson's *The State and the Visual Arts* (1982), or *Civilizing Rituals: Inside Public Art Museums* by Carol Duncan (1995). *Art Apart: Art Institutions and Ideology Across England and North America,* an anthology by Marcia Pointon (1994), provides a rich collection of scholarly explorations of the major museums in England, the United States, and Canada that demonstrate the power of collections to speak for nations and illuminate various ways and techniques utilized by museums to frame and interpret artifacts as major rhetorical means of constructing a "nationhood." Among the most recent publications is *National Museums: New Studies from Around the World* (2011), which explores national museums in past decades across a range of contrasting national contexts from Finland, Sweden, Romania or Turkey, to Taiwan, China, Korea, Hong Kong or Colombia. These studies demonstrate how museums from different countries have been used to create a sense of national self and deal with various political and cultural challenges, such as "remaking" difficult pasts, reconstituting cultural minorities, or confronting issues of ethnicity and multiculturalism (Knell et al. 2011).

There is a separate stream of scholarship that not only looks at museum as a tool for constructing national citizenry, but explores museums as a diplomatic means of communicating national positions to the rest of the world. As Arndt (1995) argues, traveling exhibitions, cross-cultural museum loans and exchanges, as well as a diverse spectrum of international programs organized by museum curators and managers have always used the museum force of meaning production to

empower artifacts and collections to communicate political messages beyond national borders. A historical work by Digout (2006) exploring one of the largest European museums, The Hermitage Museum, argues that the Russian Emperor Nicholas I strategically used famous Hermitage exhibitions in the mid-nineteenth century to display and assert a greater role for emerging Russia in the European state system. Japanese scholar Akagawa (2014), in her exploration of post-World War II Japan, also demonstrates how national museums and their heritage conservation practices were deployed by the government as an important part of its cultural diplomacy, designed to increase its "soft" power both globally and within the Asian region. These activities aimed to mark the country's presence in the international arena by portraying it as a responsible global player, sending messages of good will toward and openness to cooperating with other countries.

Another example showcasing the power of museums and heritage to speak for the country in the international context is *Negotiating for the Past: Archaeology, Nationalism, and Diplomacy in the Middle East, 1919-1941* by Goode (2009), which focuses on the discovery of the tomb of Tutankhamun in 1922 celebrated by Egypt not only as the world's heritage but as a national treasure, inspiring the rise of nationalism in Middle East politics, archaeology, and diplomatic history. Goode's exploration of archaeological affairs and museum politics in Turkey, Egypt, Iran, and Iraq during this period provides important insights into the development of regional nationalistic movements. According to Goode, national practices of repatriation, preservation, and promotion of historical ethnographic collections not only helped the countries to evoke and celebrate national pride in their ancient past, but, more importantly, communicated strong messages of resistance challenging Western powers, exercising considerable influence over local governments and economies at that time (Goode 2009).

In the context of the USA, there are numerous publications focusing on American museums as national cultural institutions that have been particularly instrumental in exporting the "American way of life abroad" (Gienow-Hecht 2003, 270) during the historical epoch of the Cold War's ideological and cultural struggles against communism. "Congress extended the authorization for the international educational and cultural programs by passing the Smith-Mundt Act, The United States Information and Cultural Exchange Act of 1948, which pledged the U.S. government to conduct international information, education and cultural exchange activities on a worldwide scale" (Cummings 2003, 7). This was the first and the most notable time in the history of American public policy that artists and their work were generously and systematically funded for export

(Cockcroft 1985; Arndt 2005; Krenn 2005). Such authors as Jane de Hart Mathews (1976), Eva Cockcroft (1985), Annabell Shark (1997), Frank Ninkovich (1997), Stuart Hobbs (1997), Michael Krenn (2005), Richard Arndt (2005), and others have brilliantly documented in their seminal works how American museums—through covert funding provided by the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA)—have served "as a propaganda weapon in demonstrating the virtues of 'freedom of expression'" (Cockcroft 1985, 128) in Europe and beyond through their large exports of abstract expressionism.

Among publications focusing on more recent examples demonstrating the power of national museums to serve cultural diplomacy, there are several scholarly works which also demonstrate how museums in their international exchanges and collaborations contribute to their governments' foreign policy agenda by projecting their countries' cultural values and identities. For example, Wallis (1994) explores museum festivals "Mexico: A Work of Art," which consisted of more than 150 exhibitions, performances, and cultural events organized throughout the United States in the 1990s. According to his findings, these "nationalist exhibitions" served Mexico as a means to promote national culture in the international arena. Through the employment of "exoticizing" techniques and "spectacularizing the nationalist myth," these museum exhibits and performances presented an opportunity for nation branding by circulating cultural treasures in a "blatant, self-admitted form of propaganda" (Wallis 1994, 279).

Focusing on cross-cultural museum exchanges as an instrument of "soft power" and cultural diplomacy, Cai investigates French and Singaporean motives and outcomes in their cross-cultural collaborations (Cai 2013). This work demonstrates the Singaporean government's instrumental approach to national museums as cultural diplomacy, showing how they are used as a "political gateway to gain access to the renowned museums overseas" for achieving economic and societal objectives "of transforming Singapore into a Distinctive Global City for the Arts" (Cai 2013, 141). All these works document various examples, from different national contexts, illustrating how the *national projection* powers of museums' collections and exhibitions strongly contribute to the national governments' objectives in the global arena. However, in recent decades some scholarship has focused on exploring different cases, in which museums are portrayed as international powerful cultural institutions communicating messages beyond the narrow paradigm of national promotion.

Christine Sylvester (2009), with her foundational book *Art/museums: International relations where we least expect it*, has insightfully described the key roles of such internationally recognized museums as the British Museum, the National Gallery of London, the Museum of Iraq, the Museum of Modern Art (MoMA) in New York, the Getty museum, the Guggenheim museum, and others in international relations. In her book, each of the museums is presented and analyzed as a powerful "institution that is heavily political, often involved with or implicated in international relations, and savvy about power. It is an intricate, multivalent, internationally implicated / socially situated institution that seems to be growing in popularity and influence" (Sylvester 2009, 3). Her explorations of national history and the political standing of these institutions, specifically in such cases as the British Museum, a product of the British Empire's colonial history, or MoMA with its legendary involvement in Cold War diplomacy through its exporting of Abstract Expressionism abroad, confirm the findings from previous scholarship that stress strong links between national museums and official cultural diplomacy programs developed and exercised by governments.

However, more nuanced investigations of institutional policies, international practices, and the organizational ambitions of contemporary museums, specifically in such cases as the global Guggenheim with its franchise network of museums in different countries or the Getty museum which is "so wealthy it can conduct private art diplomacy" (Sylvester 2009, 2), bring to light important details which place museums outside of their national political frameworks. These cases start a conversation about the new level of museum diplomacy that transcends powers across countries and nations through the construction of more transnational and even global projections and narratives.

Within the framework of "transnational museology" (Mason 2013), there are several streams of literature which look at museums as products of global rather than local or national histories from completely different angles. One of the most developed streams of scholarship in this framework constitutes the body of works focused on exploring major international museums which, from their first days, were devoted to the preservation of ethnographic collections and artefacts from various cultures and civilizations. For example, there are a lot of studies on colonial histories of such major international museums as the British Museum, Louvre, the Metropolitan museum and others among 19 institutions from Europe and North America that identified themselves as "universal" through the 2002 "Declaration on the Importance and Value of Universal Museums." The Declaration stressed the important and unique role of these museums "in cultivating a better

comprehension of different civilizations and in promoting respect between them" (ICOM 2004), thus, elevating the status of the museums from national to global institutions with an authority to represent all cultures and civilizations.

For example, the anthology *The Museum Is Open: Towards a Transnational History of Museums 1750-1940,* edited by Meyer and Savoy (2014), explores museums in historical processes of transnational exchange. It provides many case studies of various "universal" museums and other smaller institutions with colonial backgrounds, illuminating their historical practices of material and intellectual acquisitions associated with objects collected from around the world. Within the museum collections, these artifacts from different civilizations, cultures and histories were "continually subjected to new […] meanings," assigning "encyclopedic" status to museums, promising to embrace the history of humanity in its cultural wealth and diversity (Meyer and Savoy 2014, 7). Other works, such as *Locating Transnational Ideals* (2013) or *Transnational Memory: Circulation, Articulation, Scales* (2014), also identify and explore the development of transnational narratives by contextualizing historical and contemporary understandings of cultural heritage, in which museums are understood as major institutions of memory production (Goebel and Schabio 2013; De Cesari and Rigney 2014).

Even though this scholarship is important for illuminating the historical roots of "transnational museology," it has little relevance to the main focus of this dissertation, which looks at new actors of cultural diplomacy such as the Guggenheim museum. These actors' global or transnational narratives, even though they embrace the diversity of collections and art works, are charged with different meanings and have quite different roots. The literature describing the peculiarities of global or transnational discourses within contemporary museums is, however, not very well developed, and there are still a number of questions to be addressed in future research. Among works providing initial insights into how museums construct narratives that transcend national boundaries under the pressures of increasing economic and cultural globalizations, there is a collection of studies entitled *Museum Frictions* (2006) that offers a series of analyses of museums and heritage practices in a diverse range of positions, places, and institutions. Identifying and exploring various transnational and globalizing processes shaped "by social, cultural, economic, and political flows created through systematic exchange and circulation" of people, goods, resources, information, ideas, and artefacts, the book explores museums from Africa, Australia, North and South America, Europe, and Asia to identify new roles that national and community

museums play in creating public cultures (Karp and Kratz 2006). Likewise, an anthology called *Constellations of the Transnational: Modernity, Culture, Critique* (2007), outlines multiple perspectives and different research directions in understanding of political and social impacts on the cultural sphere, such as the politics of difference in multicultural societies, diasporic inclusions, or cultural hybridity (Dasgupta and Peeren 2007).

Within this board framework of "transactional" museology, there are studies of multiculturalism and its impacts on museums which in the 21st century increasingly transform into spaces of intercultural communications projecting transnational identities. For example, Schamberger et al. (2007) explore transnational narratives in the context of the National Museum of Australia. The authors argue that, through the development of exhibits which embrace stories, flows of ideas, artefacts, and memories from different corners of the global community, the museum communicates transnational narratives nurturing understanding of the history and identity of Australians going beyond national borders (Schamberger et al. 2007). Also, there are some scholarly works that look at political supranational formations, such as the European Union, that bring important transformations into the ways museums position themselves within their neighbour communities (Mason 2012). *Exhibiting Europe in Museums: Transnational Networks, Collections, Narratives, and Representations* (2014), based on research of nearly 100 museums and interviews with cultural policy makers and museum curators, discusses complex processes of Europeanization and globalization which urge museums to wider cross-border cooperation leading to the development of new ways of telling stories to increasingly international audiences. These processes, as the group of researchers reveal, make museum narratives more transnational, reflecting various issues of European integration, giving insights into multiple migration experiences and challenges, and developing a framework for understanding a shared history (Kaiser et al. 2014).

Finally, there is research focusing on transnational narratives developed by contemporary museums as a means to connect their local and national contexts and histories to global agendas. For example, Daugbjerg (2009), based on his doctoral ethnographic research of heritage practices in Danish sites and museums, reveals and analyzes various attempts by museums "at toning down or even erasing formerly dominant ethno-nationalist readings" of historical events in order to expose "transnational" complexities of wars, struggles, interactions, and interdependences among ancestors composed of many national groups. According to the Daugbjerg findings, even though

these new developments in Danish museums elevate and promote "transnational" discourses, eventually, they still communicate "certain claims to national (Danish) superiority, which point to the difficulties faced by contemporary museums 'caught up' between national and global" realities (Daugbjerg 2009, 1).

All these scholarly works are important contributions to explain new movements and ways in which museums confront various challenges of multiculturalism, transnational migrations, inclusion of diaspora and minority cultures in the practices of representation, as well as increasing globalization and the development of new international audiences. Nevertheless, there is not enough of this scholarship to provide a comprehensive framework that could explain the nuances of the Guggenheim's global aspirations and the narratives guiding its constant international expansion and programming across the world. This thesis starts a conversation on transnational museum narratives that have different roots, ways of articulation within a museum communication system, as well as implications for global audiences. Specifically, it looks at construction of these global, transnational narratives from the perspective of the *cosmopolitan* dimension of cultural diplomacy. Looking at the Guggenheim as a non-state actor in the international arena, this thesis applies such major characteristics of cosmopolitan diplomacy as *communicating global rather than national identity*, *promoting transnational commitments*, and *acknowledging cultural diversity through international outreach and inclusion,* to explain transnational museum narratives. These narratives are quite different to the ones, described above, that address the political, social and cultural challenges of colonial histories (Meyer and Savoy 2014), migrations and diasporic inclusion (Schamberger et al. 2007), supranational formations (Kaiser et al. 2014) or national promotion through cosmopolitan rhetoric (Daugbjerg 2009). In this way, this thesis advances the scholarship on "transnational museology" with the development of a new trajectory which looks at museums not as national institutions challenged by the problems of globalizations, but as increasingly transnational entities operating in the international environment and claiming to serve global audiences.

Because cosmopolitan museum diplomacy is based on transnational activities not only on the level of collection circulation across countries or their presentation for global audiences, but also on other levels of museum operations and management, such questions as economic stability and prosperity in the international environment are significant for leveraging institutional *sources of power* as a non-state actor of diplomacy. This dimension urges identification and exploration of

further economic conditions of the global reality which pushes contemporary museums to diversify their funding sources and constituency beyond traditional public support from their national communities. The next section looks further at scholarship which focuses on important transformations in contemporary museology from an economic angle and explores such processes in the world of museums as "corporatization," "commercialization," and "global expansion."

2.3.2. Museums in the global economic environment: The "market-economy" model

Focusing on global transformations within national political and cultural climates that lead to shifts in sources of cultural support from the public to private sector, many scholars indicate that governments of different countries have been steadily reducing their funding for national cultural institutions, including museums (Matarasso and Landry 1999; Zimmer and Toepler 1999; Craik 2007). Due to various financial challenges, global economic crises, poor development of some economies, as well as priority shifts in support of other causes in more needy sectors, many governments needed to "cut subsidies to museums […] Although museums would do well to band together to lobby their governments to continue funding, such cuts are nevertheless inevitable to some extent" (Alexander 1999, 34). Many scholars identified the processes of hybridization between public and private museum funding leading to the increasing involvement of the private sector in the fundraising and management of museums (Schuster 1998; Martel 2006).

Alexander (1999) observes that since the end of the 20th century many museums, especially in the USA, increasingly began to hire new kinds of staff, including fundraisers, accountants, marketing managers and others with specialties outside of art or culture, thus shifting "attention to development, fund-raising and revenue generation" (31). In recent decades under the conditions of growing government funding cuts, many museums around the world, Vivant (2011) argues, are urged to seek funding through a multitude of sources and have increasingly started to appoint "executives with a management background instead of an art history" background (101). Mintz (1994) also observes a significant shift in the organizational culture of museums: "the modern museum director is less of a scholar and more of an entrepreneur," with a "drive to attract a mass public through […] promotional and marketing methods" (34).

These new museum managers bring a "corporate culture" to their organizations, leading to the integration of business strategies in museum operations, where "accountability," "assessment,"

"marketing" and "sales" lead to the adoption of the "market economy" model (Vivant 2011, 101). In his seminal work *Culture and the Public Sphere*, cultural theorist Jim McGuigan (1996), referring to the cultural politics of Western economies, notes that the emergence of "managerialist" and marketing reasoning in the sphere of public culture and arts had profound effects on the development of the cultural sector in many countries. As a result, museums increasingly redefined their structures, because their survival in the national and especially international context depended "on their ability to compete, locally, nationally, and globally, for sponsorship and also for audiences" (Fraser 2006, 150). They became increasingly dependent on global art market demands, trends, and management models of operation under the conditions of global liberalization. Specifically, there are several important museum management developments that constitute the key component of the "market-economy" model employed by contemporary museums, including ***management of museum assets***, ***commercial practices of museums***, ***brand management*** and global expansion through ***franchising**,* as well as ***corporate partnerships and sponsorships***.

Corporate partnerships and sponsorships is an important component of effective "market-economy" strategies developed by museums to meet financial challenges in the 21st century and diversify their sources of funding. Within the United States, corporate expenditures for cultural programming have long been institutionalized within the cultural marketplace. Alexander (1996) indicates that in the USA since the 1960s, corporations have been sponsoring museums exhibitions and other activities (213) to promote their "good corporate citizenship," attract consumers to their products, and promote their brands (Genoways and Ireland 2003, 128). "The magnitude of this support is illustrated rather dramatically by Intel Corporation's sponsorship of *The American Century: Art and Culture* at the Whitney Museum of American Art in 1998," which was the largest-ever funded art museum exhibition at that time and constituted $6 million (Rectanus 2002, 10). In the European context, in recent decades museums also opened doors to corporate sponsorship of the arts recognizing benefits in "cost-sharing with major exhibitions" and improving collections and programming with new sources of funding (Riding 2004). For example, the opening of the Sackler Wing of Oriental Antiquities at the Louvre "is a striking illustration of the sponsorship drive considered to be part-and-parcel of cultural management at the approach of the third millennium" (Oliver 1999, 24) The chief curator of heritage at the Paris Museum of

Modern Art also announced that the museum had started strong cooperation with the private sector to ensure the quality of their programming and visitors' services (Oliver 1999, 24).

Corporate sponsorship can come in any forms, depending on the nature of cooperation and agreement between a museum and its sponsor. For example, "Dallas Museum of Art created a fifty thousand dollar quarterly or semiannual sponsorship that allowed donating corporations to display their logos and use museum facilities during the period. AT&T set aside a half-million-dollar fund to grant to museums for the specific purposes of presenting and acquiring contemporary art" (Genoways and Ireland 2003, 129). Even though these sponsorships are mutually beneficial, many scholars stress that they significantly influence museums' programming, exhibits, and public image (Alexander 1996, Oliver 1999, Rectanus 2002, Dilevko and Gottlieb 2004). For example, "in order to meet sponsors' expectations, museums gravitate toward exhibition[s] that guarantee to be popular," while the direct interests of a corporation in targeting particular audiences may have an impact upon important decisions to be made by the curators and museum managers in how they frame, market and present their exhibitions and collections to their public (Dilevko and Gottlieb 2004, 31).

In his research on American and German museum partnerships with large transnational corporations, Rectanus (2002) observes that if museums "are dependent upon some form of sponsorship for even a third of their funding for exhibitions, then it is a source they can scarcely forgo" (10). This dependency on the sponsorship funds eventually transforms how a museum positions itself, as well as reinforcing its "corporate strategies," aiming to profit not only from sponsorship money, but also from higher levels of visibility: "The advantage of 'corporate partners' is that they are already 'wired in' to the promotional media and can mobilize their own (global) communication channels. In fact, a positive 'image transfer' is precisely the point of the sponsorship, for the corporation and for the cultural institution" (Rectanus 2002, 10). Concluding his research on the relationship between museums and corporations, Rectanus (2002) reveals "a convergence of interest between market-oriented cultural production and nonprofit or public institutions" which make museums assume some of the functions of corporations while pushing corporations to appropriate some of the museum's functions, for example mediating cultural or technological artifacts and experiences (175). This integration of cultural politics into marketplaces of cultural events and experiences redefine the management strategies of museums,

which now increasingly adopt corporate strategies for effective operation and development in the global arena.

One of the examples of this "corporate" museum management is a new collection management strategy. Museum collections have traditionally formed the core of museum's mission and activities, which are defined by the International Council of Museums (ICOM) as "acquir[ing], conserv[ing], research[ing], communicat[ing] and exhibit[ing] the tangible and intangible heritage of humanity" (ICOM 2007). However, with the adoption of "market economy" strategies within contemporary museum practices, collections have acquired new meanings and values on the global art markets and have started to be understood as the main *museum assets* that can be managed by organizations as liquid funds:

> This bizarre Gestalt-switch from regarding the collection as a form of cultural patrimony or as specific and irreplaceable embodiments of cultural knowledge to one of eying the collection's contents as so much capital, as stocks or assets whose value is one of pure exchange and thus only truly realized when they are put in circulation (Krauss1990, 5).

Krauss further points out that understanding museums' collections in terms of *assets* that can be sold, traded, rented or loaned significantly changes the notion of the museum "as a guardian of the public patrimony" to "a corporate entity with a highly marketable inventory and the desire for growth" (Krauss 1990, 4). The new collection management practices includes two important activities: collection *deaccessioning*, which refers to selling or trading objects from a museum collection (Feldstein 2009); and collection *leveraging*, or "moving it into the credit sector, or the circulation of capital" as loans or exchanges to other museums in the form of "objects that can be cheaply and efficiently entered into circulation" (Krauss 1990, 15).

For example, in 1989 the Guggenheim sold paintings by Chagall, Kandinsky and Modigliani, bringing $47 million into the museum budget and saving it from deficiency and numerous financial problems the museum experienced at that time (Kimmelman 1999, 53). In 2003, the Metropolitan Museum of Art earned $39 million from its house-managed retail operations: "its rug department alone seems a cross between a smart Fifth Avenue shop and a market in Dubai" (Sylvester 2009, 2). As for circulating or renting collections, in 1991 the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston signed an agreement with new Japanese museums planned for the city of Nagoya to share its extensive collections to "develop both long term and temporary exhibitions," as well as to "make its expertise

available in all areas of the new museum's operations" (Heilbrun 2010, 73). Furthermore, major art institutions like the Getty and the Metropolitan Museum of Art have established practices of regularly lending their collections to cultural organizations in foreign countries, sometimes even "violating local cultural-heritage laws in their acquisitions" (Sylvester 2009, 2).

Even though selling and renting works of art from the permanent collections are more common in the USA than in Europe or Asia, where the major museums are governmental institutions in public authority (Merryman et al. 2007), in recent decades the largest museums of Europe followed the "innovative" practices and started to experiment with their collections. Thus, researching European museums management changes and innovations, a group of scholars found out the Dutch museums following new cultural policies adopted in the 1990s to promote the mobility of national collections have actively started museum collection exchanges and loans and even pioneered museums' objects sales (Kaiser et al. 2014, 97). "France also was inspired by the export of cultural heritage and began renting its national collections as well": in 2006 the Louvre loaned works from its collections, for a three-year period in exchange for 13 million euros, to the High Museum of Art in Atlanta, Georgia, and in 2007 it signed a contract for a long-term loan of artwork for the next 30 years to be presented in the United Arab Emirates metropolis Abu Dhabi (Fabelová 2010, 55).

Even through deaccessioning of collections always raises a lot of concerns and controversies in the professional museum community, a group of scholars reveal that these practices do occur and are usually performed not only with the purpose of renewing collections and acquiring new works, but also for increasing museum revenues or "covering operating budget short-falls" (McCarthy et al. 2005, 81). Furthermore, some authors point out that serving the public interests and making museum experiences more enjoyable is a part of a contemporary museum mission, which requires strategic management of collections including making important decisions on deaccessioning (Stebbins 2009), "specialization" of collections (Feldstein 2009), and enhancing "in-depth" presentation of the most important objects, rather than preservation of various copies and less important artefacts about which "the public does not really care" (Feldstein 2009). Cantor (2009) also advocated for improving the circulation and liquidity of museum collections as main assets, because under the conditions of growing globalization, museums can only benefit from a constant renewal of their acquisitions, which always attracts new and returning visitors.

As Rectanus (2002) confirms, "Obviously, major museum collections represent a considerable cultural commodity that can be circulated to expand the image of the museum and to facilitate its own growth" (180). Especially in conditions of limited exhibition spaces, as "many museums keep up to 80 percent of their collections in storage rather than on display" (McCarthy et al. 2005, 81), domestic and international expansion through collection circulation and strategic management "maximizes the economic return" and adds value to their collections (Rectanus 2002, 180).

Another important innovative practice related to collection management as a strategic use of museum *assets* is the organizing of so called "blockbuster" exhibitions. The concept and strategy of this type of exhibition was developed by Thomas Hoving, director of the Metropolitan Museum in the 1970s, with the first blockbuster, *The Treasures of Tutankhamun* (1972–1981). The exhibition was organized in cooperation with the British Museum and toured across the United Kingdom and the United States (Rectaus 2011, 378). In the last 30 years, as Heilbrun (2010) observes, museum "blockbusters" have grown in frequency, scope, international outreach and importance (74). Usually these are "loan exhibits" consisting of works borrowed from other museums or from private collectors, with expenses spread among participating museums. They are advertised as "featured attractions" because they bring together artefacts from various collections, sometimes from museums which are situated quite far from each other, thus appealing to people as a unique opportunity to visit many museums at once and to enjoy a "lasting aesthetic impression" while saving on traveling costs (Heilbrun 2010, 74). Albert Elsen described a museum blockbuster as "a large-scale exhibition which people who don't normally go to museums will stand in line for hours to see" (Chong 2000a, 227).

The economic return from organizing these blockbusters is quite high. First, because the tickets for these exhibitions are more expensive than regular tickets (if charged), and second, because "participation fees" collected from all the museums and exhibitory spaces on the tour bring profitable revenues to organizing museums. For example, "the Whitney Museum of American Art in New York City reports that revenue from its traveling exhibitions totaled $681,658 in 1989 and $232,893 in 1990" (Heilbrun 2010,75). Finally, they significantly increase museum name recognition, which also brings long-term economic impacts (Heilbrun 2010, 75).

Furthermore, contemporary museums around the world actively engage in *commercial practices*, which bring additional sources of income to the budget, but at the same time make the cultural

institutions more dependent on market demands. Major changes brought about by cultural and economic globalization, such as the development of cultural tourism leading to the increasing global mobility of artists, as well as the internationalization of museum visitors, have directed museums to take on business roles, striving to attract and provide more enriching experiences for their cultural consumers (Alexander 1999, 34). Confirming these transformations, McLaughlin (1997) points out that the new museology is a result of the "convergence of museums, the heritage industry, and tourism, profit-making and pleasure-giving." This convergence is grounded in expanding museum activities and services to attract visitors and tourists which also significantly contributes to museums' budgets. First of all, these income-generating activities include opening museum bookstores, boutiques, and shops, which encourage the cultural consumption and consumer logic of customers' behavior. Andy Warhol once remarked, "All department stores will become museums and all museums will become department stores" (Gomez 2002, 43). As proof of this prophecy, Sylvester observes: "international political economy enables large art museums to become international bazaars that sell ersatz art as neckties, scarves, jewelry, mugs, dinnerware, and vases" (Sylvester 2009, 2). Alexander (1999) also points out:

> More recently, museums have moved beyond mere postcards, posters, T-shirts, and books to such endeavors as selling by mail order, setting up satellite shops in distant cities, and licensing designs and images for upscale clothing, jewelry, wallpaper, and fabrics. These ventures can be quite lucrative. The Metropolitan Museum, perhaps the world's most successful in commercial terms, earned nearly $9 million through its auxiliary activities in 1997 (31).

Some scholars stress that contemporary museums established a strong tradition based on consumer psychology, according to which museums organize their spaces for the purpose of selling products, services, and experiences. More importantly, these venues can be recognized not only as a source of museum revenue, "but also as a defining factor in the public's museum going experience" (Toepler and Kirchberg 2006). As Alexander (1999) observes, commercial ventures are first of all appreciated and enjoyed by a museum visitor, "a leisured bonhomme" (Davis 1990, 20), who values an opportunity "to stop for a snack, take home a souvenir and borrow a touch of class for decorating their bodies and homes" (31). The director of the Barbican Centre in London, John Tusa, once said: "Gone are the days when viewers went to galleries, audiences attended concerts or the theatre; they [are] all consumers" (Chong 2000a, 227).

Responding to the public, who have established strong expectations of what museums can offer to regular visitors, expands the traditional role of museums from that of a cultural institution of heritage preservation to a public space for leisure and consumption (Rectaus 2011, 385). Analyzing these changes in social roles and missions of museums, Rectaus (2002) explains that museums have transformed into "multiple-use cultural centers." He identifies three of the most important factors of an enriching museum experience for such "cultural centers," including a *museum location* within the urban space as a privileged site, *internal spatial experiences*, and *social interactive activities* (Rectanus 2002, 172). Rectanus (2002) clarifies that this formula allows museums to join other cultural centers, offering not only education, but also entertainment. What the public desires, Mintz suggests (1994), is a combination of both education and entertainment. By serving contemporary public demands and providing leisure opportunities, museums "reaffirm their social legitimacy" and at the same time ensure their financial stability (175).

An important component of an attractive museum venue which invites large audiences and brings profits is the very design of the space and the presence of a "signature" architecture, which has become a key attribute of a contemporary museum (Conn 2010, 230). "Whereas museums have always been identified with their collections–the Louvre is the Mona Lisa, MoMA [New York] is Les Desmoiselles d'Avignon–the new museum is identified with its architecture: the dominant image is the container rather than the contents" (Newhouse 1998, 260). That the building of the Guggenheim museum in New York, designed by Frank Lloyd Wright, "has become as famous as the art collection it was designed to display" (Guggenheim 2013), represents the first classical example of the architecture of the "institution that has reconceived […] the relationship between institution and public, locating itself on the cutting edge of where the museum meets commerce" (Conn 2010, 229). Sylvester (2009) observes that many world-recognized institutions have invested in ambitious architectural projects which aimed to attract publics through unusual and appealing designs, such as the glass pyramid at the Louvre, the Sainsbury Wing of the National Gallery in London or the new additions to the Royal Ontario Museum in Toronto. The Museum of Modern Art invested $650 million for its expansion, "having taken over and demolished the entire Dorset Hotel on West 54th Street" (Loughery 2001, 632). Some other examples include the Boilerhouse Yard extension of the Victoria and Albert Museum in London or the Tate Gallery's Bankside project, researched by Chong (2000). "Piano, Pei, Ando, Nouvel, Hadid, Herzog and Gehry are part of the prestigious and select group of museum architects," who became world

renowned for their revolutionary and experimental museum designs, bringing large crowds of visitors to the door of their museums (Vivant 2011, 101).

Analyzing these examples, Loughery (2001) concludes, "art is fragile, architecture is not" (636). He argues the architecture of contemporary museums needs to be "strong, confident, even sexy" because in the modern consumerist society it has much more weight and value. While collections are important and do attract museum visitors, architectural experiences bring larger and more diverse audiences to the door, especially those museum goers who are not necessarily interested in art (Loughery 2001, 636). In some cases, as Filler (1991) confirms, the act of experiencing the architecture takes the first priority among other pleasures, while "the works of art on view […] have been given much less attention in many of the most publicized new museums of the past two decades" (14). According to his observations, many visitors of the Pompidou Center in Paris "simply come to view the city from the top of the building and depart without setting foot in a gallery" (Filler 1991, 14). As Conn (2010) also explains, museums are understood and perceived by contemporary visitors as urban spaces bringing people together, where they can enjoy walking, interacting with others, spending time, and experiencing the environment (232).

Furthermore, varieties and configurations of spaces allow museums to organize more activities of leisure: "theatres, galleries, cafeteria[s], courts and elegant fountains all attract energetic and admiring visitors. These spaces and elements of the physical setting enable people to be pleasantly surprised, encourage visitors to esteem, cherish, sit and relax" (Awoniyi 2007, 303). To amplify these experiences, contemporary museums, apart from having exhibitory spaces and galleries "which only occupy a fraction of the total area," accommodate various additional spaces, such as auditoria, lecture rooms, lobbies, restaurants, and various spacious halls "for unrelated social occasions such as banquets, galas and other public performances" (Awoniyi 2007, 305). These income-generating venues constitute the second element of an attractive "cultural center" or a contemporary museum, such as providing *social interactive experiences* to visitors.

Movies, live music, cultural events, and after-work cocktails in day-to-day programming of museums ensure a constant and regular flow and circulation of visitors and increases earned income (Conn 2010, 232). For example, the Pompidou Center is designed to house not only the National Museum of Modern Art, but also a public library, music center, cinemas, restaurants and cafes which usually stay open late and are always filled with "life, food, and drink" (Davis 1990,

41). The Louvre Pyramid, a large glass in the main courtyard of the Louvre Palace in Paris, not only serves as the main entrance to the museum, but opens the way to the underground shopping gallery which includes boutiques and fast-food restaurants that constantly attract the public (Filler 1991). As architect Pei noted regarding the commercial entities he integrated in the new design of the Louvre, rental revenue generated from those commercial enterprises covered the costs of building the museum's underground garage (Awoniyi 2007, 305). Reflecting on the benefits of these cultural economics, former French Minister of Culture Jack Lang stressed, "museums must offer cinemas, auditoriums, pleasant restaurants, rest areas, bookstores, boutiques, and gardens. Simply put, the museum must be receptive to the spirit and flesh of human beings" (Davis 1990, 7).

As Frey (1998) confirms, these purely commercial venues and practices transform a museum space into an infrastructural site serving public needs and demands (121). According to his analysis, museums are commercialized in two respects: first, they increasingly get involved in direct income-generating activities which benefit them in the first place; and second, they constitute an important part of larger urban complexes and infrastructures which contribute to cities' cultural economies in terms of developing creative industries and tourism (Frey 1998, 121). This integration of museums into public spaces in a strong relationship with other enterprises of public entertainment and global tourism defines a third component in the formula of an attractive "cultural center," such as the very place and *location of the museum.* Many scholars observe that a museum location significantly influences the ability of a contemporary museum to attract audiences, because amenities built for public needs bring larger crowds to the museum door (Rectaus 2002; Awoniyi 2007, 304). For example, opened in the late 1970s, the Centre Georges Pompidou in Paris benefits from a plaza in front of the museum that always provides a convenient public space in the city center where "hundreds of fellow citizens [are] strolling, chatting, or watching dozens of wandering dancers and musicians who fill the air with the music of drums, banjos, trumpets, and more" (Davis 1990, 38). Davis points out that such a design of the museum within the urban space of the city ensures its constant popularity among visitors and tourists. Other examples, provided by Davis (1990), include the Dallas Museum of Fine Arts, built in the heart of the city and surrounded by theaters, concert halls, and other smaller museums, or the Center for the Fine Arts in Miami, strategically placed as "an air-conditioned mecca in the midst of small shops [and] stores" (Davis 1990, 69).

A strategic location for a contemporary museum that allows visitors to enjoy different offerings, according to Vivant (2011), helps the museum to compete with other entertainment industries and cultural institutions in the city for the highest number of visitors and tourists (101). As Mintz (1994) also points out, museums increasingly compete for the public's recreation time, among other things. The main priority for many museum visitors and especially tourists, as Johanson and Olsen (2010) argue, is enjoying the "vacation within the framework of a limited time span in which distinct commodities are experienced" (1). In a fast-paced urban environment with a limited amount of time reserved for traveling, entertainment, and leisure, museums integrated in larger infrastructures with a wide range of public services benefit from their placements and win the market competition (Mintz 1994).

As a result, many museum scholars indicate, core traditional museum functions such as preservation, conservation, and research of art collections become less important than providing satisfactory experiences for mass visitors who bring money to the budget (Frey 1998, 120). In this way, according to McGuigan (1996), the boundaries between entertainment industries, theme parks and museums are blurring and the social objectives of museums that are being prioritized are those that attract public capital (McGuigan 1996). James Wood, the Director of the Art Institute of Chicago, also regretfully reveals that the new financial pressures of the 21st century have led museums to shift from "nourishment to gratification, from teaching and expertise to entertainment and celebrity, from memory to manipulation, from conservation to consumption" (Wood 2004, 126). Within these important transformations in the main modes of productions, museums have acquired stronger characteristics in line with cultural entertainment industries and for-profit corporations which increasingly urge them to act as businesses providing specific types of services to their customers (Rentschler and Gilmore 2002; Mejón et al. 2004). As Harrison and Shaw (2002) also point out, "customer loyalty," "satisfaction," or "purchase rate" have become important terms in the museum management field, intended as service management.

Other important evidence confirming this shift in museum culture from heritage and conservation institutions to for-profit entities is "the fierce competition in the arts context" that "pushes museums towards a careful brand management" (Cirrincione and Pace 2005). A strong and well recognized brand is a necessity for modern museums, Cirrincione and Pace (2005) argue, stressing that museum experiences begin before entering the facility. "Brand," as a marketing concept, has been adopted by contemporary museums to construct and promote their distinctive identities as

cultural institutions on the cultural market (Colbert, 1997; McLean 1997). "The essence of a successful brand is its high level of name awareness and the positive associations which attach to the name and are called to mind by the name" (Caldwell 2000, 29). Within a museum context, the aim of branding is to "add symbolic value to a functional value by creating a narrative discourse on a product" (Vivant 2011, 101). Drawing on the marketing literature on brand equity, Caldwell (2000) proposes to measure a *museum brand* in terms of visitor satisfaction, name awareness, perceived quality, brand associations and proprietary assets.

Visitor satisfaction refers to a museum ability to attract and keep a high percentage of audiences, which depends on such activities as identifying and targeting relevant segments of the population, as well as delivering satisfactory experiences. One of the indicators of the visitors' satisfaction can be statistics of museum membership, which demonstrates the number of people who not only regularly visit the museum, but who also support its activities with annual contributions (Caldwell 2000, 32). Brand awareness strongly depends on marketing activities by means of advertising, mass media promotion, or through word of mouth. That is why many museums around the world are investing a lot of resources and time to develop stronger and more competitive brands (Caldwell 2000, 32). Within the marketing literature it is argued that advertising and promotion of brands influence the perceived quality of products, which is slowly built up but takes a long time to erode. Caldwell (2000) defines the perceived quality of museum experiences by the customer's perception of the overall quality of their time spent within the museum walls which include not only satisfaction from viewing collections and tours, but also pleasures received through other activities including shopping, eating, resting and engaging in various entertainment happenings.

Exploring further the marketing terminology in the museum context, Caldwell (2000) indicates that a museum brand association is the key memory of the visitors' experiences within the museum spaces which constitute strong associations with the museum (33). For example, McCormick (1999) identifies two major types of museum brand associations: a "subject" brand, which is usually associated with the museum's famous collection, and a "destination" brand, making the museum popular by virtue of its location. As Vivant indicates, strong museum brands of the 21st century usually are based not only on the collections' associations, but provide links to "the local community, history, architectural feature or place itself" (Vivant 2011, 101). For example, the Victoria and Albert Museum (V&A) brands itself first of all as a social venue where it is convenient, but mostly enjoyable, to have a business lunch or a first date. Large internationally-

known museums employ the fame of their blockbuster exhibitions programming or widely-recognized design and architecture to boost their brands (Vivant 2011, 101).

Museum collections and location, as Caldwell (2000) explains, also constitute another important measure of brand equity known as brand assets or proprietary assets, which significantly affect the value of a brand and are accounted for in detailing a composite picture of a museum brand (34). For example, in their research of museum brands, Cirrincione and Pace (2005) find that an effective and strong museum brand influences not only the selection of the museum by audiences, but also impacts the perception of artworks within museums: "perceiving a painting is an overall experience that occurs into the imagination. This 'imaginative experience' blends together the represented object and the museum attributes" (Cirrincione and Pace 2005).

One of the most effective strategies for reinforcing the museum's brand on the global scene, according to Vivant (2011), is opening museum branches or *franchises* in various geographic locations which offer more opportunities for museum recognition across wide and diverse audiences (102). Many scholars observe that museum franchising is "the culmination of global changes in the management of museums," leading to a more "entrepreneurial" style of operations within the professional museum community (Werner 2005; Wu 2002). In the business world, franchising is known as a method of organization that combines large and small businesses into a single administrative unit. It is a contract-based practice of granting the right to use the company brand name and utilize a well-developed business model in different places to distribute goods or sell services in new markets (Dicke 1992, 2). The franchise model was effectively adopted by some contemporary museums which have started to build their branches in different countries. These museum franchises are owned by local authorities, however, they use the museum name brand and operate under a single management model which in most cases centralizes curatorial control of collections and the circulation of exhibitions circulations within the museum chain (Fabelová 2010; Vivant 2011). Opening such branches in various cities and countries significantly contributes to building more economically effective models of collection management, as collections can be loaned and circulated across franchises in an easier and more organized manner: "The franchise plan does help to overcome the misallocation of resources which […] is implied by large, underplayed reserves of art" (Heilbrun 2010, 73). Museum franchising also provides opportunities for trading "curatorial services" to their branches, thus, generating income through "sharing" the museum's cultural expertise (Heilbrun 2010).

The Guggenheim Museum's international expansion after 1990 most vividly represents this paradigm of a new corporate logic of a museum franchise through its "worldwide network of museums and cultural partnerships" with the main museum in New York (1939), and branches in Venice (1951), Bilbao (1997), Berlin (1997-2013), as well as future planned franchises in Abu Dhabi (2015) and Helsinki (2017). No matter who owns a "Guggenheim" museum, or the collection it exhibits, the New York-based Foundation controls the curatorial events, programming, and marketing activities of all the museums carrying this brand (Mathur 2005, 670). The Guggenheim franchise network is examined in greater detail later in the thesis, but here it is important to stress that the Guggenheim was the first to implement this new corporate strategy, which led to the development of the museum franchise trend later continued by other well recognized museums. "Indeed, the establishment of the Guggenheim Foundation in Bilbao (1997) has prompted a number of similar projects in other European cities hit by the decline of their traditional industries" (Baudelle 2015, 1478).

The most important examples include the Tate Britain Gallery, which in 1988 opened its first branches in Liverpool and Cornwall (Sylvester 2009). In 2007, the "historically conservative" Louvre and the Pompidou museums also announced their plans to open branches in other cities within France and abroad (Clair 2007; Vivant 2011). Thus, the Louvre opened a branch museum in Lens, a former coal-mining city (Baudelle 2015). The Centre Pompidou-Metz is another example of extending a museum brand by opening a "sister-institution" which draws on the spirit of the Pompidou museum, relying on its know-how and notoriety, and shares the largest collection in Europe of modern and contemporary art (Baudelle 2015). As for franchises abroad, there is a famous Louvre Abu Dhabi project planned to cover 24,000 square meters with new museum exhibitory spaces showcasing artwork from the Louvre, as well as other French museums such as Musée d'Orsay, Centre Pompidou, Musée du Château de Versailles, Musée du Quai Branly and Musée Guimet (Fabelová 2010, 56).

All these examples, researched by different scholars, have various individual economic arrangements within the franchise management model, however, as Vivant (2011) stresses they all represent the power of the museum brand to be an important museum *asset* that can be translated into liquid funds generating income to the museum budget. By comparing several museums that have opened branches in other cities, including the Tate, Guggenheim and Louvre, he demonstrates the important role of local governmental authorities and their direct investments in the

development of museum branches (Vivant 2011, 100). The main logic behind these projects is "attracting a prestigious museum brand as a new tool in planning and urban development," which is utilized for local social and industrial regeneration through the development of tourism and entertainment industries that create job opportunities and transform cities into "magnets" for international visitors (100). As Fabelová (2010) confirms, the Guggenheim Bilbao, for example, "created 4,500 job opportunities in the city […]. Once opened, the museum welcomed […] 900 thousand to 1 million viewers every year, 70 percent of which are foreigners" (54). In this way, the large influx of tourists transformed the city from a former abandoned rural province to the regional cultural capital (Fabelová 2010, 54). The Tate Britain Gallery, operating within the Albert Dock urban regeneration project in the restructuring of the post-industrial city of Liverpool, or the Louvre Museum branch in Lens, initiated by the government to contribute to restructuring that post-industrial, shared similar goals, such as rebuilding "decaying cities" and creating new local sources for economic revival (Vivant 2011, 105; Dolan 1999).

Well developed and recognized museum brands on the global arena serve as important indicators of the museum's institutional power, authority and reputation, which as cultural capital can be translated into economic capital. By opening a new branch in a different geographic location, a museum not only significantly enlarges its exhibitory spaces and strengthens its infrastructures for providing museum experiences for much larger audiences, but also, as Vivant (2011) argues, it develops new economic partnerships, attracts more investments from international patrons and governments, and gains the support of local authorities (100). As Dolan (1999) indicates, these new economic models adopted by contemporary museums not only transform the museums themselves, making them important nodes in global neoliberal networks of capital circulation, but also constitute old forms of cultural influence in the international context. Taking a historical perspective, he traces the development of the first so-called cultural "brands" through "the old European-based imperial systems […] driven by mercantile and religious interests" spreading material cultural products and services through opening "colonial institutions" in different countries (Dolan 1999; 61).

For example, the first Colonial universities opened outside of the mainland of the British Empire "were staffed by Oxbridge graduates, imitated Oxbridge dress, architecture and curricula, and although locally funded they promoted imperial rather than regional or colonial values" (Dolan 1999; 61). The Church of England, through British colonial practices, also transformed into a

"franchised global brand of religion with central control and a guarantee of doctrinal and ritualistic quality and consistency" (Dolan 1999; 61). All these projects attest to similar practices of transferring architectural traditions, ways of organizing and managing institutions, as well as the very meaning, purposes and missions of these organizations to new local contexts.

Even Western museology, in terms of building museum buildings, assembling collections, and organizing archives, according to Dolan (1999), was transported around the world and influenced cultural memory institutions in many different countries and civilizations:

> All the "National Galleries" as they were then called, around the world, or within a specific imperial system such as the British, can be seen as a sort of chain, each locally funded, but with a decidedly similar feel as they were all looking to the same models. Thus National Gallery was like a global brand, in that you could find one almost anywhere and go in with an expectation (not always met) of a degree of quality control enforced through government and professional ambition. However, the imperial centre exercised influence rather than strict control, and exercised its influence far more loosely and hegemonically than in a true contractual franchise operation (Dolan 1999, 62).

Dolan (1999) mainly sees the franchise practices of contemporary museums as a more "corporatized, managerial and market-driven" model of cultural influence or even diplomacy than has been previously exercised by cultural institutions funded by governments. Discussed previously, cultural institutes like the British Council, Alliance Francaise, or Goethe Institute have long been operating on the international arena in a similar manner as contemporary museum franchises: branches that connect to local resources and infrastructures are all operated through a centralized system of control and management, they all share and pursue their cultural mission, and they employ cultural capital to communicate their messages to audiences outside of their countries. However, the new corporate strategies within the cultural sector developed in the 21st century significantly affect these institutes, which now also need to diversify their funding sources to ensure their economic sustainability. For example, more than half of the British Council budget constitutes earned income generated through selling its services, such as teaching English in foreign countries (British Council 2010, 59).

In an interview at the Center on Public Diplomacy, Xu Lin, Chief Executive of the Confucius Institute, also stresses the importance of the "business mindset" integrated in the growing network of the Confucius Institute which now has 1,000 affiliates across 120 countries:

> This business mindset I am referring to is what we call "Let it run free" (fang shui yang yu). The Confucius Institutes have been running on a franchise model. Each institute has full control over its own management, as long as it remains in line with China's foreign policy. Academic research, speeches, course plans, degree requirements, and even teaching plans are under the jurisdiction of a joint committee board of personnel from both the foreign university and its counterpart in China. The Chinese authority does not intervene with the operation of the CI. Although CIs vary between countries, it is exactly that variety that leads to CIs thriving (Lee White 2014).

These new developments in the field of cultural diplomacy, which now also acquires "business logic" and economic rationale, open up trajectories for exploring contemporary museums as cultural institutions. Museums exercise corporate strategies for survival and development under new global economic conditions, however, they have always been political institutions that are able to exercise cultural power within and beyond national borders. To date there is no academic literature focused specifically on the corporatization of museums from the perspective of the impact of this process on contemporary cultural diplomacy implemented within a museum context. This dissertation aims to address this issue by exploring the Guggenheim's international practices and strong "corporate" logic in terms of their cultural influence and impact on foreign audiences.

This section outlined a framework for understanding key museum corporate strategies, such as *corporate partnerships and sponsorships*, *management of museum assets*, *commercial practices*, *brand management* and *franchising*. This framework is instrumental in offering a detailed investigation of the Guggenheim's *sources of power* and *influence* as a non-state actor of cultural diplomacy. For example, Guggenheim's corporate practices, such as *commercial initiatives*, *management of museum assets* or *corporate partnerships*, can attest to the institutional capacity of *building* its *resources and alliances* in the international context. These practices can also demonstrate the degree and scope of the funding diversity available to a museum, pointing to the Guggenheim's autonomous *standing outside the direct government financial control* that can help to evaluate the museum's *source of power* as a non-state actor. Such activities as *brand*

management and *franchise building* can further help to "measure" the Guggenheim's expertise in terms of its cultural powers and influences exerted upon other cultural institutions and foreign publics. By employing the corporate museum framework in the exploration of the Guggenheim as an actor exercising new forms of cultural diplomacy, my thesis advances academic scholarship that looks at contemporary museums from an economic angle by illuminating the cultural and political implications of the "market-economy" model of museums.

Before the thesis proceeds with the tasks outlined above, it is important to look at literature that can inform us on the digital dimension of contemporary cultural diplomacy. The next section investigates new tools available for cross-cultural communication in the 21st century and reveals how they influence two main paradigms of contemporary diplomacy, such as *national projection* and *cultural relations*, as well as indicates what opportunities and challenges it brings to museums' communication in the international arena.

2.4. New Media diplomacy

2.4.1. National projection and cultural relations online

With the rapid advancement of new media tools and digital technologies, various spheres of human activities including international communication and diplomacy have acquired new characteristics. Many scholars particularly stress that online communication and digital media not only provide new tools for exercising diplomacy, but also accelerate and accentuate changes in the nature of diplomacy itself (Potter 2002; Nye 2004; Melissen 2006). This section focuses on the transformations of two cultural diplomacy paradigms, *national projection* and *cultural relations* in the age of the information revolution.

On the level of *national projection*, new media technologies and the Internet have significantly increased the scope and diversity of international audiences that can be reached, as well as providing new channels for communication and increasing the speed of information transfer. With the rise of the Internet and mobile communication technologies, there has been a rapid growth of audiences who became connected to the global circulation of information, influencing their cultural perceptions and shaping their informational environments on a daily basis (Potter 2002; Nye 2004; Melissen 2006). While back in 1995, less than 1 per cent of the world's population had access to the Internet, in 2014 around 40 per cent of the world's population are connected to the

global net. The number of Internet users increased tenfold from 1999 to 2013, and in 2005 the first billion users was reached. Nine years later, in 2014, the total number of Internet users reached almost 3 billion people (Internet Live Stats 2015). According to statistics conducted by the Pew Research Center, 73 per cent of online adults now use social networking sites (Pew Research Center 2014). Facebook remains the dominant social networking platform, with over 1.28 billion monthly active users. YouTube has around 1 billion active users, with 80 per cent of its traffic coming from outside of the United States (Infographic 2014). All these figures demonstrate that Internet and social media have become an important part of contemporary life and communication, which define the informational environment of people on a global scale.

Considering that cultural diplomacy is based on the active "exchange" of cultural ideas and information, new tools of communication establish more advanced channels for promotion and sharing a large amount of cultural information. Cultural diplomacy at the global stage involves "an increased level of interaction, and this interaction through the virtual space can be effectively realized at very convenient costs" (Jora 2013, 6). Droste defines cultural diplomacy as "a form of a cultural transfer" (Droste 2006, 145). This cultural transfer presupposes creating a cultural circulation of ideas, people and cultural goods or objects for development of a cultural space, where mutual cross-cultural understanding can be nurtured (Droste 2006, 145). In traditional cultural diplomacy within the *national projection* paradigm, the creation of such a shared space for cross-cultural learning and interaction is achieved through organizing exchange visits of artists, students, scientists, as well as maintaining cultural programs, such as travelling exhibitions, concerts, film festivals, etc. However, these exchanges involve significant financial investments and employment of human resources from both sides to provide a required infrastructure. Even more problematic are various time-consuming bureaucratic procedures accompanying travel arrangements for artists and their artworks, which can significantly complicate cultural sharing in the international context.

In contrast, cultural objects, music, films, and visual art uploaded online exist in a digital form, "disembodied from their point of origin or production," that allows "entering immediately into a space that has no particular territorial inscription" (Poster 2006, 25). As Poster (2006) emphasizes, the Internet enables "planetary transmissions of cultural objects,"(25) which can cross cultural, national, linguistic, and geographic boundaries. In regards to digital diplomacy, these cultural objects acquire the power to influence people by challenging their identities through the processes

of cultural consumption and interaction. Cameron (2008) stresses, cultural collections in the electronic form "operate within networks that transcend their immediate location, placing them in wider flows of interconnected cultural, political, economic and technological ideas, agendas and resources" (230).

Cultural capital cultivates political meanings within wider cultural and social contexts through the Internet and social media (Cameron 2008, 230). Poster (2006) explains, because "local contexts lose their powers of familiarization," the identities of people are no longer shaped exclusively through local practices (89). He stresses that cultural capital decoded in the digital realm becomes a powerful force that reaches out to people from various geographic locations and cultural backgrounds, not in a physical form but in a mediated form of electronic information. The digital medium in many ways redefines the principles of mass communication; bypassing physical boundaries, it provides a "techno-geographical milieu" of connected minds where the circulation of information shapes people's consciousness (Stiegler 2011).

With the development of new media information technologies and the global reach of the Internet, humanity has been increasingly infected with the ideas of information's immateriality (Hayles 2002). Digital technologies have created an unlimited storage capacity to preserve, share, and exchange human heritage and any sort of information accumulated by present and past generations. Digitization of culture is understood by many scholars as a tool that shapes cultural environments of contemporary society and defines its further development. Digitization raises the value of cultural content by providing new and more efficient means for its representation, promotion, distribution, preservation, as well as its re-use and reproduction (Benhamou and Ginsburgh 2006; Cameron and Kenderdine 2007; Hernandez 2010; Latour and Lowe 2010). According to sociologist Bruno Latour, copies ensure the survival of the original artifacts for further generations (Latour and Lowe 2010). Cultural content that has been digitized gains more recognition on the international level, because it becomes more accessible for larger and more diverse audiences through the Internet and new media channels (Hernandez 2010). Those objects that are left without attention in the digital realm lose their cultural value in the global context and consequently may be forgotten forever. The digital environment that is increasingly shaping educational, cultural, communication, and political dimensions of contemporary society has become an arena of cross-cultural struggle for promoting national cultural contents that ideologically construct the perceptions of global audiences.

As a result, digitization of culture has become a new and increasingly popular political strategy that aims to provide open access to cultural content and create a new mode of interaction for global audiences. The potential of digital technologies to reach wider and more diverse audiences and establish communication in a faster and easier mode with a variety of different actors has been recognized by many countries. Some of them even established new departments in their international relations offices to carry out tasks specifically designed for diplomatic initiatives through digital media, such as the E-diplomacy Office at the U.S. Department of State or the Digital Diplomacy Communication Directorate at the Foreign Commonwealth Office UK. In recent years, many museums and national cultural industries have been engaged in developing digital platforms for the preservation and promotion of cultural heritage. These national cultural assets, decoded in digital networks, serve to develop political sites specifically designed to communicate cultural citizenship through various forms of cultural inclusion and participation (Paschalidis 2010, 179).

However, cultural capital encoded in electronic format in the online environment is marked by quite a different nature of consumption. Stalder argues that with the advances of the Internet, network technology culture has been transformed from an object-oriented to an exchange-oriented culture, which is understood as a continuous process (Stalder 2005). The exchange-oriented culture corresponds nicely to Manuel Castells's perspective on the growth of a networked society, where culture consists not so much of content, but of processes, and where the Internet is "an open-ended network of cultural meanings that can not only coexist, but also interact and modify each other on the basis of this exchange" (Castells 2004, 40). At this point, cultural diplomacy in the age of the information revolution becomes a social process of cultural sharing, consumption and reproduction which can be experienced in continuum, thus extending and enhancing cross-cultural socializing. "Interactions with heritage collections… are now being conducted through these multiple and extended connections of people, ideas and objects, across long distances and national boundaries. Collections information is fluid and no boundaries exist, enabling all these things to be used and reconfigured within flows" (Cameron 2008, 232). When cultural diplomacy stops being a mere "cultural transfer" and becomes a more complex process of social interactions, there is need to employ a different cultural diplomacy paradigm, such as *cultural relations,* to explore and analyze the nuances of digital diplomacy.

The high speed of communication, enormous volumes of circulated information, unlimited global reach, and low cost of information distribution significantly affected important modes and structures of diplomacy in the 21st century. In the new international context, the rules of contemporary diplomacy have been transformed by eliminating traditional hierarchies of state authorities with a central protocol and clearly defined norms of behaviors among diplomatic actors. A multitude of players with affordable and easy access to various tools—not only for information consumption, but also for its production and distribution—have changed the very nature of diplomatic conduct. Specifically, the information revolution, as some scholars argue, enabled non-state actors to gain access to resources and information that had previously only been available to states (Sharp 2009; van Ham 2010; Hocking et al. 2012). As a result, they became more informed, mobile, flexible, and influential in the global arena because they were able to communicate their ideas and beliefs to much larger and more diverse audiences, as well as to actively engage their constituents. "In terms of [their] power to influence[,] non state players have nowadays the technical possibility to develop joint actions as powerful and often more effective than the states" (Jora 2013, 46).

The new diplomacy operates through multidirectional flows of information in a much fuzzier environment, where expectations and rules of diplomatic conduct are constantly changing. In contrast to the secrecy and confidentiality of traditional diplomacy, modern diplomacy claims to be more open, accountable, and transparent (Sharp 2009; van Ham 2010; Hocking et al. 2012). The promotion of "inclusiveness" and "transparency" of modern diplomacy is actively used by many governments as a powerful rhetorical means for establishing credibility in the eyes of the public. Specifically, a greater stress is now put on the contribution of so-called "citizen diplomats," or ordinary people who are actively engaged in sharing their culture and ideas in the global net, thus, communicating important messages with political intensions.

A significant number of scholars from a more technological deterministic tradition, following McLuhan's claim that "the medium is the message," argue that the advance of new media communication tools was the predominant force behind the emergent democratic or dialogical culture of diplomacy in contemporary society (Rothkopf 1998, Potter 2002, Riordan 2006). In line with this opinion, Castells points out that with the advance of new media technology, new forms of alternative politics emerge, based on "new horizontal communication networks of the digital

age, the technical and organizational infrastructure that is specific to the network society" (Castells 2010).

These claims of the power of the Internet to serve as a "public sphere" for democratic communication are well suited in a broader academic debate about the contested nature of social media and new media communication tools as a form of enabling a dialogue among various social and political groups. Many scholars define new technology as a potential tool in the revitalization of democracy in its different forms, and research new technology through the analytical lenses of political activism (Graham 2006; Barber 2006; Barry 2006; McKenzie 2006). Studies that emphasize a significant advance of the social web that encourages sharing, participation, creativity and democratic relations can also be traced through a number of publications that discuss a new social paradigm of public emancipation in digital realms of contemporary communications (Raymond 2001; Brafman and Beckstrom 2006; Shirky 2009; Bruns 2008).

The paradigm of *cultural relations* has recently dominated political rhetoric and was promoted as the most important and relevant model of diplomacy of the 21st century (Melissen 2006; Fisher 2008; Hocking et al. 2012). In contemporary society, as many scholars have observed, technological advances have transformed the traditional cultural production-consumption paradigm and increased the demands of people not only to passively consume culture, but also to take an active role in its production (Raymond 2001; Brafman and Beckstrom 2006; Shirky 2009; Bruns 2008). Due to these changes, the *cultural relations* paradigm was more promoted in diplomatic rhetoric and was claimed to be the most appropriate form of diplomatic communication across borders in the 21st century (Hoffman 2006; Lipschutz 1994; Hocking et al. 2012; Riordan 2006; Hayden 2011). This dialogical model of communication within diplomacy is not only about a platform to reach foreign audiences more easily and more effectively it is also about an ability to "engage" target audiences. This engagement includes not only soliciting admiration or sympathy through the showcasing of national cultural achievements, but, more importantly, making the public interested and involved in communication, seeking feedback and building trust (Jora 2013, 50).

Most recently there have been a great number of new publications focusing specifically on digital diplomacy as a new way of communicating in the global political context. There are works like *Real-Time Diplomacy,* for example, which explores the new patterns and modes of instant

communications among various players in the international arena. The book especially illuminates the power of ordinary citizens to participate in global informational flows, bypassing governmental institutions and challenging traditional political actors to react on these constant and direct interventions into the informational exchange (Seib 2012). Sandre (2015) also focuses on non-state actors empowered by the digital revolution, who according to his findings, play an active role in influencing foreign policy in the 21st century. Drawing on interviews with U.S. State Department officials, ambassadors, public relations executives, and public policy experts, his research reveals the impacts of the public on the traditional diplomatic relationship between countries in the age of digital communications (Sandre 2015). Another interesting attempt to theorize digital diplomacy in a comparative framework with traditional forms of diplomacy is an anthology by Bjola and Holmes (2015) that presents various case studies from a great number of countries. The collection of studies identifies and evaluates various conditions under which digital technologies and online communications among various participants inform, regulate, or constrain foreign policy decision making. However, most of these works look at public diplomacy and there is no comprehensive research so far specifically on cultural diplomacy in online environments.

My project intends to address this gap and advance the scholarship on digital diplomacy by providing an empirical analysis of an online participatory project developed by a new actor of cultural diplomacy. Considering that contemporary cultural diplomacy still rests upon two important levels of communication: monologue, or *national projection*, and dialogue, or *cultural relations*, which shape communication efforts "to project a nation's image and values to other countries and peoples, as well as to receive information and try to understand the culture, values and images of other countries and their peoples" (Jora 2013, 45), my thesis explores the transformations of both cultural diplomacy paradigms in the context of international commutations exercised by non-state actors. On the one hand, this thesis looks at the YouTube Play portal as a virtual site that communicates specific cultural ideas, messages and narratives, thus creating a certain cultural projection. On the other hand, my project explores in greater detail the component of "public" contribution to the international communication which enables cultural exchange among participants from different countries and creates a "contact zone" where a mutual cultural influence can occur. In order to understand the nuances of how digital diplomacy works in the museum context, it is important to explore literature that focuses on online museums. The next section looks at current scholarly works that study the usage of digital technologies by museums

to illuminate important theoretical claims and empirical findings that can better inform research on online museum diplomacy.

2.4.2. Online museum diplomacy

In the information age, museums have acquired new representational and communication tools through digital technologies, the Internet, social media, and mobile devices, creating new possibilities for educational, marketing, diplomatic, and entertainment activities. These digital tools provide new media channels to reach out to regular museum visitors, as well as to a much broader general public which can potentially become new museum audiences (Jones-Garmil 1997; McTavish 2006; Russo et al. 2007). Furthermore, thanks to new media, this outreach can have a larger scope, allowing museums to target not only local or national publics, but also international audiences. Considering the growing necessity of large international museums to construct and promote their global brands, Internet and social media provide much more advanced tools for communicating with audiences on the global scale. The online spaces of museums are described by some scholars as environments "packaged and sold in an increasingly global economy of image consumption" (Alsayyad 2008, 155), advertising heritage institutions, and touristic destinations bringing more cultural tourists to institutions.

However, digital media does not only enlarge and diversify potential audiences through various marketing and promotional online activities, but, more importantly, offers new experiences for people who can now "visit" museums from the comfort of their homes 24 hours a day. With the help of online tools, international publics can extend their experiences beyond the physical walls of museums and learn about objects of interest through virtual museum tours and online exhibitions and collections. Online explorations of collections in many ways correspond to how museum goers encounter actual exhibitions, making online museums a powerful tool in constructing and presenting cultural and political messages and narratives.

The deductive power of museums in representing cultural values and constructing social realities defines and shapes the ways in which people explore collections by browsing online through hyperlinking versus "browsing with their feet" in a real museum. As new media scholar Lev Manovich (2001) indicates, online galleries function to reconstruct physical objects and interpret information through interfaces and navigational systems that "bring strong messages of their own,"

the same way a physical exhibition design contributes to the meaning production of the museum artifacts. Museum scholar Ross Parry stresses that "the intangibility, virtuality, and simulacra are all part of what a museum has always been and continues to be" (Parry 2007). Most of the actual historical and cultural artifacts that museums have are not available to visitors for physical interaction and contact; in fact, many artifacts are not even displayed in their permanent collections. Exhibited in glass boxes, simulated through different media, arranged and grouped in particular order in a specific physical setting, and displaced from their original contexts, museum objects acquire "intangibility" and "virtuality" the same way as in cyberspace, and communicate messages shaped by curatorial ideas and decisions.

The same way as in physical exhibits, online museum spaces reconstruct social and cultural realities for their virtual visitors. Manovich (2001) asserts, the "new media is culture encoded in a digital form," indicating that online galleries function to reconstruct physical objects and interpret information through interfaces and navigational systems which "bring strong messages of their own" (15). As a result, digital media prioritize and create particular models of the world and of human experiences that influence how online visitors conceive the information being delivered to them online (Manovich 2001, 37). In an online environment, a visitor can be seen "as a spatial wanderer, traversing information and freely selecting trajectories and viewpoints," making a museum's online narratives less directed, linear, and hierarchical than within physical exhibition spaces (Cameron 2003, 337). However, Barry indicates that online "interactivity has come to be a dominant model of how objects can be used to produce subjects. In an interactive model, subjects are not disciplined, they are allowed" (Barry 2006, 164). Online participants have only an illusionary freedom of activity; in fact, the only choice they make is to use or not to use the interactive options. Beyond that, online users are only "allowed" to follow a series of interactive scenarios, which have been pre-programmed and pre-designed on their behalf. Cultural researcher Fiona Cameron stresses that web design interface and hyper-linking shape visitors' behavior online and direct users through a predetermined arrangement of various arguments and counterarguments (Cameron 2003, 337).

In this way, digital technologies mediate the representational and story-telling powers of museum collections to communicate their cultural and political messages within and beyond their national communities. Taking into consideration discussions and findings from the Museum section of this chapter, cultural diplomacy exercised by museums can now be exercised in online environments,

enabling a one-way stream of cultural information to travel across borders. Museums can utilize the representational capacities of their collections and narratives either to project national cultural values and identities or to communicate transnational or global messages.

However, there are still no contributions which look at online museums from the perspective of cultural diplomacy. This work addresses this situation by providing an empirical exploration of the YouTube Play project, an online initiative of the Guggenheim museum. By looking at this online platform as a virtual space which communicates certain messages to global audiences, the thesis advances the scholarship on online museums, illustrating how museum narratives are constructed in the digital realm and how they are perceived by audiences. However, this research does not only focus on the cultural projection paradigm of digital museum diplomacy, but also intends to explore the possibilities of *cultural relations* within online museum communities which can reinforce the power of museum diplomacy and transform it from a one-way stream of cultural information to a more engaging and interactive dialogical exchange experience among participants from different countries.

Several scholars argue that a dialogical vision of a museum is central to the nature of museum agency. Ananiev states that "any museum is a *dialogic* museum by the nature of the human mind" and advocates for acknowledging the active role of audiences as meaning-makers who are always in the process of negotiating new information with their cultural understandings and former experiences (Ananiev 2011, 7). As Cataldo confirms, "in a certain sense dialogue already exists in museums because artworks are created to be seen and therefore they already establish a visual dialogue with viewers" (Cataldo 2011, 19). In the same manner, McCarthy and Wright (2005) point out that museum experiences should be understood in terms of the dialogical relations between place, space, time, and technology. On top of this ontological level of museum "dialogism," the museum as a social forum or a "public space" for dialogue and exchange has been the focus of academic and practitioners' attention since the advancement of the new museology movement (Vergo 1997). This movement advocated for a new inclusive democratic institution based on dialogical forms of communication by providing audiences with opportunities for active participation and exchange (Anderson 2004; Hooper-Greenhill 2006; Lang et al. 2006).

The new museology "that promotes education over research, engagement over doctrine, and multivocality over connoisseurship" (Boast 2011, 64) has set a new social agenda within the

museum community, shifting emphasis toward the cultural and social contexts within which the meanings of objects are generated (Macdonald 2011). A new model of a museum was envisioned as an inclusive social "forum" or in Clifford's (1997) terms, "contact zone," aiming to address current social-political issues and get outside physical walls to communicate with diverse audiences to provide a space for the public to interact, learn and communicate (Vergo 1997; Cameron 2003; Anderson 2004; Hooper-Greenhill 2006; Lang et al. 2006; Svanberg 2010).

Cataldo argues that in order to reinforce and enact the dialogical nature of museums, curators have to adopt and successfully integrate different techniques of dialogical communication. He names some of them, including multimedia storytelling, dialogic tours, and performance workshops that have already been employed by some museums to provide their audiences with "conversational" museum experiences (Cataldo 2011, 19). Themes of dialogical exchange have become popular in museum practice in the last 15 years and have been employed as strategies for the production of social museum spaces, exhibitions, and public programs (Message 2008, 755; Hooper-Greenhill 2000, 2010). In her book, *Learning at the Museum Frontiers*, Golding explores a number of cases illustrating how museums can transform social relationships by creating public spaces that provide a possibility of dialogue and understanding across races, cultures, and nations (Golding 2009). This work builds a strong foundation to explore an online museum space as a dialogical form of communication, which is further reinforced through the interactive opportunities brought up to people with the advancement of web 2.0 tools.

Many scholars indicate that the interactive capacities of online communication empower dialogical modes of interaction among online audiences and cultural institutions (Trant 2006; McTavish 2006; Russo et al. 2007). These participative activities, some researchers argue, can significantly enrich the cultural narrative of museums' collections and open new trajectories for knowledge creation, preservation, and promotion (Hirtle et. al. 2009; Singh and Blake 2010). According to these authors, digital technologies and online communication portals can help to provide new spaces for the different cultural groups to voice their opinions in online environments, communicate and express their cultural identities, and even to change the power and authority of museums (Bearman and Trant 1998; Roy et al. 2008). "Digital media can be used to surround objects with a multiplicity of voices, accounts, songs, and artworks: layers of meaning that are hard to capture and present in other ways, and which can be particularly valuable for revealing non-Western perspectives" (Newell 2012, 301).

As a result, as some researchers highlight, museums can better represent previously excluded communities by playing a key role "as cultural mediators in a more multicultural environment" (Black 2010, 133). Drawing on empirical exploration of digital museums, some scholars argue that virtual museums can be seen as "flexible knowledge structures that evolve and adapt to communities' interest based on contextual information articulated by human contributors, curators, and viewers," which allow for a tighter coupling between stakeholders' interests and the structure of a digital museum (Srinivasan and Huang 2005; Eklund et. al 2012). Therefore, online participatory activities that allow visitors to share, comment, and contribute to the collections and discourse with their own objects, observations, comments, experiences, and stories, make a museum a public space relevant to the demands of contemporary society.

Specifically, the cultural paradigmatic change, described in the works of Stalder (2005) and Castells (2004) is based on the significant transformations of culture from object-oriented to an exchange-oriented, as a result of the development of new media communication technologies which accentuated "dialogue" and "participation" as main factors in audience interaction with cultural content. In the framework of the network society, both of the theorists understand culture as a "continuous process" (Stadler, 2005), where it consists not so much of content, but of activities; and where the Internet is "an open-ended network of cultural meanings" (Castells, 2004, 40).

Addressing these social transformations and meeting the demands of contemporary audiences not only to produce but also to consume culture, many museums around the world have experimented (successfully and not so successfully) with the participatory components integrated in their online programs, through games, discussion forums, interactive exhibits, and many other educational outreach activities (Anderson 2004; Hooper-Greenhill 2006). Already a multicultural and international environment, the online museum—built around collections—can be understood as a representational setting of a new paradigm of cultural diplomacy, which not only provides a space for *cultural projection* but also potentially has the capacity to revitalize *cultural relations* by bringing people together in a virtual social media space for creation, sharing, and exchange. As Hermans indicates, expressing oneself through publishing online "fosters dialogical processes in the contact zones between cultures" (Hermans 2004, 316). However, such a digital interactive activity is "a fundamental condition for moving positions in the dialogical self": online audiences can "craft" and preserve multiple positions which "evolve, shift […], and interact with other

positions" in an online dimension of social interaction (Hermans 2004, 316). Considering the significance of meaningful acts of self-representation online, digital museum diplomacy can be understood as a cultural force that intensifies the dialogical-self nature of participants and reinforce the cultural impact of communication with the "other."

Within this theoretical framework, online participation can not only provide infrastructure for the dialogical or *cultural relations* communication modes of cultural diplomacy, but also can reinforce the leverage powers of museums as actors of diplomacy. By satisfying contemporary public demands to be creative meaning makers and cultural producers, online participatory activities can potentially attract more people to museums and facilitate a stronger engagement, thus making a museum a more influential cultural institution operating not only in a physical, but also in a virtual reality.

My project intends to test these claims and empirically explore how online participation implemented in the context of a museum project, such as YouTube Play portal, contributes to the cultural diplomatic powers of the Guggenheim museum. In this way the thesis can start a conversation within the academic literature on digital and online museums with a new research focus which looks at virtual museums as public spaces of cultural exchange, contributing to improving cross-cultural communication and understanding, and serving diplomatic purposes.

2.5. Conclusion

This literature review chapter embraces a vast and diverse scholarship ranging from museology studies to research on digital forms of contemporary communication which all contribute to a better understanding of contemporary diplomatic practices. This chapter identifies and highlights many dimensions of diplomatic communication in the 21st century, including: the transnational environment of global politics that sets up a new cosmopolitan agenda for diplomacy; economic factors informing international strategies and practices of operational management for diplomatic actors; and new modes and forms of digital communication which redefine the nature of cross-cultural encounter and interaction in the age of an information revolution. Illuminating the knowledge gaps identified in the literature covering all these diverse topics, this dissertation addresses various questions and concerns regarding transformations in the nature of contemporary cultural diplomacy. The following three sections identify and explain my key research goals and

objectives for addressing shortcomings and inconsistencies in the academic scholarship on contemporary cultural diplomacy within an online museum context.

Exploring new messages and new actors of contemporary cultural diplomacy

Understanding cultural diplomacy as a strategically designed cultural activity based on the promotion of certain cultural values and identities, as well as on setting up conditions which enable international participants to influence each other through personal interactions, this thesis advances literature on contemporary forms of cultural diplomacy. Specifically, the thesis demonstrates and explores in greater detail how *cultural relations* and *national projection* paradigms of diplomacy are transformed and challenged in the new conditions of globalized reality and how each of these paradigms are operationalized by new non-state actors of diplomacy. The project draws on an academic framework which defines non-state actors of diplomacy as non-governmental organizations exercising powerful social or cultural influences upon national and foreign publics. By gaining significant public support in the national and international arena, these actors acquire *sources of their influence* through development of their strong global reputation, effective resources and alliance building in the international environment, as well as through cultivating their "nonpartisan" image in the eyes of the publics through their autonomous standing outside direct government control. Drawing on this framework, this thesis explores the institutional power and global authority of the Guggenheim in its diplomatic activities, thus advancing scarce scholarship on non-state cultural diplomacy, in which a cultural institution operates outside of state control, guided by its institutional interests and agenda.

In this way, the thesis also explores a new dimension of cultural diplomacy, such as cosmopolitan diplomacy, which informs states' and non-states' international activities in transnational contexts, pushing them to address larger global audiences to which they aspire to communicate equally appealing and relevant messages. Taking into account that the concept of "cosmopolitanism" is understood differently in various cultural contexts and cannot escape being another form of political ideology, various actors of diplomacy usually employ cosmopolitan diplomacy as a rhetorical tool for advancing their global position in the international arena and pursuing their goals and objectives. In defining the cosmopolitan diplomacy of non-state actors through such key activities as constructing a global identity in strong dissociation from national affiliations, stressing and promoting transnational commitments in addressing global problems, and increasing

international outreach and inclusion "demonstrating" awareness and respect for diversity, this thesis seeks to explore further the cosmopolitan dimension of contemporary cultural diplomacy. Looking specifically at cosmopolitan discourses constructed within the framework of non-state cultural diplomacy, the project explains economic and cultural rationale behind the employment of cosmopolitan projections among powerful actors that operate outside the direct control of their national governments.

Assessing the role of museums in exercising non-state cultural diplomacy

Within a wide variety of international organizations which operate on the global scale and engage international audiences, this thesis focuses on a museum as a specific type of cultural and political institution that has traditionally served nation states for nation building, as well as for cultural outreach and diplomacy with foreign countries communicating predominantly national values and ideals. However, identifying various changes brought about by cultural and economic globalization, the project focuses on new transnational or global museum narratives that have considerable implications for a new type of cultural diplomacy exercised within a museum context. Understanding large internationally recognized museums as powerful non-state actors of contemporary diplomacy, this thesis applies the framework of cosmopolitan projections to explain transnational museum narratives from a new perspective. The context of cosmopolitan diplomacy allows us to look at museums not as national institutions that have traditionally stayed under state control, but as new powerful agencies operating in the new global economic reality according to different modes of conduct.

Specifically, this thesis focuses on the "market-economy" model that introduces corporate strategies of museums, which significantly diversify museums' funding sources, making them less dependent on government money and consequently less influenced by governments' cultural international programming and agenda. Exploring how corporate practices of museums ensure their financial sustainability in the global cultural markets, this thesis advances scholarship revealing such significant transformations in the field of museums as "corporatization," "commercialization," as well as global "expansionism," but from the perspective of their cultural and political implications in the international context. The thesis employs a corporate framework to explain the museums' *sources of power* to serve as new non-state actors of cultural diplomacy

and to understand their important contribution to the formation of global informational and cultural environments of contemporary audiences.

Understanding the digital dimension of contemporary museum diplomacy

Finally, this project explores the new dimension of contemporary cultural diplomacy, which can now be exercised in the digital realm of global communications. New media and digital technologies significantly enhance the speed, quality and scope of cross-cultural contact on the global scale, thus making international communication a daily routine for larger publics. As a result, cultural exchanges that were exclusively under the authority and prerogative of governments have become affordable, accessible, and widely practiced by a great variety of new actors of diplomacy. These "democratized" practices of cross-cultural communication are claimed to constitute a new enhanced nature of cultural diplomacy in the age of informational revolution. This thesis looks at how traditional paradigms of *national projection* and *cultural relations* are being transformed in the new media context, when employed by non-state actors of cultural diplomacy for communication with global audiences online.

Focusing on museums, the thesis significantly advances the literature on online or digital museology by providing a first empirical exploration of online museum communication, studied from the angle of cultural diplomacy. Even though the scholarship on digital museums has addressed a number of important questions, such as the problems of challenging museums' authority in the information age or enhancing the public's experiences in their interactions with museum collections, this project is the first academic study to look at digital communications utilized by museums as new tools of contemporary cultural diplomacy. Digital communications strategies help museums to project specific cultural and political messages to international audiences, as well as enable members of the public to engage in dialogical forms of communications amongst themselves.

Chapter III.
Research questions and methodology

3.1. Research questions

This research explores *whether international online activities exercised by a powerful transnational cultural institution, such as the Guggenheim, can be understood as a form of non-state cultural diplomacy, and if/how this form of diplomacy is similar to or different from cultural diplomacy exercised by the United States government.* In order to answer this question, this work will undertake two important tasks. First, it explores the Guggenheim's institutional nature, philosophy, as well as its international activities, partnerships, and engagements to reveal the museum's powers, authority, and capacity to be a non-state actor of contemporary cultural diplomacy. Second, it explores in greater detail one of its online global projects, developed in cooperation with Google, such as the YouTube Play project. By looking at YouTube Play as an online platform, where cultural diplomacy can be exercised, the project specifically seeks to identify two paradigms of diplomacy integrated in the communication capacities of the online portal, *cultural projection* and *cultural relations*. On the level of *cultural projection*, this thesis identifies, explores and explains messages sent out by the Guggenheim and its partners to the international online community, and assesses the power of these messages to appeal to, engage, and relate to online global publics. On the level of *cultural relations*, analysis of the portal investigates the dialogical capacities of the project to bring people from different countries together for meaningful interactions that can contribute to important tasks of cultural diplomacy, such as increasing cross-cultural understanding, tolerance, and respect among peoples from different nations.

The analysis is based on a mixed methodology, comprising several important layers. First of all, it includes institutional analysis which allows exploration of the institutional nature of the Guggenheim and reveals its position, power and capacity to serve as a non-state actor of cultural diplomacy. Second, a close investigation of the YouTube Play project as an example of Guggenheim's online diplomacy requires the employment of two methods, discursive analysis of the online portal and virtual ethnography. All these methods are explained in more detail in the following sections.

3.2. Institutional analysis of the Guggenheim museum

The institutional analysis includes an exploration of the wider context of the Guggenheim's institutional history, philosophy, organizational behavior in the international arena, its financial sustainability, and its partnerships with other organizations. This exploration is based not only on analysis of secondary sources, but also on new qualitative research, including the analysis of online informational resources and the Guggenheim's archives. Thus, the thesis draws on materials published on the official Guggenheim web site, publicly available reports, such as annual organizational reports (1977-2010), and U.S. Internal Revenue Service (IRS) reports disclosing organizational financial information and income of the organization, such as Forms 990, collected in the recent decade (2001-2012).

Furthermore, in order to clarify the goals, interests, and strategies of the YouTube Play project, I conducted focused, semi-structured interviews (in person and by phone) with management staff of the Guggenheim museum, as well as with the manager of one of the former branches of the Guggenheim, the Deutsche Guggenheim in Berlin, Germany. The following list presents professional information about the interviewees who participated in my research:

Name	Position	Organization
• **Joan Young**	Director of the Curatorial Affairs Department and a Manager of the YouTube Play Project	Solomon R. Guggenheim Foundation
• **Laura Miller**	Director of the Marketing Department	Solomon R. Guggenheim Foundation
• **Francesca Merlino**	Marketing Manager	Solomon R. Guggenheim Foundation
• **Sara Bernshausen**	Associate Gallery Manager	Deutsche Guggenheim

These people were selected for interviews because their professional positions and experience in their respective fields significantly contributed to the exploration of the international communication and marketing strategies of the Guggenheim, or because they were instrumental in providing details about the YouTube Play project. Also, these people were available to be interviewed and agreed to meet me in person or by phone to answer my questions.

3.3. Discursive content analysis of the YouTube Play project

This analysis is based on exploring the messages and narratives communicated through the YouTube Play platform. By creating this online global portal of creative videos, produced by international online participants, the Guggenheim with YouTube set important themes and topics which framed the main messages communicated through this project. YouTube Play, with 100 shortlisted and 25 finalist videos selected from 23,000 submissions, constructs specific narratives and communicates particular cultural messages. Nick Cull, talking about the public diplomacy exercised through social media points out: "In social media networks you cannot really control what people will say, but you can suggest what people will talk about" (Cull 2008, 52). As stipulated by the YouTube Play rules, the power to select, curate, and display particular videos enabled the Guggenheim not only to define standards of creativity and communicate specific cultural messages, but also to frame publics' discussions and conversations.

My discursive content analysis focuses on the texts and visual materials used by the Guggenheim's curators and designers to construct the representational and communication spaces of the online project. I identified and explored visual and verbal discourses within the online museum project from the perspective of the museum "voice," or museum narrative, against larger institutional, national, and international contexts. This institutional perspective, communicated through the online project rhetoric, helped to identify and explain the main objectives of the project in relation to its non-state diplomatic strategies.

Specifically, I explored the visual and textual content of the YouTube Play channel through analysis of the 176 video clips (See Appendix 1), which provided both the content created by the Guggenheim and the videos selected by the museum as shortlisted and finalists. The museum-generated content included 16 promotional videos in different languages (See Appendix 1, Section 1), eight videos introducing the jury committee (See Appendix 1, Section 2), six promotional videos created in cooperation with project sponsors HP and Intel (See Appendix 1, Section 4), five video recordings of the YouTube Play Show taking place at the Guggenheim Museum in October, 2010 (See Appendix 1, Section 3), and 22 short documentaries about the finalist artists (See Appendix 1, Sections 5- 6).

The selected user-generated content constituted 24 finalist videos (See Appendix 1, Section 7), and 95 shortlisted videos (See Appendix 1, Sections 8-13). My final video sample of the content

included only those video clips that were still available on the YouTube Play channel at the time of my online data collection, October 2013. These included 24 finalists' videos out of 25 originally selected by the jurors, and 95 out of 100 clips originally shortlisted by the Guggenheim. Even though all videos were part of the official YouTube Play channel during the contest, they have always remained the personal content of online users who created these videos and posted them on YouTube. One finalist video and five shortlisted videos were removed from YouTube by their respective owners due to personal reasons which were not disclosed within the framework of the project. Consequently, these clips dropped off the YouTube Play lists of shortlisted and finalist videos. Because these videos constitute only a small part of the total selected user-generated content, the omission of this video material is not critical for the purposes of this study.

Even though shortlisted and finalist video content was produced by international online users, I analyzed it as representative of the Guggenheim's "view point" and institutional narrative. These videos were selected by the museum from a rich and diverse pool of online videos (23,000 clips) and selections made represent a strong curatorial and institutional perspective that communicates certain cultural and political messages. Based on a preliminary analysis of the videos and comments to these clips posted by online audiences, six main themes emerged, according to which the major video messages and topics were framed. Discussed in greater detail below, these themes included: "Museum;" "Art & Digital Art;" "Technology & Internet;" "Human Being & Personality;" "Space & Locality;" and "Politics & War."

- Museum

This category is represented by video clips (See Appendix 1, Section 10) that discuss museums and raise important questions about the social and cultural roles and functions of museums in contemporary society. The majority of the video content in this category is represented by clips produced by the Guggenheim itself, including promotional videos and contest invitations. There are also a small number of shortlisted video clips which fall within this category. Even though there are only three only three shortlisted clips that fall under this theme, these videos are very important because they address important questions about museum governance and responsibilities, about the material nature of museums, and about virtual traveling through museums.

- Art & Digital Art

This is a rather vague category that includes clips (See Appendix 1, Section 8) ranging from completely abstract videos to films with some specific, but varied ideas. All these clips are united within this category because they represented the new "digital art" or "video art" projects promoted by the Guggenheim as new genres of art, or because they generated important discussions among online audiences on the questions of art. In general, these clips mostly challenged a traditional understanding of what "art" is and can be in contemporary society and presented various creative video works representing specific forms of "YouTube" culture.

- Technology & Internet

All the clips within this category (See Appendix 1, Section 11) portray contemporary technologies as products, projects, tools or devices that significantly change human life in the 21st century. The clips comprise videos ranging from portraying very abstract, nonexistent and imaginary technologies to concrete products of mass media/Internet channels that became an important part of contemporary life. For example, many clips were specifically devoted to YouTube itself as a channel of online communication.

- Human Being & Personality

This is one of the largest categories (See Appendix 1, Section 9), featuring clips portraying a human being of the 21st century. Many videos focus on human emotions, feelings and states of being of people in contemporary society. Some clips describe human relationships, such as love, family relations or friendship. Other clips portray various characters and prototypes of personalities that contribute to a construction of a general image of a human being that emerged within the channel.

- Space & Locality

The videos in this category (See Appendix 1, Section 13) are devoted to representing various concrete places (neighborhoods, cities, countries) or imaginary spaces. In general, these creative works feature different localities and show how people or main characters interact with these spaces. Considering that virtual reality is increasingly becoming an important part of human life, many videos particularly focus on representing the imaginary realities of various dream worlds.

- Politics & Wars

This category comprises clips (See Appendix 1, Section 12) which address important political questions or explore the topic of war. The political dimension was weakly represented in the channel through only three video clips. That is why these clips were combined with videos portraying wars. A quite large and diverse body of clips shows struggles, death, and tragedy of wars in different places, locations, and times. Through the video content, this category raises vital issues for discussions among audiences related to such questions as mass murder and destruction, responsibility and commitment, human loss and tragic consequences of war.

These categories proved to be very important in the analysis of the YouTube Play messages, communicated by the Guggenheim and its partners in the project. Also, these themes were particularly relevant and important for assessing the interactional dynamic of videos in their potential to generate, or engage, interests and response from international online audiences.

3.4. Virtual ethnography

Considering the "two-way" communication dynamic of online communication, this thesis explores in greater detail the interactional side of communication between the Guggenheim and international YouTube Play audiences. First of all, the power of "active" online audiences can be identified and analyzed not only through mere "feedback" practices, but also through the abilities of participants to influence and shape global media content production, including content produced by professional media industries. As some scholars indicate, amateur video sets new rules for the "production and representation of reality" that are picked up and reinforced in professional media (Strangelover 2010, 180). The Guggenheim selected user-generated works from a broad pool of YouTube video content that already had been accepted, experienced, and promoted by the YouTube audience itself. Considering the main goals of the project "to elevate creative video to a new art form" (Play Biennial 2010a), it is important to acknowledge the powerful role of general online publics who created this video content and submitted it to the contest.

Furthermore, online audiences actively interacted with the video content on YouTube Play, and thus constructed meaningful discourses around the video content and extended its informational power. Moreover, simple viewership statistics accompanying the video clips indicates whether a certain video is relevant or popular among general publics. These forms of online communication allow exploration and analysis of online audiences' behavior and feedback, which can inform a

more nuanced understanding of the interactional dynamics between YouTube Play's constructed narratives and international publics' engagements with the dominant messages of the project.

Specifically, I employed virtual ethnographic methodology to understand the audiences' online behaviors and engagements with the YouTube Play project. Virtual ethnography, known also as cyber-ethnography, netnography, and online ethnography, is a branch of ethnographic studies that aims to study and explore the culture of online communities (Hine 2000). Like the traditional ethnographic approach, it is immersive, descriptive, and multilateral, and it utilizes the same methods for analyzing and interpreting data. Virtual ethnography requires a researcher to become immersed in the virtual culture and life of online participants in order to observe their interactions and communication (Jones 1998). From a marketing perspective, online ethnography is believed to be a significantly faster, easier, and less expensive means of data collection than participant interviews because its methods benefit from freely accessible personal information that people share online (Kozinets 2010).

Within this research, the virtual ethnographic method mostly included online data collection and thorough analysis of the YouTube Play videos' statistical information and comments posted to clips. For each of the video clips from the sample I collected statistical information concerning the total numbers of views, comments, and "likes" and "dislikes," which I retrieved from YouTube Play. Because the social demographics and geographic distribution statistics are not publicly available for video clips, I managed to collect only a small portion of the viewership statistical information for the shortlisted and finalist videos. Thus, I sent out 119 e-mail requests to each of the finalists and shortlisted artists, whose video clips were included in my analysis. In response I received more than 50 positive messages, expressing a willingness to share the statistical information. However, due to online communication constraints, as well as to the tight and busy schedules of many respondents, I was able to collect geographic distribution statistics for only 40 video clips (See Appendix 2).

Furthermore, I collected and analyzed 21,215 audience comments from the comment streams of the 176 video clips described above. The sample of the audiences' comments was selected by collecting not more than 500 comments for each of the videos. In cases where a single video generated less than 500 comments, all of them were included in the final sample. In cases where the total number of comments exceeded 500, the comments were selected by collecting 500

available comments posted by audiences around or closer to October 2010 (when the contest was taking place). Next, I analyzed all the collected comments, using a single comment as a unit of analysis. First, I identified the language in which each of the comments was posted. According to this analysis, the 21,215 selected audience comments were posted in 25 different languages with the majority of comments (19,254) posted in English (See Appendix 3).

Then I analyzed the content of comments and distributed them among the six main themes discussed above: "Museum;" "Art & Digital Art;" "Technology & Internet;" "Human being & Personality;" "Space & Locality;" and "Politics & War." However, in the later stages of my analysis I needed to go through the 21,215 comments again to identify and select examples of audiences' textual practices that helped to discuss and analyze not only how people interacted with the main topics of the channels, but also how they reacted to three types of messages, *relational*, *informational,* and *promotional.* Thus, in the later stages of comment analysis I identified and selected messages that reflected how audiences represented themselves and their countries of origin, how they engaged in collective efforts of protests or celebrations of specific ideas or issues, how they negotiated linguistic norms of behavior, or how they helped each other with clarification or translation requests. All these categories of practices appeared to be very important in conducting a more accurate virtual ethnographic analysis, because they reflected many important ideas, issues, and concerns communicated by international online audience members in response to the dominant narratives created through YouTube Play.

It is very important to mention here that the comments posted on the YouTube Play channel were not moderated by the contest organizers. YouTube does allow video owners to delete selected comments and even restrict commenting on videos as a part of the communication settings. Nevertheless, YouTube Play managers shared that they did not moderate the comment streams on the channel because this would contradict the participatory nature of the project, which, in contrast, aimed to encourage ordinary online users to engage with the channel (Young 2012). Analysis of the comments proved this to be true. Specifically, through a content analysis of the comments, I found many messages with a highly negative sentiment toward YouTube, Guggenheim and the project partners, such as HP and Intel, which will be discussed in greater detail in Chapter VII. However, all messages—including those that were critical, negative, or even disrespectful toward the contest organizers—remained on the channel and were not deleted. This demonstrates that the YouTube Play channel remained uncensored and ensures the validity of the virtual ethnographic

method, which relies on the collected data originally posted in the communication spaces of YouTube Play.

Four chapters of this thesis (V, VI, VII and VIII) demonstrate the results of the content analysis of posted comments and explore in greater detail the positions expressed by online audience members toward specific issues and questions that emerged on YouTube Play. In these chapters, the comments are assembled in examples which illustrate key ideas discussed in the dissertation. There are three main types of examples according to three different ways of collecting and representing comments: 1) messages collected from a *single comment stream* posted to a specific video; 2) a *dialogue* among two or more online users within a single comment stream; and 3) *comments collected from various videos*, but brought together on the basis of their relevance to the question discussed. Among these three types of examples, only in the case of sharing dialogues do I acknowledge and follow the order of the users' comments in terms of posting time, placing them according to the original order established in the comment stream. This ensures the logical and correct flow of ideas and question-answer interaction dynamic, allowing the reader to understand not only what online users talked about, but also how they responded to specific messages, or how they interrupted or initiated their own conversations.

The examples that comprised various users' messages collected from *single or multiple comment streams* are arranged according to the relevance of the comments to specific ideas or issues discussed. This means that these comments could be posted by online participants at completely different times, however they all address an important question that is the focus of analysis. Some of those examples contain a large number of comments (up to 20), demonstrating the same idea articulated by various users, sometimes in different languages, which attests to the high degree of relevance and importance of the topic or question among YouTube Play audiences. However, some examples contain fewer comments (two or three); despite a lower number of such comments, which I managed to identify and collect from YouTube Play, I purposefully included them in examples. It was important for me to demonstrate the existence of these ideas as they were expressed by online audiences. These comments are significant not only for illustrating specific virtual ethnographic observations, but, more importantly, for acknowledging the diversity of users' attitudes and opinions.

In terms of acknowledging the diversity of online users' opinions, only *dialogues* contain various messages of a contradictory or oppositional character within a single example. The dialogues of online users on a specific issue of concern is valuable ethnographic material because it allows exploration, in greater detail, of how a question emerges, how it is being interpreted, and how it is answered by various publics over the course of online conversations. I collected *dialogues* and tried to use them as often as possible as representative examples, which not only illustrate specific observations, but at the same time, illuminate the complexity of audience perspectives and opinions. However, a specific form of the YouTube Play instant communication does not always allow these meaningful dialogues to happen among online participants. In many cases, YouTube audiences post their thoughts and ideas in comment streams without necessarily addressing their messages to particular users. These streams present a high diversity of ideas, ranging from supporting a specific opinion expressed by other users, to completely opposing it.

I arranged the examples of messages collected from a *single* or *multiple streams* according to the relevance to a certain opinion. Thus, each example presents messages reflecting a more or less coherent user's opinion on a particular issue. However, it does not mean that contradictory opinions are not acknowledged in the dissertation. In some cases, I provide examples illustrating a different opinion right away and analyze contrasting opinions of users in opposition to each other. In other cases, these examples with contradictory opinions are not discussed within a single section or even chapter and are acknowledged and analyzed in different parts of the thesis. Such an arrangement of examples within the analysis ensures a more comprehensive and in-depth analysis of specific messages communicated by audiences, which goes beyond a mere acknowledgment of the contradictory nature of comments. By giving each important opinion or idea enough space and depth to be explored and understood, the thesis permits a more thorough and accurate analysis of the YouTube Play audience members' expressions on the channel, which helps to illustrate the main arguments of this dissertation.

Chapter IV.

The Guggenheim Museum: "Who Needs to Rule the American Dream

When You Can Rule the World?"[1]

4.1. Introduction

This chapter analyzes the Solomon R. Guggenheim Foundation, its institutional powers, and its ability to be an important non-state actor of cultural diplomacy. Employing the framework outlined in the literature review in which non-state actors' reputations, sources of power and credibility were defined as the main criteria for assessing the organizational capacity to serve as a non-state actor of diplomacy, this chapter addresses three main tasks.

First, the chapter explores the Guggenheim's various funding sources and organizational links with its main donors. This exploration can, on the one hand, expose the commitments of the museum to align its mission and programing with the main sponsors' interests and, on the other hand, allow an evaluation of the degree of institutional dependence on government money and, consequently, the Guggenheim's relationship to the national agenda in cultural diplomacy. An in-depth analysis of various corporate strategies and fund-raising activities which strengthen and diversify the sources of the Guggenheim's funds helps to discern the organizational capacity of the museum to build vital resources and alliances, which are important for contributing to the Guggenheim's sources of power to be a non-state actor of diplomacy. The first section, "Building resources and alliances: Corporate strategies of the Guggenheim," illuminates the high diversity of the Guggenheim's international connections, partnerships and resources. This demonstrates its institutional ability to stay autonomous from the direct influence of a single donor, whether a corporate sponsor or a national or foreign government.

Second, the chapter assesses the cultural power of the museum to influence international audiences and constituencies, and illuminates its various international cultural activities which have a strong potential to exert influence over global publics. Assessing the Guggenheim's international

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[1] This citation is taken from the Guggenheim blog, "Lab|Log." This title was used by Christine McLaren, the BMW Guggenheim Lab's resident writer, for her article, "New York City, the Capital of Capitals: Who Needs to Rule the American Dream When You Can Rule the World?" (Guggenheim 2011a).

reputation to accumulate strong public support and attract investments from constituents, the chapter explores the museum's global franchise network. The focus on the Guggenheim franchise intends to demonstrate the power of the museum's global brand, which directly translates into its institutional ability to win new cultural markets, to generate large audiences on the global scale, and to appeal to powerful investors who are eager to buy the "Guggenheim" brand name to pursue their own economic and social interests. Thus, the second section, "Strengthening international reputation: The Guggenheim franchise network," demonstrates how Guggenheim franchise strategies elevate its institutional authority to be a global museum of contemporary art transcending its cultural influence and powers across borders.

Third, the chapter focuses on the cosmopolitan institutional image and identity which the Guggenheim projects to the global community and aspires to strengthen in the minds of the international audiences. Evaluating the organization's accountability as well as its reputation as a nonpolitical or nonpartisan agency committed to transnational or global issues, rather than questions of national concern, the chapter explores various communication means utilized by the Guggenheim to construct its global image. Drawing on the institutional philosophy and history of the Guggenheim, the final section, "Constructing a global image: Guggenheim cosmopolitan identity," demonstrates the museum's strong commitment, despite various political challenges and constraints, to pursue its own institutional goals and stress its status as a global museum claiming to represent international art and serving audiences from different countries and regions.

4.2. Building resources and alliances: Corporate strategies of the Guggenheim

This section looks at the Guggenheim's global activities from the perspective of various corporate strategies integrated in its institutional development, which allow the museum to build its extensive resources and alliances, contributing to its powers of influence as a non-state actor of cultural diplomacy. As illuminated in the literature review, such corporate strategies may take the form of corporate fundraising efforts, corporate partnerships with transnational corporations, commercial practices bringing earned income through providing services and selling products, and even museum franchising. All these activities not only can bring substantial contributions to a museum budget, but more importantly, can diversify its financial sources, thus making a museum less dependent on a single donor and its direct influence on the museum's programming.

The Guggenheim's institutional shift toward active adoption and integration of corporate strategies occurred with the appearance of Thomas Krens, who arrived at the museum in 1988, "with an MBA from Yale instead of the required doctorate in Art History" (Mathur 2005, 698), and became an inspiring leader in the revolutionary process of the museum's corporatization. Kren's reformation was exceptionally instrumental in bringing new investments, building stronger relationships with corporate partners, and establishing a strong museum brand, which attracted audiences and constituencies from various corners of the globe. "Krens inherited a museum with a modest endowment, a quixotic exhibition history, a famous landmark in need of repair and not enough room for art" (Kimmelman 1999, 52). However, during Krens's leadership, as Fabelová (2010) assesses, the investment in the foundation increased from $20 million to $118 million (Fabelová 2010, 53). Such a strong rise of the museum's financial sustainability was due to the "Krensian Economics" formula, which reflected the operational philosophy under Krens, who "came into this position with the belief that the historic model of the museum was on the edge of obsolescence" (Trilupaityte 2009, 125).

Specifically, he introduced and reinforced several key components of museum corporatization that were particularly instrumental in turning the Guggenheim "from its sedate fourth-place slot in the New York hierarchy (behind the Museum of Modern Art, the Metropolitan, and the Whitney) to a position of revivified cultural eminence and popular appeal" (Loughery 1993, 646). His economic success formula consists of the following important elements: "great collections, great architecture, a great special exhibition, a great second exhibition, two shopping opportunities, two eating opportunities, a high-tech interface via the Internet, and economies of scale via a global network" (Cuno 2001, 45).

In terms of collections and architecture, Krens's economic strategies were focused on enhancing and strengthening the most important museum "assets" that the Guggenheim already had, and to use these key resources for future development. Krens started his career at the museum with a deal worth $47 million, which he received for selling three important paintings in the Guggenheim's permanent collection, by Chagall, Kandinsky, and Modigliani, "fueling fears that the new director regarded the museum as a commodity for sale" (Kimmelman 1999, 52). This "liquidation" of the Foundation's assets, or in other words, deaccessioning of art, was necessary to start the restoration and expansion of the museum, which Krens believed was crucial for the institution's future

successful development (Kaufman 2004a). This sale demonstrated a shift in traditional collection management, in which works of art started to be understood as merely assets, property to which monetary values can be assigned. Also it raised an important question: "which is more important, the art exhibited in the museum or the museum that exhibits the art?" (Kaufman 2004a). Within the "Krensian Economics" philosophy, the latter was definitely the priority.

If, in the case of the Guggenheim, this stress on the museum building has deep historical institutional roots, Krens only reinforced this focus: "architectural quality and architectural adventure are attributes [that…] have been associated with the Guggenheim since its inception" (Guggenheim 1993, 36). The flagship museum on Fifth Avenue in New York has unique architecture, making it "a great work of art" in itself or a piece of "environmental art" that, since its opening, has remained one of the most popular attractions in New York (Blake 1959). The Guggenheim rotunda building has "a circular design with a tall internal atrium at its center, around which curves a continuous narrow ramp. Visitors make their way up the ramp and stand somewhat lopsidedly as they take in artworks that can seem to march along the wall to their right" (Sylvester 2009, 215).

This "monument to modernism […] with its spiral ramp riding to a domed skylight" (Guggenheim 1993) was designed by American architect Frank Lloyd Wright, who in June 1943 was first contacted by Hilla Rebay, a chief curator and later the first director of the Guggenheim. Rebay asked him to design a new type of museum building "in a fabulous style," "something so superb that it is a boon to the entire world," "the temple of non-objectivity and reverence," that should "become a standard of greatness for all nations, a true temple of peace in the universe" (Vail 2009, 28). Not disappointing her expectations, Frank Lloyd Wright's masterpiece first opened to the public on October 21, 1959 "and was immediately recognized as an architectural landmark" (Guggenheim 1993). For the museum opening event, "enormous crowds of people lined up to experience the architecture and to see the impressive inaugural exhibition of highlights from the collection. Newspaper accounts at the time reported an attendance on opening day of some three thousand people" (Guggenheim 1993).

Conn (2010) indicates that in the case of the Guggenheim, the significant shift in the museum's nature was made through the paradigm change, when museum collections were being built around buildings, rather than museum buildings being built around collections, inevitably leading to

transforming a museum from a place of art preservation to a space of popular public consumption. A number of museum surveys demonstrate that as many as a third of the Guggenheim's visitors come to see the building itself, rather than the exhibitions or permanent collections on view (Guggenheim 2013). Furthermore, the museum's statistics reveal that far more postcards are sold of the building itself rather than postcards showcasing paintings displayed inside the Guggenheim (Watkin 1999, 46). A more recent exhibition organized to celebrate the 50th anniversary of Wright's creation, a retrospective of Wright's work that included drawings and models of the architectural design, became the highest-attended exhibition in the museum's history, drawing 372,000 visitors for the 87-day show, from May 15 through August 23, 2009 (Itzkoff 2009). These attendance numbers clearly demonstrate that the architecture of the museum remains one of the most important factors to bring people to the Guggenheim.

The iconic architecture of the Guggenheim museum building has always remained "a magnet for crowds," which turned the museum into a public space with additional functions. As Messer (1989), the museum director before Krens, indicates, originally the Guggenheim was established as a quiet elitist cultural institution with European collections of modern art predominantly oriented toward high-level educational and artistic circles. However, no less than 13 years after the original commission, in 1956, with the appearance of the Frank Lloyd Wright's monument of contemporary architecture, the Guggenheim turned into "a museum for the people whom the open spaces welcome in great numbers without crowding, or obscuring their vision. It is, in fact, a building […] in which all public spaces are equally accessible and desirable" (Messer 1989, 147). The Guggenheim's architectural style makes it an acceptable, enjoyable, satisfying public space, fostering an expansion of its initial functions. In her letters to Wright, Rebay envisioned the museum as a public space with a lot of services for visitors. She insisted that the future museum should have

> …a room to rest in, a large space where the pictures are properly stored so that only a few are hung in sequence and only a few great artists [are] shown and not a lot at once—a large library space for art books and instruction for young people, where they can also get refreshments nearby, everything open on Sunday as well. A room for readings and music and the display of single pictures […] One space would need to provide advice and information on how a dwelling ought to look, what it should contain, where one can get it,

depending on one's budget, instruction for mothers and teachers—through lectures, also
for children, possibly films […]. The reproductions of the museum pictures have to be sold
at cost, so that they can learn to live with them. Every day at certain hours musicians would
have to be engaged to play Bach, and this music would have to be audible throughout…
(Vail 2009, 28).

This description of Rebay's projections of the future Guggenheim building clearly indicates that from the very beginning the museum was envisioned to be not just a repository of works of art, but more a space where people could engage in various activities, bringing them enlightenment ("large library," "art books," "room for readings and music") and pleasure ("a room to rest," "refreshments," "open on Sunday," "films") at the same time. From its first days, the museum integrated many new types of activities for its audiences, which made the museum so popular among members of the general public. Analysis of the Guggenheim's annual reports from as early as 1977 indicates that the museum has traditionally engaged a broad public in a wide variety of extracurricular activities including public lectures, film screenings, corporate presentations and special evenings and receptions. For example, in 1977, the museum's special events included about six film screenings for the general public, four performing arts events such as Princeton Chamber Music Ensemble or Children Mini-festival, eight receptions, including ones in honor of Mobil Oil Corporation, General Felt Industries and Art News Magazine, and many other events outside of the main programming of the museum's exhibits (Guggenheim 1977).

These new leisure-time activities, integrated in the design of the museum programming, have transformed the Guggenheim into a place where people could spend time out in public with friends or casual "strangers in an emotionally satisfying way" (Conn 2010, 231). As Kustow (1972) summarized it: "the Guggenheim Museum is a model—and an admirable one—of the well-financed modern art center enjoying much prestige in a prize situation in a major metropolis," which attracts crowds of visitors (36). The tradition of organizing special events has only been reinforced with time, and now the Guggenheim offers special events almost every day; the museum's web site states: "the Guggenheim Museum hosts a number of benefit events throughout the year. Proceeds generate vital support for the museum's innovative exhibition, acquisition, conservation, and education programs" (Guggenheim 2012b). As highlighted in the literature review, the economic return of these activities is rather profitable for museums, first because these

public events ensure a higher turnout of visitors who spend money in museum shops, restaurants, cafes and other leisure places, and, second because they allow money to be earned by selling museum services and renting museum spaces for hosting events. The Guggenheim's official site openly advertises its "iconic" Frank Lloyd Wright building spaces, such as Ronald O. Perelman Rotunda, Peter B. Lewis Theater, The Wright, New Media Theater, Cafe 3, as well as special event catering which can be rented by interested parties "for entertaining clients, colleagues, employees, and other guests […] in one of the world's most recognizable buildings and premier cultural institutions" (Guggenheim 2012b).

Analysis of the IRS 990-tax reports (2001-2012) (See Appendix 6) of the Guggenheim demonstrates that the museum's annual program service revenue, which includes admission fees, special events income, restaurant and retail store sales, fees for museum special services, and unrelated business income, significantly exceeds the amount of support received from other sources, for example government grants. In fact, program service revenue, on average $27 million each year, or more than 45 per cent of the Guggenheim's total budget, provides the largest part of the museum's annual budget. Combined with annual income received from membership dues, on average this revenue constitutes almost half of the Guggenheim's annual budget, attesting to the museum's strong reliance on its own income generating activities. In comparison, government grants and donations constitute a tiny proportion of the Guggenheim's annual budget, on average not more than 3 per cent. Such a large amount of earned income, especially in comparison with government support, indicates that the museum is less reliant on government grants, donations, or sponsorships, all of which usually come with certain responsibilities that directly or indirectly influence the museum's programming. The income received through program service revenue contributes considerably to building the museum's resources, which allow it to pursue its institutional mission and interests on national and international levels outside of direct government control.

Furthermore, the unusual museum building, as the main asset of the Guggenheim, laid the foundation for a new curatorial model developed by Krens, who announced that "the encyclopedic nature of the museum was over" and the paradigm shift in museum curatorship was from "diachrony to synchrony" (Krauss 1990, 7). Krens argued that the new "synchronic museum …would forego history in the name of a kind of intensity of experience, an aesthetic charge that

is not so much temporal (historical) as it is now radically spatial" (Krauss 1990, 7). Krens believed that the contemporary publics of the 21st century need to "have a cumulative, serial, crescendo" experience (Krauss 1990, 7). He stressed that contemporary museums should be "idiosyncratic structures, whose spaces might also accommodate site-specific commissions rather than, or as well as, traditional collections" (Krauss 1990, 7). Krens further emphasized: "we should let it go and develop a new cosmopolitanism. There is no longer a need to stock all major art styles, periods, forms, and products in one urban museum location" (Sylvester 2009, 117). This philosophy of a museum, which for Krens appeared to be not just a space for contemplation and enlightenment through art, but a place of complex experiences embracing spatial and performative dimensions, has become a strong policy justifying "commercial exhibits" reflecting the demands of the masses. Loughery (2001) describes the Guggenheim's shift from serious artistic scholarship to sensational programming that generates big audiences and large profits in the following way:

> The Guggenheim deserves credit for some important exhibitions in the last decade … This is the museum where we have studied Kandinsky and the Russian avant-garde in the greatest detail possible in America… But this is also an institution that seems most proud of its 1998 motorcycle survey, largely because that show brought in unprecedented revenues from visitors who have no interest in Kandinsky or Picasso… Worse yet, this is the museum that gave us last fall's dreadful Giorgio Armani show, and will soon give us a Norman Rockwell exhibition and possibly a Jeff Koons retrospective (Loughery 2001, 632).

The new model of museum exhibitions based on "soliciting corporations—like BMW, Giorgio Armani, or Hugo Boss to sponsor 'shows' of their own products" was severely criticized by academics, museum practitioners and art critics who blamed Krens for turning the museum into a modern "boutique" or place of consumption (Sorkin 2005, 25). However, both the visitors' admiration and appreciation of these exhibits, as well as a high remuneration from corporate sponsors, indicate that the "Krensian economics" model worked well for the development of the museum's economic resources and alliances.

For example, the famous 1998 show "Art of the Motorcycle," known as the Guggenheim Museum's landmark exhibition and designed by Frank O. Gehry, presented the evolution of motorcycle technology and design, showcasing more than 130 motorcycles arranged

chronologically, beginning with the 1868 Michaux Perreaux (Guggenheim 2001). The exhibit, generously sponsored by the German car company BMW, turned out to be very popular among members of the general public, drawing more than 4,000 visitors a day and more than 5,000 people on weekends (Vogel 1998). Overall the attendance in New York was 301,037, one of the largest in the history of the Guggenheim (Sheller and Urry 2004). For many attendees of the show it was the first museum visit of their lives (Packer 2008, 112). Even though the show turned the museum into a "parking lot," it really brought in "a whole new audience to experience a new kind of museum show that reached out to embrace their tastes. The Guggenheim still sells motorcycle merchandise, including $1000 celebrity autographed helmets" (Rogers et al. 2003, 252). Large-format 427-page color catalogs of the famous exhibition were also outsold with over 250,000 copies in print as of 2005 (Falco 1999).

The "Art of the Motorcycle" traveled for three years to different museums in the USA and abroad, with financial support from BMW, "drawing huge crowds at every stop" (Rogers et al. 2003, 252). For example, the attendance at the Guggenheim Bilbao was overall around 3 million, and later in Las Vegas for the opening of the Guggenheim Hermitage satellite it reached more than 250,000 (Sheller and Urry 2004). As some critics point out, this exhibition started a whole new trend in profitable blockbuster museum exhibits (Rogers et al. 2003), pioneered by the Guggenheim and actively continued in its future shows. For example, a few months later the Guggenheim organized another controversial, but very popular among the masses, exhibition, "Georgio Armani."

There were rumors that the world-famous Italian designer pledged $15 million to the Guggenheim Foundation (Potvin 2012, 48), which clearly pointed to the main interests of the parties involved in organizing such a fashion show in a museum. While the Foundation officially announced that Armni was "not sponsoring the exhibition," Judith Cox, a deputy director for the Guggenheim, acknowledged that the fashion designer had entered a "long-term arrangement" with the museum, which would benefit the museum and "support capital projects and international programs" (Vogel 1999). The exhibition featured 400 garments, offering a thematic look at Armani's fashion design in the past 25 years, highlighting "important aspects of Armani's artistic contribution and examin[ing] his cultural and sociological impact in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries" (Guggenheim, 2000). Just as for the previous show, sponsored by the BMW, the fashion exhibit "set new attendance records for the Guggenheim," bringing more than 4,000 visitors a day to see

the show in New York. In total, 283,000 people viewed the exhibit (Sheller and Urry 2004), and the popular "extravaganza" later traveled to the Guggenheim Bilbao and many museum venues around Europe, where the show was also met by the general public with appreciation and excitement (Haacke 2012).

On the economic level, these commercial exhibitions are mutually beneficial for both corporate sponsors, who have promotional opportunities to win new markets, and the museum, which receives profitable investments and increases its overall attendance (Willis 2010, 92). Thus, one of the Guggenheim's biggest sources of annual revenue is income received through grants (excluding government) and donations which come through sponsorships of exhibitions and museum activities, as well as other generous gifts and pledges from wealthy patrons. These funds constitute, on average, almost $23.5 million annually, or almost 40 per cent of the museum's total annual budget (See Appendix 6).

On the cultural and artistic levels, these shows have also always generated a lot of criticism:

> the Guggenheim has pioneered the marketing of the neoliberal museum: a museum that is increasingly dependent on corporate gifts rather than public funding; that privileges traveling exhibitions over permanent collections, aspirational leisure over education, risk and innovation over cultural preservation; and that has assumed the competitive character of a for-profit enterprise (Wyma, 2014).

By associating itself with the names of big corporations, Rectanus (2002) observes, the Guggenheim "links its image to a post-modernism of visual consumption, that is, of contemporary fashion, irony, and a cosmopolitan life style" (187). These commercially driven partnerships shape a "populist" and consumerist logic of museum programming concerned with generating large audiences and bringing higher profits: "the issue isn't about the number of buildings or exhibitions," Krens once remarked, "but the number of people you directly engage with" (Trilupaityte 2009, 126). As Krauss (1990) also indicates, the "populist" nature of the Guggenheim is based on a new understanding of museum audiences as "technologized subjects": "the subject in search not of affect but of intensities, the subject who experiences its fragmentation as euphoria, the subject whose field of experience is no longer history, but space itself"(17).

Despite a strong negative sentiment shared in highly artistic circles, this bold and brave "Krensian Economics" of commercial exhibitions and projects has started a strong Guggenheim tradition

continued in partnerships, implemented with the financial support of rich corporate patrons from around the world. To name just a few there is, for example, a long-term corporate partnership (since 1996) between the museum and Hugo Boss, a global luxury fashion and style company of German origin (Guggenheim 2000b). The Guggenheim provides artworks from its collections and its library for the Hugo Boss corporate offices in Stuttgart, and most importantly, it allows the use of its name in connection with Hugo Boss's sponsorship activities. The museum also plans educational outreach activities and develops workshops for the fashion company's employees and their children. In return, the Guggenheim receives substantial financial assistance to tour several exhibitions each year. In addition, the company sponsors the Hugo Boss Prize series (Rectanus 2002, 187). "Hugo Boss is one of our most important and long standing corporate patrons," the Chairman of the Guggenheim's Board of Trustees said, "In addition to funding several exhibitions, they also completely fund the biennial Hugo Boss Prize – a major, juried contemporary art invitational whose winner receives $50,000 and a show at the Guggenheim" (Lawson-Johnston 2014, 136).

Other important examples include the famous BMW Guggenheim Lab, touring around the world from New York to Berlin to Mumbai, sponsored by the iconic German car brand (Guggenheim 2013a), or a global online Google initiative, "Design It: Shelter Competition" that invited the public to use Google Earth (Guggenheim 2009b). Among the most recent examples is the 2014 Guggenheim UBS MAP Global Art Initiative, engaging curators and artists from the Middle East, Asia, Africa, and Latin America. This long-term project is organized in cooperation with UBS Wealth Management, a global financial services firm headquartered in Zurich and Basel, which invested $40 million in this initiative (Corbett, 2012).

The sponsorships of all these Guggenheim projects by transnational companies can be explained by the donors' financial stakes in "dynamic regions" where the corporations have significant interests. In this case, the museum "going global" creates a stronger appeal to its potential partners tapping into their need to reach new geographic markets. In fact, the "Guggenheim, of course, is hardly the first art institution to cater to the demands of its wealthy patrons" (Wyma, 2014). The "popes and Medicis who bankrolled the Italian Renaissance, the robber barons who built America's museums, or contemporary collector tycoons like Charles Saatchi and Dakis Joannou, who have controversially inflated the value of their private collections by showcasing them in

public museums" (Wyma, 2014), provide examples of reciprocal ties between the worlds of art and business. However, in the case of the Guggenheim, building on the opportunities provided by economic globalization, the museum went even further in establishing mutually beneficial relationships with wealthy patrons by actively engaging sponsors not only from the United States, but also from other countries.

On the corporate sponsorship web page of the Guggenheim, it is clearly articulated that "the Guggenheim works closely with industry leaders to develop innovative local and global partnerships that achieve extraordinary results," which activate multi-channel opportunities for companies, connecting them with their target audiences, and promoting their brands internationally "by aligning with a leading global arts organization" (Guggenheim 2011). As Kettenbach, Head of Corporate Communications and Arts Sponsorship of the German fashion company Hugo Boss, once remarked: "The Guggenheim is one of our most creative and dynamic sponsorship activities. Our partnership with the Guggenheim has produced tangible benefits throughout the company and around the world" (Guggenheim 2011). One of Krens's "more ingenious initiatives" has been the "Global Partners" program, in which corporations receive prominent recognition in all the Guggenheim's venues in return for making generous donations to the Foundation. "Rather than sponsor an exhibit confined to a single museum, these Global Partners enjoy continual recognition in all Guggenheim museums over months or even years" (Lawson-Johnston 2014, 137). Delta Airlines, for example, is one of the most active "Global Partners," benefiting from worldwide Guggenheim recognition and serving the museum by providing donations-in-kind, such as *gratis* flights for museum personnel and artwork shipments, as well as sponsoring traveling exhibitions (Lawson-Johnston 2014, 137).

All these examples illustrate the Guggenheim has a wide network of powerful economic partners and collaborators around the globe which ensure the museum's autonomous standing from exclusively American financial sources, whether public money and direct U.S. government grants or American corporations' sponsorship. Being engaged in close financial ties with multiple political and economic actors and navigating in the complex multilateral context of the global economy, the Guggenheim has built a strong platform for accumulation of its global resources and alliances, strengthening its nonpartisan standing in relation to a single donor.

Such a corporate focus, brought to the Guggenheim by Krens to improve its financial sustainability, has been strongly supported by the museum's governance. Peter Lawson-Johnston is the grandson of Solomon R. Guggenheim and has served on the Guggenheim Board of Trustees as a Chair (his status is now Honorary Chairman) since 1970. In his memoir, Lawson-Johnston distinguished Krens as one of the six most important figures (alongside Solomon R. Guggenheim, his son Harry Frank and niece Peggy Guggenheim, himself, and the museum's first director Thomas Messer) to play a role in the development of the Guggenheim museum. With special sympathy, gratitude, and admiration, he wrote that Thomas Krens, who was appointed by him, has been "the principle force behind the museum's ascension to an enterprise of truly global dimension" (Lawson-Johnston 2014, 15), and who has "done a fabulous job of making the Guggenheim a success and putting [the] foundation on the map" (Lawson-Johnston 2014, 152). Moreover, in his book, he honestly acknowledged his own role and influence over the museum's development, when a bold corporate management approach appeared to be the most appropriate strategy for institutional growth. "I am neither a collector nor a particularly astute judge of art," he shared,

> People are frequently surprised that my contributions to the Guggenheim are those of a business manager […] The international language of art institutions is also the language of business: stewardship, management, acquisition, showmanship, and solvency […] Business and museums can learn much from each other, and more museums can be run more efficiently by employing more sophisticated management practices (Lawson-Johnston 2014, 13).

After inheriting the position of president of the Guggenheim's Board from his cousin Harry Frank in 1969, who "never felt the need nor had the inclination to seek funding from outside the family," Lawson-Johnston completely altered the course of the Foundation's development. First, he changed its status from private to public, and, second, he broadened the base of trustees who could not only make generous annual contributions, as well as long-term capital gift commitments, but encourage and oversee the institution's successful development. During his presidency, he appointed many owners of large corporations to the board. Some of these appointments included: Mobile Chairman and CEO Rawleigh Warner Jr.; Sea Containers Ltd. CEO James Sherwood (whose holdings include the Hotel Cipriani in Venice, New York's "21" club, and the Orient

Express railroad); investment specialist John Hilson; William H. Donner Foundation vice president Joseph W. Donner Jr.; SCS Communications chairman and CEO Stephen Swid; real estate entrepreneur Samuel LeFrak; McGraw-Hill chairman Harold McGraw; Kennecott Copper president Frank Milliken; Morgan Bank chair and World Bank director Lew Preston; and Gould Corporation chair Bill Ylvisaker (Lawson-Johnston 2014, 137). One of the appointees, Ronald Perelman, whose holding company MacAndrews & Forbes controls Revlon and a host of other companies, took the position of president when Lawson-Johnston decided to turn it over, after 27 years, to someone younger and "more capable of enlisting the financial support of potential donors" (Lawson-Johnston 2014, 137). Highly recommended by Krens and several other trustees, Perelman has been "extraordinarily generous, contributing $20 million in the course of his tenure as board president" (Lawson-Johnston 2014, 137). In 2004, Perelman was succeeded by new president of the board Peter Lewis, CEO of the Progressive Corporation, a Cleveland-based insurance company with over $6.1 billion in revenue, who raised the philanthropy at the Guggenheim to a completely new level by pledging $50 million to the Foundation as his first gift as a board member.

Despite his financial power and position as the largest benefactor, donating in total $77 million to the endowment during his 12 years of board service, Lewis needed to resign from the board in 2005 after having a strong disagreement with Thomas Krens. He demanded the director assume a more fiscally conservative leadership course and concentrate on the New York museum rather than pursuing ambitious global plans. However, he met strong resistance from Krens and failed to garner support from the rest of the board. Lewis left the Guggenheim's Board of Trustees, saying "Tom [Krens] is a man of enormous ability, and he will continue to be doing the things he likes to do […] He's got the world following him" (Vogel, 2005). The majority of trustees have continued to support Krens, Lawson-Johnston explains, "not because they've been swept away by some romantic vision, but because global growth, despite some setbacks, has proven to be one of several valuable strategies for the Guggenheim […] a museum with a modest endowment, limited resources, and a small patron base must be entrepreneurial to survive" (Lawson-Johnston 2014, 133).

The 2005 Annual Report statement by the Chair of the Board of Trustees, William Mack, Founder and Chairman of the Mack Real Estate Group, also confirmed that the Guggenheim Board was

unified "in recognizing that the international profile of the Guggenheim Foundation [was] the feature that makes it distinct, and confident that under the strong leadership of Thomas Krens it [would] realize even greater success" (Guggenheim 2005). This example from the recent history of the Guggenheim's board clearly demonstrates that the museum governance devotedly followed the philosophy and strategies of Peter Lawson-Johnston, who really succeeded in incorporating a strong entrepreneurial spirit into the organization's management. The latest appointments to the board (See Appendix 5), which reflect its composition as of 2010 (the time when this research was initiated), also illustrate that the museum's governance continues the legacy of the established institutional principles which favor corporate strategies of development over more traditional museum approaches. Thus, following the tradition, the majority of the board (87 per cent of all its members) is represented by the corporate world with a high expertise in various business matters (See Appendix 5). Only four persons on the board belong to the arts or cultural community, while the majority are wealthy private art collectors and supporters, including the great-granddaughter of Solomon R. Guggenheim, Wendy McNeil. The professional art world is represented only by Dr. John Wilmerding, the author of numerous books and a noted scholar of American art serving as emeritus professor at Princeton University and adjunct curator at the Princeton University Art Museum, who holds a presidential appointment to the Committee for the Preservation of the White House (Smithsonian American Art Museum 2008).

Such a low percentage of people with art expertise outperforms even the number of people from outside of the corporate world who represented the board during the Lawson-Johnston presidency. His appointments to the board included more diplomatic personas and art professionals, for example: Donald Wilson, deputy director of the U.S. Information Agency under President Kennedy; former U.S. ambassador to Norway Robin Duke; former ambassador to Great Britain Anne Armstrong; Fogg Museum director Seymour Slive; and National Gallery deputy director John Wilmerding, who is still on the board (Lawson-Johnston 2014). These board members, with diplomatic and cultural competency overseeing foundational international cultural relations and development reflected, the traditional mode of diplomatic operations in the previous epoch. In the new era of cultural and economic globalization, the Guggenheim adopted a new approach by expanding its international interests and building important alliances and resources necessary for institutional development on the global scene.

Contemporary members of the Guggenheim's Board of Trustees are more business-oriented than representative of the world of diplomacy and art. However, the board is also more international, reflecting the Foundation's global character and expansionist ambitions. As William L. Mack, the Foundation's Chairman, explained: "Our Board is becoming increasingly international—a fitting reflection of the Foundation's oversight of a global network of museums" (Guggenheim 2008b).

Thus, in 1997, followed the opening of the first satellite Guggenheim museum in Bilbao, a member from Spain, Jon Imanol Azua, joined the Guggenheim's Board of Trustees. Mr. Azuam had worked for the Basque Government since 1985 as a Minister of Health and Labor (1985–1987), and Minister of Industry and Energy and Deputy Prime Minister (1991–1995) (Guggenheim 1997). Serving as a chairman and CEO of E-Novating Lab, which focuses on strategy, competitiveness, and regional development, Azua has been a devoted and enthusiastic supporter and promoter of the new franchise strategy started by the Guggenheim Museum in the late 1990s. His numerous publications, including "Bilbao: From the Guggenheim to the Knowledge City" (Carillo 2006) or "Guggenheim Bilbao: 'Cooperative' strategies for the new culture economy spaces" (Azua 2005), serve as convincing evidence of his efforts to advertise the Guggenheim museum as a new tool of economic regeneration and urban development. While there is no evidences in academic literature or the press of Azua's direct involvement in lobbying the Guggenheim franchise deal with the Basque government, his previous experiences in service to Basque ministries point to his leverage power, which could have been quite instrumental in finalizing the agreement between the Guggenheim Foundation and the Basque Government on building their first franchise museum in Bilbao.

Another good example of the international expansion of the Guggenheim's Board of Trustees is the election to the board in 2001 of Russian businessman and philanthropist Vladimir Potanin, the President and Chairman of the Board of INTERROS Holding Company, "one of the largest private Russian conglomerates with involvement in metallurgy, aero engine, banking, media, and agricultural sectors" (Guggenheim 2002a). Being a major patron of the arts and education in Russia, a founder of the Potanin Charity Fund, and the grand sponsor of the State Hermitage Museum in St. Petersburg, Potanin played a crucial role in developing the long-term collaboration agreement between the Guggenheim and Hermitage. Thus, he supported the first venture of this partnership in the new satellite museum in Las Vegas, opened in 2001, by sponsoring one of the

first exhibitions, "Masterpieces and Master Collectors: Impressionist and Early Modern Paintings from the Hermitage and Guggenheim Museums" (Guggenheim 2002a). Furthermore, Potanin generously sponsored and played an important role in bringing the famous blockbuster exhibition entitled, "The Russia! The Majesty of the Tsars: Treasures from the Kremlin Museum," from Russia to New York and Las Vegas. The exhibition attracted 400,000 visitors during its 17-week run in New York and 200,000 attendees in Las Vegas (Decker 2008, 192).

Among the most recent board elections is the 2008 appointment to the board of Carl Gustaf Ehrnrooth from Helsinki, Finland, who is the biggest owner of the construction company YIT and a private investor with Corbis Investments S.A., controlled by his family. Being involved in the Finnish art world, with service on the boards of the Kiasma Museum of Contemporary Art Foundation and of the Mairea and Maire Gullichsen Foundations, Mr. Ehrnrooth owns a personal collection of Scandinavian 20th century art consisting of 500 works from Finland, Sweden, Norway, Denmark, and Iceland (Guggenheim 2008b). Following his appointment to the board, a plan for the Guggenheim Helsinki, a new franchise museum in Finland, was proposed to the Helsinki City Council in 2009 by Helsinki Art Museum Director Janne Gallen-Kallela-Siren (Helsinki city 2013). Ehrnrooth admits that such an enthusiasm from his colleague was due to his personal efforts in convincing him of such "a wonderful opportunity" that the Helsinki project could bring to the city and to the cultural life of the region. "My role was to open the door for him and for the project," Ehrnrooth shares (Sorjanen 2015). The Helsinki Guggenheim project is now in progress, illustrating the power of the international connections of the Guggenheim's Board that proves to be quite instrumental in building its global resources and alliances.

Among other international members of the Guggenheim's Board of Trustee there is, for example, Dimitris Daskalopoulos from Greece, who is the Chairman of the SEV Hellenic Federation of Enterprises and who generously enriched the Peggy Guggenheim Collection during the 52nd Venice Biennale in 2007 by purchasing contemporary art works from around the world (Guggenheim 2009). There are also Theodor Dalenson from Sweden, founder of the AB Novestra, an independent venture-capital company and Nove Capital Management, or Russian-born Yanna Bullock, founder of the signature and environmental design service RIGroup with offices in New York, Moscow, Paris, and London. All these wealthy international board members representing different countries not only bring substantial contributions to the Guggenheim Foundation budget,

but more importantly, enrich the museum's international connections and opportunities, which prove to be quite fruitful in developing important partnerships and alliances across the world.

To conclude this section, it is important to stress again that these Guggenheim resources and alliances considerably diversify the Foundation's funding sources, making it less dependent on a single political or economic party whose direct interests can influence the institutional power of the museum to pursue its mission and goals. Furthermore, these international connections, partnerships and resources ensure the Guggenheim's autonomy from the United States government, contributing to the museum's sources of power as a non-state actor of cultural diplomacy. As mentioned earlier, government support for the museum's activities (on average, around 3 per cent of the total annual budget) is not significant in comparison to other contributions, such as program services revenues (on average, 45 per cent) or other contributions and gifts (on average, almost 40 per cent) (See Appendix 6). Furthermore, following its international philosophy and mandate, the Guggenheim cooperates with governments from different countries, which reinforces its autonomous standing in relation to the U.S.'s official forces of cultural diplomacy and enriches its international network of alliances and powerful partnerships.

Thus, the official web site of the museum states: "the Guggenheim is grateful to … government agencies that give generously to the museum's programming and activities"; these agencies include the Consulate General of the Federal Republic of Germany New York, the Government of Flanders through Flanders House New York, Institut für Auslandsbeziehungen e.V. Stuttgart, the Italian Cultural Institute of New York, the Mondriaan Fund, the Royal Norwegian Consulate General in New York, The Swiss Arts Council Pro Helvetia, and many others (Guggenheim 2014c). Being a partner and collaborator of these government organizations, representing different countries, the Guggenheim earns and demonstrates its institutional authority to develop and implement projects that strengthen international cultural relations with a very high level of "diplomatic" conduct.

For example, a cooperation between the Guggenheim and the Government of Thailand's Ministry of Culture, as well as the Asian Cultural Council, led to the creation of the Asian Art Council, established in 2007 to bring together 18 international experts representing eight countries for establishing channels of cooperation integrating Asian art "into the dominant Euro-American discourse of international modern and contemporary art; and practically, within the exhibition,

collection, and education programs of mainstream international art museums like the Guggenheim" (Guggenheim, 2007). Tracing its historic strategic move to embrace Asia as a new geographical area for future integration and expansion of artistic focus and programming, Krens noted, "In the Guggenheim's worldview, Asia is critical, Asia is vital, and Asia is an exciting part of our future […] The Asian Art Council and the museum's Asian art initiative galvanize the Guggenheim's long-term interest in Asia" (Guggenheim 2007a). This international initiative, to significantly expand cultural markets and geographical areas of the Guggenheim's presence and influence, is understood and promoted by the Deputy Permanent Secretary of Thailand's Ministry of Culture, Apinan Poshyananda as "the reciprocal exchange between Thai art experts, artists, curators, and scholars, and the distinguished international members of the Guggenheim's Asian Art Council" (Guggenheim 2014b). This stress on the "reciprocity" of the relationship between a museum and a government agency representing its national culture indicates that the Guggenheim is perceived and accepted as an equal partner in establishing and developing international cultural relations. This strengthens the institutional authority of the Guggenheim to act as a non-state actor of cultural diplomacy.

The next section of the chapter reinforces major findings illuminated in this part, by providing more examples of the Guggenheim's partnerships with both governments from various countries, as well as transnational corporations. Demonstrating the power of the museum to constantly enrich its international resources and alliances, however, the next section has a different objective. By looking at the global franchise network development, I aim to demonstrate the Guggenheim's efforts to establish and promote its cultural reputation and expertise, allowing it to operate in the international arena and cooperate with powerful partners.

4.3. Strengthening international reputation: The Guggenheim franchise network

This section explores in greater detail the global franchise network of the Guggenheim from the perspective of its power to amplify Krens's "museum success formula," which was transferred to many satellite museums located in different countries. The main focus of this part of the chapter is to look at the development of the global brand of the Guggenheim, which was significantly reinforced through the growth of its franchise network. This global brand, established in the international arena, is one of the important assets of the Solomon R. Guggenheim Foundation because, as the chapter illustrates further, it is capable of bringing large investments, securing

support from constituents, increasing museum audiences on the global scale, as well as elevating the perceived cultural reputation of the institution to be a global, powerful museum, and a non-state actor of cultural diplomacy.

It is important to begin the analysis of the Guggenheim franchise network from a historical fact, which according to Decker (2008), "started the global expansion wheels turning at the New York based Foundation" (124). The first museums that came under the umbrella of the Solomon R. Guggenheim Museum were the Peggy Guggenheim Museum in Venice, which, unlike all other satellite museums, came "as a stroke of sheer nepotistic luck" (Decker 2008, 124). Peggy Guggenheim, a niece of Solomon Guggenheim and daughter of Benjamin Guggenheim, dedicated herself to collecting and supporting contemporary European art, which she started to exhibit in 1937 in her small gallery in London. She then moved her collection to the *Art of This Century* museum in New York, but in 1947 she returned to Europe, where her collection of Cubist, Surrealist, and European abstract paintings and sculptures were shown for the first time at the 1948 Venice Biennale, bringing her collection a world recognition and appreciation. Peggy Guggenheim purchased Palazzo Venier dei Leoni on Venice's Grand Canal in Venice and permanently installed her collection there, which became legally operated and endowed by the establishment in 1951 of the Peggy Guggenheim Foundation (Guggenheim 2000).

Two years before her death, Peggy Guggenheim was invited to the Solomon R. Guggenheim Museum in New York to exhibit her collection, and "it was on that occasion that she resolved to donate her palace and works of art to the Solomon R. Guggenheim Foundation" (Guggenheim 2000), however under the agreement that "nothing in the Collection could be de-accessioned, and its entirety was to remain on display in the Venice palace" (Guggenheim 1987, 182). After the transfer of the Peggy Guggenheim Museum to the Solomon R. Guggenheim Foundation management, the Palazzo, however, was renovated according to the acceptable New York security and exhibition standards while the flagship Guggenheim Museum in New York started to use the new exhibitory spaces in Europe for their shows and installations, building on the "brand of the Peggy Guggenheim Museum" that could "ease their expanded access into this tightly controlled cultural region" (Decker 2008, 136). After physical improvements were realized in the palazzo and a yearlong program of exhibitions was introduced, the Peggy Guggenheim Collection turned

"into one of Venice's most important cultural attractions, drawing more than 175,000 visitors a year to its relatively modest display spaces" (Guggenheim 1993, 34).

Consequently, what began as first steps toward European expansion with a branch in Venice, received as an unsolicited gift from Peggy Guggenheim, led to larger and more ambitious plans for the museum to go global, as Krens remarked, the "need to have more and at a larger scale" (Krauss 1990). As the museum records confirm, "it was with these changes in scope and program in Venice that the Guggenheim Foundation was able to recognize more clearly, by the end of the 1980s, the potential of a fully integrated international institution with one collection situated in two locations" (Guggenheim 1993, 34).

Inspired by the idea to expand the Guggenheim's exhibition spaces in Europe, Krens started a global brand building strategy and franchising museum movement as innovative museum practices. These franchise practices were instrumental not only for bringing exceptional revenues to the headquarters in New York, but more importantly, for changing the global landscape of the museum world, turning museums into important nodes in a postindustrial economy of contemporary cities that depended on cultural institutions to generate significant economic activity (Conn 2010, 231). This was the philosophy that the Guggenheim brand promoted after its first success in Bilbao, when the first franchise museum opened its doors to the public in 1997. As Krens himself envisioned, "With a dazzling and popular art museum, our cities, too, can become tourist magnets, commercial hubs, and global players. It's a can't-miss investment" (Brenson 2004, 283). As the Chair of the Guggenheim Board of Trustees confirmed in his book, starting the franchise practices was a necessity for the museum: "the Guggenheim['s] most successful response to external financial pressures has been its growth from rather a small museum on New York's Fifth Avenue to a truly international art institution. We have pioneered this global concept… opportunistically–and of necessity" (Lawson-Johnston 2014, 136).

Guggenheim Bilbao was conceived as "a collaborative project between the Solomon R. Guggenheim Foundation and the Basque Government," contributing to "an economic redevelopment plan for the largest city in the Basque Country" (Guggenheim 2000a). As the historical records of the museum indicate, it was the Basque government and the Diputación Foral de Bizkaia that "proposed Bilbao as the site for a third Guggenheim Museum" (Guggenheim 2000). Although Bilbao was not Krens's first choice for hosting a new branch museum in Europe,

Bilbao possessed funds specifically designated for urban renewal, "intended to transform this deteriorated port, gravely afflicted by accumulated debts, a 25-percent unemployment rate, industrial pollution and outmoded steel and iron trades, into a center of clean industries […] with important tourist and cultural offerings" (Bradley 1997, 48). To predict the return on their investment, in 1992 the Basque government conducted a feasibility study that projected $14 million as the annual income of the museum, half of which would be based on visitor attendance, estimated to reach 500,000 visitors per year (Martinez 2001, 33).

In October 1991, Krens and Joseba Arregi, then Basque cultural commissioner, signed an agreement, thus entering into a binding 20-year contract. Rauen shares the following interesting details about the financial side of this agreement:

> Basque officials agreed to finance the entire operation, which included both the construction of the building (estimated at $100 million) and operating costs of the finished museum, plus provide a $50 million new acquisitions budget. (Estimates of the total cost to Bilbao have run as high as $250 million.) In addition, the Basques would donate $20 million to the Solomon R. Guggenheim Foundation before the museum was even constructed—a donation referred to in Spain as a "rental fee" (Rauen 2001, 288).

This "rental fee," charged by the Guggenheim as a tax-deductible generous donation made by the Basque government, "set the precedent for incorporating a Guggenheim franchise fee in future deals masterminded by Krens" (Martinez 2001, 32). As Thompson further explains, "in return for a payment … for licensing and consulting services" invested by the Basque regional government in Spain, "the Guggenheim lent Bilbao its name, its administrative experience and art" (Thompson 2008, 125). The Bilbao government also agreed to "invest 45 million a year to acquire new art, with purchases to be approved by Guggenheim officials" (Thompson 2008, 125). According to the deal, the Guggenheim Bilbao acquired exclusive rights to any profit from ticket sales, gift shop sales and the like (Thompson 2008, 125).

Even though the Basque authorities funded and built the museum, which they now own, the design and the architect were chosen by the Guggenheim, and the Foundation became responsible for the operation and curatorship of the museum in Bilbao (Vivant 2011, 108). This included developing an initial four-year plan, directing the collection acquisitions program and collection management service, directing educational programs, curatorial research and programming, and even advising

on human resource management (Bradley 1997, 48). Finally, according to the arrangement, which was very similar to a standard business franchise, the Foundation "shall have no obligations, legal, financial or otherwise in respect to the ownership of the site, design or construction of the museum, or ownership, lease or operation of the museum except for obligations to provide services […] that cannot be waived by law" (Bradley 1997, 48).

In terms of the economic success of the project, the Guggenheim Bilbao not only met the expectations of the Basque government, but significantly exceeded the initial assessments of economic return envisioned by the feasibility study of 1992. First of all, starting from the first year of operation, museum attendance figures nearly tripled the originally projected numbers. In 1998, 1.3 million visited the Guggenheim Bilbao; in 1999, the attendance number reached 1.1 million With 750,000 guests in 2000 and 930,000 in 2001, these figures demonstrated a large visitor turnout that "converted most of the project's initial skeptics into 'Krensian Economics' believers" (Mediguren 2001, 49). These visits had a positive effect on the city's economics, improving the general level of tourism, which increased nearly 120 per cent (Ellis 2007). Since the museum opened in 1997, it has employed over 4,415 local residents in various capacities (Mediguren 2001). A 1998 report entitled, "Impact of the activities of the Fundacion del Museo Guggenheim Bilbao on the Basque Country," revealed that museum visitors "had spent over €50 million on accommodations, €14 million on transportation, €80 million on entertainment, €62 million on shopping, and €30 million at the museum itself on ticket sales, shopping, and at the museum restaurant" (Marwick 1998).

The reason for this "great success in Bilbao," was the "Krensian economic model," implemented through the Bilbao project in Spain. The first component in this model is based on establishing fruitful and long-term collaboration with powerful authorities abroad that can invest a significant amount of money in the franchise project. The second is creating a "signature" architecture of the new museum space which accounts for the majority of the overall expense "to make the museum an incredibly memorable experience" (Bradley 1997a). Finally, the new Guggenheim satellite museum must open with a popular exhibition to generate mass audience appeal and interest. "If the art can match the architecture, then we will have a defining moment here" (Bradley 1997a).

The same day as the "agreement" signing with the Basque government, Krens named Canadian-American Frank O. Gehry as the architect of the future museum, planned to be a 336,000 square-

foot building residing in downtown Bilbao on the bank of the Nervion River (Martinez 2001, 31). Frank Owen Gehry, known as a famous architect for world-renowned tourist attractions cited as the most important works of the 20th century, designed the Guggenheim Bilbao, which rapidly became a world-desirable tourist destination, even before the museum's construction was finished (Vivante 2011). "With its swirling forms and its facade of titanium, glass, and limestone, Gehry's Guggenheim dances gracefully between architecture and sculpture" (Guggenheim 2009a). In an interview given in October 1997 after opening the museum, Gehry envisioned his creation to be a palace demonstrating the importance of art:

> Artists really want to be in an institution that has presence in the city. With most museums that have been built since the war, architects have been very deferential. They've proceeded in reverence for the art as the object to be displayed, and they've created these deferential neutral boxes and spaces, which stood for nothing in the community in the end. If you go to Bilbao a hundred years from now, and you don't know anything about Krens, Gehry and the Basques, you'll come in to town and somebody will point out the art museum and you'll say, 'Man, these people really loved art.' And that's what the artists need, want, crave: that the palaces for their work be important in the city, be as important as the courthouse and the library and the city hall (D'Arcy 1997, 14).

As some of the critics described it, the museum is an "open celebration of the supremacy of sight….Gehry's edifice has grafted a genetic mutation so spectacular that not even the most reckless of scientists could ever have imagined it: the city of Bilbao, once the 'forge' of Spain, has become a single, great museum" (dal Col and Forster 1998, 98). With no other major tourist attraction in the area, the Guggenheim Bilbao's iconic architecture is the "key to the success" of the museum, which has attracted almost 10 million visitors in the last 10 years (Vivant 2011, 112).

Without direct investment costs for the Guggenheim Foundation itself, the satellite museum not only significantly improved the budget of the Foundation and enlarged the Guggenheim's exhibitory spaces by providing a host venue for touring exhibitions and traveling blockbusters in Europe, but, more importantly, proved that Krens's idea of global expansion could be implemented. Spanish anthropologist Joseba Zulaika, who has devotedly researched the Guggenheim Bilbao for many years and had an opportunity to meet Mr. Krens in person, shares: "'Money is not important,' Krens told about the Bilbao Guggenheim. 'The important thing is that

now we know that transnational museums are viable,' he added. He had created […] a new historic reality. The Guggenheim-Bilbao proves that the 'global' museum can work" (Zulaika 2001, 112). Furthermore, this formula, as Zulaika emphasizes, "can be marketed across the world from Wall Street/Manhattan, even becoming subject to a McDonaldized rationality… such international franchising makes the Guggenheim the most attractive museum for global capital" (Zulaika 2001, 112).

The Guggenheim Bilbao, as some scholars point out, symbolizes the power of the museum brand's attractiveness in promoting the city as a tourist destination (Bradley 1997; Decker 2008; Vivant 2011). The museum in Bilbao, with its almost immediate economic return on investments, gave rise to a so-called "Bilbao effect" that echoed in many cities around the world. Following the success of the Bilbao franchise, these cities began to evaluate their investment capacities to invite a new branch of the Guggenheim to their locations (Trilupaityte 2009, 125). Thus, in a September 2000 Guggenheim press release, Krens shared:

> Since the opening of the Guggenheim in Bilbao in late 1997, the interest in what has come to be known as 'the Bilbao effect' has grown exponentially. Between Frank's office and mine, we have received more than 60 requests to participate in urban development and cultural infrastructure projects from institutions, cities, and regional governments all over the world (Guggenheim 2000e).

With such a demand for Guggenheim museums in many parts of the world, the Foundation has acquired a strong brand identity that reinforced the marketability of the franchise idea and its potential to appeal to many cities in Europe and beyond. Krens developed a standard franchise agreement that was proposed to all those who wanted to assess their capacities to build a new branch in their locations. The conditions of this agreement obliged future franchise owners to cover all the costs of a new museum building, to pay franchise fees ranging between $20 million and $30 million, and to secure approximately $50 million to acquire works for a collection that will conform to standards set in New York. "In addition to bearing all expenses and risks, those who wish to create a Guggenheim presence close to their own far-flung homes pay substantial fees to the New York Guggenheim for its expert advice and services" (Lawson-Johnston 2014, 136). Krens openly announced all the costs associated with franchising and followed up only with potential partners who wished to consider them (Sylvester 2009 121).

As many scholars observe, inspired by the "Bilbao effect" many local authorities were interested in opening Guggenheim branches as a way to revitalize their local economies, "even cities that could never afford a global museum pick[ed] up on the Guggenheim regeneration idea" (Sylvester 2009, 135). Vivant (2011) explains, the new formula of economic revival and urban regenerations driving the interest of local authorities was based on building a franchise museum in their cities to capitalize on the prestige of the museum's brand, which was easier than creating "a new museum and build[ing]-up its legitimacy and reputation from the ground up" (112). Using the reputation of the Guggenheim's brand could enhance cities' reputations as appealing cultural and tourist destinations, while promoting the museum as "an inevitable and legitimate cultural institution" (Vivant 2011, 113). However, after conducting a feasibility study, most cities have given up the idea, mainly because of the costs of such a project.

Fabelová (2010) gives a broad overview of various potential deals which were in the air around that time, demonstrating the power of the "Bilbao effect," though all of the projects failed to be implemented. The city of Seoul signaled a strong interest in building a satellite museum, but caught up in the Asian economic crisis of 1997-1998, it could not find the resources required for such a project. Prospective Guggenheim franchises also emerged in Singapore and Hong Kong, but were eventually abandoned because of economic constraints (Fabelová 2010, 55). Nevertheless, many Guggenheim museum projects have been officially announced and even reached the point of being documented in actual agreements between local governments and the Guggenheim Foundation, promoting the franchise idea and Guggenheim name as "a global brand that is spreading worldwide" (Vivant 2011, 113). For example, urban development and regeneration projects enthusiastically started in Guadalajara, Mexico or Taichung, Taiwan, both envisioned as effective tools to boost local economies through tourism development, also eventually fizzled out as the cities struggled with construction costs and funds deficiency (Decker 2008).

Thus, in 2000, Guggenheim Rio was planned to be built on Brazil's Guanabara Bay and designed by famous French architect Jean Nouvel. After conducting the feasibility study, which projected the costs of the museum to be between $300 million and $500 million, Rio de Janeiro authorities of envisioned promising economic returns: "The Guggenheim Foundation would establish a presence in a highly visible city; investors would profit from an adjacent hotel complex and convention center; and Rio would attract still more tourists" (Celso 2001). In 2003, Krens and Rio de Janeiro Mayor Cesar Ricardo Macieira signed an agreement for the city government to fully

finance the construction of the new museum and cover the operational costs, including an $11 million fee to be paid to French architect Jean Nouvel for museum design and the $28.6 million franchise fees owed to the Guggenheim Foundation for using its brand name. In return, Rio Guggenheim would gain access to the Foundation's support for curatorial matters, as well as access to collections including works from satellite museums and other museums in a collection-sharing agreement with the Guggenheim (Kaufman 2003, 6).

However, the election of a new left-wing president, Luiz Ignacio Lula da Silva, in 2002 caused "market panic" which led to losses in Brazil's national currency of "about one-third of its value against the dollar, and inflation was in double digits" (Rosebaum 2003, 46). This economic instability raised a number of concerns about the government's ability to fund the expensive project with the Guggenheim. Concerned about the high costs of investments, members of the Rio community and new left-wing civil society groups actively protested against the initiative, pointing out the amount of funding allocated for the Guggenheim Rio could have been invested in direct social development of poor regions. For example, "the enormous outlay to build the museum could pave 3,500 kilometers of roads or construct 6,000 schools, 7,500 day-care centers, or 4,000 health clinics" (Kaufman 2003, 6).

The Rio government justified their plans, pointing out that, with projected annual attendance of a million visitors to the site, the city could easily return its investments in four years and later earn $500 million every year (Vogel 2003). Nevertheless, in January 2004, after a formal investigation into the project, the national court blocked the Guggenheim contract and deemed it illegal because it was "negotiated in inflation-proof dollars," "it was governed by New York State rather than Brazilian law," and "it extended beyond the mayor's term, which ends in autumn 2004" (Kaufman 2004, 14). This led to the official cancellation of the project by the Mayor of Rio de Janeiro in 2005. Despite this failure, Krens optimistically assessed the situation as still having been beneficial for the Guggenheim: "If it doesn't happen, it wouldn't be the first time I didn't get what I wanted…. We've produced an exquisite concept for a museum in South America and we've been compensated for that," he said, referring to the $2 million fee received by the museum for conducting a feasibility study in Rio (Rosebaum 2003, 46). Analysis of the IRS tax-form reports of the Guggenheim also revealed that museum feasibility study fees have been listed as an important part of the Guggenheim's program service revenue in annual 990 Forms for some years. For example, the 2005 form showed that the museum received a feasibility study fee totaling

around $2. 2 million. According to the 2006 990 Form, feasibility study fees benefiting the museum's annual budget doubled, reaching almost $4.2 million. These considerable contributions to the Guggenheim Foundation's revenue also demonstrate that even "unsuccessful" franchise initiatives strengthen the Guggenheim's financial sustainability and multiplies its institutional economic and cultural resources.

From the cultural perspective, as the Guggenheim exhibition record confirms, all the museum design plans and architectural developments produced during these "unsuccessful" Guggenheim satellite projects around the world served the museum to enrich and promote its "architectural expertise." For example, the 2006 exhibition, *The Guggenheim: Architecture* in Vienna, presented the European public with a survey of 25 museum design projects by 15 architects, including "Frank Lloyd Wright's masterpiece in New York City and Frank Gehry's Guggenheim in Bilbao, Spain," as well as "a number of projects that have been developed for proposed museums in Salzburg, Vienna, Tokyo, Taichung, Rio de Janeiro, and Guadalajara" (Guggenheim 2006b). This international exhibition illuminates the Guggenheim's institutional confidence and how its power builds even on "unsuccessful" franchise experiences, producing cultural capital that can be further be utilized to attract economic resources and build public appreciation and support.

Because the franchise initiatives in different parts of the world did not require any financial investments from the museum side, and because they were initiated by local authorities and were closed due to internal problems rather than Guggenheim faults, as Vivante (2011) summarizes, the reputation of the Foundation was hardly hurt. Furthermore, more recent projects that emerge on the international scale also demonstrate the high visibility and power of the Guggenheim brand, associated with a cultural institution that can significantly contribute to the social and economic development of places which are in need of urban regeneration or improving their reputations as cultural and tourist destinations. One of the largest of such ongoing projects is Abu Dhabi Guggenheim, "a $27 billion luxury property development on a once-uninhabited sandbar just off the Abu Dhabi coastline," a deal with the Arab emirate's Tourism Development & Investment Company (Wyma 2014). Also designed by the famous Frank O. Gehry, the largest-ever built Guggenheim museum, covering 450,000 square feet, it is envisioned to join the Guggenheim network as a branch located in the capital of the United Arab Emirates that will feature "global art, exhibitions, and education programs with particular focus on Middle Eastern contemporary art" (Guggenheim 2006).

As Vogel points out, "While no one at the Guggenheim Abu Dhabi will talk officially about money, people close to the museum say they have a budget of about $600 million with which the curators, in collaboration with local officials, have so far purchased about 250 works" (Vogel 2014). On the day of signing the contract with the Guggenheim Foundation, His Highness Sheikh Mohammed Bin Zayed Al Nahyan, Crown Prince of Abu Dhabi and member of the Executive Council, announced:

> Today's signing represents the determination of the Abu Dhabi Government to create a world-class cultural destination for its residents and visitors … It also demonstrates the commitment of UAE President and Ruler of Abu Dhabi to demonstrably establish this emirate as a quality destination of international standing, one capable of achieving and maintaining relationships with the very highest caliber of global partners (Guggenheim 2006).

In response, Guggenheim director Thomas Krens confirmed: "In Abu Dhabi we have had the good fortune to discover a partner that not only shares our point of view, but expands upon it. The plans for Saadiyat Island and the cultural district, envisioned and developed by the Abu Dhabi Government, are, quite simply, extraordinary" (Guggenheim 2006).

Furthermore, a brand new franchise museum is planned to be established in Helsinki. Thus, in 2011, "Mayor Jussi Pajunen announced that the city has commissioned the Solomon R. Guggenheim Foundation to conduct a study exploring the possibility of developing a Guggenheim Museum in Finland" (Guggenheim 2011). Two years later, in 2013, the Guggenheim approved the proposed funding models for the construction and operating costs of the museum, where "the costs are divided up in various ways between the City of Helsinki, the Finnish government and other cities in the Helsinki metropolitan area" (Guggenheim Helsinki 2014). In 2014, they proceeded with their plans and received official approval from the Helsinki City Board allowing the Guggenheim Foundation to open an architectural competition for the Guggenheim Helsinki (Guggenheim 2014).

In June 2015, the Guggenheim announced the results of the competition, which saw 1,715 designers from more than 77 countries participate. The winning design of the future museum that "shows the way" to raise the status of Helsinki "as a design capital," to "provide cultural and intellectual opportunities for virtually all members of society," and to "generate [..] new economic

activity and jobs," was proposed by Moreau Kusunoki Architectes (reference for quotes?). This is a French firm founded in Paris in 2011 by Nicolas Moreau and Hiroko Kusunoki, who received €100,000 as a cash reward for their creation (Guggenheim Helsinki 2015). With the completion of the contest stage, Ari Lahti, chairman of the Guggenheim Helsinki Supporting Foundation, announced "that more than one-third of the fundraising target has been pledged to date for the development of a Guggenheim Helsinki" and they are planning to raise all the necessary funds in good time (Guggenheim Helsinki 2015).

The rhetoric of the government in Helsinki as it promotes and supports the idea of the Guggenheim franchise is very similar to discourse developed around previous projects. "As the capital of our country," the Mayor Pajunen stated, "Helsinki has a special responsibility to keep improving Finland's cultural infrastructure. It is widely recognized that cultural destinations can help drive economic growth for a country [...]. We have such a plan—and the Guggenheim, as a truly global institution, is the ideal institution to collaborate with us" and to "help Helsinki and Finland prosper in an increasingly interconnected and competitive world" (Guggenheim 2011). As this statement demonstrates, despite the number of Guggenheim satellite projects that have never been implemented, the Guggenheim brand remains quite strong and still attracts new supporters to the franchise idea and its promise to rebrand their own cities. As the current director of the Guggenheim, Richard Armstrong, shared: "it's a rare week when [he] doesn't receive at least one request to build a museum somewhere in the world" (Wise 2014).

However, in comparison with the Guggenheim's previous enthusiastic and energetic leader in global expansion strategies, Armstrong is less active and prefers to follow a slightly different strategy: "We don't engage with a very high proportion of people, and the possibility of going on ad infinitum is really not attractive," he said, explaining the current global franchise approach of the Foundation. "We've got to be very concentrated. We're a small museum essentially, especially in the New York constellation. We need to husband our resources" (Wise 2014). At the end of the interview, he also confidently confirmed that he had no doubts that both new projects in Abu Dhabi and Helsinki will "happen," or be completed (Wise 2014).

The renewal of the Guggenheim Bilbao contract for another 20 years illustrates that Bilbao officials still find the project to be quite productive and efficient for the economic development of their region. In 2014, the Guggenheim Foundation Board of Trustees approved a renewal

agreement for the Guggenheim Museum Bilbao "that extends this groundbreaking 20-year alliance for an additional 20 years, through 2034" (Guggenheim Bilbao 2014). The renewal agreement not only provided for a range of new initiatives that would broaden the partnership, but also "confirmed and formalized a position on the Guggenheim board of trustees for a representative of the Basque Administration" (Guggenheim Bilbao 2014). This commitment by the Bilbao government only strengthens the position of the Guggenheim as a world-recognized authority with a globally promoted expertise in building cultural infrastructures for economic revival and tourism development.

As Lawson-Johnston (2014), the heard of the Guggenheim Board of Trustees assessed, "these international arrangements have in most cases provided substantial net revenue to the Guggenheim, helping to close the gap in our own operating budget. Without global growth, the Guggenheim New York would be a substantially poorer institution–financially and artistically– and clearly would serve the public interests less fully" (136). He added, "as Guggenheim 'brand recognition' grows, we have also been successful in gaining financial support from image-conscious foreign corporations now operating in the United States" (Lawson-Johnston 2014, 136). In fact, the urban regeneration that attracts city officials to the Guggenheim brand is not the only motive driving interested constituents and investors to invite the museum to consider their locations host a new satellite site. Due to the Guggenheim's franchise practices, the museum, as a cultural institution that retains a strong connection to global publics, is an appealing partner for transnational corporations that are eager to make large investments to elevate their corporate images and reputations with the help of the Guggenheim brand.

For example, the Deutsche Guggenheim, opened in 1997 and closed in 2013, emerged as an equal partnership between the Guggenheim Foundation and Deutsche Bank, the largest corporate collector of fine art in the world. In the late 1970s, the bank began its "Art at Work" program, collecting fine art as a type of alternative financial investments, which presented a "spiritual dividend" for the corporation because it allowed the company to promote the public good while benefiting from ever-increasing art values, as well as tax incentives (Harold 2001). With the growing number of Deutsche Bank offices around the world, by the end of the 20th Century, the bank opened hundreds of international branches in more than 75 countries, and acquired more than 50,000 works of art, which are on display "in conference rooms, hallways, elevator[s], and

reception areas from Frankfurt to New York to Singapore and São Paulo" for the enjoyment of clients and employees (Deutsche Bank 2007).

The main reason the Deutsche Bank would seek to cooperate with the Guggenheim, as Decker (2008) explains, was a corporate necessity to improve its image and reputation in the international arena after the public disclosure of the Nazi file archives in 1995 in the Warsaw Pact countries. The archives revealed the Deutsche Bank's direct involvement in the support of the Nazi regime and consequently in the "aryanization of the German society," leading to the genocide of the Jewish people and the Second World War. Being increasingly dependent upon governmental support for survival, the Deutsche Bank, isolated from international markets during the War, increasingly spread through conquered territories, seeing them as the only remaining "growth" area (Gall 1995, Harold 2001). With such a historical "burden" that could significantly damage the Deutsche Bank's reputation in the contemporary global community, the collaboration with the Guggenheim offered a mutually beneficial public relations campaign that could "help mitigate the effects of a complicated corporate history that included recent revelations regarding the Bank's activities during World War II" (Decker 2008, 170).

According to the partnership agreement signed by both parties in 1997, the institutions divided their responsibilities according to their "specific intellectual and material capital to the joint venture" (Deutsche Guggenheim 1999). The Deutsche Bank committed to covering all expenses associated with the creation and maintenance of the museum galleries, exhibitions displays, as well as advertising and promotion materials, while the Guggenheim provided curatorial expertise and required support in all exhibition and publication production (Deutsche Guggenheim 1999). Moreover, both organizations benefited from sharing their large and extensive art collections. For the Deutsche Bank, this collaborative initiative provided an excellent public relations opportunity to improve its global image and credibility as a "dedicated patron of culture." Reflecting on the agreement with the Guggenheim Foundation, Deutsche Bank spokesman Hilmar Kopper stated:

> Convinced that the immediate experience of outstanding art is vital and intellectually beneficial to society, Deutsche Bank has consistently supported the cultural exchange and visual experience of contemporary art since the 70's […] this is an incentive for us to continue to think beyond the balance sheet figures and mathematics to offer the public – at

least as far as the field of art is concerned – some of those singular experiences and moments which give meaning and reason to the reach for material gain" (Kopper 1999).

For the Guggenheim, this collaboration meant a significant contribution to their global expansion plans and a chance to increase their audiences as well as to contribute to the promotion of their brand without financial investments. Housed in a small 510-square-meter interior gallery of the Deutsche Bank in Berlin, Deutsche Guggenheim provided "a robust exhibition schedule," which "offered a rich program of exhibitions: each year the museum mounted one show from Deutsche Bank's extensive art collection and three organized by the Guggenheim, drawn from both the foundation's collection and international loans" (Guggenheim 2013). The museum also showcased important works specially commissioned by distinguished international artists including William Kentridge, Jeff Koons, Gerhard Richter, James Rosenquist, Hiroshi Sugimoto, Rachel Whiteread, Bill Viola, and Lawrence Weiner (Deutsche Guggenheim 2013). In an interview, gallery manager Sara Bernshausen provided the following details:

> The annual programming usually includes an annual commissioned work, when the Guggenheim Foundation asks a world renowned artist to create an exhibit in relation to our space and to [the] Berlin art scene. There are also two international exhibitions of contemporary art that usually comes from the Guggenheim collections or invited shows solicited by the Guggenheim from other museums. And the fourth exhibition is by the Deutsche Bank to showcase the largest corporate collection of fine art in the world, the only one independently curated by the Bank, while all others are curated by the Guggenheim museum from New York (Bernshausen 2011).

In 2011, Bernshausen reported the gallery's annual attendance to be around 140,000 visitors, about 40 per cent of whom were international, which, she asserted, "is quite a lot for such a small space" (Bernshausen 2011). Despite its continued public appreciation, after 15 years of tight collaboration resulting in 57 exhibitions and attracting 1.8 million site visitors, the Deutsche Guggenheim was closed. While neither the bank nor the Guggenheim would explain their decision to the public, mentioning only that their contract expired at the end of 2012, in an interview Guggenheim Foundation director Richard Armstrong hinted, "Berlin today is a very different city from what it was when we began. We feel the time is right now to step back and re-examine our collaboration to see how it might evolve" (Vogel 2012). The official web site of the KunstHalle, a new art center

that was established by the Deutsche Bank right after the Guggenheim closure in Berlin also points to a shift in the main corporate priorities of the Bank, as it puts greater emphasis on its own collections, as well as on promoting new German artists: "In the KunstHalle, the Deutsche Bank Collection can be experienced in a new way" through various programs supporting "Deutsche Bank's 'Artist of the Year,'" as well as "young talents on Berlin's international art scene, presenting them for the first time to a broad public" (KunstHalle 2015).

This completely new nature and focus of the Bank art program gives more curatorial freedom to the new German museum, which in the previous partnership relationship with the Guggenheim really did not have any. "Being within this network," Bernshausen explained,

> "we share joint forces of communication … but in most of the cases we have these kind of conversations with New York and the major contact among franchise museums is only through New York as well […] But as a private institution we believe that we should give something extra which public museums cannot do […] and we need to find our own niche…" (Bernshausen 2011).

Even though, as Guggenheim confirms, the Bank and the Guggenheim continue to maintain a "valued relationship and deep interest in Berlin as a site of artistic and intellectual activity" (Guggenheim 2013), the closure of the collaboration signals that the Guggenheim brand was used by the Deutsche Bank when it most needed to rebrand itself as a socially responsible institution. Employing the Guggenheim name as a "socially conscious façade" while, as a "corporate entity [it] address[ed] its complex and complicit political past" helped the Bank to create "a more interesting and exciting brand under which to operate" (Decker 2008, 184). However, with an improved corporate reputation, a well-established image of a responsible and generous art patron, as well as an increased expertise in curating art exhibits, the Deutsche Bank can benefit more now from its individual institutional promotion without sharing its financial investments in brand building with the Guggenheim.

The closure of the Deutsche Guggenheim project demonstrates the shortcomings of such a corporate-driven cooperation, which tends to significantly depend on purely economic interests and immediate profits in the business world rather than on genuine commitments to promote and support art. A similar situation occurred in the Guggenheim Hermitage partnership with Sands Corporation that in 2001 established the Guggenheim branch in Las Vegas.

Guggenheim-Hermitage Las Vegas emerged when a billion-dollar corporation, the Venetian Hotel-Resort-Casino, expressed its interest in opening a Guggenheim branch as a part of their grand entertainment complex to expand their services for the public. Sheldon Adelson, the owner of the Venetian Hotel-Resort-Casino saw a very profitable business deal in offering grand museum opportunities to its customers to enrich their casino experiences. In an interview, he shared: "Las Vegas was created more than 50 years ago not to become a cultural mecca. It was created for gambling, or gaming. It has evolved from topless revues…. Nobody would have dreamed of a Guggenheim Las Vegas […] Steve Wynn started [his first private Art Gallery] in the Bellagio Hotel and was successful. We are not ashamed to say we took a page out of his book" (Esterow 2001). In this interview, Adelson referred to the Bellagio Casino experience, where owner Steve Wynn, a wealthy art patron with a personal collection valued at $300 million first opened the Bellagio Gallery of Fine Art in 1998. The success of this venture, which received approximately 15,000 visitors each day paying $12 as an entry fee (Bellagio Gallery of Fine Art 2005), convinced both Adelson and Krens (who was at first skeptical about the Las Vegas idea) that a Guggenheim branch in a city which receives millions of tourists each day would be worthwhile. "We have been impressed at the size of the audience and the degree of attention of visitors at the Bellagio," Krens confirmed (Esterow 2001).

Around that time, Hermitage Museum Director Mikhail Piotrovsky, interested in increasing and diversifying the Russian museum's funding sources, contacted Krens to discuss a partnership. Both museums had world-recognized collections, institutional expertise, and global recognition, however, they could not help each other in expanding the exhibitory spaces that could attract larger publics and bigger investments (Trilupaityte 2009, 125). The Venetian proposition to open a museum in Las Vegas appeared to provide both museums with what they were looking for: corporate investment, a space for new exhibitions in a new geographic location, and quite promising visitor attendance projections (Rymer 2000). As a result, in 2001 Krens, Piotrovsky and Adelson signed a contract to develop a Guggenheim Las Vegas that would be hosted in a newly constructed Guggenheim Hermitage Museum located in the lobby of the Venetian casino to house major works from both institutions.

According to the agreement, the Venetian would fully finance the construction costs for both museums (Varoli 2000). "There are two relationships," Adelson explained, describing some details of their agreement, "We're the landlord, and they're the tenant. But it's more of a quasi–joint

venture. We put up all the money. They put up the art, the talent, the expertise. We share in the proceeds" (Esterow 2001). Investing around $30 million to build the museums, the Venetian also contributed $8.6 million in startup money and agreed to pay the licensing fees to the Guggenheim Foundation for a sum of $10 million per year (Rosebaum 2003).

Despite the promising public attendance projections, which could bring a desired return on the expenses, the joint exhibitions of the Guggenheim Hermitage in Las Vegas did not attract the expected number of visitors. Actual attendance hardly exceeded the 1,000 mark on any given day (Hansen and Rogers 2003). For 2002, the attendance figures for this exhibition space listed only 1,750 people (Rosebaum 2003). Apart from the first opening exhibition, which brought the famous "Art of Motorcycles" show from New York, the new museum in Las Vegas, the Guggenheim Hermitage, exercised a more conservative curatorial approach, focusing on exhibiting masterworks by a world-recognized cannon of artists such as Picasso, Renoir, Cezanne, or Kandinsky, which probably did not give the Las Vegas audience the grand "spectacle" they were looking for (Hansen and Rogers 2003). Reflecting on such a poor attendance at the Guggenheim Hermitage, Martinez (2006) explains the situation as follows:

> After all, Las Vegas is a carefully calculated spectacle in and of itself; in other words, it uses reality to create an illusion of fortune and fame that in turn becomes a jaded version of the real once again. Visitors both to the city and to the Guggenheim come to be entertained; however, the lack of superficial splendor and glitzy gag techniques is exactly what the audience at the Jewel Box appreciates. There are just some places people do not want to take a chance, and in Las Vegas this happens to be at the Guggenheim Hermitage (61).

Libby Lumpkin, executive director of the Las Vegas Art Museum also shared: "They put on a great education program […] But every museum depends on community support. […] That's difficult when it's in a private space. I knew that the Venetian was not as pleased with the success of the space as it had hoped to be" (Peterson 2008).

In January 2003, the Guggenheim Las Vegas was closed, because without the projected profits, Krens and Piotrovsky could not sustain the financial costs of curating and bringing new exhibitions to the museum, while Adelson—who failed to gain any returns on his investments—quickly lost interest and started to seek alternative, more profitable, ways of using the museum space in the

lobby of the Venetian hotel. Quite soon, the museum was converted into a theater for stage shows, which revealed that the big Las Vegas business had little interest in truly preserving art and culture, which requires constant commitment and support (Muschamp 2002).

Nevertheless, despite the pessimistic results of the cost-benefit analysis of this cooperation, Adelson and the Las Vegas Sands Corporation continued to officially preserve and promote their partnership, giving an impression that the museum may reopen in future. As Decker (2008) reveals, such official cooperation was needed by the Venetian business to achieve its global economic interests. In 2005, Sands Corporation participated in a bid for a \$3.2 billion plan to develop the 50-acre West Kowloon Cultural District in Hong Kong, for which they were seeking approval from the Hong Kong government. The urban development proposal required strong "affiliations with cultural institutions to encourage positive feedback from regional and federal government organizations […] and the combination of the proposed Sands Resort Casino with another Guggenheim satellite museum might prove successful again with the Hong Kong government" (Decker 2008, 196). Quite logically, after receiving the preliminary approval for their economic development proposal in 2007, the Sands Corporation–Guggenheim Foundation affiliation was no longer necessary, which led to official closure of their relationships (Peterson 2008), and the entire Guggenheim Hermitage project was finally cancelled in 2008 (Fabelová 2010, 55). This case also demonstrates that the Guggenheim brand is an important cultural asset of the Foundation, which is being employed by corporations seeking to improve their corporate images in the global community and to appeal to other powerful parties to advance their purely economic interests.

In both cases, the Deutsche Guggenheim and Guggenheim Hermitage in Las Vegas, the corporate partners were interested in boosting their exposure as responsible patrons of social and cultural programming to appeal to their constituency. By allowing the names of their corporations to appear in relationship with the name of the global museum brand, both of the corporate partners created a necessary impression of their commitment to the public good required for successful negotiation with third parties and for entering new markets. Even though both of the projects were eventually closed, which could give a negative impression of the Guggenheim franchise idea, the examples illuminate the power of Guggenheim's perceived reputation as a globally recognizable authoritative cultural institution which attracts transnational corporations to invest in multi-million dollar projects to develop associations with the Guggenheim brand. Furthermore, as the next section will illustrate in greater detail, in all cooperative activities with powerful partners,

corporations or governments, the Guggenheim pursues its strong cultural, social, and economic interests, which do not allow it to put the reputation of the museum at risk of being perceived as an institution that is being used as a mere political or economic tool by other actors. For example, focusing on the direct cultural benefits of the franchise strategy, Guggenheim Foundation Board member Jon Azua argues that the global network allows for "better exhibitions, better educational programs, allows more people to learn through art, attracts more and better artists and collections, shares different values, and contributes to enhancing better relationships between different countries, regions, cultures, and people" (Azua 2005, 83).

This section illuminates two main types of logic driving various parties to pick up the idea of the global Guggenheim franchise. On the one hand, the use of the Guggenheim satellite museums helps the formation of new "creative cities" which employ the museum brand for urban regeneration and regional economic development. On the other hand, the Guggenheim brand serves as an important cultural "shield," protecting global businesses in their transnational economic development and elevating their social legitimacy in the eyes of their constituencies. Such a demand on the Guggenheim brand among various types of powerful international actors, whether governments or transnational corporations, allows the circulation of the Guggenheim brand as cultural capital and intellectual property that can be transformed into liquid economic assets for the Foundation. The Guggenheim's distribution of museum experiences through their global network of satellite museums enables numerous experiments by the Foundation with the museum name as a status symbol. Disregarding the actual capacity of these experiments to turn into long-lasting projects growing in power and public support, the Guggenheim brand receives greater global exposure with each of these attempts. "The global expansion, marketing, and touristic consumption of the collections are facilitated by the instrumentalization, mediation, and dissemination of the Guggenheim image. And all of this occurs through collaborations with its major sponsors as a form of image transfer" (Rectanus 2002, 187). This reinforces the Guggenheim's image promotion in the global arena and contributes to the development of the museum's perceived reputation as a cultural authority that keeps attracting new propositions for mutually beneficial partnerships and alliances and steadily increases the museum's international audiences.

As the Guggenheim web site reports, the global franchise network remains one of the "most visited cultural institutions in the world" with around three million annual visitors worldwide

(Guggenheim 2014c). These institutions operate under the umbrella "of a global brand identity," which significantly enlarges the Guggenheim's audience beyond the limits of the original site in New York (Caldwell 2000, 29). "With museums in Italy, Germany, and Spain, in addition to the United States, the Guggenheim has made its commitment to internationalism its highest priority" (Dennison 2003, 48). Krens always emphasized that the network reflects the visionary spirit and forward-looking approach that are Guggenheim hallmarks:

> Our commitment to international communication and global cultural exchange—realized through our museums, collections, and programs—is inclusive. The Guggenheim implicitly regards all contemporary cultures and their traditions as potential partners in the field of aesthetic discourse—we are both respectful of difference and excited by it (Guggenheim 2006).

This highly promoted and branded "commitment to internationalism" and "global cultural exchange" reflects the Guggenheim's institutional efforts to build its appealing image in the eyes of the world constituencies. The next section specifically focuses on different tools employed by the Guggenheim to craft its cosmopolitan identity, which serve the museum in attracting both the public and powerful patrons from different corners of the world, and reinforces its global brand recognition.

4.4. Constructing a global image: Guggenheim cosmopolitan identity

This section is concerned with the cultural values, ideals and messages that the Guggenheim communicates in the global community through its collections, programs, activities, and promotional efforts. Specifically, it argues that in recent decades of increasing economic and cultural globalization, the Guggenheim, utilizing corporate strategies for international expansion and development, has adopted a predominantly cosmopolitan identity, positioning itself as a truly global cultural institution. Understanding cosmopolitanism as a rhetorical construct that helps a contemporary actor in the international arena to advance its position and to build its appealing global image in the eyes of international audiences, this section seeks to address two main tasks. First, it traces the Guggenheim's development from a traditional cultural diplomacy actor serving the U.S. government during the Cold War epoch, to a more nonpartisan player in the global arena of the 21st century, driven by the institutional cultural and economic interests which disassociates the Guggenheim activities from the national context. Second, the section demonstrates how the

museum crafts its international image, promoting its commitment to transnational issues and trying to relate to the concerns and interests of global audiences to attract a much larger international constituency.

Dennison (2003) points out the Guggenheim's commitment to be an international cultural institution representing global contemporary art movements first "reflects its history and its traditions" (54). This "internationalism," as the first director of the Guggenheim Thomas Messer confirms, works "as an article of faith but also as translated into personnel policies and programming, remains one of the Guggenheim's most emphatic attributes" (Messer 1989, 147). First of all, the focus of the Guggenheim on international contemporary art, which started with the collections of European non-objective art or abstract expressionism, has significantly influenced the way museum has always positioned itself. Many authors indicate that the Guggenheim interpreted abstract expressionism as "anti-national" because of its visual appeal, its abstract composition, and its "universal" messages and ideas communicated on a purely human level: "The philosophical perspectives of abstract expressionism is its exclusive universalism" (Wierzchowska 2011; Bátora and Mokre 2011). "[A]bstract expressionism would reign for a thousand years," American artist Adolph Gottlieb predicted, "and, given that the language of abstract expressionism was imbued with transcendentalism and universalism, there seemed little reason to doubt this," many art critics confirmed (Meecham and Sheldon 2013, 197).

In line with this interpretation of the meaning of this art movement, in 1937 Hilla Rebay, the first Chief Curator at the Guggenheim envisioned: "Non-objective art will be the religion of the future, very soon the nations on earth will return to it in thought and feeling and develop such intuitive powers which lead them to harmony" (Messer 1989, 147). From the very first days of developing its collections, the Guggenheim favored non-objective or abstract expressionist art. Rebay, as an influential adviser, who assembled the Guggenheim's collections of Modern Art, had "zealous faith in the power of non-objective painting to transcend the boundaries of language and experience." (Messer 1989, 147). Director Thomas Messer in the catalogue for the Fifth Guggenheim International Exhibition in 1967, specifically pointed out: "An international style has become a firmly established notion in our time. This means the mere elimination of national characteristics and their displacement by a world-wide identity of creative aims" (Messer 1967).

Furthermore, in comparison to other museums during this time, the Guggenheim intentionally developed a more inclusive approach to abstract expressionism, dissociating itself from other exclusively American galleries and collections. When new American painting emerged in the post-war era, most contemporary art museums in the USA, as Messer pointed out, "reduced its foreign commitments to the point of benign neglect" (Messer 1989, 147). In contrast, the Guggenheim kept acquiring new art works from artists around the globe: "For an institution with European roots as strong as ours it was natural to carry pre-Second World War interests into the next generation" (Messer 1989, 147). As a result, through its acquisition program, the Guggenheim purchased many art works by Fontana, Burri, Tapiez, Michaux, Kolar, Bissier, Soto, Dibbets and Beuys, which still remain "the exclusive exhibition initiative of the Guggenheim" and making it a "truly global" museum representing artists from different corners of the world (Messer 1989, 147). This curatorial vision and artistic philosophy, oriented toward the "new" names and art forms transcending in their messages and representations, national and geographic boundaries have always contributed to the rhetorical appeal of the Guggenheim, bringing the core principles of globalism and internationalism to the forefront of its international image construction. For example, the Director of Curatorial Affairs at Guggenheim, Joan Young stresses:

> … the Guggenheim does have a global aspiration and global nature from the institutional perspective, despite the fact that it was first found in the USA… it is more a global institution and we probably are better known in the world than among certain American audiences…" (Young 2012).

Such a stress on international collections and the global nature of the institution aims to position the museum outside an exclusively American context, thus disassociating its institutional image from the official forces of U.S. cultural diplomacy.

Even though the Guggenheim has always promoted itself as "the museum [that] has traditionally been considered nonpartisan in terms of economic or political issues, [with] its only domain being that of quality…" (Spector 1993, 279), its international programming and activities, specifically in its historical past, points to close cooperation links with the United States government. Close ties between the Guggenheim and national forces of cultural diplomacy were especially evident during the Cold War. The following example from Guggenheim history aims to demonstrate the involvement of the museum in American cultural diplomacy in the previous century while

highlighting the instrumentalism of the museum's strategies to align its own interests with the dominant political powers in the international arena to gain institutional benefits.

For the U.S. government, abstract expressionism was considered a perfect style of modern painting that could be exploited politically through cultural propaganda. First, it was an artistic counterblast to the "socialist realism" promoted and supported in the Eastern bloc. This art movement was also a fresh and creative artistic move that could compete with up-to-date European cultural movements, showing that the United States is a progressive society with a developed cultural life. This movement was enthusiastically promoted as modern American art, symbolizing the American lifestyle, which served as a "soft" power of persuasion in Europe and beyond (Hobbs 1997, 123).

Cold War historian Jane De Hart Mathews points out: "In the fifties, politics not only became esthetics, but esthetics became politics" (de Hart Mathews 1976, 763). The new artistic movement of expressionism, due to the pluralistic and open nature of its implied meanings, associations, and interpretations, provided a broad range of opportunities for politicians to appropriate the artistic talent of abstract expressionism for their own purposes: "Far from transforming American culture, cultural Cold Warriors appropriated the radical van as a weapon in the Cold War" (Hobbs 1997, 7). As a result, during several decades following the end of World War II, hundreds of exhibitions of American modern paintings sponsored by the U.S. government traveled to Europe, Latin America, Asia, Africa, and eventually Soviet Russia, to promote American society's unique "freedom of expression" and democracy (Krenn 2005, 2), and to build an opposition to the communist dictatorship regime in which artists, as former U.S. president Dwight D. Eisenhower used to say, were employed as "slaves and tools of the state" (Shark 1997).

In these cross-cultural struggles for world domination, American museums played a unique role as "cultural ambassadors" to other parts of the world, using abstract expressionism as a main ideological weapon against communism. For example, the Museum of Modern Art (MOMA), was involved in a covert relationship with the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) to organize large and expensive abstract expressionism exhibits, for example "Modern Art in the US" (1956) or "The New American Painting" (1958), in Western Bloc European countries through the Congress for Cultural Freedom program (Cockcroft 1985; Shark 1997; Arndt 2005). The Guggenheim's "involvement" in this international ideological war between two dominant political systems was different. Unlike MOMA, which directly cooperated with the U.S. government to organize

traveling exhibitions abroad, the Guggenheim used the political patronage and help of the American diplomatic forces to advance its own international position in the global art scene.

The most notable program of the Guggenheim that reflects its contribution to the USA's Cold War diplomacy efforts is its famous International Expositions, organized for more than a decade, from 1956 until 1971. The main goal of these exhibitions was to select "one painting or sculpture of greatness... that could be accepted and acclaimed by knowledgeable critics throughout the world" (Alberro 1997, 63). For the purposes of the exhibition series, the museum established the Guggenheim International Award (GIA) "to honor an artist from anywhere in the world, chosen specially by an international jury and awarded $10,000" (Guggenheim 2000e). As Guggenheim Curator of Collections and Exhibitions Travey Bashkoff explains: "the Guggenheim International Award […] at that time was the highest monetary award in the world that was given in the arts" (Guggenheim 2012d).

The Guggenheim promoted this annual event as a predominantly international art initiative that aimed to encourage and reward "artists from around the world" and reflect "the art world's expansion and the broader spirit of internationalism in the 1950s" (Guggenheim 2012d). The rhetoric of the project illuminated a strong commitment by the museum to serve the global artistic community and represent all young innovative and experimental artists of the abstract expressionism movement:

> Guggenheim Internationals are commitments to internationalism expressed through the medium of art. As now constituted, they provide opportunities and impose obligations upon the Museum's staff to keep in touch with the creative art scene throughout the world, or at least that part of it that is accessible (Guggenheim 2000d).

Despite such as strong stress on the global nature of this event, which aimed to elevate an international image of the Guggenheim in the world, the political power of these contests to serve as an ideological tool of U.S. cultural diplomacy was not overlooked by the national government. Alberro's (1986) historical analysis of the exhibitions reveals that these International Expositions could not escape being a highly political project, which reflected American ideological standing in the international scene:

> The establishment of this International Award in the United States was looked on with favor by the American government. The parallel between the cultural ideology of the

Guggenheim Museum and that of the Eisenhower Administration's internationalism was highlighted when, in early 1956, the President instituted the presentation of the International Awards at the White House on an on-going basis… As such, this was a patronage which was intended to promulgate the idea that the United States was the home of liberal democracy and the only truly free social system (Alberro 1986, 10).

Also, the importance of these exhibitions as a political means of American cultural diplomacy was confirmed in the official organizational code of conduct for these events, which always gathered foreign diplomats and United Nations delegates at the Guggenheim in New York for opening gala affairs. The U.S. government was also represented during these events to which senators, members of the House of Representatives, and members of the New York Legislative Assembly were usually invited (Alberro 1997, 58). Furthermore, the International Broadcasting Division of the United States Information Agency (USIA) translated Exhibitions' recordings and interviews with artists in many different languages and even produced films about the exhibitions for foreign distribution and promotion (Alberro 1990, 21).

The International Expositions, despite their promotion as truly global events, eventually shifted their focus to American, or New York-based, artists. Starting from the 3rd International Exhibition, contest participants were selected exclusively by Guggenheim officials, and not by an international committee of jurors. Every year the number of American artists picked for exhibitions increased, and only eight nations were represented in the final exhibition in 1971 (Alberro 1990, 12). Moreover, the bias toward American artists was much greater than the official breakdown by nationality suggested. Many of the exhibition participants, for example the "Japanese" On Kawara, the "British" Richard Long, the "Dutch" Jan Dibbets and the "German" Hanne Darboven, either lived in New York at the time or were exclusively represented by New York dealers (Alberro 1990, 12). According to the museum, such a bias toward American artists was explained by the "dominance of the USA" in international artistic development. The 1971 catalogue for the International Exhibition proclaimed New York had become the world leader in avant-garde art with "the concentration of creativity in New York, and the strength of the United States in the present art-balance" (Guggenheim 2000d).

In this way, the Guggenheim's international contests played an important role in promoting the idea of New York's artistic excellence and centrality in the global art scene, which was

strategically important for the United States to "assert their cultural superiority" (Alberro 1990, 26). The abstract expressionist art movement thriving in New York since the 1950s was used by the U.S. government to put New York City at the center of the western art world, a role formerly filled by Paris (Krenn 2005, 53). Apart from contributing to U.S. cultural diplomacy, the Guggenheim's promotion of New York as a main center in the world of art also added to the development of an appealing institutional image as a strong authority among world museums. For example, the museum's web site proudly defines the Guggenheim as a museum devoted to preservation and promotion of large and rich collections of abstract expressionism "through which the U.S. first became the center of the avant-garde" (Guggenheim 2009a).

Furthermore, even though the Guggenheim's activities helped the United States promote its cultural and artistic supremacy, the museum had larger institutional goals in pursuing its International Expositions. Specifically, the Guggenheim aimed to establish and assert its reputation as a cultural institution with the global authority to define artistic excellence and future development of modern art. Due to its leadership position in organizing the International Expositions, as Megan Fontanella, Assistant Curator, Collections and Provenance asserts, the Guggenheim "really won out in the end because so many of these artists that at the time were perhaps younger or emerging or more radical and experimental provided some of the most vital art from the 1950s" (Guggenheim 2012d).

These International Expositions also provided the Guggenheim with an excellent opportunity to position itself as equal among the most prestigious international organizations. Thus, it was stressed that the Expositions were organized in collaboration with the International Council of Museums, International Association of Art Critics, and the International Association of Plastic Arts (Guggenheim 2011c). In this way, by placing oneself on the same level as world recognized international organizations, as well as by supervising and administering the global context, the Guggenheim aimed to construct a strong identity in the eyes of foreign publics as a predominantly international cultural institution, and not just as an American museum of contemporary art. Such a strong leadership position in organizing cultural events of global significance, where the Guggenheim delegated itself the power, right, and authority to be a judge and a curator of international art innovations and developments, was intended to establish a strong professional reputation of cultural authority and promote it among museums and artists around the globe. Thus, by 1961, five years after the commencement of this international series, the event was presented

by the Guggenheim as an established "tradition in the art world" (Fry 1967), reinforcing the authority of the museum to curate this global contest.

Even though this example illuminates the direct connection between the Guggenheim and the American government, challenging the museum's desired "nonpartisan standing" in the historical context, it also points to a certain instrumentalism of the Guggenheim's cultural diplomacy. Through these political engagements, the Guggenheim also developed a strong institutional focus, pursuing its own goals in the international context. As the Curator of Collections and Exhibitions at the Guggenheim explains, the museum's International Expositions "attest[ed] to the politics of the time when internationalism in the art world was really tied up to the United States asserting themselves as the front scene of the international politics" (Guggenheim 2012d). When the official forces of diplomatic conduct ruled international politics and significantly influenced international cultural relations, the Guggenheim needed to align its own international interests with the U.S. dominant powers to leverage its international position and to acquire more legitimacy as an important actor of cultural diplomacy. However, as this case illustrates, the museum had greater ambitions in the international cultural arena than just being a mere "cultural ambassador" of the U.S. government.

This instrumentalism in advancing the museum's global position and pursuing its own cultural goals is also evident in a different program developed in cooperation with the U.S. government, which continues today. The following example illuminates the Guggenheim's curatorial power to organize "the official U.S. representation at Venice Biennale […] presented by the Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs of the U.S. Department of State" (Guggenheim 2007). This example also demonstrates how collaboration within the official diplomatic forces contributes to the institutional interests and adds to the global promotion of the museum as a powerful cultural authority.

Founded in 1895, the Venice Biennale is the world's oldest, largest, and among its most prestigious international art exhibitions, where museums and galleries from more than a hundred nations gather to exhibit and promote their national cultures and artistic talent (Jansen 2008). Many wealthy countries own their own national pavilions at the biennale for their "national exhibitionary projects," which allows curatorial autonomy and enables them to demonstrate to the whole world what is most current and innovative in their national arts (Jansen 2008). It is a well-known fact

that the State Department refused to take the responsibility for the U.S. representation at Venice Biennale (Cockcroft 1985, 128). The U.S. Pavilion, even today, is the only private pavilion in Venice, the others are owned by their respective national governments.

By 1948, the Grand Central Art Galleries, which had built the pavilion in the late 1920s, were not able to cover the costs of operations and failed to convince the Department of State to take over financial responsibility for the pavilion (Krenn 2005, 198). Having been administered by MOMA for several decades, in 1986, the U.S. pavilion in Venice was bought by the Solomon R. Guggenheim Foundation with money provided by the Peggy Guggenheim Collection Advisory Board. It was logical for the Guggenheim to purchase the pavilion in Venice because the museum has a very rich history and tight connection with the city. Thus, the Peggy Guggenheim museum's history started with the 1948 Venice Biennale, where Peggy showcased her collection to the larger world for the first time, giving American artists such as Arshile Gorky, Jackson Pollock, and Mark Rothko their first European exposure (Guggenheim Venice 2000).

Since the time of the pavilion purchase, the Peggy Guggenheim Collection has worked in cooperation with the USIA, the U.S. Department of State, and the Fund for Artists at International Festivals and Exhibitions to prepare shows for the biennale. Even though this collaboration relies on strong ties with the American government, the museum stresses its key curatorial role in representing American art in this prestigious international event. According to the description of the Biennale on the Guggenheim web site, the museum oversees and manages an open competition among American artists and galleries for the honor of representing the USA at the biennale each year (Guggenheim 2007). This curatorial power and authority not only elevates the status of the museum within the American and international contexts, but more importantly, allows the Guggenheim to pursue its own cultural interests in the international arena by showcasing and promoting artists involved in some of the Foundation's global museum expansion plans.

Thus, in 1991, a year before the Guggenheim executed the feasibility study for a Frank Gehry designed Guggenheim Bilbao, the U.S. pavilion featured Gehry's and Peter Eisenman's architectural models for the 40th Venice Biennale (American Institute of Architects 1993). In 2000, the U.S. architectural pavilion at the Biennale showcased the work of a "new generation of architects" presented by Greg Lynn and Hani Rashid (Lynn and Rashid 2002), who were later selected through the Guggenheim Guadalajara competition to design a franchise museum in

Mexico. Likewise, in 2007, through the Scuola dei Mercanti at Venice Biennale the Guggenheim exhibited the architectural work of the Iraqi-born architect Zaha Hadid (Betsky and Hadid 2009), the recipient of a monographic exhibition at the Guggenheim New York in 2006 (Guggenheim 2006a), and the selected architect for the proposed Guggenheim Taichung in Taiwan and other satellite museums in Europe (Guggenheim 2008c). This exposure and promotion of the architects who play a unique role in building the Guggenheim franchise network, not only make their names well recognized and known on the global art scene, but more importantly, contributes to the accumulation of the Foundation's "cultural capital," that elevates its brand name on the global arena and can further be used for achieving economic and cultural goals.

Furthermore, the Guggenheim exercised its authority in representing the USA at the Biennale by showcasing the work of its dedicated curators. For example, in 1999 for the 48th Venice Biennale, the Guggenheim selected the exhibit "Bill Fontana: Acoustical Visions of Venice" by American curator Matthew Drutt, who worked for the Solomon R. Guggenheim Museum from 1993 to 2001 and organized such important and famous shows as "Frank Lloyd Wright" in 1994, "Josef Albers: Photographs" in 1995, "Max Beckmann in Exilein" in 1996, the legendary "Art of the Motorcycle" exhibit in 1998, and "Amazons of the Avant-Garde" in 1999 (Hermitage Museum Foundation 2014). In a similar way, Nancy Spector, the Deputy Director and Chief Curator of the Solomon R. Guggenheim Museum, who has been working for the museum since 1989 and organized a number of exhibits and projects, including "Matthew Barney's Cremaster Cycle" (2002) or "Richard Prince: Spiritual America" (2007), represented the U.S. pavilion at the Venice Biennale in 2007 (Guggenheim 2010). For the Biennale she featured conceptual art by a Cuban-born American artist Felix Gonzalez-Torres, whose works have been exhibited at the Guggenheim by Spector in the retrospective exhibition in New York in 1995, that later traveled around the world to the Centro Galego de Arte Contemporánea, Santiago de Compostela, and ARC-Musée d'Art Moderne de la Ville de Paris (Guggenheim 2012a).

Moreover, some of the distinguished curators working for the Guggenheim also participated in the Venice Biennale by representing pavilions of other countries, which highlights how the Guggenheim's cultural reputation and authority on the global scale is more important for the museum than its representation of exclusively "American" excellence that would elevate the international prestige of the United States. Thus, in 2013, Reem Fadda, the Guggenheim curator of Middle Eastern Art since 2010, who is also the associate curator of the Guggenheim Abu Dhabi

franchise museum, "organized the highly successful United Arab Emirates Pavilion at the 2013 Venice Biennale" (Guggenheim 2013). The pavilion featured a solo presentation by Emirati artist Mohammed Kazem, a specially commissioned, 3D immersive installation called "Walking on Water" that "leaves you feeling exhilaratingly lost at sea" (Wullschlager 2013). As Fadda explained, her strategic choice for the Venice Biennale representation of the United Arab Emirates fell on a solo exhibition of Kazem because he is a prominent artist "shaping […] what has become a contemporary art scene in the UAE, a conceptual art scene with him taking a leading role in bringing it to the younger generation" (D'Arcy 2013). More importantly, as Fadda pointed out: "He has an intuitive relationship to the arts […] not limited to the scope of the UAE. There is a global dialogue happening in his practice," thus, illuminating a more global or cosmopolitan appeal of his work (D'Arcy 2013).

Likewise, June Yao, a distinguished Guggenheim curator of South and Southeast Asian art, represented the Singapore Pavilion at the 54th Venice Biennale in 2011, by featuring the work of Singaporean film maker Ho Tzu Nyen. She featured his immersive audio and visual installation, "The Cloud of Unknowing," "titled after a fourteenth century mystical treatise on faith, where the cloud is paradoxically a metaphor, for both an impediment to, and reconciliation with, the unknown or the divine experience" (National Arts Council 2011). As some critics illuminate, this work is a blend of Eastern and Western cultural, historical, and philosophical references that "speak to the predicament of representing and interpreting contemporary art discourse through a Southeast Asian lens—more specifically from a Singapore-based perspective" (Hampton 2015). As Yao explained, the attractiveness of Ho's art in its fundamental confrontations of "myths and historical geopolitics," highlighting "the idea of modernization via Western influence"; in Ho's project, as the curator further clarified, "Eastern and Western forms appear at once disjointed and seamless, coexisting in a fluid aesthetic interpretation that allows for the complexities of influence and adaptation" (Guggenheim 2012c). After the installation at the Biennale, the Guggenheim Foundation purchased the work of this artist for its permanent collections and continuously features it in its ongoing global projects, such as the Guggenheim UBS MAP Global Art Initiative with its traveling exhibition, "No Country: Contemporary Art for South and Southeast Asia" (Guggenheim UBS MAP 2014).

Both of these examples not only highlight how curatorial representations of different national pavilions at the Biennale stress global perspectives and the international dimension of contemporary art intrinsic to the Guggenheim's narratives, but also illuminate strategies employed by the museum within the collaborative project with the U.S. government to achieve its institutional goals. The U.S. Pavilion at Venice Biennale, though "presented by the Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs of the U.S. Department of State," in fact, serves as a stable platform for the Guggenheim to expose and advertise the works of its distinguished architects, artists and curators, who play a key role in further promoting the Guggenheim's global brand, its international projects and programming across the world. The Guggenheim's support of not only American, but also international artists, who represent their respective countries of origin, contributes to the construction of the cosmopolitan image of the institution. This demonstrates its commitment to generating important transnational links and connections, but also places the museum outside of the exclusively American context, earning it appreciation in the eyes of global audiences.

Under current international cultural conditions, reflecting the new epoch of economic and cultural globalization, the connection with the U.S. government that played an important role in advancing the Guggenheim position as an actor of cultural diplomacy in the 20th century seems less important. In the contemporary global reality, the Guggenheim actively participates in international cultural relations without economic or political support from the American government, relying on its extensive international resources and alliances. As Krens explained, the global success of the museum is a result of its adherence to its main principle, "to line up the institution with the international forces that are at work" (Rauen 2001, 287). Specifically, he stressed that the forces of economic and cultural globalization increasingly shape the behavior of the museum in the international context: "To try to resist these forces, or to somehow pretend they don't exist, I think, is suicidal from an institutional standpoint" (Rauen 2001, 287).

Following this philosophy, the Guggenheim's international cultural exchange in the 21st century is guided by the corporate logic of global expansion rather than by political ideological forces that usually shape official cultural diplomacy projects with different countries. Being attuned to economic opportunities in the international global community, the Guggenheim promotes its

commitment to represent contemporary art from different countries and constructs its cosmopolitan institutional image through its various global initiatives and projects.

For example, strong economic interests and global expansion goals are evident in one of the international exhibitions that the Guggenheim brought to New York in order to leverage its franchise opportunities in a new geographical area. Thus, during negotiations with the Brazilian government to build a new satellite museum in Rio, Krens mounted the Brazilian art exhibition, "Brazil: Body and Soul," in New York in 2001 and in Bilbao the following year. The exhibition featured masterpieces from the 17th and 18th centuries, along with modern and contemporary art works exploring the cultural diversity of Brazilian artistic expression (Guggenheim 2002). By organizing such an exhibition, the Guggenheim intended to reinforce its image as an internationally conscious art institution that would directly appeal not only to the Brazilian government, but also to a broader range of private and public sponsors that could support this initiative (Decker 2008). "It is time to have a cultural trade that runs north and south, not just east and west," Krens stressed on his visit to Rio to negotiate various collaborative projects with Brazil, including the franchise agreement (Kaufman 2003).

A similar logic was employed in earlier traveling exhibitions, such as "Masterworks from the Guggenheim," which visited places under consideration for satellite museums—including Madrid, Tokyo, Sydney, and Montreal—between 1990 and 1992 (Decker 2008). These exhibitions developed international cultural relations with museums and cultural institutions from other countries, but they also served as important initiatives that furthered the Guggenheim's plans in global expansion through franchising by entering new cultural markets to showcase the Guggenheim's collections. In the museum's most recent global projects, implemented in cooperation with transnational corporations, the Guggenheim's economic logic and cosmopolitan rhetoric is even stronger.

For example, in 2012 the museum started its new five-year UBS MAP Global Art Initiative, aiming to "identify and support a network of art, artists, and curators from South and Southeast Asia, Latin America, the Middle East and North Africa as part of a comprehensive program involving curatorial residencies, acquisitions for the Guggenheim's collection, international touring exhibitions, and far-reaching educational activities" (Guggenheim 2014d). The main goal of the project is to invite a curator from each region to New York for two-year residencies, during which

they work with a team of Guggenheim curators to identify the best artworks representative of their regions and available for purchase and further exhibitions in New York and around the globe. Since launching the MAP Global Art Initiative and its purchase fund in 2012, the Guggenheim has acquired over 90 contemporary artworks for the museum's collection (Ko, 2015).

The purchase fund and the whole global initiative is generously sponsored by the UBS, a Swiss global financial services company with more than 50 offices around the world, that in April 2012 officially announced a long-term commitment to working with the Guggenheim on a cultural project to "catalyze creative exchange and expand perspectives on contemporary art internationally" (UBS 2014). Jürg Zeltner, the CEO of UBS Wealth Management, explained this collaboration as an opportunity for the company "to spotlight regions" with "immense economic potential" and develop stronger ties with "many of our clients [who] are passionate about art" (UBS 2014).

Being the major sponsor of Art Basel, the world's premier international art show for modern and contemporary works, as well as a devoted collector of contemporary art with a collection of over 35,000 art works, including paintings, drawings, prints, photographs, and even video art installations, the UBS has a world-recognized and well-established reputation as a committed cultural and art patron (Corbett 2012). Vogel assesses UBS's investment as more than $40 million to pay for the project, including the Guggenheim's art acquisitions, making it "the largest investment UBS has made in an art initiative, and the biggest such project the Guggenheim has ever taken on" (Vogel 2012). For the company, this commitment is not just a sponsorship opportunity for promotional purposes, but a long-term investment in building a strong corporate image in strategic areas of expansion. "As art is becoming more and more of an asset class, UBS is looking to increase our profile in these kinds of special fields of interest," Jürg Zeltner shared, "More and more we are refocusing our strategy to reach emerging markets, and this project seemed like a perfect fit" (Vogel 2012).

As in previously discussed corporate partnership projects, the economic focus of this cultural initiative is very strong, which was also not overlooked in some press reviews of the project. Such global cross-cultural initiatives "are connected with the motivations of banks and bankers, and, by extension, wealthy patrons, collectors, and dealers, whose relationships to the museum world have always been shaped by broader economic trends" (Africa as a Country 2012). As some critics

observe, the Guggenheim UBS MAP Global Art Initiative "bears all of the hallmarks of the present era. It is funded by a bank. It has the word 'global' in its title. It claims explicitly to challenge 'a Western-centric view of art history'" (Africa as a Country 2012). Indeed, the project is promoted as a truly international collaboration broadening the geographic outreach of the Guggenheim and strengthening relationships among institutions and artists on the global level which can further bring contemporary art to a wider audience (Guggenheim 2014d).

As the project's website highlights, the program builds on the Guggenheim's "distinguished history of internationalism" to "reflect the global multiplicity of cultural practices" (Guggenheim 2014e). The rhetoric around this initiative stresses a strong commitment by the Guggenheim to become more international, despite "its history steeped in European modernism" (Guggenheim 2014e). "We are hoping to challenge our Western-centric view of art history," director Richard Armstrong indicated, and, "Our global aspiration is to become familiar with these places..." (Vogel 2012). In another interview, he also explained that this project stands for "a beautiful soft demonstration of the global ambitions," and an attempt "to identify and ally ourselves with the best thinkers, leaders of contemporary art in places less familiar to us" (Wise 2014). Through this program, the Guggenheim aims to strengthen and further promote its institutional authority to represent not only American art, but, as chief curator Nancy Spector said, "to represent […] artists from around the world [and] to expand our collections and exhibition programs […] both here in New York and abroad" (Guggenheim 2014e).

This cosmopolitan rhetoric of the project, based on the promotion of transnational links and connections and illuminating the global outreach of the Guggenheim going outside of traditional geographic boundaries, aims to attract much wider global audiences and constituencies, and to win new cultural markets. As Armstrong puts it, "We want to be seen as an outstanding peer" and "to make certain there's a high sense of recognition […] on the outside toward us" (Wise 2014). Furthermore, the initiative is an excellent opportunity for the Guggenheim to broaden its cultural influence over new parts of the world, especially those areas which are still not visible within the major Western artistic circles. As the main curator of the UBS Global Art Initiative, Joan Young, pointed out, "education is at the heart of the project" (Brooks 2015). The invited curators of the projects, who are on two-year residencies in New York, work very closely with the Guggenheim's curatorial team to learn from their expertise in contemporary art acquisition and collection

management, allowing them to later identify their interests in their respective regions and "to tell a story" of their countries (Brooks 2015).

The Guggenheim website also confirms that one of the main activities of the program is enhancing the professional educations of curators from these geographic areas by special programs organized in New York, "during which the curator[s] work with Guggenheim staff to identify new and recent artworks that reflect a range of each region's most salient cultural practices and intellectual discourses" (Guggenheim 2014d). The selected works are later presented in traveling exhibitions around the world "accompanied by a customized suite of educational opportunities for the public" (Guggenheim 2014d). This educational component reinforces the promotion of the Guggenheim's global vision and cosmopolitan discourses, which aim to build an attractive image of the museum and its collection that can appeal to various international audiences. Assessing the cultural impacts of this global initiative, the project's chief curator, Joan Young, stresses that a number of "young" institutions in emerging regions, for example the Asia Society Hong Kong Center or the Centre for Contemporary Art in Singapore, are very receptive to new innovative ideas brought to them by the Guggenheim and they are able "to adapt them for their purposes" (Brooks 2015).

An illustration of a strong cosmopolitan vision integrated into collection acquisition and management logic within this global initiative is the first traveling exhibit, "No Country," organized by the Asian curator June Yao after her two-year residency at the Guggenheim and multiregional acquisition project in South-East Asia. The curatorial description of the exhibition stresses its main purpose and goals in terms of "transmission and adaptation of the universal themes of the pursuit of well-being" (Yao 2014). Yao explains:

> I was basically looking for a topic that would have relevance to Asia and also to the international audience and then to an American audience. So the exhibition […] really looks at some relationships, issues, and challenges of the region and we would like to shift away from reductive representations of the region which is generally understood as nation states that we know today, many of which have been established as nations in the past century (Guggenheim Foundation 2014f).

As the curator further reveals, "No Country" is a meaningful part of a larger chronology and history of curatorial strategies of the Guggenheim-UBS global initiative, which aims to recognize new forms of global and regional identities, which question and challenge "the idea of community by

a country or nation-state, or the rejection of the histories that have produced it" (Yao 2014). Considering that "culture has particular clout in the representational arena, and this becomes more apparent in the case of global exchange, and even cultural diplomacy," the Guggenheim initiative, in contrast, seeks to "take on the subject of representation […] crossing and re-crossing of these thresholds and horizons that create our frames of reference" (Yao 2014). This last quote particularly underlines that the global narratives constructed by the Guggenheim through these series of traveling exhibitions have much larger goals than traditional cultural diplomacy would aspire to achieve. Thus, instead of reaffirming national identities through educational cultural exchanges that deepen cross-cultural understanding, the Guggenheim's diplomacy aims to eliminate and destroy nation state boundaries as exclusively political constructions and build "mutual trust and understanding" on the basis of shared realities.

This traveling exhibition, comprised of paintings, sculptures, photography, video, works on paper, and installations created by 22 contemporary Asian artists, mostly challenge and extend the "conceptions of region, and for that matter 'Asian-ness'," allowing "a richness of expression—even contradictory expression" and underlining "the complications of the identity and representation of those entities that go by the name of nation" (Yao 2014, 4). In this way, the collection mostly illuminates the work of artists from the region who celebrate "the notion of a global community sharing a global culture" as the "basis for historical and contemporary relations" (Yao 2014, 8). This in turn promotes a cosmopolitan vision of the region, aiming to make this traveling exhibit of the Guggenheim more relevant and appealing to audiences at any geographic location. The Guggenheim UBS MAP Global Art Initiative represents a project that demonstrates the current state of the Guggenheim's logic and nature of international cultural relations. With integrated corporate strategies for global expansion and promotion, the initiative contributes to the construction of the cosmopolitan image of the institution, claiming to have a global outreach and to represent contemporary art across the world, stepping outside of its American and even Western-centric context.

This section describes three important projects of the Guggenheim that demonstrate its historical development as an actor of cultural diplomacy, from its highly political involvement in official U.S. cultural endeavors serving national ideological interests, to corporate partnerships with strong economic interests which are more aligned with institutional global expansion plans. As Spector

reveals, "like any social institution, it [the Guggenheim] intersects with prevailing political ideologies and economic realities," which shape a strategic behavior of the museum in the international arena (Spector 1993, 279). In the current era of economic and cultural globalization, the Guggenheim has increasingly involved itself in international cultural relations, guided by the principle of economic survival and enhancing its global competitiveness, rather than by following the political agenda of the United States.

As the Honorable Chairman of the Foundation's Board of Trustees, Lawson-Johnston (2014) explains: "American museums face a difficult future, and the risk of failure is frightening to those of us responsible for them. Expenses escalate while financial support from the government dwindles […] the recent history of the Guggenheim is at heart an exemplary response to external pressures" (152). This economic reality pushes museums to explore new avenues for their institutional growth and development that consequently influence organizational strategies in development and the implementation of various international projects with strong implications for contemporary cultural diplomacy. Addressing the question of the Guggenheim's current place and role in the U.S. cultural diplomacy specifically, the Guggenheim's Director of Curatorial Affairs, Joan Young, shares:

> I think, for the Guggenheim, we are less interested in U.S. cultural diplomacy in relation to our engagement with audiences around the world. And our core collections predominantly feature the European artists […] and throughout the history of our collection practices we focused more on international art rather than American […] our efforts in international programming, exhibitions and opening museums in different countries are not necessarily a contribution to the cultural diplomacy of the USA, but more a contribution to the diplomacy of the Arts (Young 2012).

As this quote highlights, the Guggenheim official rhetoric stresses the international nature of the museum's collections which place it beyond national cultural borders, as well as emphasizing its different position in relation to the government's diplomatic agenda. This section illustrates that, employing various corporate strategies for achieving its international interests, in its recent international activities the Guggenheim projects the cosmopolitan image of a global player acting autonomously from the influence of official U.S. diplomatic forces. Such an institutional identity, as a non-state actor of cultural diplomacy, contributes to nurturing the Guggenheim's cosmopolitan

identity as a "nonpolitical" player with transnational interests and concerns in its international endeavors.

4.5. Conclusion

Rectanus (2002) argues that a cultural and social power of contemporary museums can be defined in terms of "their public visibility, market success, and media reception which can be accomplished from a basis of economic capital (investments and sponsorships), as well as cultural capital (collections and exhibitions), rather than social capital (museum pedagogy, educational power and excellence of artistic scholarship)" (12). In this case, the combination of economic and cultural capital produces powerful social and cultural forces with direct influence over society. Applying this formula of cultural impact to the international activities of the Guggenheim museum, this chapter demonstrates that the museum can be understood as a non-state actor of contemporary cultural diplomacy.

Active and productive resource-and alliance-building in the international arena contributes to the Guggenheim's "economic capital," which enhances its visibility on the global scene, increases its competitiveness among other cultural institutions, and ensures its economic stability and independence from the influence of a single powerful economic or political party. Various corporate strategies implemented on the international level, including franchising, helps the Guggenheim to accumulate and strengthen its "cultural capital." Specifically, the Guggenheim benefits from its satellite museums' exhibition spaces in different countries, circulating collections across the globe, sponsoring blockbuster exhibitions that generate large audiences, and a great number of international activities which help to promote the Guggenheim global brand, serving as an indicator of the powerful cultural reputation of the institution.

Playing an active role in international cultural relations through its ambitious global programming, the Guggenheim acquires strong cultural and social powers of influence over international constituencies. Being interested in increasing its geographic areas of cultural influence, as well as driven by its economic interests to secure its financial sustainability, the museum is attuned to the forces of economic and cultural globalization which make corporate strategies a more effective tool of contemporary cultural diplomacy than the official patronage of nation states. Pursuing its institutional goals in the international arena outside of the U.S. cultural diplomacy framework, and

constructing its cosmopolitan image to increase its appeal among international patrons and audiences, the Guggenheim constructs its cosmopolitan identity as a non-state actor of cultural diplomacy operating across borders and representing not only American, but international artists.

The institutional power and capacity to serve as an actor of diplomacy is also directly related to public support and direct engagement with museum audiences. "How can the Guggenheim," the museum director Armstrong asks, "become meaningfully transnational? How can we recalibrate what we do" to project "cultural practices and their histories around the globe?" (Guggenheim 2014d). The answer to this question lies in the institutional ability not only to be sensitive to the most ground breaking artistic innovations, but also to utilize the power of global publics to be presented as a meaningful part of the Guggenheim's manifestations, whether it is its architecture and artistic installations or its innovative projects and international contests. "It is essential to the Guggenheim's mission to engage directly with people throughout the world, to affirm the transformative potential of art, and to fuse the experience of contemporary art with great architecture," Armstrong asserts (Guggenheim 2014d).

This chapter, however, only partially covered this question, gesturing to the popularity of certain Guggenheim exhibitions and international programs through direct attendance numbers. The empirical exploration of one of the Guggenheim's global projects in the following chapters addresses this task with more precise diligence and necessary specificity. The next chapter analyzes the YouTube Play project, which has become "one of the most successful online initiatives, implemented by the Guggenheim," especially in terms of engagement with global audiences (Semel and Merlino 2011). Returning to Krens's "museum success" formula discussed earlier, it is also important to mention one of its components, not discussed within this chapter: "a high-tech interface via the Internet" (Cuno 2001, 45).

Guggenheim Marketing Manager Francesca Merlino stresses that the Guggenheim was one of the first museums in the USA to actively use new media and social media technologies for marketing, education, promotion, and international communication activities. "Our efforts began in 2007," she shared, describing various projects developed on such popular online platforms as MySpace, Facebook, or Twitter, while pointing to direct cooperation in these digital initiatives with large media corporations, for example with Google (Merlino 2010). The Guggenheim's Marketing Director also pointed out that "the use of social media helped [the Guggenheim] to jump into a

new dimension of contemporary communications," which augmented the museum's international audiences and provided new ways to interact with global publics (Miller 2010).

Under present conditions of the Internet's increasing power and the emergence of new media tools to reach much wider and more diverse international audiences with less effort and investments, the online activities of museums, as actors involved in international cultural relations and global communications, cannot be ignored. The following chapter introduces, describes, and offers a thorough analysis of the YouTube Play project developed by the Guggenheim in collaboration with Google, which provides an example of a new type of museum corporate activity with global outreach and important cultural implications, however, implemented in an online environment.

Chapter V.
YouTube Play: Design for engagement

5.1. Introduction

In June 2010 the Guggenheim Museum officially announced the call for participation in the YouTube Play international contest – "a collaboration between YouTube and the Guggenheim Museum to unearth and showcase the very best creative video from around the world" (Play Biennial 2010). Posted on YouTube, 14 invitations in different languages invited creative video artists from all over the globe to participate in the contest and to compete for a prestigious award, selected by a renowned team of jurors, to be presented in the Guggenheim Museum in New York as well as other Guggenheim spaces in different countries. The call for participation, as posted on the Guggenheim web site, was quite short and simple:

> To have your work considered, simply post it on YouTube, and then submit it at http://youtube.com/play. A jury of experts will decide which works will be presented at the Solomon R. Guggenheim Museum in New York on October 21, 2010 with simultaneous presentations at the Guggenheim museums in Berlin, Bilbao, and Venice (Play Biennial 2010).

Less than two months from when the official call for contribution was announced, the museum closed the submissions and said it had received 23,358 online videos from 91 countries. On the October 21, 2010, the Guggenheim and YouTube, in collaboration with HP and Intel, announced the top 25 videos selected for YouTube Play. The announcement was made at a special celebratory event at the museum called, "YouTube Play Live from the Guggenheim," which was live-streamed on YouTube. Hosted by comedian and actor Michael Showalter, the show was a several hours-long performance that featured not only 25 of "the most unique and innovative video work[s] to be created and distributed online during the past two years" (Guggenheim 2010e), but also provided artists a chance to perform live in the museum. Among the performers were "the Grammy Award-winning rock band OK Go; the musician, producer, and video artist Kutiman; dance troupe LXD; musician and songwriter Megan Washington; and the San Francisco artist known for his audio and video mash-ups, Mike Relm" (Guggenheim 2010f).

During the celebratory event, and the next evening after 10:30 pm, the top videos were projected onto the Guggenheim Museum facade facing Fifth Avenue. The exterior projections were created

by Obscura Digital and Consortium Studios. Using the Guggenheim Museum in NYC as canvas, the projections "covered the iconic spiral facade of the museum's exterior […] and created an immersive 360 degree experience on the entire interior rotunda with custom developed real-time video graphics systems" (Obscura Digital, 2011). This show outside of the museum aimed to promote YouTube Play among local audiences and effectively utilized the Guggenheim's architecture to create an immersive spatial experience that expanded the museum's boundaries and reached out to casual New Yorkers and tourists.

Finally, the winning videos selected by the contest jury were on museum display from October 22-24, 2010 in the HP + Intel digital galleries in the Guggenheim museums not only in New York, but also in Berlin, Bilbao, and Venice (Guggenheim 2010e). Even though the final stage of the project had such a strong physical component transcending geographical boundaries of the Guggenheim and engaging local museum goers in four different cities around the world, the most important part of YouTube Play was happening in the virtual reality of the Internet. This thesis mostly focuses on the digital life and development of this contest and not only provides an analysis of the online project, but also exposes the online audiences interaction with this platform and explains the impacts of this project on international YouTube audiences. This chapter specifically discusses various components of the YouTube Play design which are explained in light of cultural and economic interests of the Guggenheim as an international museum with global outreach.

The YouTube Play promotion video provides important details on the project nature, goals, and envisioned results that can guide the analysis of this initiative. This invitation video was very ambitious, brave, and in some ways even revolutionary. It featured Nancy Spector, Deputy Director at the Guggenheim, and Andy Berndt, Vice President of the Creative Lab Google and YouTube, who articulated their philosophical visions of the collaborative project between their two institutions and explained their expectations of the international contest. I would like to cite the transcript of the video in full, as it really emphasizes the key moments of how the project was framed, branded, and promoted.

> **Andy Berndt:** *YouTube and Guggenheim*: they may not be two words that pop into your head at the exact same time. But *they are really about a lot of the same things*.

> **Nancy Spector:** At the Guggenheim we are always interested in how to *reach the broadest possible audience*. We don't create a hierarchy here among mediums. We don't have

departments devoted to drawing, or painting, or sculpture. It's a museum of modern and contemporary art, but I always like to think that it's always *been a museum of the new*.

Andy Berndt: *One of the things we feel most deeply about with YouTube is access*. That access is something we really want to bring to the world of excellence in the established art world. *You don't need particular means, or a particular education, or a particular background, or a particular budget. Everybody can play*.

Nancy Spector: *This collaboration with YouTube gives us a chance to explore digital media*, bring it into the museum, and see how it functions, see if it functions. And through the processes learn more about the phenomenon, because we would like to believe that *art is transformative*.

Andy Berndt: *Show us what has not been before, in the eyes of the Guggenheim or in the eyes of YouTube*.

Nancy Spector: *All eyes are shifting right now to the digital realm, to see what it will bring us for the future*.

Andy Berndt: *Any video creator around the world – anywhere – can nominate their work*.

Nancy Spector: Two hundred leading videos will be selected for further attention by the panel of experts. The goal is to select 20 or 25 that would then be presented at the Guggenheim.

Andy Berndt: Maybe what's in your head is the next thing. The world isn't going to know unless you nominate.

Nancy Spector: *Artists should always be challenging the status quo, and that includes museums*.

Andy Berndt: YouTube Play is the first biennial of creative video (Play Biennial 2010) [emphasis added].

In this invitation speech the organizers emphasized three of the most important goals of the project: public participation ("Everybody can play"); global outreach and access ("Any video creator around the world – anywhere"); and the pioneering, experimental nature of the video contest ("a chance to explore digital media") (Play Biennial 2010). These three project goals provide basis for

the research trajectory of this chapter. The first part of the chapter, "Pop culture appeal," focuses on the scope and boundaries of the project in terms of its cultural focus and social design. It discusses YouTube Play as a digital media initiative that targeted "prosumers" of popular video culture on YouTube and reveals the main interests of the Guggenheim and YouTube in developing this online project. Demonstrating that popular culture unites global audiences and increases the cultural visibility and influence of the museum, this section identifies and explains various mechanisms of operation of the new cultural diplomacy, based on the power to bring people from different countries together to interact and celebrate shared cultural values. In this way, this section illustrates that YouTube Play provides an important channel for new forms of cultural diplomacy exercised in online environments.

The second section, "Participatory design," further explores how the project attracted and engaged targeted audiences and demonstrates the implication of the YouTube design for constructing a powerful institutional image and international authority of the Guggenheim. Illuminating a strong appeal of the project to involve people in active participation and cultural production rather than just as passive consumers, this section reveals the strong capacity of this online initiative not only to accumulate powerful social influence, but, more importantly, to elevate the cultural reputation and image of the Guggenheim as a global authority in contemporary art development. This cultural authority significantly contributes to the institutional capacity to serve as an actor in cultural diplomacy with a power to "mobilize" international publics and actively participate in global flows of popular culture circulation.

Finally, this chapter analyzes the YouTube Play global ambitions and goals to embrace and target large and diverse international audiences. By identifying various design components and rhetorical means that aimed to construct a global image of the project, the section "Global outreach" describes how the project design reflects the Guggenheim's and YouTube's international expansion strategies. While revealing the economic interests of expanding promotion of the institutional brands on the global scale, this section also illustrates the cosmopolitan dimension of contemporary forms of online diplomacy which acquire social power of influence through strong appeals to targeted global publics. All three sections of this chapter highlight the most important components of online cross-cultural communication as a new form of contemporary cultural diplomacy. In this way, this chapter starts an important analysis of a new type of cultural diplomacy implemented online within the context of Guggenheim's international cultural outreach.

5.2. Pop culture appeal

The previous chapter has already discussed various partnerships of the Guggenheim with such transnational companies as BMW, Hugo Boss, Giorgio Armani, or Google. The museum's cooperation with YouTube comes as a logical continuation of its marketing and promotional strategies, based on creating alliances with commercial industries. In this project, cooperation with a popular media channel aimed to promote the museum brand among online communities and engage larger online publics in the museum's international activities.

Revealing the Guggenheim's interest in the project of reaching out to YouTube publics, Joan Young, Director of Curatorial Affairs at the Guggenheim shared: "For us it was important to […] increase our online audience to make more people around the world [were] aware of our art programming. […] We wanted to spread the awareness about our museum further in the online circles" (Young 2012). From the perspective of YouTube's strategic interests, Google aimed to capitalize on the global brand of the Guggenheim as an international cultural authority in order to bring more educated and artistic audiences to its channel. As one of the jurors of the contest, Thai independent film director Apichatpong Weerasethakul pointed out, "[P]eople associate art and quality with the Guggenheim museum" (Play Biennial 2010f). That was why, as Young (2012) explained, "One of the reasons why Google wanted to collaborate with us [was] because we do have a large proportion of international audiences…and we have our exhibitions and programming around the world, which makes our name globally recognizable."

She further revealed that Guggenheim and Google have long established mutually beneficial relationships and YouTube Play was not their first collaborative project (Young 2012). For example, their previous partnership was the "Shelters" project, based on the international competition among amateur and professional designers from around the world who were invited to submit a 3-D shelter for any location in the world using Google SketchUp and Google Earth. Over the course of the summer of 2009, nearly 600 contestants from 68 different countries participated in the contest. The best works were selected by current Frank Lloyd Wright School of Architecture students who awarded the People's Prize and the Juried Prize awards to winners from Portugal and Denmark (Guggenheim 2009).

In a similar format of international competition, however, organized on a different Google platform, YouTube Play was developed in "ongoing conversations" between the two institutions

seeking to strengthen their partnership (Young 2012). In 2010 Google wanted to celebrate the 5th anniversary of YouTube and in cooperation with the Guggenheim marketing team the YouTube Play idea was born (Young 2012). Both of these projects with Google, "Shelters" and YouTube Play, strategically engaged artists from two different fields, design and architecture in the first case, and video or digital art in the latter, and at the same time, were very instrumental in popularizing Google software products among strategically targeted segments of the Guggenheim audiences. For example, discussing the "Shelter" project, Aidan Chopra, Product Evangelist from Google SketchUp, stressed:

> The Google SketchUp community includes students, designers, architects, and artists all over the world, audiences shared by the Guggenheim. This design competition is a way to bring these communities together online, which is why we are so excited to collaborate with the Guggenheim and provide them with the tools – Google Earth and Google SketchUp… (E-Architect 2009).

For YouTube, collaboration with a cultural institution was also not new. To increase its visibility and popularity among diverse segments of online populations, YouTube has actively participated in international collaborative activities with different organizations from various spheres of public activity, and specifically with cultural institutions. For example, in 2009 the YouTube Symphony Orchestra project was developed in cooperation with the London Symphony Orchestra, inviting "aspiring classical musicians from around the world" to play for open auditions through a specifically designed YouTube platform that received around 15 million views over the course of the project. The culmination of this project was a celebration event at the YouTube Symphony Orchestra summit organized at Carnegie Hall in New York, broadcast live on YouTube (Google 2009). A similar organizational logic and design was applied in the YouTube Play project, however, with a new purpose, such as to celebrate contemporary video and visual culture. As the YouTube Play official page at the Guggenheim web site announced, "YouTube is now expanding upon the traditional curatorial process in a way that gives every video creator a shot at international artistic recognition" (Play Biennial 2010b). It is interesting to note that the winners of the YouTube Symphony Orchestra were also invited to the YouTube Play show in NYC for celebration and performance with finalist musical groups, which highlights the connection between these two projects, making them meaningful nodes in a larger YouTube "cultural" program.

In the collaboration between the Guggenheim and YouTube, the social media channel provided the main platform for communication, submission, and exhibition of the contest's content. This defined the artistic boundaries of the project, placing it within mainstream popular video and digital culture. If the YouTube Symphony Orchestra was more oriented toward musicians and music lovers who use YouTube for music sharing or listening to classical music, YouTube Play, curated by one of the largest contemporary art museums in the world, targeted creative video makers and all those devoted YouTubers who enjoy video and digital culture. Furthermore, in comparison to the Symphony project, the contest did not have a highly "artistic" focus that would narrow down the scope of the project's submissions or potential audiences. In contrast, YouTube Play was presented and promoted as a revolutionary initiative to celebrate an "exceptional talent working in the ever-expanding realm of online video" (Guggenheim 2010d).

Being "one of the premier 'go-to' sites for uploading and finding image and audio scraps of popular mainstream fare" (Stelter and Helft, 2009), YouTube represents and reflects the contemporary global culture, marked by the growing importance of short-form content, which is easily produced, accessed, shared, remixed, changed, and displayed with the help of the numerous digital and mobile devices that audiences are equipped with (Grainge 2011). It is "the default website for a clip culture that is increasingly defining both web entertainment and online information" (Snickars 2009, 293). Drawing on YouTube resources as a gigantic pool of contemporary video culture, the YouTube Play platform was also designed as a global "exhibition venue… a register of the 'passing parade' of short-form media texts" (Stelter and Helft, 2009). The main objective of the contest was to identify and celebrate the best creative videos that are representative of "genres specific to YouTube" (Guggenheim 2010d), those genres created by YouTube "prosumers" themselves. "By recontextualizing existing materials, by creating new aesthetics, and by reaching audiences who are neither avid gallery-goers nor film buffs – but who sure do watch a lot of videos on the Internet" (Zinman 2010c), the project intended to promote YouTube as a creative platform, as well as to popularize the Guggenheim's brand among online publics.

This focus on popular video culture, celebrating the content that belongs to people and is created by them for their own enjoyment in a new museum context is a highly strategic curatorial choice by the Guggenheim and YouTube, aiming to target wider segments of online viewers and participants. As the museum critic on the Guggenheim blog explains:

YouTube works are public works, made and distributed outside of the systems of capital and production that define the cinema and gallery worlds, and are designed for (at least potential) mass consumption. YouTube Play thus offers the Guggenheim a chance to start a dialogue regarding how our visual culture is being radically reshaped online. […] Of course, museums have always been involved in bridging public and private worlds – that negotiation comprises the very core of the museum's project. New technology allows museums to close that gap even further (Zinman 2010 c).

This goal of connecting the worlds of museum "high" art and popular culture was reflected in the organizational components of the project. Thus, on the jury committee, which consisted of 13 persons (9 independent artists working in various media and genres, a musical collective of three persons, and jury chair Nancy Spector, the Chief Curator of the Guggenheim) (See Appendix 4), there were many artists known for their traditions of breaking the barriers between high art and popular culture. For example, one of the jurors was American artist Marilyn Minter, famous in the art world for her "groundbreaking" exhibition "100 Food Porn" that she did in the '80s. She was the first and the only American artist who advertised her exhibition and paintings on TV, in between commercials of M&M's during one of the late night shows (Mugaas 2010 a). In the interview for the YouTube Play contest, she stressed that as a juror for the project she would be guided by important popular culture hallmarks: "I am just thrilled. I am just gonna go with whatever I think is charming, amusing. A lot of kitties and puppies. Perfection is an illusion […] I think an interesting artist always talks about the time we live in" (Play Biennial 2010h).

Another juror, famous Japanese artist Takashi Murakami, "is often billed as the next Andy Warhol. Like the American pop art icon, he fuses high and low, pulling imagery from consumer culture to produce visually arresting, highly original work" (Howe 2003). He has long been working closely with such varied traditions of Japanese pop culture as manga and anime, combining them with Western Pop art to develop "a unique practice that situates the artist at the cusp of high art and mass culture" (Guggenheim 2010a). These artists were chosen as representatives of the art movements which are associated with popular, mainstream, or even commercial culture rather than with high art.

As a result of the jurors' varied experiences, the selection of the finalist and shortlisted videos also reflected priorities drawn from popular video culture, guided by the favorite genres of YouTube's

general publics. "We were always looking for quality, but the one thing that evolved as we went through the entries is that we began to understand that there are special genres specific to YouTube, such as the mash-up or stop-motion videos," Spector shared after the "screening process" was over. "Once we began to see the patterns, it became easier to use that to help us make cuts on quality." The YouTube Play manager further stressed:

> …in terms of selection criteria, we wanted to be as broad as possible, and, of course, we wanted to capture a wide range of different artistic genres that one might find on YouTube. […] we were particularly interested in works that engaged the Internet as a platform" (Young 2012).

YouTube senior marketing manager Ed Sanders also pointed out, "There's a lot of video out there that has inspired us. […] We're trying to bubble that content to the surface. The Guggenheim wants to be dazzled" (Hesse 2010). Senior art critic and columnist for *New York* magazine Jerry Saltz enthusiastically promoted the project as an opportunity to recognize popular YouTube genres that have a strong creative component: "Who hasn't seen something on YouTube and thought, 'This is as good as anything I've seen in galleries and museums'? The Guggenheim simply wants to open its doors to art and ideas that are already out there" (Saltz 2010).

Following the YouTube public's tastes and preferences, a strategic selection of winning videos prioritized videos representing the most popular YouTube genres. For example, so-called "remix" videos turned out to be one of a favorite video genres among global YouTube publics. "Mash-up videos", as the Chief Curator of the Guggenheim called this type of video, refer to the YouTube clips created as a specific form of "remix culture." It is based on taking samples from pre-existing video or audio materials to combine them into new forms according to personal taste, so-called practices of "cut/copy and paste."

The concept of remix was developed in the music industry around the late 1960s and early 1970s in New York City. Later, it was extended to various areas of culture, including the visual arts. In the beginning of the 21st century, "remix culture" started to play a vital role in various spheres of mass communication, especially on the Internet. As Kroes observes, the "cut-and-paste approach" has been increasingly used as a mode of composition in contemporary cultural practices in all areas, including literature, visual art, music, etc. (Kroes 2000, 200). Various pieces of mass culture, "like catchy tunes or phrases" have a particular power of inviting and developing practices of

"creative recontextualizations" (Bauman and Briggs 1990). Through his studies of various examples of remix cultural practices, Rymes demonstrated that the more widely circulated and mass-produced a message, the more diverse are interactions with this cultural content. This happens, Rymes explains, because, "these widely circulating forms become incorporated into individuals' communicative repertoires" (Rymes 2010).

Furthermore, these "recontextualizations," as practices, acquire a strong power of public appeal because they are built on certain common communicative values shared within a particular social grouping. "The widely circulating, mass-mediated semiotic forms become recontextualized in an individual's communicative repertoire in special performances (like YouTube videos) in everyday interaction" (Rymes 2012, 216). Rymes differentiated among several common forms of remix practices, where "hybrid combinations" are the most popular among the widely circulating semiotic forms. On YouTube, the "hybrid combination" refers to "mash-up" videos, which the Guggenheim celebrated on YouTube Play as a contemporary creative video practice. Considering the power of "mash-up" videos to go viral on the Internet and attract large viewership, several representative videos of this YouTube genre became an important and meaningful part of the project video content.

As examples, a music video by Israeli musician Kutiman with 1.5 million views, or "Sushi," a remix clip by American artist Kyle Andrews with almost 1 million views, both generated a large amount of audience feedback with exceptionally positive sentiments. The "Mother of All Funk Chords" music clip, referred to by one viewer as "Youtube's Symphony,"[2] was based on an original melody composed of music recordings and collected from 23 YouTube video clips, and was uploaded by other users on YouTube (Kutiel 2009). "Sushi" was a "YouTube Mosaic Music Video," created from more than a million tiles and thousands of unique YouTube video stills to maintain links and references to the original YouTube clips: "users can click anywhere on this digital mosaic, and the video will take the user to a randomly generated video that was featured in the digital mosaic" (Liu 2009).

Both of these clips received many supportive and appreciative comments from YouTube Play audiences, demonstrating that global publics enthusiastically embrace "remix culture." Commenting on the popular clip "Mother of All Funk Chords," many users expressed a sincere

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[2] Comment on the video clip "Mother of All Funk Chords" by iburnedthedinner (10/9/2011 4:05:00 PM), http://bit.ly/1m6GeMI.

enthusiasm about the sampling method employed in the video and stressed how powerful it was to reflect the "Do-It-Yourself" culture of YouTube and a collaborative spirit of online creativity.

Example:

RulerZigZagZigAllah: "This album *reveals the magic of sampling*.[3] Never before you could have imagined where do samples come from, who were the people playing them, in what situations, what keys they press and to what degree is the sample rearranged. Everything is revealed with these videos. I watched the whole album twice yesterday and will do so again! *The Bible of sampling*!"[4]

Sue Souza: "If all globalization's function was that, our life would be more near, really! *It's a wonderful work for a big meeting of the music and the friendship around the world*! Congratulations, Kutiman!!!"[5]

Sorin Silaghi: "Can you say *YOUTUBE ORCHESTRA* ?? :))))"[6]

Tom Hendricks: "This made the big list – *first world list of best music from every corner of the world* (includes best music videos)."[7]

Triviani1234: "Amazing. *We don't need record companies anymore*!"[8]

Jenina de Dios: "This is *sampling on a whole new level*. Awesome!"[9]

Gandalf TheWhite: "After 20 years of working in the entertainment industry your videos have awoken the belief t*hat creativity can make the world a better place* in me. Thank you for making me once again believe! You have a home in Miami Beach."[10]

Paul Arzooman: "I wish I could like this a million times. I am stunned by the work done here, completely blown away. *I'm a audio engineer so I appreciate the*

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[3] In all comments in this thesis emphasis added.
[4] Comment on the video clip "Mother of All Funk Chords" by RulerZigZagZigAllah (9/23/2011 3:19:00 AM), http://bit.ly/1m6GeMI.
[5] Comment on the video clip "Mother of All Funk Chords" by Sue Souza (10/23/09 8:18 AM), http://bit.ly/1m6GeMI.
[6] Comment on the video clip "Mother of All Funk Chords" by Sorin Silaghi (11/2/09 3:53 AM), http://bit.ly/1m6GeMI.
[7] Comment on the video clip "Mother of All Funk Chords" by Tom Hendricks (7/22/09 11:57 AM), http://bit.ly/1m6GeMI.
[8] Comment on the video clip "Mother of All Funk Chords" by triviani1234 (9/4/09 9:22 PM), http://bit.ly/1m6GeMI.
[9] Comment on the video clip "Mother of All Funk Chords" by Jenina de Dios (9/11/09 2:42 AM), http://bit.ly/1m6GeMI.
[10] Comment on the video clip "Mother of All Funk Chords" by de Gandalf TheWhite (12/4/09 1:33 AM), http://bit.ly/1m6GeMI.

geekiest of technical wizardry but I can't even put into words how brilliant this is. I'm just floored."[11]

Rab Paterson:	"Great video and music. *I actually use this clip to teach academic writing to students in my university classes as it's a perfect example of blending quality source material together in a new, innovative way and making it flow well.* This is something students need to do with the sources / ideas / data they use in their writing. And of course it's always nice to have an excuse to hear great music in a classroom! Awesome stuff that's definitely more than the sum of its parts…"[12]

Some responses to the clip even stress the significance of this music video on an ontological level, emphasizing that a new creative practice, established by the author, has become a new form of live video culture.

Example:

Sandrecords:	"truly amazing, this man is showing us something that is gonna be a revolution for everyone – *YOUTUBE ART* – stay tuned."[13]
Mistahshadow:	"… as far as I can tell, this has everything to do with collaboration. I'm saying that this video is the *perfect example of what can come from a bunch of Average Joes connecting with each other online*. I'm well aware that this specific video was made by one talented person, but do you see what I'm getting at? *The internet is a gateway connection for a new art medium.*"[14]
Mladen Zoric:	"great respect for you mister Kutiman, no words for what you do, except great thanks *for showing another side of all this crazy internet chaos. new way of life is born, and IT IS FUNKY*!!!!"[15]

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[11] Comment on the video clip "Mother of All Funk Chords" by Susette Dawson (9/25/11 7:24 AM), http://bit.ly/1m6GeMI.
[12] Comment on the video clip "Mother of All Funk Chords" by Rab Paterson (2/16/2013 10:06:00 PM), http://bit.ly/1m6GeMI.
[13] Comment on the video clip "Mother of All Funk Chords" by Sandrecords (6/19/2010 9:12 PM), http://bit.ly/1m6GeMI.
[14] Comment on the video clip "Mother of All Funk Chords" by Mistahshadow (12/9/2009 1:35 PM), http://bit.ly/1m6GeMI.
[15] Comment on the video clip "Mother of All Funk Chords" by Mladen Zoric (8/28/2010 5:07:00 AM), http://bit.ly/1m6GeMI.

WIBoiler:	"This is proof that musical genius can extend beyond musical virtuosity. *This is what future mashups should strive to emulate in terms of musical quality*. Bravo Kutiman!! You have made a fan for life."[16]
Narcissusintl:	"*This is the future*! This is Intriguism Art Method at its best! Genius! – Brother Andy"[17]
Susette Dawson:	"I like the 'welcome to the future' comment. Now we can say, *WE ARE THE FUTURE*!"[18]

All these comments not only demonstrate the high popularity of "remix culture," but also show the social power of "mash-up" videos to evoke strong emotional responses from audiences and engage them in online conversations and collective celebrations of their favorite videos. Capitalizing on the strong capacities of these videos to generate social engagement and participation, the final selection of the YouTube Play content included these and many other videos of exceptional popularity, followed and liked by millions of YouTube users long before they were submitted to the contest.

For example, such clips as "Guitar: Impossible," "Die Antwoord – Zef Side," "Rymdreglage – 8-bit trip," or "Western Spaghetti by PES," representing such popular YouTube video genres as "mash-ups," stop-motions or music videos, have more than 11 million views each and, in some cases, more than 40 thousand comments. Grusin insightfully points out that the rhetorical power of YouTube videos with millions of views is immense; these videos are able to exert specific impacts upon audiences, activating what he calls the "YouTube sublime" (Grusin 2009, 61).

> The rhetorical force of such numbers is to produce something like the feeling of what Kant characterized as the "mathematical sublime." Experiencing the YouTube sublime, the mind is unable to conceive the immensity of the YouTube universe even while it is empowered by the experience of an affective awe in the face of such immensity (Grusin 2009, 61).

By adding videos with over a million views to the YouTube Play content, the organizers aimed to promote the project to devoted audiences of these clips, increasing their own viewership. Rewarding the works of "YouTube celebrities"' is a smart way to engage active supporters and

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[16] Comment on the video clip "Mother of All Funk Chords" by WIBoiler (5/18/2010 4:22 AM), http://bit.ly/1m6GeMI.
[17] Comment on the video clip "Mother of All Funk Chords" by narcissusintl (1/26/2010 2:11 PM), http://bit.ly/1m6GeMI.
[18] Comment on the video clip "Mother of All Funk Chords" by Susette Dawson (9/19/2010 2:30 PM), http://bit.ly/1m6GeMI.

followers of these creative video makers and inspire greater enthusiasm from loyal audiences. More importantly, this strategy aimed to increase the leverage power or "diplomatic" influence of YouTube Play over global publics, creating a favorable image of the project and leading to wider brand promotion.

The strategic selection of the most popular videos also demonstrates a "respect" of the Guggenheim to the popular public taste, thus revealing the "responsible populism" logic of the contest. As discussed earlier, "responsible populism" always meant for the institution to be "a museum with a didactic purpose that would consciously address its many visitors" and would primarily appeal to the interests of general audiences (Messer 1989, 147). In this project the Guggenheim strategically focused on creative YouTube practices of pop culture rather than on "high" art production to increase the appeal of this project to larger publics. Being a contemporary art museum, the Guggenheim has certain institutional responsibilities to maintain high artistic standards of scholarship and collections. However, in the conditions of the global proliferating competition for human attention as a commodity for consumption, popular culture, as a means to generate strong and instant responses and affiliations from the global publics, has become one of the most important tools of international communication helping various international actors, such as cultural institutions and transnational corporations, attract global publics (Lipschutz 2010). The popular cultural appeal, as a YouTube Play design component, served marketing and promotional purposes of both transnational actors, the Guggenheim and Google, interested in spreading their global brands around the world.

Popular culture has been traditionally associated with commercial cultural industries and the economic sector, while high culture has historically served political purposes and various official cultural diplomacy programs developed by governments of different countries. Classical examples of the latter include the "Russian Ballet diplomacy" or "American Abstract Expressionism diplomacy" during the Cold War (Richmond 2003). However, trying to build on the power of attractiveness that certain cultural products gain in a global community, popular culture was repeatedly utilized as a highly political tool to represent national character and artistic achievements, and "to win [the] hearts and minds" of international audiences. From the diplomatic perspective, popular culture, as Schneider points out, is the greatest "resource in the cultural diplomacy arsenal" (Schneider 2003, 14). Especially the United States, with its strong liberal ideologies and stress on free markets, has relied on the power of popular culture to communicate

to the whole world what America is about. Ever since World War I, when President Woodrow Wilson called film "a universal language [that] lends itself importantly to the presentation of […] America's plans and purposes," the U.S. government "has regarded Hollywood as a supremely persuasive ally" (Bayles 2014, 6).

Though American popular culture has been criticized by many academics as a dangerous force causing cultural homogenization and spreading cultural imperialism, there is a consensus in the world of cultural practitioners that "cultural diplomacy, exemplified by Hollywood movies, NBA games, Disneyland characters and jazz music, is the best weapon for its success" (Xiaoli 2013). In their report on new forms of contemporary diplomacy, British scholars Bound et al. (2007) stress that in a globalized community, mass popular culture, franchised television programs, Hollywood, pop music mixes, blues, bhangra, hip hop and reggae provide important points of common reference. These points serve as "windows onto life somewhere else" (29).

In recent decades the wide spread of popular culture through various media and social media channels has particularly enabled a large amount of cultural information to flow from one side of the world to the other. As Bound et al. (2007) indicate, the emergence of YouTube with its million subscribers and enormous numbers of every day viewership has created a new "participatory form of globalized pop culture" (29). YouTube has become an especially powerful form of cross-cultural communication, "creating a multitude of points of connection that do not respect borders or conventional definitions of nations. Popular culture offers a starting point that increases cultural visibility and can sometimes help to open doors" (Bound et al. 2007, 30). YouTube Play builds on the effectiveness of the video channel itself to provide an avenue for a new type of diplomacy, based on the popular culture generation and spread in global informational environments. Though based on the strong economic interests of brand promotion and expansion of markets of cultural consumers, YouTube Play is also a form of cross-cultural communication. Its strong social power to bring people together for productive interactions and celebration of shared cultural practices constitutes a living video "culture of today."

This section outlined the artistic boundaries of the contest and explained its focus on popular culture appeal. The next section further explores the YouTube Play design and its implications, focusing on the participatory component of the project.

5.3. Participatory design

YouTube Play was designed as a global contest of creative videos and strongly emphasized unique opportunities provided for all YouTubers to try their chances in the international competition and to showcase their works on the international level. Even though the project stressed the "newness" of this online initiative that empowered ordinary people to create and share within a museum context, the museum employed a rather old curatorial form of the project, specifically the international competition in which the museum delegated itself the main power and authority to select and display artistic objects. The Guggenheim has a long tradition of organizing international artistic competitions with the goal of revealing "the most groundbreaking" creative movements and to reward talented artists, thus, authorizing itself to have a global mission, responsibility, and even a right to validate and legitimize the latest innovations in the art world. One of the historical examples of organizing an international contest as a means to elevate and promote its international authority in the world of arts was discussed in greater detail in the previous chapter. Starting from its world famous International Expositions which rewarded the "best" avant-garde artists during the Cold War, the Guggenheim has remained very loyal to this institutional tradition to engage audiences, artists, and participants of events on the premise of its strong curatorial leadership. The role of the Guggenheim in all these participatory events has always remained central. The curatorial power of the Guggenheim to find, select, curate, and reward artists from around the world on the merit of their creativity, talent, and artistic excellence can be attributed to the Guggenheim's grand ambition to define and shape the canons of modern art on the international scale.

Likewise, in the framework of the YouTube Play project, the Guggenheim intended to promote its authority to be the first museum to appreciate and celebrate digital forms of contemporary popular culture, while stressing the power of people to produce this public culture. Andy Berndt, Vice President of the Creative Lab Google and YouTube emphasized "Everybody can play" in this artistic initiative and contribute video clips that they believe important; "You don't need particular means, or a particular education, or a particular background, or a particular budget" (Play Biennial 2010). Joan Young (2012), Director of Curatorial Affairs at Guggenheim, also stressed that "one of the goal[s] of the project was to really look at the platform and to see how it can be used by artists, ordinary people, and professionals." In an interview about the contest she said, "We tried to bring attention to unrecognized artists […] there are millions and millions of people who are

using Internet, digital tools and social media in their creative practices, who stay really active online, and whom we hoped to raise up to the next level" (Young 2012).

Specifically, this innovative "creativity" was attributed to the general public's abilities to interact with digital media and create content of contemporary pop culture. Joan Young, Director of Curatorial Affairs at Guggenheim, revealed: "Of course, we were targeting primarily the YouTube community, but also all these people who are actively using online tools" (Young 2012). Reflecting on the participatory nature of the project, YouTube Senior Marketing Manager Ed Sanders envisioned YouTube Play as "a way to include a wide swath of participants. The landscape of art is being shaped by the people" (Hesse 2010). Through this project the Guggenheim and YouTube tried to expand the participatory boundaries to attract more of their potential followers and participants by simply tapping into the needs of contemporary audiences. The jurors of the contest paid more attention to talented amateur work to give opportunities to unrecognized artists. For example, one of the jurors, Apichatpong Weerasethakul, a Thai independent film director, actively supported the participatory ideas of the project and explained: "There is no objective reality in cinema, everything is subjective […] it's about your reality not others. In the submissions I look for something homemade, something you can do yourself that takes time to find your own path" (Play Biennial 2010f).

The project was based on the idea that anybody can produce a meaningful and inspiring piece of "video art" that can be a part of the museum's online collection. This appeals not only to the artistic and creative abilities of people, who get a chance to experiment with their talents, but also to their social needs and demands conditioned by the growing participatory culture of contemporary society (Castells 2004; Stalder 2005). By letting people produce culture rather than just consume it, YouTube Play acquired strong potential to influence online audiences, which resulted in such a high rate of global participation in the contest. A museum critic confirmed that the participatory component was critical for the "YouTube Play success" which he also attributed to the interactive powers of dialogical communication that are possible on YouTube: "Unknowns get their chance at a global museum show that would have been unthinkable before the age of the Internet" (Zuras 2010a).

It is important to stress here that because of the nature of the YouTube platform, as well as the broad focus of the project – which embraced current video practices in contemporary popular

culture production – there was no a strict border line between "participants" and "audiences" of the project that could be understood in a traditional sense. This blurring of the borders between the two roles can be explained by a complex interrelation between those who "produced" cultural content for YouTube Play and those who "consumed" it. Many people who followed the project could simultaneously be active participants and audiences. For example, all those 23,000 contestants who submitted their works and who did not make it to the finals expressed a strong interest in YouTube Play and could have followed it through later stages as devoted or emotionally engaged audiences. Furthermore, many creative YouTubers who did not have a chance to submit to the contest for various reasons were not necessarily then "passive" audiences, but active creators and "prosumers" working with various YouTube genres of video culture.

For example, the comment stream on "The River," a Lego stop-motion animation or a "brickfilm" created by American artist Nikolas Jaeger, generated lot of responses from "audiences" that indicate that among the clip's viewers there are a lot people who also experiment with the same video genre. Interactions with the author of the video, insightful observations with highlighting technical details of the production, appreciation of the artist's stop-motion skills, as well as sharing personal artistic visions and plans demonstrate that the audiences of the animation included many active video creators.

Example:

Rulerofdoom: "*Wow, this is just amazing. I have just recently started making brickfilms, and am in need of help. If you can give me any tips on techniques or equipment, I would be most grateful*. Thanks, awesome brickfilm!"[19]

Winkyburger (Author): "*Don't spend too much money and have a healthy DIY attitude when it comes to stuff. Get acquainted with the medium. Watch good films*, and I mean really good films; stuff that you have to really go out of your way to see."[20]

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[19] Comment on the video clip "The River" by rulerofdoom (10/17/09 11:05 AM), http://bit.ly/1Bnurk1.
[20] Comment on the video clip "The River" by Winkyburger (10/18/09 11:59 PM), http://bit.ly/1Bnurk1.

KeshavOrganic: *"I could go about as other animators did and try my best to show my amazement and shock after watching this film, but we all know what this film did – left us speechless.........we cannot express this in words. All I can say is don't stop brickfilming. You're going to go places."*[21]

Martin Noutch: "Fantastic. The most intense stopmotion lego atmosphere I've ever seen. *Sound was really beautifully manipulated. The simple use of the re-focusing in the brief shots was very powerful – it helped the scene and set seem so much bigger than it was. The close focus also let us see the bricks for themselves and appreciate the simple beauty of the gloss on the colors.* There was no compromise between the medium and the meaning – not lego trying to be something else – just lego at its best."[22]

Touchbrick Pictures: "This definitely reminds me of Joseph Conrad's Heart of Darkness in so many ways. And that's a good thing. *I approach brickfilming in a completely different way than you do, and it was both refreshing and inspiring to see something so different.* The dynamic lighting was superb, the camera angles, the camera movements; everything. It feels like such a complete film, despite the vagueness. *Bravo sir; bravo. I'll have to keep this film in mind next time I think about filming.*"[23]

Zach Lacosse: *"I don't mean to sound n00by or anything, but with the technical aspects and ingenuity put into this film, this has got to be one of the best brickfilms ever made."*[24]

In the following sections and chapters, I will present more examples of audience feedback, discussed from different perspectives, which further illuminate the "prosumer" character of YouTube Play audiences. Among them are a great number of artists and creative YouTubers producing and sharing their own work online. Such an "active" nature of online audiences can also be evidenced in the high level of enthusiasm and appreciation expressed by online publics toward the YouTube Play project. International online publics liked the idea of the Guggenheim to

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[21] Comment on the video clip "The River" by KeshavOrganic (4/6/10 7:26 PM), http://bit.ly/1Bnurk1.
[22] Comment on the video clip "The River" by Martin Noutch (7/14/10 5:39 PM), http://bit.ly/1Bnurk1.
[23] Comment on the video clip "The River" by Touchbrick Pictures (10/19/10 7:55 PM), http://bit.ly/1Bnurk1.
[24] Comment on the video clip "The River" by Zach Lacosse: (11/28/10 12:04 AM), http://bit.ly/1Bnurk1.

outreach the YouTube creative communities to bring unknown digital artists to the museum. Many users expressed optimistic and supportive opinions regarding this project and celebrated its creativity and innovative approaches. The YouTube Play comments, posted to various videos of the channel, offer evidence that many people eagerly embraced the collaborative initiative between the Guggenheim and YouTube and praised the opportunities for online creators that this contest offered.

Example:

EtienneAbelin: "cool idea, *great to see YouTube and the Guggenheim collaborate*!"[25]

Pinky39559: "*This is a great idea, a collaboration between YouTube and the Guggenheim Museum.* YouTube should not just be limited to home movies, clips / trailers from movies and tv, music videos, vlogs, and cute viral videos involving babies, cats, and chipmunks, though *I did catch some true visual video art at this site, and I hope through this channel, there would be more.* Great job, guys."[26]

Khantil Mehta: "*This movement is awesome.* Love the fact that we are able *to explore ourselves and the world around* and also able to share the same always raising the bar, *inspiring millions of people across the world*."[27]

Garrett Robertson: "*this is pure genius at it's best, very innovative*, I hope to see more of this because it's better than most of the crap on YouTube nowadays"[28]

Donald Mersel: "*Absolutely marvelous*!!! There are no limits to the imagination and now there will be no limitations to the audience that it reaches."[29]

Cerberus continues: "*they never run out of ideas they just came up with something new* and I am interested and I think everybody is expect for u."[30]

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[25] Comment on the video clip "YouTube Play: invitation to the Contest in Englsih" by EtienneAbelin (6/14/10 12:35 AM), http://bit.ly/1K8FF1E.
[26] Comment on the video clip "About YouTube Play" by Pinky39559, (6/14/2010 4:44:00 PM), http://bit.ly/1prcJe3.
[27] Comment on the video clip "YouTube Play. Live from the Guggenheim. The full show" by khantil mehta (7/8/2012 10:34:00 AM), http://bit.ly/1zySKg2.
[28] Comment on the video clip "YouTube Play: invitation to the Contest in Englsih" by Garrett Robertson, (6/14/2010 12:13:00 PM), http://bit.ly/1K8FF1E.
[29] Comment on the video clip "About YouTube Play" by Donald Mersel, (6/14/2010 8:48:00 PM), http://bit.ly/1prcJe3.
[30] Comment on the video clip "YouTube Play: invitation to the Contest in Englsih" by Cerberus, (6/14/2010 5:50:00 AM), http://bit.ly/1K8FF1E.

FakieFilmz: "Yeah! I participate with my video... *great initiative YouTube and Guggenheim*!!!!"[31]

PiosRodamanArt: "It's so beautiful, exciting and well done. Congratulations YouTube and Guggenheim."[32]

Dmcfng: *"Great idea guys. I've already got my text ready, I'll be creating my video in just a moment…"*[33]

The persuasion mechanism that proved to work well on YouTube Play was based on the talent reward and encouraging regular people to share their videos. "Maybe what's in your head is the next thing. The world isn't going to know unless you nominate*,*" the promotional video seduced, encouraging audiences to believe in their personal success and share their works with the whole world (Play Biennial 2010). This egalitarian approach was especially instrumental in inspiring people and selling them a hope to "be heard" in a gigantic choir of YouTube voices. Within the audiences' comments to different YouTube Play clips, one of the most important and prevalent arguments in favor of this project is the contest's objective to invite ordinary people to share their artistic talents and try their chances to win the honor of being exhibited at the Guggenheim.

Example:

MagicMysteryMatrix: *"Pretty nice opportunity for aspiring artists* to get out there and do something..."[34]

Sharonco: *"Thank you Youtube for making all arts available and accessible internationally*. This event is just a point in time *to celebrate this sharing*!"* [35]

keepaopenmind: "What I like about the videos … is the images of ordinary people, *youtubers, not highly paid professional actors and actresses. Regular people, real life. It feels much realer than movies or tv*… Beautiful. I've

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[31] Comment on the video clip "About YouTube Play" by FakieFilmz, (10/21/2010 11:08 AM), http://bit.ly/1prcJe3.
[32] Comment on the video clip "YouTube Play. Live Streamed from the Guggenheim. 8pm ET, Oct 21" by PiosRodamanArt, (10/21/10 10:56 PM), http://bit.ly/1zySKg2.
[33] Comment on the video clip "About YouTube Play" by Dmcfng, (6/14/2010 9:07 PM), http://bit.ly/1prcJe3.
[34] Comment on the video clip "YouTube Play. Live from the Guggenheim: highlights" by MagicMysteryMatrix, (1/22/2013 6:45:00 AM), http://bit.ly/1F2YpNf.
[35] Comment on the video clip "YouTube Play. Live from the Guggenheim. The full show" by Sharonco, (10/23/2010 3:23:00 AM), http://bit.ly/1zySKg2.

watched this more often, more continuously, than any other YouTube video so far. *This will be a classic.*"[36]

BigKrizzah: "I reckon, it should extend ... *There are a ton of talented artists on the internet that don't get the recognition they deserve.*"[37]

TheFakeTruth1: "Who cares if you think you can't win, *this should be the motivation to get out and try to do something creative. and eventually you will have enough practice were you may win something like this.*"[38]

Ravindran Sridharan: "Well what I understand – Make the *most creative and original videos as possible and they will be put forward for the Guggenheim Museum competition.*"[39]

Musicmydrug10: "That was actually pretty cool! Good luck to ya'll who enter your creativity!... *I'm excited to see what people enter, myself as an average-girl.*"[40]

All these comments demonstrate that YouTube audiences strongly supported the museum objective to give a chance to ordinary people and amateur creators to contribute with their work to the museum collection of videos representing a living YouTube "culture of today."

However, despite such a strong promotion of the "Do-It-Yourself" nature of the project, some of the final selected videos exhibited on YouTube Play were creations of professional film makers, video studios, and artists. For example, among the professional content that constituted the YouTube Play video selection, there was the clip, "I Met the Walrus," produced by Jerry Levitan and written, directed and animated by Canadian artist Josh Raskin. It was created with the assistance of a Bravo!FACT (Foundation to Assist Canadian Talent) grant and supported Canadian Broadcasting Corporation. This was an animation art piece with a successful history, recognized and awarded by more than a dozen international prestigious animation festivals and contests, including the 2009 Emmy for "New Approaches," 2007 Platform International Animation Festival, 2007 San Francisco Shorts, 2007 Ottawa International Animation Festival, 2007 Middle East

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[36] Comment on the video clip "Sushi - Kyle Andrews" by keepaopenmind (4/23/2009 8:52:00 PM), http://bit.ly/1Kj79lg.

[37] Comment on the video clip "About YouTube Play" by BigKrizzah (6/27/2010 9:27 AM), http://bit.ly/1prcJe3.

[38] Comment on the video clip "About YouTube Play" by TheFakeTruth1 (6/15/2010 4:56 PM), http://bit.ly/1prcJe3.

[39] Comment on the video clip "About YouTube Play" by a Ravindran Sridharan (6/15/10 5:20 PM), http://bit.ly/1prcJe3.

[40] Comment on the video clip "Meet the YouTube Play Jury: Apichatpong Weerasethakul" by a musicmydrug10 (10/20/10 10:37 PM), http://bit.ly/1Eh7npd.

International Film Festival, and many others (Levitan 2007). The fact that some scenes from the animation were integrated in the invitation and promo videos for YouTube Play indicates that the clip was preselected even before the contest started. Representing a classical creative 2D animation piece and a "mash-up" video, this clip was probably selected as representative of the YouTube Play genres that were popularized by the Guggenheim and YouTube in the course of the project.

Another professional video project that made it to the final list of the YouTube Play contest is a "Man with a Movie Camera – Global Remake" created by American video artist Perry Bard. This "mash-up" clip was based on the combination of footage from Vertov's original 1929 "Man with a Movie Camera," with remakes produced by people from around the globe. The mash-up clip is a unique "participatory video, shot by people around the world who are uploading footage to dziga.perrybard.net to interpret Vertov's 1929 classic film [...]. This short segment has 24 uploads from 18 countries" (Bard 2007). Reflecting on her project in a short documentary video posted on the YouTube Play channel, Bard shares:

> "Man with a Movie Camera" was one of my favorite films. I thought, ok, I am going to go to Bulgaria and reshoot the film, shot by shot. And when I got there from New York, I thought …well, this is truly boring. There must be other ways to think about it… if I could crowdsource this idea of what a remake could be, that would be more interesting than doing it myself. So, whether I liked it or not, I opened it up to the world… (Play Biennial 2010j).

The Bard's original project site, which was specifically built to collect and showcase the participants' videos and which was made available in four languages (English, Spanish, French, and Chinese), displays the names of the hundreds of participants who sent their videos to Perry Bard from various corners of the world. Started in 2007, the project continues to attract many filmmakers from various countries who continue to submit new footage. The mash-up art piece was screened in numerous international festivals and was nominated for a great number of prestigious awards. In a way this clip represents a mini copy of the YouTube Play project, as its communication and outreach strategies and tactics are identical to the ones utilized by YouTube and Guggenheim. Both of these projects are based on creative outsourcing and capitalize on the global cultural capital generated by people, both projects are communicated in different languages to appeal to larger global audiences, and both re-contextualize people's artistic creation by assigning them new meanings through placing them within the context of their own projects. Not

surprisingly, this film was selected for the finalists and was promoted within the YouTube Play contest as a true piece of video art, "which came from all over the world" (Play Biennial 2010j) and which serves as a representative example of the "mash-up video genre" of contemporary video culture based on the "Do-It-Yourself" cultural paradigm.

The creative music video genre was presented on YouTube Play by a professional musical group "OK Go," who "were one of the first musicians to leverage the power of YouTube and make a viral music video" (Viral Viral Videos 2010). Formed in Chicago in 1998 and relocated to Los Angeles three years later, OK Go (Damian Kulash, Tim Nordwind, Dan Konopka, Andy Ross) (Paracadute 2014), has earned its fame for creative but in many cases low-budget music videos, many of which have become viral videos on the Internet (Nate 2010):

> Continuing a career that includes viral videos, *New York Times* op-eds, a major label split and the establishment of a DIY trans-media mini-empire, collaborations with pioneering dance companies and tech giants, animators and Muppets, OK Go continue to fearlessly dream and build new worlds in a time when creative boundaries have all but dissolved (Paracadute 2014)

Shortlisted on YouTube Play, "This Too Shall Pass" – an OK Go clip with more than 40 million views on YouTube – had previously won the LA Film Fest's Audience Award for Best Music Video, as well as the UK MVA Awards – Music Video of the Year Winner 2010 (Paracadute 2014). The selection of this clip as among the group of winners by the YouTube Play jury committee was predetermined by its high popularity on YouTube as a creative music video that pioneered a classic YouTube musical clip genre favored by online publics all over the world. On the YouTube Play Show in NYC OK Go were given the honor of closing the celebratory event at the Guggenheim and were presented as a "Grammy winning music group who were among the first to really utilize YouTube as a creative platform" (Play Biennial 2010j).

These and some other YouTube Play winners who were professionals rather than amateur creators played a key role in representing specific YouTube Play genres that organizers wanted to popularize even further among young YouTube users and creators. Furthermore, they projected the "quality" of video creation the Guggenheim wanted to encourage among submissions. Finally, viewership statistics of these "professional" clips demonstrated the YouTube general publics' taste and justified the Guggenheim's selection of these videos as a "public choice."

However, in comparison to amateur works, these professional clips were outnumbered. As the profiles of the artists whose videos were shortlisted or selected as finalists indicate, a large number of participants were young inspired creative individuals, students, recent graduates of various arts or film schools, or genuine representatives of the "Do-It-Yourself" movement. As external observers commented, "nearly all of the final 25 are the work of trained if fairly young photographers, filmmakers, animators, artists, musicians, music-video or television-commercial directors – or graduate students…" (Smith 2010). In an interview, Joan Young, Director of Curatorial Affairs at Guggenheim, confirmed that the majority of submissions to the contest were made by "young artists, a lot of amateurs, but also professionals and professional video-makers, also students" (Young 2012). Eight Finalists' Profiles videos (See Appendix 1, Section 5) and 14 Finalist Directors' Commentary videos (See Appendix 1, Section 6), which were produced by the Guggenheim to introduce the winners to the YouTube Play publics and to honor their work and artistic achievements, give the participants a chance to share their personal details, as well as to explain their artistic techniques and innovative practices in their work within specific YouTube video genres.

The majority of these documentary videos feature young and inspired creators from different countries who, though identifying themselves as "artists," do not stress or insist in their speeches that they represent the world of professional film makers of artists. Interestingly, out of 22 videos from this series, only eight Finalists' Profiles videos use a name of the artists in the title of the clip, for example, "Jerry Levitan: profile" or "Perry Bard: profile," thus indicating that organizers strategically used these rather famous and established artists' names to attract audiences who might be interested in watching these clips because of their recognizable names. Fourteen Finalist Directors' Commentary videos, in contrast, use the name of the finalist videos in the title of the documentaries, such as "Luis: Director's Commentary," "Moonwalk: Director's Commentary," or "Noteboek: Director's Commentary." In this case, the titles suggest that the actual video creations might be much more famous on YouTube than the artists who produced them. This demonstrates that the majority of videos celebrated on YouTube Play were created by people who were not necessarily professional or famous artists, however, whose works were interesting for the contest jury, whether because they excellently represented certain YouTube video genres, elevated and popularized on YouTube Play, or because their videos went viral and had already won the "hearts

and minds" of online publics, as discussed earlier in connection to Kutiman's "Mother of All Funk Chords" music video.

Furthermore, due to the nature of the contest, which invited regular YouTubers and amateur video producers to contribute, the demographics of the project participants and audiences indicate that the majority represented younger generations. Jenkins (2006) points out that the Internet is a meeting platform especially for young people from around the globe. Though social and demographic diversity of Internet users in general is steadily growing each year, younger people continue to represent the bulk of Internet users. According to recent world statistics, collected for 2014, the largest shares of Internet users are between 15 and 44 years old: people who are 15-24 and 25-34 years old both represent 27 per cent of Internet users (together comprising a total of nearly 54 per cent of all users), and users who are 35-44 years old account for 20 per cent of all users. Older people are less frequent and consistent users of the Internet (Statista 2014). In terms of social media usage, younger people again constitute the largest proportion of users: almost 90 per cent of adults aged 18-29 actively use social networking sites in their everyday life; 82 per cent of those aged 30-49 are also quite loyal and active users of social networks. However, only 65 per cent of adults aged 50-64 spend time on popular social networks, and older populations' engagement with social sites is marked by even lower numbers (Pew Research Center, 2014a).

YouTube is one of the most popular global social networks, especially among younger audiences. In the USA, "YouTube reaches more adults aged 18-34 than any cable network" (YouTube 2015). The world demographic statistics for the site indicate that almost 60 per cent of global YouTube users are younger than 45 years old, with the largest group of users aged 25-45 (Ignite 2012). As some scholars argue, YouTube is a major international youth forum: "youngsters and teenagers from all over the world meet there to share information about their favorite bands or to team up for playing online games. Here language barriers are not important, the important thing is to have the same hobbies and, over time, the same cultural patterns" (Vidal Pérez 2014, 16).

The Internet's and YouTube's general user demographics strongly shaped the profile of the YouTube Play audiences, and the organizers of the project stressed that it was critical for them to reach younger generations of YouTubers and artists. In their promotional rhetoric, both partners especially tried to appeal to younger audiences by highlighting the uniqueness and "newness" of this creative project: "a museum of the new"; "what will bring us for the future"; "Show us that

hasn't been before" (Play Biennial 2010). Thus, the rhetoric emphasized that the international contest was organized for all those who value the "newness" of contemporary culture and those who look into the future with enthusiasm and aspirations – largely, new generations of artists, creators, regular users, and digital natives. As the project organizers also reveal, YouTube Play was designed specifically to attract and invite the active participation of younger online populations: "For us it was important to bring new and wider youth audiences to Guggenheim…" (Young 2012). One of the museum's critics on the Guggenheim's official blog stated that such a focus on younger artists, creators and audiences can be explained not only by the museum's enthusiasm to embrace and celebrate new media technologies and opportunities they provide for talented people, but also to brand the institution as oriented more towards youth culture: "This move by the Guggenheim constitutes an embrace of the social networking culture that is increasingly defining Western society and entertainment, but also a PR bid to make the museum look young again" (Zuras 2010 a).

Considering this strong appeal to younger creative YouTubers, it is not surprising that the contest mostly attracted younger participants, as well as followers of the project. Lev Manovich (2009), who researched creative "prosumer" culture on the Internet, observed that the majority of new creative content produced digitally and shared through various Do-It-Yourself (DIY) communities and social participatory platforms is "done by young professionals or professionals-in training" (Manovich 2009, 330). He explains such a demographic bias by social psychology of young professionals and amateur creators who are more than anybody else interested to utilize free opportunities provided by the global networks to popularize their work and advertise their creativity and talent:

> The emergence of the web as the new standard communication medium in the 1990s means that today in most cultural fields every professional or company, regardless of its size and physical location, has a web presence and posts new work online. Perhaps most importantly, young design students can now put their work before a global audience. They can see what others are doing, and they can develop new tools together (Manovich 2009, 330)

As a result, the project appealed not only to younger film makers who actively took part in the contest, but also attracted younger viewers and followers of the contest. Available demographic

statistics for some videos indicate that the viewership of the video clips was constituted mostly by a younger audience. The demographics data for 20 shortlisted and finalist video clips (See Appendix 2, Section 2) shows that on average the clips, with large viewership not only in the USA, but also in Germany, Spain, Mexico, the Netherlands, and France, were viewed most by people aged 13-34 (43 per cent of viewers). People aged 35-44 accounted for 19 per cent of the clips' viewers, and people older than 45 accounted for 38 per cent.

The comment stream for the channel also demonstrates that many young people were especially interested in the project. In certain cases, the contest even attracted the attention of younger audiences who were under 18 and could not participate in this online initiative. The following comments, collected from the project's promo videos, as well as from some shortlisted clips, demonstrate an interest in the project among younger people, who expressed their disappointment that they could not take an active part.

Example:

Vishal Singh Films: "Notice how *they didn't mention the fact that you have to be 18+* Grrrr"[41]

Icyfate99: "they said any one in the world 18 and older, not anyone in the world, *but you have to be 18....so they are saying any one 18 and older*....not 'hey everyone in the world even you 15 year old [sic] but you have to be 18'"[42]

JustHulaDuck: "*I'm under 18* so I guess I'm out of the question, bummer."[43]

Blueflame971: "...I have a question for you guys at play biennial, *I'm a kid and I make hand drawn animations* and stop motion..."[44]

Rekkless Roh B: "... *I'm a YOUNG up and coming CANADIAN hip hop ARTIST* out of OTTAWA trying to get HEARD ! PLEASE check out my ORIGINALS and REMIXES ..."[45]

[41] Comment on the video clip "About YouTube Play - with jurors." by Vishal Singh Films (7/30/10 11:00 PM), http://bit.ly/1uLdTVb.
[42] Comment on the video clip "About YouTube Play" by Icyfate99, (6/14/10 9:28 PM), http://bit.ly/1prcJe3.
[43] Comment on the video clip "About YouTube Play" by JustHulaDuck (6/14/10 9:29 PM), http://bit.ly/1prcJe3.
[44] Comment on the video clip "HP+Intel Make - Stop-Motion Animation with Ricky Martin" by blueflame971 (6/15/10 9:11 PM), http://bit.ly/1Cb0uGx.
[45] Comment on the video clip "About YouTube Play" by Rekkless Roh B (6/14/2010 6:20:00 PM), http://bit.ly/1prcJe3.

RaulSoaresG1452:   "*HI EVERYONE, I'M A 17 YEAR OLD AMATEUR DIRECTOR*, AND IF YOU APPRECIATE WELL MADE INDEPENDENT CINEMA, THEN PLEASE, CHECK OUT MY CHANNEL…THANK YOU VERY MUCH, Raul Gonçalves."[46]

Chris Lopez: "*Hey I'm a new artist, I'm 14*, I'm a great composer. Hear my music. I want to be heard through out the world. I want to be a star :) so please.... give my music just 1 chance. And please enjoy. I will compose often so check me out a lot. Email: chriszer0@yahoo.com"[47]

From the commercial perspective, building younger audiences has strong lasting impacts, creating future consumers. In the long run, these "educated" audiences could develop a strong consumer affiliation and tastes for cultural products (Vidal Pérez 2014, 19), which could bring global brand recognition to Google and the Guggenheim and build more robust consumer markets. Furthermore, from the Guggenheim's educational objectives, targeting younger audiences is an important strategy helping the museum to pursue its mission "to promote the understanding and appreciation of […] modern and contemporary visual culture" and to make them accessible to "an increasingly diverse audience" around the globe (Guggenheim 2005).

Interestingly, this targeting of younger populations has traditionally been one of the most important components of cultural exchange projects and diplomatic initiatives organized by governments. Bellamy and Weinberg indicate that, to be effective, exchanges first of all should target "the youth, as this group has been historically most influenced by exchanges. There are key moments when people are most likely to be influenced in ways that effect long-term change. From an educator's perspective, those moments tend to take place between the ages of 15 and 25" (Bellamy and Weinberg 2008, 61). Many cultural diplomacy scholars also stress the importance of targeting young people, highlighting the ability of younger generations to learn new things much faster, to stay more open and tolerant to new ideas, traditions and values, as well as to always be excited by explorations of new cultures (Schneider 2003; Snow 2009). This strategic special focus on younger audiences on YouTube Play point to project diplomacy, employing educational psychology

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[46] Comment on the video clip "VIOLA: The Traveling Rooms of a Little Giant" by RaulSoaresG1452 (12/20/2011 11:23 PM), http://bit.ly/1ERhuB4.
[47] Comment on the video clip "Rymdreglage - 8-bit trip" by chris lopez (5/4/13 10:47 PM), http://bit.ly/1B6ljoN.

(Subrahmanyam and Smahel 2010) for effective engagement of digital natives and winning their attention for a more productive delivery of their cultural and promotional messages.

This section focused on the key elements of the participatory design of the project and discussed their implications. To conclude, it is important to stress that the international competition framework of the project served to reinforce the authority of the Guggenheim in the world of contemporary online video culture as a cultural institution defining and actively shaping new movements, streams, and innovative artistic practices on YouTube. The enthusiastic audience's responses to the participatory components of the project attest to a strong capacity of the project to appeal to global, especially younger, audiences who were attracted to the initiative by the opportunities to share their artistic talents and creations. This participatory design illustrates the power of "dialogical" diplomacy which is based not only on cultural promotion, but on two-way streams of informational and cultural exchange. Thus, this section illuminates the innovative forms of contemporary online diplomacy of the Guggenheim that effectively utilized participatory components to garner public support and enthusiasm and transform it into a powerful tool to strengthen its cultural reputation. The next section reinforces the findings of this chapter through an analysis of YouTube Play in light of its global significance and international outreach.

5.4. Global outreach

In the promo video for the contest, Andy Berndt mentioned: "YouTube and Guggenheim: they may not be two words that pop into your head at the exact same time. But they are really about a lot of the same things" (Play Biennial 2010). One of the most important principles that the Guggenheim and YouTube share, and not only in this collaboration, but in their larger strategies and intuitional philosophies, is their strong focus on global outreach and the expansionist logic of their international activities.

As many scholars observe, the YouTube channel, as a part of Google, is one of "the most accessed web platforms in the world" (Fuchs 2012, 42), "The success of the site is astronomical," points out Schlester, "the scope of YouTube extends well beyond its origins as an American company" (Schlester 2012). With over 6 billion hours of videos viewed monthly and more than 1 billion unique visitors each month, "80% of YouTube traffic com[es] from outside the US" (YouTube 2015).

Confronting all cultural and linguistic challenges existing on the web that can affect international end-users' interaction with the YouTube channel and decrease its global appeal and popularity, YouTube has started to deploy various technological and organizational improvements to spread its influence on international media cultural markets. First of all, by 2008 YouTube had developed localized versions of the channel available in Germany, Australia, Canada, the United Kingdom, Ireland, New Zealand, Spain, Mexico, France, Italy, China, Japan, the Netherlands, Poland, Brazil, Russia, Hong Kong, and Taiwan. These localized versions of the YouTube website allowed users to select a localization menu with options to switch to a native language. Furthermore, YouTube invested much of its resources in improving the end-user performances by building localized servers in various geographic locations, which significantly increased the quality and speed of downloadable YouTube traffic within these areas (Adhikari et al 2011). At the moment, "YouTube is localized in 61 countries and across 61 languages" (YouTube 2015).

These "localization" strategies, in terms of their organizational framework, are quite similar to the Guggenheim's franchise network, which brings the museum to various countries and integrates them within local, national, and cultural contexts. Even though the Guggenheim franchises become meaningful architectural, cultural, linguistic, and social parts of different cities, including Bilbao, Venice, or Berlin, the Guggenheim retains its strong curatorial power to decide on the collections, exhibitions, and the main programming in these museums, thus expanding its global audience and constituency.

Aiming to increase international viewership and participation, similar "localization" strategies were used in the YouTube Play project design both on the level of its promotion and on the level of its content development. On the level of its promotion, YouTube Play was strategically presented and marketed as a project that was "unique in its global scope" (Guggenheim 2010d). Following its institutional "commitment to international communication and global cultural exchange" (Guggenheim 2006), the Guggenheim promoted the contest as being an international initiative to attract wider and more diverse audiences. First of all, on the level of the marketing efforts attracting primarily potential contest participants, the museum employed several strategies to ensure a wider promotion of the project across the globe among creative video makers. Nancy Spector, the Guggenheim Chief Curator, stresses, "It was our goal to reach the widest possible audience, inviting individuals from around the world to submit a video for consideration" (Guggenheim 2010d). Therefore, the promotional video of the contest was "localized" for

linguistic needs of targeted audiences from different countries and was posted on YouTube in 14 different languages (See Appendix 1, Section 1). In addition, the Guggenheim reached out to various international organizations to invite more diverse international artists. "We really tried to encourage international submissions," stressed Joan Young, the chief curator of the project, "we contacted art schools and organizations around the world to facilitate a much wider and more targeted promotion of the project and we tried to link these institutions with our YouTube Play channel" (Young 2012).

To attract more international participants from various geographical areas, the committee of the contest's jurors was presented as a quite diverse group of artists and designers representing different corners of the world. Joan Young, manager of the YouTube Play project explained: "… we wanted our jurors to be diverse in terms of the countries they are coming from…" (Young 2012). Even though the majority of the jurors were Americans (See Section 4), the jurors' profiles on the Guggenheim web site strategically highlighted the variety of countries of the artists' origin. For example, film maker Apichatpong Weerasethakul was presented as an author of "profoundly expressive, lyrical films, which are produced in his native Thailand." Shirin Neshat's description stated that he is "an Iranian-born artist/filmmaker" exploring "notions of gender in relation to Islamic fundamentalism and militancy." Takashi Murakami's bio stressed that he is a "world-renowned Japanese artist [who] blurs the boundaries between East and West, past and present, in his paintings, sculptures, and videos." Douglas Gordon was described as a "Scottish-born artist" working with "a variety of mediums, including installation, video, and photography, to investigate memory and time" (Guggenheim 2010a). This stress on the ethnic backgrounds and countries of origin of the jurors aims to create a perception of high diversity represented by a number of countries, in order to appeal to artists from different countries and construct a global image for the contest that highlighted its international significance.

Despite such focused marketing efforts, the results of the project indicate that it achieved much less diversity that it initially aspired to. For example, the promo videos on YouTube posted in different languages were received differently in various national online "communities," as proven by the number of views, comments, and likes posted to the videos by online publics from different countries. The English promo video has the strongest rating, with more than a million views and around a thousand comments, while videos in other languages received significantly less attention from online audiences (See Appendix 1, Section 1).

Joan Young, the Director of Curatorial Affairs at the Guggenheim, explains: "I think we were happy with this range that we managed to capture in this contest […] the majority of submissions, though, came from the English speaking countries like US, Canada, UK, Australia …" (Young 2012). More than half of the final 125 shortlisted videos were produced by artists from Anglophone countries (57 per cent); the remaining clips were created by participants from a variety of countries with the majority coming from Europe (Israel – six clips, France – five clips, Germany – five clips, Netherlands – three clips, Sweden – three clips). A range of countries represented by only one or two participants includes: Austria, Belgium, Brazil, Chile, the Czech Republic, Denmark, Honk Kong, Italy, Jamaica, Japan, Lithuania, Mexico, Puerto Rico, Romania, Russia, Spain, South Africa, and Taiwan (See Appendix 1, Sections 7-13).

Though the project generated a stronger interest from American artists, with fewer participants from Europe and significantly fewer from other geographic areas, the organizers of the contest utilized different rhetorical means to stress its international representativeness and global significance. For example, the contest finalists were represented as a truly international group of creative artists coming from different countries to appeal to larger non-American and especially non-Western audiences. One of the techniques used to exaggerate the global profile of the contest was borrowed from the Guggenheim's prior practices. As mentioned in the previous chapter, during the famous International Exhibitions in the 1960s, the Guggenheim promoted itself as a center of avant-garde in the international artistic community. A high percentage of international artists being featured through such important international activities aimed to create a democratic and global image of the Guggenheim. In order to "increase" the number of artists participating in the International Exhibitions, the museum used to introduce local New York artists as international, capitalizing on the fact they originated from other countries even though most of their lives were spent in the USA.

Likewise, in the YouTube Play contest, 125 shortlisted artists were presented as a diverse group representing 91 countries. After selecting 25 winning videos, the museum announced that finalists included videos "created by 39 video artists from 14 countries: Australia (1), Brazil (1), Canada (2), Chile (1), Czech Republic (1), Denmark (1), England (2), France (1), Japan (1), The Netherlands (1), Northern Ireland (1), South Africa (2), South Korea (1), USA (9)" (Guggenheim 2010e). Personal interviews with participants revealed, however, that because geographic diversity was calculated on the basis of artists' residence at the moment of participation in the

contest, the final breakdown of artists according to their nationality made for some confusion and several inconsistencies. For example, Jeff Gompertz, who was presented as an artist from Thailand, in fact is an American artist living in China who was in Thailand at the time of the contest. In this way, some American artists, who from an economic standpoint have much higher global mobility, were included in the list of participants representing other regions, which significantly increases this contest's international appeal and apperant importance.

On the level of the YouTube Play content development, the final video selection, comprising videos produced in different countries, aimed to increase the level of geographical diversity of the final project's viewership. It has been observed that there is a strong correlation between popularity and locality of online YouTube videos: videos usually receive the majority of their views (more than 70 per cent) from users of the same region where the video was produced/posted (Brodersen et al. 2012). Practices of social sharing also increase the capabilities of the YouTube clips to reach more geographically diverse audiences, proving that online marketing based on "word of mouth," remains the most efficient tool of communication. The analysis of the statistics of about 40 shortlisted clips confirmed that the majority of views in most of the videos were received from countries where the video was uploaded to YouTube (See Appendix 2, Section 1). For example, a Russian film, "Iron," received 38 per cent of its views from its country of origin, while only 22 per cent of its views were from Poland, 6 per cent were from the UK, 5 per cent from Germany, 4 per cent from France, and the remaining 25 per cent from other countries including the USA. Likewise, a French video, "Shy Syndrome," received a majority of views from France (48 per cent), then Tunisia (16 per cent), Canada (6 per cent), the USA (5 per cent), Germany (2 per cent), and the remaining 33 per cent from the rest of the world. Another example is a German cartoon, "Precise Peter," with half of its viewership coming from Germany and significantly lower numbers of views from elsewhere in Europe; only 4 per cent of its views were from the USA. In this way, by adding the content produced in other countries to the YouTube Play channel, the Guggenheim and YouTube strategically intended to diversify their viewership and attract new audiences from different areas of the world.

Even though the geographic distribution statistics of the YouTube Play channel were not available for the purposes of this research, there are some important details that indirectly point to the project's audience diversity. Analysis of the comment streams on YouTube Play clearly attests to a wide range of international publics who followed the contest with great interest. For example,

the final celebration event in New York in October 2010, which was live streamed on YouTube, was watched from different corners of the world. The comments on the clip "YouTube Play. Live Streamed from the Guggenheim. 8pm ET, Oct 21" indicate a great interest among international followers to watch the event live from various locations. Even though some followers complain about the New York-centric character of the live streaming that was not convenient to follow from remote places because of time differences, this inconvenience did not stop many engaged participants from watching the show live "no matter the time," as some comments stressed. Also, the negative sentiment in regard to the time difference reveals that many people perceived YouTube Play as a truly international, and not an American, event. This indicates that the Guggenheim and YouTube were quite efficient in their communication strategies of creating a global appeal and image for the project. Moreover, in some messages participants even proudly shared that the video recording of this event was very popular in their own countries.

Example:

Avicenna1985: "02:00 o'clock *Amsterdam* time? ☹ I won't watch then."[48]

Marlene M: "@Avicenna1985: Me neither, I live in *Germany*, same time zone. On my YouTube page it says 14:00 which would be 2pm. Well... maybe someone should teach those guys how to calculate time differences)"[49]

MrFairox: "in *Germany* it is at 2am, isn't it?"[50]

GADFantomas: "omg i'm in *Moscow*. At 4.00 am :D *I wont sleep AGAIN* :D yay!"[51]

McKillerRus: "cool we have that in *Russia>Kazan* too."[52]

max1346: "Great! *I'll be online from Belgium* at 02.00 AM :D *I'm so excited*!!!"[53]

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[48] Comment on the video clip "YouTube Play. Live from the Guggenheim. The full show" by Avicenna1985 (10/21/10 8:06 AM), http://bit.ly/1zySKg2.
[49] Comment on the video clip "YouTube Play. Live from the Guggenheim. The full show" by Marlene M (10/21/10 10:10 AM), http://bit.ly/1zySKg2.
[50] Comment on the video clip "YouTube Play. Live from the Guggenheim. The full show" by MrFairox (10/21/10 3:19 PM), http://bit.ly/1zySKg2.
[51] Comment on the video clip "YouTube Play. Live from the Guggenheim. The full show" by GADFantomas (10/21/10 11:20 AM), http://bit.ly/1zySKg2.
[52] Comment on the video clip "YouTube Play. Live from the Guggenheim. The full show" by McKillerRus (10/21/2010 8:42:00 AM), http://bit.ly/1zySKg2.
[53] Comment on the video clip "YouTube Play. Live from the Guggenheim. The full show" by max1346 (10/21/10 12:36 PM), http://bit.ly/1zySKg2.

Atbanzairock:	"いいな～東京で見たいな～ interesting! is it a flat facade they are projecting on in *Tokyo*?"[54]
Gavan Banga:	"Wow you really picked a shitty time to do it. 1 O clock in the *UK*!"[55]
92melly92:	"Cool 8DDD *No matter the time!! Today at 1am here from Portugal* I'll see it...xp"[56]
TeteBlauth:	"sem dúvida q vou assistir" [Translated from Portuguese: *Undoubtedly I'll watch this*][57]
Freddymathis820:	"This vid *went viral in Croatia*"[58]
Aelreynol24:	"Your video *is a favorite in Doha*"[59]

Furthermore, the analysis of linguistic diversity on the YouTube Play channel indicates that people from all over the world posted their comments in 26 different languages representing countries from every continent (See Appendix 2, Section1). The following three chapters provide many examples of the variety of comments posted in different languages which further highlight this project's "global scope."

This section demonstrates that YouTube Play, as a cooperative initiative between the Guggenheim and YouTube, strived to attract large and diverse international online audiences, which corresponded to both of the organizations' strategic goals in their activities around the world. Even though the Internet, where the project was happening, is international by its nature, much effort is required on behalf of the organizers to make online activities truly international and global in their outreach and participation. This part of the chapter shows that both partners used various types of communication means to present, promote, and make YouTube Play a meaningful form of online engagement for audiences from different geographic areas. Promoting the project in different

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[54] Comment on the video clip "YouTube Play. Live from the Guggenheim. The full show" by atbanzairock (10/21/10 10:02 AM), http://bit.ly/1zySKg2.
[55] Comment on the video clip "YouTube Play. Live from the Guggenheim. The full show" by Gavan Banga (10/21/10 11:13 AM), http://bit.ly/1zySKg2.
[56] Comment on the video clip "YouTube Play. Live from the Guggenheim. The full show" by 92melly92 (10/21/10 1:19 PM), http://bit.ly/1zySKg2.
[57] Comment on the video clip "YouTube Play. Live from the Guggenheim. The full show" by TeteBlauth (10/21/10 10:11 AM), http://bit.ly/1zySKg2.
[58] Comment on the video clip "YouTube Play. Live from the Guggenheim. The full show" by freddymathis820 (1/17/2012 5:41:00 AM), http://bit.ly/1zySKg2.
[59] Comment on the video clip "YouTube Play. Live from the Guggenheim. The full show" by aelreynol24 (1/1/2012 2:17:00 AM), http://bit.ly/1zySKg2.

languages, selecting diverse content, and at the same time exaggerating the geographical profile of participants to appeal to larger international audiences, indicate that both organizations were particularly interested in creating a global image of the project that would universally appeal to people from various countries. The promotion of brands, as well as popularizing YouTube as a creative channel providing opportunities for video production and sharing across the globe was marked by a high degree of the partners' inspiration to present themselves as internationally recognizable and important institutions with cosmopolitan identities. By showing their "awareness" of existing diversity, however, emphasizing the "universal" significance of video pop culture shared by people from all over the world, the YouTube Play design intended to construct a global image of the project that is critical for a more efficient and wider brand promotion.

5.5. Conclusion

As the project's results indicate, various design components of YouTube Play, such as *global outreach* and *international focus*, *popular culture appeal*, *targeting youth*, as well as the *participatory character of activities,* helped the organizers to capture global publics' attention to strongly engage international participants who were excited to contribute their creations to the contest. The official blog of the Guggenheim stated that the project "has generated extensive interest. We got 23,358 submissions, which is unheard of in a traditional art context" (Hughes 2010). Project managers stressed: "In terms of measuring success for this project the number of people who visit our web site, as well as our personal page on YouTube increased exponentially […] That project multiplied our online audiences, it really made the numbers jump up" (Young 2012).

At the international museum conference, Guggenheim marketing managers, presenting the YouTube Play to the professional museum community, also reported:

> "Strategic social media collaboration with YouTube and HP served to drive growth and attract new audiences on the Guggenheim's social media channels and Web site. From July 1-Nov 1, 2010, both Facebook and Twitter amassed over 76,000 new followers, a 94% and 67% increase respectively, while the blog attracted over 67,000 visitors – more than major exhibition microsites such as Kandinsky and Frank Lloyd Wright: From Within Outward" (Semel and Merlino 2011).

Furthermore, the YouTube Play web site garnered more than 10 million online viewers the day of the live event, which exceeds the total number of views the Guggenheim web site receives annually. Over a year after completion of the project, the YouTube Play site attracted over 23 million viewers and to date it remains a popular YouTube channel with more than 65,000 subscribers and constantly updated feedback on the videos constituting the channel archive. "These unfathomable statistics," as the project managers stress, "were achieved through tapping into YouTube, HP and Intel's deep technological resources, the Guggenheim's expertise in new media, and the collective communications outreach in the global social space" (Semel and Merlino 2011).

The Guggenheim also reported that the project in fact helped the museum to spread information about its programming and exhibits, attracted new audiences, and was instrumental in delivering specific messages to the international community. Joan Young, Director of Curatorial Affairs at Guggenheim indicated with much pleasure and pride:

> I think we were very successful in this project, we managed to capture a lot of attention and, I think, that we could spread the awareness of the diversity of the programming that the Guggenheim does, meaning that now people realize more that we do have media art, we have rich collections of videos that we have been collecting for almost two decades now, we have done a lot of shows with video artists, and also that we as an institution, we do take risks and always try to be innovative in what we are doing[,] always remain[ing] current (Young 2012).

Furthermore, as the Guggenheim envisioned, the project, indeed, contributed to popularizing the museum brand among much wider audiences. Some YouTube Play followers' comments attest to the power of the contest to spread information about the museum, its programming, and its exhibits, among general online audiences. The following short dialogues, posted on the YouTube Play Show video, indicate that some YouTube users became familiarized with the Guggenheim museum during their interaction within other participants. Their questions within the comment stream also point to interest and curiosity evoked by the video content, thus attesting to the power of the project to attract larger audiences who are not necessarily experienced museum goers or people interested in contemporary arts.

Example:

Nsacar2: "I don't get the point to this & what is Guggenheim? A place, building? What?"[60]

Steve Brindley: *"It's a Museum in New York City."*[61]

<div align="center">***</div>

Bahran Abraham: "Where is this?"[62]

Nokkha Wangsa: *"It's a museum in USA called Guggenheim by famous architect Frank Lloyd Wright, a pioneer of the modern architecture*. This museum became one of the greatest works of modern architecture. He also design that "Falling waters". If you don't know then just google it. He used to work under Louis Sullivan......"[63]

<div align="center">***</div>

RockyBalboa211: "Did this have a point? :("[64]

Arszen: *"It's the Guggenheim museum*, there are projected images on the outside of the building (what you're seeing here) these specific projected images are for YouTube play, an even showing the top honorable videos to be uploaded to YouTube."[65]

The project achieved all the officially announced goals: public engagement (23,358 participants); international outreach (91 countries); and innovative experiments with digital media. Thus, it constituted an efficient online campaign in terms of engaging vast and diverse audiences specifically within those segments of YouTube's population who appreciate and value creative videos as a form of popular cultural practices. YouTube Play, by appealing to younger audiences through celebration of popular culture and involving them in participatory activities, created a large international "immediate community" of YouTube users who shared a common appreciation

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[60] Comment on the video clip "YouTube Play. Live Streamed from the Guggenheim." by nsacar2 (10/21/10 3:05 PM), http://bit.ly/1zWtjXw.
[61] Comment on the video clip "YouTube Play. Live Streamed from the Guggenheim." by Steve Brindley (10/21/10 3:10 PM), http://bit.ly/1zWtjXw.
[62] Comment on the video clip "YouTube Play. Live Streamed from the Guggenheim." by Bahran Abraham (10/21/10 2:58 AM), http://bit.ly/1zWtjXw.
[63] Comment on the video clip "YouTube Play. Live Streamed from the Guggenheim." by Nokkha Wangsa (10/21/10 3:12 AM), http://bit.ly/1zWtjXw.
[64] Comment on the video clip "YouTube Play. Live Streamed from the Guggenheim." by RockyBalboa211 (10/21/10 8:35 PM), http://bit.ly/1zWtjXw.
[65] Comment on the video clip "YouTube Play. Live Streamed from the Guggenheim." by Arszen (10/21/2010 9:14:00 PM), http://bit.ly/1zWtjXw.

for digital media and creative video, and who wanted to participate in or to follow the contest. With such a strong power to engage international audiences and bring people from different corners of the world to participate, share, exchange, and celebrate contemporary video culture, YouTube Play presents an online project with strong implications for new forms of contemporary cultural diplomacy. Providing a public space where the Guggenheim and Google communicated with international online audiences, YouTube Play constitutes an online resource that can reveal important details on the communication flows and dynamics of interaction between "global" transnational institutions and people from different countries. It is interesting to look at YouTube Play from the communicative perspective to understand what kind of messages it sends out to the global publics. It is even more interesting to explore how online international audiences engage with these ideas to appropriate, challenge, or protest them. This interactional dynamic can point to the degree of cultural influence or impact of the project over its audiences, which can further demonstrate the power of the Guggenheim's diplomacy as a transnational cultural actor. The next three chapters are devoted to this task; they explore an interactional dynamic between the messages communicated by the Guggenheim and its partners on YouTube Play and responses to these messages by global online publics.

Chapter VI.
Promotional dimension: Interacting with global brands

6.1. Introduction

A *promotional* perspective of public or cultural diplomacy presupposes that one of the functions of cross-cultural diplomatic communication is to "'sell' particular aspects of a nation to foreign publics" (Fitzpatric 2010, 90). Promotional rhetoric has been used for centuries in various cross-cultural programs aiming to elevate the popularity of national cultures and traditions internationally. Many scholars have confirmed a strong promotional function of diplomacy and emphasized its important role in spreading national cultures abroad. For example, American diplomacy scholar Nancy Snow defined cultural diplomacy as "efforts to market a more positive image of America to the world" (Snow 2007, 209).

In recent decades, under the conditions of neoliberal globalizations, promotional and marketing paradigms have been utilized by many governments with greater enthusiasm for developing efficient nation-branding programs. Though nation branding usually deals with matters directly related to tourism, trade and investment, it is strongly connected to spreading and popularizing national ideals, values and identities and creating a positive image of the country in the eyes of the foreign publics. Simon Anholt, the "founder" of the nation branding field in political and international communication studies, argues that the strong marketing and commercial practices of nation branding construct and communicate narratives which powerfully project national myths and articulate aspirations for wealth, power, and enhanced visibility (Anholt 2007). Thus, a favorable image of a country in the global context, constructed through national branding, has a strong impact on its social, cultural, economic, and political destiny.

Considering this strong promotional focus of traditional cultural diplomacy programs, it is interesting to compare and contrast the promotional messages of YouTube Play, as a site of Guggenheim diplomacy, with cultural promotion utilized in nation branding. This section identifies and analyzes YouTube Play's promotional dimension and tries to situate promotion rhetorical practices within a broader context of cross-cultural communication. In the literature review, it has already been discussed that many transnational actors, whether corporations or nonprofit organizations, are reluctant to build strong ties and associations with their countries of origin. For example, American corporations prefer not to stress connections between their brands

and the USA because, in many cases, it undermines the perception of their products and services in global markets, especially in regions with a strong anti-American sentiment. Furthermore, a flexible or cosmopolitan cultural identity of transnational actors is usually constructed through discourses that draw on "detachment from existing cultural identities and loyalties in the name of the adoption of a universal perspective," which usually emphasizes how an institution can address global issues and problems and be relevant and useful for people across the world (Halsall 2009, 136). Thus, many transnational companies and international organizations stress their commitment to supporting innovations, social development, or human rights, creating an appealing image of these organizations in the eyes of international publics.

Taking this into consideration, it is interesting to look at YouTube Play from the perspective of its promotional information addressed to participants and followers, and to explore whether the promotional dimension of the channel promotes American values and culture or, in contrast, projects global images and communicates the cosmopolitan identities of the project organizers. As mentioned earlier, there were three main parties in this project that were official partners, whose efforts and institutional contributions were vital for implementation: the Guggenheim itself, YouTube, and the project's sponsors Intel and HP. In all official project presentations, such as the ones on the Guggenheim site, in various press releases, on YouTube Play itself, or in all interviews given to the press, the presentation and description of the project stressed the names of all the official partners and sponsors involved. For example, the main page of the YouTube Play project on the Guggenheim web site announces: "Developed in 2010 by YouTube and the Guggenheim Museum in collaboration with HP and Intel, YouTube Play attracted innovative […] videos from around the world" (Guggenheim 2010d). Richard Armstrong, Director of the Solomon R. Guggenheim Foundation and Museum explained this cooperation in the following way: "The Guggenheim, YouTube, Intel and HP share a view that creative online video is one of the most compelling and innovative opportunities for personal expression today" (Guggenheim 2010d).

Reflecting on the main roles and responsibilities of the partners in the project, Joan Yang, the contest coordinator, shared the following details:

> The Guggenheim had the curatorial expertise: we were the one who viewed all of the video submissions, selected the jury, and created the artistic program for onsite presentation. Google provided the YouTube platform and helped to build the YouTube Play site, and

they also had their marketing team behind it, working closely with our marketing team to advertise the project online. HP and Intel, they really brought the technology for presenting the work onsite, building the kiosks that we had at the Guggenheim and also in our franchise museums in Bilbao, Venice, and in Berlin. In this way, they equipped our pavilions with necessary computer stations that we set up shortly after the main event in New York, so the onsite audiences could learn more about the project and interact with the YouTube Play videos from our museums (Young 2012).

Considering this important role of all three partners involved, the analysis of the YouTube Play *promotional* dimension first of all focuses on the videos produced by the Guggenheim with its main partners: YouTube, Intel and HP. These videos include: *YouTube Play promotional videos* posted in 14 languages (See Appendix 1, Section 1); *YouTube Play Show videos* comprising video recordings of the main show that was organized on October 21, 2010 as the main celebration event of the project (See Appendix 1, Section 3); the *HP+Intel Make videos*, which were presented as artists' support materials with tutorials and tips from established digital artists explaining the video creation process (See Appendix 1, Section 4); and *Jury videos* featuring interviews with the international artists who were invited to serve on the jury committee for the contest (See Appendix 1, Section 2). These clips make up a significant part of the video content featured on the YouTube Play platform. In total there are 35 videos that demonstrate how the project organizers presented themselves to their online audiences.

A preliminary analysis of these videos helped to identify three major *promotional* narratives devoted to constructing a favorable image of the project's organizers: the Guggenheim itself, YouTube, as well as their sponsors, Intel and HP. Furthermore, the content analysis of the finalist and shortlisted videos featured on the platform revealed that certain clips were either specifically devoted to one of the partners, such as videos about YouTube (for example, "Moonwalk" or "Screen Action!"), or indirectly helped the organizers to construct an appealing image of themselves. Specifically, videos that were grouped within such topics as "Museum," "Art & Digital art," as well as "Technology & Internet" were particularly instrumental in understanding how the organizers wanted to be seen in the eyes of their publics. Videos categorized within these thematic areas were devoted to different questions and issues around social roles, functions, and meanings of such institutions or contemporary phenomena, as museums, Internet, social media, and digital art. Because the main goal of the contest was to celebrate the YouTube creative video,

as an artistic genre within the museum world, these questions were crucial in representing the position of the Guggenheim and its partners to global online publics.

Furthermore, given that these videos were created by the project's participants, they are particularly influential in constructing positive messages and delivering opinions highlighting an essential role of the organizers in the life of contemporary artists and society. The curatorial choice of these videos, which made them the winners of the global contest, suggests that it could be a strategic decision on behalf of the curatorial team and was made primarily for promotional purposes. More importantly, all three narratives that advertised the Guggenheim, YouTube, and HP and Intel, stimulated a strong public response and generated a lot of discussion and debates, confirming that these *promotional* messages played an important role not only on the level of the project presentation, but also on the level of its perception by the audiences.

Following the lead of the preliminary analysis of the YouTube Play video content, this chapter consists of three main sections: "YouTube as a public channel of video sharing;" "The Guggenheim as the 'museum of the new';" and "Intel and HP as a new technology for art production." These sections provide a framework for analysis of three promotional narratives. Looking at the online public's interaction with these narratives, the analysis not only reveals functional and content differences between the YouTube Play promotion dimension and traditional nation branding diplomacy, but also investigates public interaction with promotional messages and explains their impacts upon publics' cultural perceptions.

6.2. YouTube as a public channel of creativity and sharing

This section first looks at how YouTube was presented to global audiences through both promotional and shortlisted videos, and what specific characteristics of YouTube as a public channel were highlighted for promotional purposes. This part also exposes how global online audiences looked at these constructed narratives and what messages communicated by YouTube were specifically efficient in influencing international users of the channel.

The YouTube video has certainly established itself as a specific form of communication that can be described as short, sharp, amusing, attention grabbing, and mass oriented. In the framework of YouTube Play, a video clip was presented not only as a form of contemporary cultural production, but as an artistic creation which can be exhibited at a museum. The organizers strategically

elevated the YouTube video to a certain status, which allowed them to promote it as a piece of digital art deserving to be part of a museum collection. Ed Sanders, Senior Marketing Manager, stresses: "YouTube has redefined media culture by changing the way the world creates, distributes, and watches video […] By collaborating with the Guggenheim and HP, it is our desire […] to elevate creative video to a new art form" (Play Biennial 2010a).

The promotional rhetoric of the project specifically stressed that YouTube is a unique online channel that provides exciting opportunities for the art world. For example, YouTube Play juror and Japanese artist Takashi Murakami pointed out: "Not a day passes without watching YouTube in these years. We artists can no longer call ourselves artists just by discovering and providing something special. In a way, YouTube is a medium inciting revolution and […] we must challenge YouTube on a daily basis" (Play Biennial 2010i). In this way, the YouTube rhetoric strongly stressed that the channel is not just a mere social media site, one of many with similar purposes and functions, but rather a new technology or a tool for sharing creativity and talent. This tool does not only provide new spaces for exhibition and distribution of art, but also shapes artistic creativity by producing a new medium or genre of artistic self-expression.

On the one hand, this rhetoric was very instrumental to reach a new segment of online audiences, specifically video artists, digital artists or museum lovers and goers, to bring new users and consumers to the site from more educated and culturally intelligent publics. On the other hand, this narrative helped to reinforce a global image of YouTube, which was presented not as an American company, but as "the world's largest online video community, allowing millions of people to discover, watch, and share originally created videos." Thus, the presentation of YouTube as one of the organizers of the project stresses: "YouTube provides a forum for people to connect, inform, and inspire others across the globe and acts as a distribution platform for original-content creators and advertisers large and small" (Play Biennial 2010b).

The selection of the YouTube Play video content also favorably highlighted the advantages of the channel for artists and illuminated the YouTube creative potentials for contemporary artists across the world to engage social media and integrate it in the very process of cultural production. Thus, many finalists and shortlisted videos, produced by artists from different countries, portray YouTube as an unlimited source of artistic inspiration and the very platform where video or digital art is being created. One of those videos is "Upload me," a video project by American artist

William Witte. In his video the protagonist uploads himself on YouTube and enjoys his traveling from one digital screen to another on computers, laptops or iPhones. Intended to "represent modern technology and its influence on our capability to control and manipulate one's image," the video serves as an "artistic" promotion of YouTube as a channel empowering creation of a digital self in the YouTube world (Witte 2010).

Another clip "Screen Action!" by Puerto Rican video artists George C. Natal Baez also engages YouTube as a place of action. The video presents a piece of video montage portraying a person playing with YouTube interface's bars and windows (Natal Baez 2010). Representing how one can step beyond the video reality into the YouTube digital world, the clip again stresses YouTube's power to be more than just a public video channel, but to be a whole new realm of video culture which constructs a new existential reality for its users and fans. The unlimited possibilities of YouTube for virtual traveling to the most unimaginable places on Earth and even beyond is further reinforced in the clip by American artist Maya Stocks "A Door Opens," in which she created a video gallery of various places appearing on the screen every time the "YouTube doors" open for the viewer (Stocks 2010). This and many other similar clips, like "The Moonwalk" by Martin Kohout from the Czech Republic (Kohout 2008) or "Digital Therapy" by Cian McKenna from Ireland (McKenna 2010) creatively employ YouTube as an artistic space in the context of their digital art. This contributes to the promotional narrative advertising YouTube as a global premier channel of video art creation and sharing.

Furthermore, the YouTube rhetoric strongly emphasized its democratic nature, advertising its "access" for ordinary content producers who by virtue of YouTube popularity can become real world stars. "One of the things we feel most deeply about YouTube is access" the promotional video of the project stressed, highlighting the free, open and democratic nature of the channel: "That access we really want to bring to the world of excellence in the established art world" (Play Biennial 2010a). One of the jurors of the contest, Apichatpong Weerasethakul, a Thai independent film director, supported the rhetorical appeal of the YouTube promotion, pointing out: "YouTube Play for me is an opportunity to see different kinds of films... When I look at the YouTube model, I can see a certain kind of democracy that allows you to express yourself without authority monitoring you" (Play Biennial 2010f). This promotional narrative was further strengthened in shortlisted videos which either emphasized disadvantages of traditional media, like television, or stressed negative effects of limited or restricted access to YouTube.

For example, "Auspice," video created by American media artist Bryce Kretschmann, portrays a corrupted world of mass media companies, manipulating and managing people's opinions. The author of the video captures a distorted dimension of mass media narratives through remix, frames overlay, and sound distortion of video recordings of TV news. Many YouTube viewers in their comments expressed their agreement with the video, stressing that television tends to portray reality in distorted colors, forms, shapes and sounds, thus breaking public trust in informational channels. Against this background, YouTube's commitment to "open access" philosophy and "Do-It-Yourself" culture are presented in a favorable light.

Another video, "(we're sorry) your future is no longer available," created by American artist Jeff Gompertz who spent many years living and working in Asia, also emphasizes the democratic nature of YouTube and its intention of becoming equally accessible to all people round the world. The clip is devoted to the subject of Internet freedom in China, where URL blocking and various information safety campaigns resulted in the "Great Firewall of China" (Gompertz 2010). Using a simple combination and collage of the print screens of operating messages that block access to Google and other social media sites prohibited in China, the author calls for information access and freedom. This video contributes to the creation of a global image of YouTube and stresses that media democracy is one of the universal human rights required for productive social development in all countries in the world. The video implies that Google and YouTube are important global public media channels which shape the future of contemporary humanity: "… your future is no longer available" without them, the title of the video suggests. This clip significantly adds to the promotional narrative of YouTube, stressing its "commitment" to global democracy and freedom of information, thus contributing to the construction of its cosmopolitan or global identity.

The YouTube Play rhetoric, constructed through both promotional and shortlisted videos, advertised YouTube for international consumers as a revolutionary platform of video creativity and sharing and aimed to equally target various audiences from different countries across the world. Despite this powerful appeal in favor of YouTube as a premier public channel, the promotional narrative evoked a strong negative response from global audiences. Many online participants and followers appropriated the communication space of YouTube Play as a platform for public deliberation and open protests. International audiences protested against Google because several years earlier it bought YouTube, shifted the site from a "Do-It-Yourself" open and free platform for amateur video production to a more commercial project. As Kim explains, "the pre-

Google era of YouTube is characterized by amateur-produced videos in an ad-free environment, the post-Google purchase stage is characterized by professionally generated videos in an ad-friendly environment. Because of YouTube's popularity, industries have shown a deep interest in monetizing it" (Kim 2012, 54).

Since being purchased by Google, YouTube has employed a new e-commerce model, displaying banner ads in videos or in YouTube pages and sharing the revenue with the copyright holders of the videos. Also, Google began to sell YouTube homepage space, allowing interested individuals and companies to buy the "Featured Videos" section located on the YouTube front page (Clifford 2008). Another commercial innovation, introduced by Google, was selling services for larger video promotions. Thus, YouTube sells key words in an automated online auction, which YouTube's parent company, Google, has in its main site. This method works like "Google ads;" when people search for videos using keywords, YouTube will display relevant videos alongside the search results (Sandoval 2008).

Since YouTube transformed from a public channel for video sharing into a site for business, media companies started to look at YouTube not as "a rival but as a new channel to re-transmit their programs and a new source of advertising revenue," posting their shows on YouTube and providing video services on their websites (Kim 2012, 57). The episodes and series of professional TV that media companies post on YouTube contain commercials, which users cannot skip, much the same way as a viewer of a regular TV channel cannot avoid commercials (Kim 2012, 58). Following this advertising practice, YouTube started to place advertisements on the most popular videos with the highest public ratings; based on the number of views, comments, and "likes" that videos receive, the ad revenue is split between YouTube and content providers, ranging "from basement video makers to big media companies" (Stelter 2008). As YouTube's director of product management, Hunter Walk, explains: "We wanted to turn these hobbies into businesses" (Stelter 2008).

These commercial re-arrangements appeared to be relevant to the international YouTube Play audiences' concerns about their suppressed democracy on the channel. The online debates demonstrated how ordinary people from different countries challenged the imposed conditions set by YouTube and rebelled against ignoring their rights as users, consumers, and contributors to the site. A large comments cloud featured negative messages referencing the YouTube slogan

"Broadcast yourself" and indicated that the channel as a space for democratic engagement, where people decide on the content, quality, and significance of videos, had lost its relevance since it was acquired by Google. Many complaining comments, for example posted on the YouTube Play promo videos, were directly addressed to YouTube and attested to a high degree of the public's disappointment with the "new" channel.

Example:

Spenny: "YouTube is changing again. I miss pre-google, *unregulated, completely open and neutral YouTube...*"[66]

AllAroundVideoGames: "…I miss the old YouTube, *the one that didn't make annoying bars on the bottom and ads on popular videos*. thumbs up if you agree."[67]

TheSwagBucksHack: "*Youtube has turned into a way for google to make more money. The user has lost the power to do so much this past year, all freedom raped by google.* And the 'related videos'…aren't even related anymore. *Just more high end advertiser paid videos they can make a cheap buck off of. I feel as if we need more change, but for the users not for the site.*"[68]

Sand M: "YouTube - always *the same lame people on the front page.....* I used to love YouTube but now all I see are the *same LOSERS every day.*"[69]

stuurhuis69:   "Before you board the YouTube train, *you MUST first watch a 30 second advertisement* that you saw 100's of times before about some stupid product you will probably never buy."[70]

Tobias Funke: "*YOUTUBE is a SELLOUT* … many ad pops and *stupid capitalism they must die.*"[71]

Martin Lang: "… finde auch das die werbung hier langsam überhand nimmt ... vor allem in der playlist nervt sie richtig ..."[72]

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[66] Comment on the video clip "YouTube Play: invitation to the Contest in English" by spenny (6/14/2010 7:08:00 AM), http://bit.ly/XZpelM.
[67] Comment on the video clip "About YouTube Play with jurors" by AllAroundVideoGames (7/30/10 11:41 PM), http://bit.ly/1uLdTVb.
[68] Comment on the video clip "About YouTube Play" by TheSwagBucksHack (6/14/2010 9:49:00 PM), http://bit.ly/1prcJe3.
[69] Commenting on the video clip "About YouTube Play", AMT4245 said (6/14/2010 9:50:00 PM), http://bit.ly/1prcJe3.
[70] Comment on the video clip "YouTube Play. Live Streamed from the Guggenheim. 8pm ET, Oct 21" by stuurhuis69 (10/21/2010 4:36:00 AM), http://bit.ly/1llQPrs.
[71] Comment on the video clip "YouTube Play: invitation to the Contest in English" by Tobias Funke (6/14/2010 9:08 AM), http://bit.ly/XZpelM.
[72] Comment on the video clip "YouTube Play: invitation to the Contest in German" by Martin Lang (6/23/2010 7:12 AM), http://bit.ly/1qceieU.

[Translated from German[73]: … I also find that the *advertising slowly gets out of hand here* ... especially in the playlist it really sucks …]

Assassin2484: "…Muss man halt einsehn das youtube reine unterhaltung und zeitvertreib ist und keine wichtigen informationen enthält.... da gibts dann auch wieder ausnahmen, aber die werden ja nicht angeguckt…"[74]

[Translated from German: *We should stop accepting YouTube's pure entertainment content, which does not contain any important information* .... Of course, there are exceptions, but it is almost impossible to find these meaningful videos…]

JohannesKuenel: "Zu viel kommerzieller Müll, zu viel Pseudo-Professionalität, zu viele sinnlose großangelegte Aktionen. Es gibt so tolle Videos auf Youtube: Musik, Wissenschaft... Aber 99% der Klicks gehen an Leute, die Schwachsinn reden und dafür Youtube-Helden und -Partner sind..."[75]

[Translated from German: *Too much commercial waste*, too much pseudo-professionalism, too many meaningless large-scale actions. There are many great videos on YouTube: music, science… But 99% of all the clicks go to people who talk nonsense and *they are the YouTube heroes and partners*…]

NotausgangProduction: "bin auch ganz deiner meinung!!! seitdem Google Youtube übernommen hat is es einfach nur langweilig geworden!!!!"[76]

[Translated from German: I agree with you, since Google has taken over YouTube, it has become awfully boring!!!!]

These messages show the audience's high degree of intolerance towards YouTube's commercial structure, and point to the public's inability to control the advertising content that acquires maximum visibility on the channel. Summarizing all changes that had taken place on the new YouTube platform, a few comments even stressed how the channel had turned into an old mass

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[73] I translated comments in Russian and French, comments from other languages were translated by using Google Translate services.
[74] Comment on the video clip "YouTube Play: invitation to the Contest in German" by Assassin2484 (6/22/2010 2:21 PM), http://bit.ly/1qceieU.
[75] Comment on the video clip "YouTube Play: invitation to the Contest in German" by JohannesKuenel (6/22/2010 7:01 AM), http://bit.ly/1qceieU.
[76] Comment on the video clip "YouTube Play: invitation to the Contest in German" by NotausgangProduction (6/22/2010 5:15 AM), http://bit.ly/1qceieU.

medium similar to traditional television. The following messages, drawn from the streams posted to the promo videos, demonstrate how users protested against the "TV" nature of YouTube and expressed their concerns about its authoritative structure.

Example:

Ponnybit: "For selected media we already have TV... *do you really want youtube to become 'TV'?* basically youtube is a gigantic library of TiVO right now, u have all sorts of obscure content, b*ut only the 'selected one' gets in the main page.* […] its just 'not fair' I mean, these videos can be more interesting …"[77]

Probewitch: "I love YouTube; *but they don't seem to understand that it's because they're not broadcast tv. I don't want one time, ad filled, not pausable shows*; especially the ones lacking even a trace of creativity."[78]

Carolina Nulatienpo: "wow, *you tube is so becoming early 80's mtv.*"[79]

Ponnybit: "no... this is 2010, really 2010... ... what i am trying to say is that YouTube shouldn't be making anyone famous... its kind of ironic. *go to YouTube's main page and say to your laptop/mac/computer "YOU TUBE" it's them who tube, not we.*"[80]

In fact, as some scholars observe, YouTube does function as postmodern television, "facilitating the isolated, aimless viewing practices of individuals while expertly delivering eyeballs to advertisers. YouTube's corporate ownership limits the form and content of its videos, further curtailing the democratic promises touted for Web 2.0" (Juhasz 2009, 147). The comment streams on the promo videos on YouTube Play confirm that regular YouTube users sensed these transformations of the channel and it was important for people to protest against these changes. Thus, the online publics severely criticized the perceived "lies" of the YouTube Play promotional videos, which advertised YouTube's "open access," "democracy," and anti-"hierarchy." These

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[77] Comment on the video clip "About YouTube Play" by Ponnybit (6/14/2010 9:46 PM), http://bit.ly/1prcJe3.
[78] Comment on the video clip "YouTube Play. Live Streamed from the Guggenheim. 8pm ET, Oct 21" by Probewitch (10/21/2010 12:33:00 PM), http://bit.ly/1llQPrs.
[79] Comment on the video clip "Play: invitation to the Contest in English" by Carolina Nulatienpo (6/14/2010 2:22 AM), http://bit.ly/XZpelM.
[80] Comment on the video clip "About YouTube Play" by Ponnybit (6/14/10 10:28 PM), http://bit.ly/1prcJe3.

videos generated many negative responses, in which people challenged the rhetorical slogans to try to reveal the truth about the channel.

Example:

SopLusus: "'*We don't create a hierarchy here*,' but we're on YouTube, which was ruined *by Google, who is the net empire of hierarchy*."[81]

Ponnybit: "*1-'We don't create a hierarchy here among mediums'* that's why *Shane Dawson is always in the front page. 2-'one of the things we feel most deeply about YouTube is access* that's why *sometimes I need to use illegal sites to watch videos not available in my area. 3-'you don't need particular means, education, background, BUDGET'* that's why *the most advertised videos are always filmed with the best cameras …*"[82]

SopLusus: "*In a society such as this, nothing without* <u>hierarchy</u> *can survive, it's sad but true*, I don't think for one moment that any current museum is 'non-hierarchical'. And I do love video since it is a wonderful art medium, *which is why I don't like this video; which is quite clearly a corporate leech*."[83]

Imshadi: "They *<u>believe in access</u>*... yeah... that's why they keep cutting access to music and music videos for countries other than the US (and in the US too), hurting the chances of the artists getting their creations to be known abroad...."[84]

Luc59457: "They are all wrong, *<u>just like when they said at one point, for their front-page, 'these are the videos they think you want to see'</u>* Well, for the most part, they thought wrong. It should really be '*These are the video we WANT and NEED you to see' and be brainwashed by*."[85]

These comments particularly highlight that YouTube Play audiences actively "listened" to the YouTube Play messages and took an active role in communicating their critical opinion and feedback. Furthermore, in some cases people went beyond a mere criticism; in their comments

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[81] Comment on the video clip "About YouTube Play" by SopLusus (6/14/2010 5:35:00 PM), http://bit.ly/1llQPrs.
[82] Comment on the video clip "About YouTube Play" by Ponnybit (6/14/2010 8:25 PM), http://bit.ly/1llQPrs.
[83] Comment on the video clip "About YouTube Play" by SopLusus (6/14/10 9:45 PM), http://bit.ly/1llQPrs.
[84] Comment on the video clip "About YouTube Play" by imshadi (6/14/10 5:41 PM), http://bit.ly/1llQPrs.
[85] Comment on the video clip "About YouTube Play" by luc59457, (6/14/2010 9:17:00 PM), http://bit.ly/1llQPrs.

they made an attempt to inspire an online activism, calling on their fellow YouTubers to take concrete actions that could change the commercial structure of the channel. A few examples below illustrate how some users enthusiastically advocated for taking an active role in bringing positive changes to YouTube.

Example:

Fancyfree70: "Remember when you could watch videos without having to sit through a commercial? Remember when music videos were uploaded by users and not VEVO? Remember when all the info was to the right of videos? Remember you could rate videos 1-5 stars? Remember the famous yellow subscribe button? Remember when the users controlled the site and not corporations? WE MISS THE OLD YOUTUBE! *Post this in every video and let's start a YouTube revolution! Thumbs up to keep at the top of the page*!"[86]

Rapidmate: "*WE NEED TO START A PETITION* FOR YOUTUBE TO STOP THIS AUTOPLAY BAR AT THE BOTTOM!!!!! thumbs up"[87]

Reese Roberts: "YOUTUBE EDITORS PLEASE REMOVE GREY BAR, SPOILT MY TIME WATCHING THESE PLAY VIDEOS!!"[88]

However, there were not many comments calling for activism, and there were no signs that these slogans and calls for actions were taken to the next level by the online public. For example, these comments did not generate a large number of replies or "likes." Instead, they were lost in a huge cloud of complaints and negative messages. As such, the level of public activism in response to YouTube Play remained quite low. Although these comments inspired passion, they did not involve the community in specific actions or even "online" forms of activism. Nevertheless, this online wave of public criticism was an important activity that allowed general publics from various countries to share their concerns in a form of online complaints. These practices of collective complaints united international online users from various backgrounds and had a strong

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[86] Comment on the video clip "Moonwalk" by fancyfree70 (12/6/2011 7:42:00 AM), http://bit.ly/19x9Jkf.
[87] Comment on the video clip "HP+Intel Make - Stop-Motion Animation with Ricky Martin" by fancyfree70 (7/30/10 7:39 PM), http://bit.ly/1Cb0uGx.
[88] Comment on the video clip "HP+Intel Make: Experimental Film - Begonia Colomar" by Reese Roberts (7/31/10 12:06 AM), http://bit.ly/1sR1M2Q.

"therapeutic effect." It was important for online audiences in several streams, for different videos, to repeat the same slogans with a great variety of interpretations and articulations. Thus, users indirectly "collaborated" with each other in demonstrating their opinions, making the collective waive of public criticism stronger and more visible on the comment streams. However, many people realized that their criticisms and negative feedback would actually never reach their addressee; a few comments on promo videos specifically noted that there were no audiences for their complaints.

Example:

luc59457:   "At least they allow us to speak the truths on here even though they know not many will listen in this fast paced environment."[89]

DustinTheGoth: "I am with all the comments about how this is absolute rubbish, but do you actually think YouTube or the Guggenheim are reading the comments?"[90]

Understanding that their complaints would not be heard or answered, people still chose to express their opinion. It shows that these simple practices of online complaints helped them to cope with the challenges of the "new" YouTube.

On the one hand, these textual practices indicate that many people across the globe responded negatively to YouTube claims to be a democratic channel for creative video production and sharing. Most of the comments pointed out that YouTube publics were quite sensitive to the promotional rhetoric. The economic nature of YouTube that prioritizes commercial content has become a special target of online publics' criticisms. On the other hand, the promotional rhetoric advertising YouTube not as a strictly American, but international, channel proves to be quite efficient in creating a global image of the platform which is important for people from different countries. Thus, the variety of languages used by online publics in their collective practices of protest or complaint points to the channel's high degree of relevance and popularity in many countries. Even though the majority of comments on the promotional videos are posted in English, there are comments in German, Russian, Polish, and Japanese (See Appendix 3, Section 6).

The fact that people from various communities criticized YouTube or reflected on it with such a strong passion and emotional involvement illustrates how international online audiences perceive

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[89] Comment on the video clip "About YouTube Play" by luc59457, (6/14/2010 9:17:00 PM), http://bit.ly/1prcJe3.
[90] Comment on the video clip "About YouTube Play" by DustinTheGoth, (6/14/10 9:59 PM), http://bit.ly/1prcJe3.

YouTube as "their" public channel; they do care about its structure, functionality, and capacity to the satisfy needs of regular users. As one of the Russian users emphasized in his comment to the YouTube Play promo video: "…YouTube is everywhere…"[91] Specifically discussing the role of YouTube in contemporary society, many users agreed with this opinion, highlighting that YouTube "embraces all the spheres of human life: technology, education, entertainment, everything."[92] As a result, people from various countries are "spending a limitless amount of time on [YouTube]..."[93] and even "… already referring to our generation as the 'YouTube Generation'."[94] These comments reveal YouTube's important role in the lives of people from various countries, further explaining why the promotional dimension of the contest, advertising YouTube as a democratic channel belonging to people, so strongly engaged online publics in active conversations, complaints, debates, and even protests. The next section looks at the promotional YouTube Play dimension from a different perspective. Specifically, it focuses on the narrative constructed by the Guggenheim to present itself to international audiences.

6.3. The Guggenheim as the "museum of the new"

Following the design of the previous section, I will first illuminate how the Guggenheim constructed a global image of itself that appealed to international audiences in relation to the main goals and objectives of the project, and then reveal how this narrative was perceived by YouTube Play participants and followers.

From the perspective of the Guggenheim narrative, YouTube Play was presented and promoted as a "revolutionary" project bringing new opportunities for artists around the world. However, in comparison with YouTube, which advertised its "creativity, "open access," and "democracy" through the project, the museum focused on constructing a positive image of itself based on the rhetoric of innovations, and stressing its commitment to support the newest art movements of the future, in particular, digital and video art. Museum Chief Curator Nancy Spector, in the promo video for the project, did not accidentally highlight that the Guggenheim has always been not only "a museum of modern and contemporary art," but more importantly, "it's always been a museum

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[91] Comment on the video clip "YouTube Play: invitation to the Contest in Russian" by HOHOL19, (6/22/10 4:48 AM), http://bit.ly/1L1EMaK, translated from Russian language.
[92] Comment on the video clip "YouTube Play: invitation to the Contest in Russian" by DesignerMix (6/22/2010 2:38:00 PM), http://bit.ly/1L1EMaK, translated from Russian language.
[93] Comment on the video clip "Moonwalk"by pindolapiencet (9/21/2010 6:15:00 PM), http://bit.ly/19x9Jkf
[94] Comment on the video clip "Sushi - Kyle Andrews" by Nicola Choon (6/26/2009 10:34:00 PM),

of the new" (Play Biennial 2010). The YouTube Play promotional rhetoric strongly emphasized the power of the Guggenheim and its important role in identifying and curating emerging art in the "digital realm, to see what [it] will bring us for the future" (Play Biennial 2010).

The rules of the contests, posted on the Guggenheim web site, suggest: "We want works that debate, discuss, test, and elevate video in all kinds of ways. We're not looking for now, we're looking for what's next" (Mugaas 2010b). Spector insists, "We're looking for things we haven't seen before," while pointing out that the museum – with its "ongoing commitment to new media…" – specifically created this collaborative project in order to "highlight" and celebrate "some of the most innovative work being produced today" (Play Biennial 2010a). Following the main mission of the Guggenheim "to participate in, rather than merely represent, visual culture around the globe" (Guggenheim 2000), YouTube Play was presented as identifying and promoting not only new genres of video, but also fundamentally new avenues for international art exhibition and establishing communication channels with global audiences. Thus, the Guggenheim's director, Richard Armstrong, stresses: "The Guggenheim, together with YouTube, and HP and Intel, harnessed their collective expertise to create YouTube Play to celebrate […] the Internet's power to catalyze and disseminate new forms of digital media" (Derivative 2010).

This "new," innovative, or "progressive" position of the Guggenheim, in comparison with other traditional museums, was also strategically highlighted through the YouTube Play video content. There were only three shortlisted videos strictly devoted to the "Museum" topic, and all of them indirectly stressed an advanced position of the Guggenheim as the museum of the future, putting it in contrasting opposition to more traditional cultural heritage institutions. For example, "Don't Touch," an animation by English artist Louis Hudson, vigorously stresses the advantages of the Guggenheim's philosophy to be the "museum of the new," especially in its implementation of the YouTube Play project. This humorous cartoon portrays an "obsessed" museum worker who is desperately trying to protect the museum objects from a visiting group of young students demandingly and spontaneously interacting with historical artifacts on display (Dice Productions, 2008). This clip stresses the preservation functions of traditional museums, in which their main value is their conservation of collections and artefacts, limiting to a certain extent interactions among museum goers and cultural objects. In this way, the animation indirectly points to the Guggenheim's creativity and the ability of YouTube Play to overcome historical museum restrictions and to become a social-interactive space where audiences from across the globe can

create, play, and meaningfully interact with art pieces in a new virtual reality, going beyond the physical and geographical world of museums' limitations.

Another animation, "We Love Museums... Do Museums Love Us Back?" by a group of American activists called Pinky Show, is a "low-tech hand-drawn educational project" that continues this line of critique of traditional museums. In the clip, one of the characters reads excerpts from her most recent report, "The Creation of Value: meditations on the logic of museums and other coercive institutions." The main goal of this clip is to draw the audience's attention to the fact that museums are important social institutions, which "manufacture and distribute certain values." However, museums are governed by a small group of powerful people known as a "Board of Trustees," who eventually decide what objects are important to keep and what cultural values should be promoted to wider audiences. "The board of trustees are the ones who tell 'The Community' what is worth remembering and thinking about, and therefore, also what is worth forgetting and not worth thinking about" (Pinky Show 2010). Despite such a strong criticism of museums in general as elitist, authoritative, and hierarchical institutions, the clip seems to evoke a stronger antipathy toward ethnographic museums possessing historical collections of artefacts. In contrast, the Guggenheim and its YouTube Play project, which promotes new video art, seems to stand out against this background as a "new" museum with more democratic culture, empowering not only local, but also international audiences to actively participate in and even produce new culture and values.

Finally, "The Coincidental Dreamers," a stop-motion puppet animation by American-Brazilian artist Alex de Bonrepos, tells a romantic story of two "virtual" travelers who in their dreams travel from one continent to another to visit different museums, exhibiting paintings that were separated from a single art series. In the cartoon, the protagonists chase their dreams by trying to piece together a story, reflected in the paintings shown in three museums: in New York, Paris, and Rome (de Bonrepos 2010). The story's "happy ending," in which the two romantics eventually meet in real life, artistically illuminates the power of museum experiences to bring people together. Further, the animation evokes positive feelings about traveling exhibitions and suggests potential associations with the logic of franchise museums located in different countries and circulating their collections among continents. This association is particularly important in creating a global image of the new museum that the Guggenheim aspires to be for its international audiences.

All three videos, whether highlighting disadvantages of traditional institutions or stressing the power of "new" museums to provide better and more enriching social experiences, contributed to the Guggenheim's promotional narrative, strategically constructing its favorable image as the museum for new generations. Furthermore, the YouTube Play rhetoric, emphasizing its commitment to revolutionize artistic canons, was integrated in the speeches of the featured jury committee members. For example, one of the jurors, Japanese artist Takashi Murakami, continuing this line of rhetorical appeal, describes the contest in the following way:

> It's not just the global art scene that is growing, the speed of information technology is accelerating at an alarming rate. Therefore, forms of artistic expressions and presentations are drastically changing. While a museum requires people to visit to see arts, YouTube does not require that. I found the combinations of these two elements intriguing ... (Play Biennial 2010i).

This citation clearly illustrates that the promotional rhetoric stressed the opportunities of the project to transcend geographical and physical boundaries of the museum to allow "people to visit to see arts" through a new media channel which can connect audiences across the globe. Thus, the promotional messages communicated by the Guggenheim employed the language of "newness" and focused on "future" development aiming to restructure traditional experiences of museum goers, who through YouTube can now be a part of an international contest and exhibition. In this way, the rhetoric was very instrumental in creating a cosmopolitan image of the Guggenheim, presenting it as a global museum that supports new movements in the international art world. This cosmopolitan appeal of the Guggenheim draws on its self-promotion as an innovative institution that is being sensitive to changes and developments taking place in the international artistic community, and an institution that is acknowledging the needs of contemporary audiences.

Despite such a powerful promotional appeal in presenting the project as a revolutionary initiative, YouTube Play appeared to be another important milestone in the institutional history in terms of challenging the museum's status as a serious artistic and cultural institution. The project received severe criticism from some art critics for being another experiment within the Guggenheim's commercially-driven agenda. For example, Robert Storr, dean of the Yale University School of Art and a former curator at the Museum of Modern Art, judged these experiments in exclusively negative terms: "The museum as revolving door for new talent is the enemy of art and of talent,

not their friend," he said, "and the enemy of the public as well, since it refuses to actually serve that public but serves up art …" (Vogel 2010). In this way, the project raised important questions for the Guggenheim, about institutional nature, responsibilities, as well as the limits and barriers beyond which a traditional museum cannot afford to go.

YouTube Play, as a cooperation between a museum and a transnational media corporation, provided a potential answer to the question of what a "new" museum is, and what it should be for contemporary audiences. In the promotional video, the Deputy Director of the Guggenheim, Nancy Spector, pointed out: "Artists should always be challenging the status quo, and that includes museums" (Play Biennial 2010). This comment invited rethinking and renegotiation of conventional versus "innovative" practices introduced by the museum. Reminding audiences about a historical commitment of the Guggenheim to experiment and to break conventional rules of traditional museum programming, one of the jurors of the contest, Laurie Anderson, stressed, "I think Guggenheim is and has always been more off to the side which makes it, I think, a little more daring" (Play Biennial 2010g). This stress on a different museum path and destiny also contributed to the promotional narrative of the project oriented to present it as a revolutionary initiative requiring certain institutional courage to step beyond traditional norms.

In response to the Guggenheim's invitation to challenge a traditional meaning of a museum in contemporary society, the YouTube Play communication space turned into a platform where audiences actively engaged in conversations concerning museums, including their missions, roles, and responsibilities. Specifically, the Guggenheim-YouTube cooperation that brought YouTube video culture into the museum space raised important questions among online audiences about the museum's responsibilities to keep the high artistic quality of their exhibits, shows, and installations. Criticizing the poor artistic quality of the finalist and shortlisted videos, many online users protested against the "responsible populism" logic that could be traced in the contest's selection of winning works.

Thus, many YouTube Play followers were very disappointed with the project's results, which did not match their expectations based on the promises of bringing artistic excellence, innovation, and quality from the digital art world to that of the physical museum. As mentioned earlier, many YouTube Play videos were selected due to their large viewership statistics and popularity among general online publics. Even though these video clips with millions of views did, indeed, represent

YouTube's "culture of today," the artistic quality of the videos failed to meet some visitors' expectations. Thus, many online followers complained about the low artistic quality of selected videos, originating from "a third sphere of slick and pointless professionalism, where too much technique serves relatively skimpy, generic ideas" (Smith 2010). The following comments collected from various YouTube Play videos provide an example of complaints that challenged the reputation of the Guggenheim as a credible cultural institution, especially in the eyes of loyal art lovers and museum goers.

Example:

SIRTONY: "The responsibility of doing a Guggenheim project is to recognize EXTRAORDINARY VIDS... Watching this made it clear how INSANE our Time is...*when this becomes one of the Choices then the credibility of the Judges are not Qualified to select ...Heart breaking Confusion for the Entire World…*"[95]

Alessandro0481: "Questo video mi ha lasciato esterefatto e perplesso...Non condividoa assolutamente la scelta fatta dal Gueggenheim museum. ancora una volta si può capire come sia estremamente bassa la professionalità di coloro i quali sono destinati a giudicare e premiare,se si può dire,i concorrenti (Artisti) in un contesto così dacisivo:anche gli altri video non sono una grande cosa. Questo spiega perchè i grandi video artisti non partecipano più a certe igniziative."

[Translated from Spanish: This video has left me astonished and perplexed ... once again you can understand that there is extremely low professionalism among those who are destined to judge and reward, if you can say, competitors (Artists) in a context ... This explains why the great video artists no longer take part in certain initiatives.][96]

Jimmy villaluz: "dung these videos....first 4 videos I watch from this event... *people behind this event got no taste*…better to just go back to my old routine

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[95] Comment on the video clip "Bear untitled" by SIRTONY, (10/21/2010 5:44:00 PM), http://bit.ly/1uVkqrc.
[96] Commenting on the video clip "Bear untitled" by alessandro0481, (10/23/2010 8:17:00 AM), http://bit.ly/1LJu4Yy.

of watching random videos with 7m+ views through YouTube search."[97]

LunaTuonante: "Was this video really represented at New York' Guggenheim museum?... *that scares me.. i don't get the reason...*"[98]

Spazzing: "I really hate the glitchy thing, *it's not 'artistic' at all if that's what they're trying to promote*. This actually comes off pretty pretentious."[99]

Nitramdh: "Nice... Now there's gonna be a bunch of douches saying: '*I'm an artist cuz' I upload videos on YouTube.*'"[100]

Chrissayshello123: "*THIS MADE THE GUGGHEINHEIM TOP 25???????* what is wrong with this world"[101]

Alfredgendor: "*0_0 where is the magic? where is the modern art*???"[102]

Onirik78: "ah ah this is art I guess... there will always be people saying it's amazing...personally I would agree with the previous comment: crap! I am French, used to some pretty slow movies (!) *but really watching the whole of this one is painful, I basically failed, sorry…*"[103]

As a result, there were a few users who directly expressed their concerns about the institutional ability and reputation of the Guggenheim to be a contemporary art museum and represent the highest artistic talent.

Example:

Alienmode: "…I don't like when people in a position of power and influence, *like the Guggenheim, or like any corporation, appeal to the masses like this in an attempt to stir up some excitement around their brand name with dirty amateurish funky cool videos*. I think it's insulting to people who

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[97] Comment on the video clip "Give Peace a Dance" by jimmy villaluz, (10/22/2010 10:43:00 AM), http://bit.ly/1ApOhzc.
[98] Comment on the video clip "Bear untitled" by LunaTuonante, (10/22/2010 5:15:00 PM), http://bit.ly/1LJu4Yy.
[99] Comment on the video clip "About YouTube Play" by spazzing (6/30/2010 3:30:00 AM), http://bit.ly/1C0yD8M.
[100] Comment on the video clip "About YouTube Play" by Nitramdh (6/14/10 9:44 PM), http://bit.ly/1C0yD8M.
[101] Comment on the video clip "Auspice" by honajz127 (1/15/2011 8:30 AM), http://bit.ly/1KyOXSX.
[102] Comment on the video clip "HP+Intel Make: Digital Flipbook - Jimmy Dava" by alfredgendor (8/2/10 12:57 PM), http://bit.ly/1Mhr5a4.
[103] Comment on the video clip "VIOLA: The Traveling Rooms of a Little Giant" by onirik78 (10/15/2010 12:11 PM), http://bit.ly/1ERhuB4.

create content for the right reasons. Plus the videos they select for this are all going to look the same."[104]

Good2btheking: "*Guggenheim is the same people who promoted the art of Matthew Barney (The Cremaster Cycle)* I heard the rare video tapes were sold to collectors in glass boxes for over 300k, so yeah make sure you have a lot of elite symbolism in your video and you too can be adopted by Guggenheim. Best of luck :)"[105]

GlossyShoes: "Also wanted to add the *Guggenheim is the most boring museum in NYC-their collections and exhibit, only thing interesting there is the interior inside*."[106]

Joseph Heft: "I never even heard of Guggenheim before this. *It must not be anything that matters*."[107]

Online discussions on numerous videos also were devoted to defining the meaning of art and placing it within the context of contemporary reality. Considering that almost every shortlisted video was questioned as a valid and representative selection of contemporary digital art, many online users expressed their confusion and difficulty in comprehending what contemporary art is. The following messages, posted on the promo clips as well as on the selected winning videos, indicate that even though some participants accepted that the YouTube Play videos could represent digital "art," it was difficult for them to describe this "art" in a meaningful way without evoking negative sentiments.

Example:

McSplat :   "Modern visual art *is incredibly vapid*."[108]

Lv2076:   "anything can be called art. It is all about interpretation. *I can put a piece of gum on a glass plate and stick a fly to it and it could be considered art…*" [109]

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[104] Comment on the video clip "About YouTube Play" by alienmode (6/14/10 8:22 PM), http://bit.ly/1C0yD8M.

[105] Comment on the video clip "About YouTube Play" by good2btheking (6/17/10 8:29 PM), http://bit.ly/1C0yD8M.

[106] Comment on the video clip "YouTube Play. Live Streamed from the Guggenheim. 8pm ET, Oct 21" by GlossyShoes (10/21/2010 5:23 PM), http://bit.ly/1llQPrs.

[107] Comment on the video clip "About YouTube Play - with jurors" by Joseph Heft (7/31/10 4:16 AM), http://bit.ly/1uLdTVb.

[108] Comment on the video clip "Seaweed: Director's Commentary" by McSplat (7/15/2011 8:03:00 PM), http://bit.ly/170mHeB.

[109] Comment on the video clip "Jillian Mayer: profile" by Lv2076 (5/18/2011 11:25:00 AM), http://bit.ly/1A1K3uY.

Matt Peters:	"… some people simply *aren't capable of appreciating or understanding [art] … Art isn't for everyone, anymore.*"[110]
adm1ackbar:	"hey look! It's modern art! And by that I mean precisely *nothing. Modern art is a blank canvas, a canvas with one color, or a canvas with random crap and squiggles and shit*......... oh my god its soooo artistic... look how the crappy squiggles contrast with the shitty chicken scratch!!!"[111]
a3HeadedMonkey:	"*Apparently being totally batshit crazy is art now*. I'm going to take off all my clothes, smear shit all over myself & walk into town to see how many people appreciate my art. :/"[112]
TheBondiBoi:	"… I'd define a form of modern art, something *different, out of the box thinking not like the norm being creative and using the form of art in this modern day and age to put a point across using the style and technique not normally associated with art*."[113]
Keallei:	"…as the observer, *I think it's really NOT art*. Like a coke bottle glued to a paper towel. I don't think that is art. *BUT everything could be art.* So... *I guess it is a contest*."[114]
TuxIsCool:	"…People always hang up art work that contains finger nails, blood, pubes etc... Of course the rich think it's great etc... Always an asshole trying to be the next Andy Warhol. *Focusing on Bullshit instead of Talent. Bless The Counterfeiters of the art world :-)* I understand why you do what you do now." [115]
Quixgofar:	"OK - Maybe I'm the only realist on this comment page, but I was expecting more.... This video left me with more questions as to why this video was shortlisted. It's something you see every day, but this used High Production value and was uploaded to the web. Not to take away

[110] Comment on the video clip "Jillian Mayer: profile" by Matt Peters (5/17/2011 11:47:00 AM), http://bit.ly/1A1K3uY.
[111] Comment on the video clip "Learning Curve" by adm1ackbar (10/21/2010 12:08:00 PM), http://bit.ly/1CkrLFX.
[112] Comment on the video clip "999 Days: Urban Barbarian" by a3HeadedMonkey (10/5/2010 5:35:00 AM), http://bit.ly/1A1Kllo.
[113] Comment on the video clip "999 Days: Urban Barbarian" by TheBondiBoi (10/6/2010 3:56:00 PM), http://bit.ly/1A1Kllo.
[114] Comment on the video clip "About YouTube Play" by Keallei (6/14/2010 7:14:00 PM), http://bit.ly/1C0yD8M.
[115] Comment on the video clip "About YouTube Play" by TuxIsCool (6/14/2010 8:44:00 PM), http://bit.ly/1C0yD8M.

from the efforts of those involved but, *I think art is and should be a 'WOW' and not something you see every day…* Yes, I know you're going to come back and say look at Warhol etc. Still, art should be a 'WOW'!"[116]

Even though the YouTube Play space invited the general public's concern and questions about what contemporary art can be, it generated a great number of online conversations in which people from different countries shared their perspectives. Especially in the comments for shortlisted and finalist videos, which spoke to the audiences not from the position of the Guggenheim itself or its partners, but from the position of contest participants and artists, people were involved in less critical, but more productive and philosophical conversations and debates about the meaning of art. Thus, some participants in their comments referred to more classical or traditional interpretations of art. For example, they described art in terms of its aesthetics and associated it with harmony and beauty. This tradition of interpreting art in terms of harmony, balance, and rhythm dates back to ancient philosophy, which taught that art is not an action or an object, but an internal appreciation of balance and beauty, and, thus, an important aspect of human life (Lévi-Strauss 1997).

For example, a lot of comments from a Brazilian "community" discussing and defining art were posted on the musical clip by a Brazilian artist Jarbas Agnelli "Birds on The Wires." This video exposes an art creation process based on a pure reading of nature signs through reinterpretation of ordinary things so common to a human eye in everyday routine. "Reading the newspaper one morning," shares Agnelli in the video about his work, "I saw this picture of birds on the electric wires. I cut out the photo and decided to make a song, using the exact location of the birds as notes. I was just curious to hear what melody the birds were creating. […] I've made this short video to demonstrate my interpretation of the birds as notes" (Play Biennial 2010d). Many Brazilians reflected on this creative process and tried to define art either in terms of unique moments of special enlightenment, revelations, and a divine experience ("*gift from heaven*"), or stressed that art is usually born out of talent given only to some people.

Example:

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[116] Comment on the video clip "Home"by quixgofar (10/21/2010 4:50:00 AM), http://bit.ly/15PKFsM.

AmandaPandoraMS: "Extremamente lindo! Incrível, maravilhoso! Quem tem pelo menos 10% da alma de um poeta se emociona com este video... São estas pequenas imagens que contam uma história que fica encoberta em nossos pensamentos!"[117]

[Translated from Portuguese: Extremely beautiful! Amazing, wonderful! *Whoever has at least 10% of the soul of a poet is moved by this video ... These are small signs that tell a story hidden in our human consciousness!*]

Rose Lane Romero: "Espetacular!!!!!!!! Criatividade é dar asas a imaginação e ouvidos também! A visão e a audição além do alcance."[118]

[Translated from Portuguese: Spectacular !!!!!!!! *Creativity is giving wings and ears to our imagination!* The vision and hearing is *beyond the scope of an ordinary person*.]

Mcf2001mytube: "A visão de um fotógrafo aliado a inteligência de um compositor, fez deste vídeo que apresenta uma belíssima composição, na minha opinião uma das mais belas obras de arte, que já vi."[119]

[Translated from Portuguese: *The sight of a photographer combined with the intelligence of a composer allowed to create this amazing video* that features a beautiful musical composition. *In my opinion one of the most beautiful works of art I have ever seen*.]

Mônica Guerios: "Devo lhe agradecer por não ter deixado passar essa música que parece mais um presente dos céus. Obrigada, ela me traz uma paz!"[120]
[Translated from Portuguese: I thank you for not missing this song that *looks more like a gift from heaven*. Thank you, it brings me peace!]

Jorondine: "Essa foto foi feita por Paulo Pinto, fotógrafo do jornal 'O estadao de São Paulo', em Santana do Livramento, no sul do país...(e eu vi essa foto

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[117] Comment on the video clip "Birds on The Wires" by AmandaPandoraMS (11/15/09 5:27 PM), http://bit.ly/1a8d61S.
[118] Comment on the video clip "Birds on The Wires" by Rose Lane Romero (8/4/10 2:00 PM), http://bit.ly/1a8d61S.
[119] Comment on the video clip "Birds on The Wires" by mcf2001mytube (9/21/10 11:59 AM), http://bit.ly/1a8d61S.
[120] Comment on the video clip "Birds on The Wires" by Mônica Guerios (9/21/10 3:46 PM), http://bit.ly/1a8d61S.

no jornal!) Realmente, Deus não coloca talento naquele que Ele sabe que não vai usa-lo. Magnífico!!!" [121]

[Translated from Portuguese: That photo was taken by Paulo Pinto, newspaper photographer for 'The estadao of São Paulo' in Santana do Livramento, in the South ... (and I saw this picture in the paper!) ...*Truly, God gives that talent only to people who can use it*. Magnificent!!!"

As these comments indicate, participants defined art as a moment of truth in a unique or mysterious experience, pointing out that this artistic enlightenment usually happens only to gifted people who have the power to bridge the world of nature and mystery with the world of human beings. This interpretation is based on a belief that art can help a person to experience oneself in relation to the universe. As Albert Einstein once remarked: "The fairest thing we can experience is the mysterious. It is the fundamental emotion which stands at the cradle of true art and true science. He who knows it not and can no longer wonder, no longer feel amazement, is as good as dead..." (Einstein 2011, 75).

A similar understanding of art was expressed by a German "community" in their comments posted to the video "Out of Soul," produced by German film maker Holger Lowe. In this short film, he also depicts processes of music creation, but from a perspective of endless attempts to catch rare moments of inspiration through hard work and the sufferings of a musician who eventually manages to "get" a beautiful melody "out of soul." The comments to this video also stressed that many Germans defined art through "genius" or a special talent, understanding it more as a moment of "freedom" or liberation from conventional thinking and social norms.

Example:

Yvelle von Alzheim: "Wie tief und wundersam wahr. Und wohl am Wichtigsten der Augenblick der Sammlung, in die urtiefe und unermessliche Kraft zu vertrauen - der ureigenen Passion und Freudenschaft den freien Lauf zu

[121] Comment on the video clip "Birds on The Wires" by jorondine (9/13/2009 2:35:00 PM), http://bit.ly/1a8d61S.

lassen - unabhängig aller Konventionen und Scheukappen anderer. Und am Ende bleibt die Einfachheit…Der Beifall der eigenen Seele."[122]

[Translated from German: How deep and true. And probably, most importantly, this film shows a moment of art creation through a genuine trust in the profound and immeasurable power - *to let the innate passion and joy run free independently of all conventions and restriction. And in the end it brings the simplicity…The applause of the artist's soul*.]

Blackronin09: "Bedingungslose Liebe ist das Vertrauen in den unversiegbaren Fluss des Lebens, der frei und unbekümmert fliesst, jenseits aller sozialer Beschränkung und Suche nach Bestätigung ausserhalb von sich selbst. Die Revolution der Freiheit! Ein Geniestreich!"[123]

[Translated from German: "Unconditional love and trust in the inexhaustible *river of life that flows freely and goes beyond all social restrictions, and seeks confirmation outside of itself, the revolution of freedom! A stroke of genius!*"]

NilsFromNRW: "Sehr schöne Arbeit - hat mich emotional abgeholt und mitgerissen. Toll!"[124]

[Translated from German: Great piece of art – *grabbed all my emotions and completely carried me away*. Beautiful!]

Robertone10: "der erste shortfilm aus 'play' den ich mir anschaue! aber definitiv mein favorit"[125]

[Translated from German: This is the first short film of 'play' in which *I can truly recognize myself*! This is definitely my favorite.]

Interestingly, some of these comments from the German discussion also pointed out that a "true" art has a strong emotional appeal. These connections between art and emotions are also visible in other online conversations. For example, a user from a different comment stream stressed: "Art

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[122] Comment on the video clip "Out of Soul" by Yvelle von Alzheim (9/20/10 9:20 AM), http://bit.ly/1Pt6PDS.
[123] Comment on the video clip "Out of Soul" by blackronin09 (9/20/2010 2:30:00 PM), http://bit.ly/1Pt6PDS.
[124] Comment on the video clip "Out of Soul" by NilsFromNRW (10/15/10 11:56 AM), http://bit.ly/1Pt6PDS.
[125] Comment on the video clip "Out of Soul" by Robertone10 (9/20/10 3:16 PM), http://bit.ly/1Pt6PDS.

serves its purpose to either feed the senses with what we find to be beautiful, or feeds the mind with subliminal messages. […] it feeds the soul. Art, such as poetry, paintings, or even literature *teaches not only at an intellectual, but emotional level*."[126]   Somebody else in a different online discussion also shared: "Art […] is what makes you think and *respond emotionally*. That's art, people!"[127]

A strong power of art to touch people on an emotional level is discussed in greater detail in the next chapter. Here it is important to stress only that the YouTube Play video selection was instrumental to generating meaningful reflections from audiences who actively engaged in conversations about arts. On the one hand, the videos that represented completely new art forms challenged traditional perceptions and evoked concerns and even negative sentiments. On the other hand, videos which depicted creation processes of more "traditional arts," like both films about creating music discussed above, brought the wealth of new associations and definitions of art that represented more "classical" understandings of this phenomenon.

More importantly, these examples demonstrate that even though online conversations in different languages led to different understandings of art, the topic of art was equally relevant and important for people from different cultural communities and linguistic backgrounds. This points to the fact the Guggenheim was quite efficient in engaging diverse international communities in active participation in and interaction with YouTube Play, as a communication space where people could reflect on arts and share their personal perceptions and observations.   This international involvement not only demonstrates the global reach and power of the Guggenheim to engage publics from different countries, but also contributes to a construction of a more cosmopolitan image of the museum, which was not necessarily associated with American culture or traditions. To reinforce this point, I would like to share the following example, which demonstrates that YouTube Play really allowed participants to discuss arts in their "national terms." Furthermore, these "national" reflections on arts were presented not in opposition to American art traditions, but in relation to a more global discourse developed within a broader international community, which points to the cosmopolitan character of the project.

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[126] Comment on the video clip "Wow tenspace" by spontaneouslyAZN (2/28/2009 4:58:00 PM), http://bit.ly/1NZLGOh.
[127] Comment on the video clip "Deuce" by onein7twist (10/12/10 8:15 PM), http://bit.ly/1ILc6Gb.

Thus, in some cases online conversations involved people from the same country reflecting upon what art and a "true" artist mean in their cultural context. For example, in the Japanese "community," debates and discussions about art focused on comparison and contrast between "high" art and popular culture. This was especially visible in the comment stream for one of the YouTube Play promo videos, "Meet the YouTube Play Jury: Takashi Murakami." This video evoked a strong emotional response from Japanese audiences discussing their national artist as a person, who, according to some comments, is a "shame" for Japan, and, according to the opposite perspective, deserves to represent contemporary Japanese art to the world.

Awsedrf2448: "この人が活躍しているのは日本人にしては珍しく自己主張とコ

ミュニケーション能力があるので手ごろな日本人役として重宝

しているというのはあるんだろうな。世渡り上手。

"128

[Translated from Japanese: "This person *represents contemporary Japanese art to the global community*. However his strong communication skills and self-confidence are very unusual for Japan. He is definitely world famous."]

Yohan Na: "彼は本当にハイアートの世界を本当に知り尽くし、その中で、

現代の発展している文化も理解し、そのギャップの架け橋を掲

げてる人。アジア代表とも言えるぐらい、いや、今現代アート

の世界を引っ張っている村上隆さん。本当に尊敬します。"129

[Translated from Japanese: "*He is very knowledgeable about questions of high art and understands pop culture very well, which allows him to challenge and develop modern Japanese art, bridging that gap between the Japanese tradition and the new art. Takashi Murakami*

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[128] Comment on the video clip "Meet the YouTube Play Jury: Takashi Murakami." by awsedrf2448 (9/21/10 7:49 AM), http://bit.ly/1Gkxboc.
[129] Comment on the video clip "Meet the YouTube Play Jury: Takashi Murakami." by Yohan Na (9/21/10 12:11 PM), http://bit.ly/1Gkxboc.

represents an Asian perspective in the global community and I really respect him."]

HandsomeKoreanMan: "この人、日本人に対する妙なイメージ付けに利用されてるだけじゃないの？

"130

[Translated from Japanese: *This person sends really wrong messages about the contemporary Japanese art to the world*.]

AOI878IOA: "日本の恥ですね。村上をアーティストだと考えている日本人はほとんどいない。　(海外で間違って受け入れられてしまった商売人

"131)

[Translated from Japanese: *It is a shame of Japan*. Only a few Japanese think that Murakami is a true artist. He is a real merchant and should be perceived like this abroad.

HaitakaFF11: "大金持ち達のゲームに参加できる「商品」を作り出せるのだから、村上はアーティストだと思う。"132

[Translated from Japanese: "*Murakami is a 'product' of our millionaires' investments*."]

Tatsuya Minami: "まず最初に、私自身は彼の作品があまり好きではありません。ポップアート自体は好きなのですが、なんか子供っぽい作風なので。　ただ、新しいアートが出てきたら、それが目立って斬新

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130 Comment on the video clip "Meet the YouTube Play Jury: Takashi Murakami." by HandsomeKoreanMan (9/21/10 1:41 PM), http://bit.ly/1Gkxboc.
131 Comment on the video clip "Meet the YouTube Play Jury: Takashi Murakami." by AOI878IOA (9/22/10 6:45 AM), http://bit.ly/1Gkxboc.
132 Comment on the video clip "Meet the YouTube Play Jury: Takashi Murakami." by HaitakaFF11 (9/22/10 7:19 AM), http://bit.ly/1Gkxboc.

であればあるほど、大きな批判が巻き起こる。 例えば、今とな

っては写真も撮り方によってはアートということに賛同するひ

とが殆どだと思いますが、長い間、事実をありのまま映し出し

て保存するということが、主な役目だったんだしね。 ひとつの

偉大なアートと言えるかどうかは、数十年経っても生き残って

いたら、それが証明されるんでしょうね。"[133]

[Translated from Japanese: "First of all, I do not like much of his work. I like pop art itself, because it has a "childish" or "naïve" look. However, as new art appears, it is always subjected to a heavy criticism. *For example, I think most here would agree, that photography as a new art genre needed to struggle until it was accepted by the society. So, as a result, a true art is the one that survives after a few decades, this is how it is being approved.*"]

Kemukutyan: "マンガないしは劇画に影響を受けていると思われる彼の作風は

、　　　　　　実に日本的です！日本人ならではのアートです！

"[134]

[Translated from Japanese: "His style seems to have been affected by graphic novels of Naishiwa and Japanese Manga culture! *It is an art unique to Japan*!"]

This online conversation clearly demonstrates that even through some online participants expressed quite negative attitudes toward artists who combine "high" art and popular culture in their work, this tradition was not associated with the United States. As some art critics point out, the movement of "pop" art or commercial art was born in the 1960s in New York with the works

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[133] Comment on the video clip "Meet the YouTube Play Jury: Takashi Murakami." by Tatsuya Minami: (9/22/10 8:00 AM), http://bit.ly/1Gkxboc.
[134] Comment on the video clip "Meet the YouTube Play Jury: Takashi Murakami." by Kemukutyan: (9/22/10 8:22 AM), http://bit.ly/1Gkxboc.

of such artists as Jim Dine, James Rosenquist, Andy Warhol, Jasper Johns, Roy Lichtenstein, and Robert Rauschenberg, all of whom were actively supported by the Guggenheim (Horowitz 2012, 219). Nevertheless, the comments studied here do not contain a single reference to this American art movement. In contrast, some participant even stress how the type of art in the work of Murakami is "*unique to Japan*" and "*represents an Asian perspective.*" Moreover, these debates about the tension and contrast between classical high art and popular culture not only represent a response from the Japanese "community" to Murakami as a contest juror, but also shed some light on potential reasons why certain audiences demonstrated such a strong negative response to the new arts "exhibited" within the YouTube Play space.

The most important goal of the project was not necessarily to establish and demonstrate the highest artistic standards of new digital arts, as was perceived by some publics, but to bring popular "YouTube culture" to the museum space. Nancy Spector, the Guggenheim's chief curator, presented this project as an opportunity to explore how new technology platforms influence the video art form: "We are, in a sense, inviting people to raise the standards" of YouTube, she stresses. "This is inspirational for people who are interested in seeing their work be taken artistically" (Hesse 2010). On the Guggenheim blog, museum critic Zinman argues the Guggenheim wanted to pioneer a contextual shift of video art perceptions, which would occur when "the videos move from the YouTube Play channel to the Guggenheim itself" (Zinman 2010c).

Zinman questions whether YouTube videos can become something else when shown in Frank Lloyd Wright's rotunda. YouTube Play, in his opinion, is a great opportunity to understand the relationship "between videos that self-identify as art," videos that are created outside of the official art world, and the museum, which can redefine the meanings of these objects. Every museum, by placing certain objects inside their collections, automatically prescribes them an artistic value and, in this way, sets important standards which define the barriers between art and non-art. McClellan specifically points out: "Art is what is shown in museums. Art may also exist outside of museums, of course, but its status as such may be questioned in a way it never is inside a museum" (McClellan 2003, xiii).

The Guggenheim selected and rewarded the video content that represents popular "culture of today," not necessarily "high" art. That was why the final selection of videos contained a lot of

clips that, according to some audiences and art critics, were not appropriate to be exhibited at the museum. However, from the very beginning, as discussed in the previous chapter, the Guggenheim emphasized that YouTube Play was not necessarily an "artistic" project, but more an exploration of new emerging digital media genres which the museum wanted to identify and promote.

Even though the project's rhetoric emphasized the "newness" and "inclusiveness" of video creations that were promoted through YouTube Play as new genres of digital art, the contest still did not avoid criticism concerning the representative capacity of the selections to reflect contemporary video culture, as well as the actual legitimacy of the Guggenheim to define and promote new video genres. The project received a lot of criticism in the press for being incapable of appreciating the online video culture that has emerged in the recent years as a separate stream of cultural production. For example, critic Johnson pointed out:

> "The Guggenheim's launching a new YouTube Biennial dubbed Play for two days this October and the museum's curators have named themselves the web experts and chief video selectors. […] I have a hard time believing that the Guggenheim secretly spent the past decade beefing up on the various web memes and amateur videos trafficked across the web. How will the museum's curators be able to recognize a remade meme from years past without that experience? How will they be able to spot various web references? If the ability to locate art historical citation within art work is important, surely an equally rich background in the web is essential" (Johnson 2010).

The Dean of Yale University School of Art, Robert Storr also stressed: "Hit-and-run, no-fault encounters between curators and artists, works and the public, will never give useful shape to the art of the present nor define the viewpoint of institutions" (Johnson 2010).

Some YouTube Play audiences seemed to echo this position of the press, because many online viewers explicitly expressed their doubts about the capacity of this contest to reveal the new emerging genres of creative video and find artistic gems of innovative forms in a large amount of YouTube clips. Thus, in online comments on various promo videos of the project, many people criticized the Guggenheim's ambition to promote certain video content, especially videos that represent the popular YouTube culture, as radically new video genres.

Example:

Crapulency:	"everyone can play, yet nobody has to pass their exams yeah, *we're all brilliant if we are popular*"[135]
Paulslocum:	"… *I'm not sure The Guggenheim speaks the language of contemporary Youtube aesthetics*."[136]
Tomosart:	"… I think this chick is right when she says that *it's just the beginning, and video art is in its infancy,* just hope we don't end up with *YouTube and a few mega corporations having total control over what gets shown*, we *need an open source option, controlled by its users*." [137]
Amnaki:	"I don't think these people care about our talents. They wanna make money. Among other things."[138]
ChaiTV:	"'No other medium is pushing the boundaries of creativity like video' ..... *I doubt that*. How is it pushing the boundaries? By having ads at the bottom? Video needs to become more interactive before it pushes any boundaries, *it's still just the same old linear presentation. Audiences are expected to sit there for x minutes, the pace and quantity completely out of their hands. The latest video effects filter is not boundary pushing either.* 'oh wow, look it's the old-school analog static effect'!"[139]
Honajz127:	"At the end there will be no transformation of video, because *you can't go out of limits*. Maybe it would be animated movie, maybe dirty reality show, maybe stationary point in the universe - but not *transforming video. It's the same like looking for new transformations of water...*"[140]

These comments demonstrate that the YouTube Play audiences were quite sensitive to the promotional rhetoric of the Guggenheim as the "museum of the new" forms and genres of art. Furthermore, the online publics of the contest seemed to include certain segments of audiences who were seriously interested in the questions of art, creativity, museums, and culture with rather high expectations from the project, initially advertised as "revolutionary" in the world of digital

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[135] Comment on the video clip "About YouTube Play" by Crapulency (6/14/10 9:02 PM), http://bit.ly/1C0yD8M.
[136] Comment on the video clip "About YouTube Play" bypaulslocum (6/14/10 7:40 PM), http://bit.ly/1C0yD8M.
[137] Comment on the video clip "Meet the YouTube Play Jury: Marilyn Minter" by tomosart (10/22/2010 4:42:00 AM), http://bit.ly/1ot9n41.
[138] Comment on the video clip "About YouTube Play - with jurors" by amnaki (7/31/10 2:32 AM), http://bit.ly/1uLdTVb.
[139] Comment on the video clip "About YouTube Play" by chaiTV (6/14/2010 11:35:00 PM), http://bit.ly/15PKFsM.
[140] Comment on the video clip "About YouTube Play" by honajz127 (6/15/2010 5:30:00 AM), http://bit.ly/15PKFsM.

media. However, as this section highlights, many online followers and participants were disappointed with the project results which did not satisfy their expectations based on their perceptions of contemporary museums and arts.

Despite such strong criticism expressed by international audiences toward the project, the interactional dynamic between the promotional narrative of the Guggenheim, as a global "museum of the new," and audience responses to these messages, clearly indicate that YouTube Play intensely engaged online publics from different countries. Global online audiences seemed to be attracted by the "controversies" of the "revolutionary" initiative, which generated so many debates among international art critics, journalists, bloggers, and artists. This strong international engagement of both participating artists and general publics indicated questions raised by the Guggenheim project carried a high degree of global relevance. This universal appeal of global artistic issues helped the museum to present itself as a cosmopolitan institution in the world of global video culture. The following section continues to analyze how online audiences interacted with the constructed meanings of "art" and "video art" and reveals the transformations of the general publics' perceptions of "new" arts throughout the project. Specifically, I will explore the promotional practices of the YouTube Play project sponsors, HP and Intel, focusing on public engagement with messages that advertised them as providers of new technologies for contemporary art production.

6.4. Intel and HP as a new technology for art production

The YouTube Play promotional messages were also devoted to advertising the various products and services of HP and Intel companies. As mentioned earlier, both of these companies played a key role in providing necessary technologies and equipment for the YouTube Play show in New York, as well for the digital galleries or kiosks equipped with PC stations for onsite visitors, which allowed viewing of and interaction with the YouTube Play video content in Guggenheim museums in New York, Berlin, and Venice. I will first discuss how the promotional narrative was constructed to attract the public's attention to the companies' products and then show how these messages influenced audiences' perceptions of new media arts.

Acknowledging both partners' contributions to the project, YouTube Play featured "The HP+Intel Make Series," which served as a key promotional tool for these companies to advertise their brands among digital and video artists, as well as among general publics. Presented by the Guggenheim

as a helpful resource for the YouTube Play contest participants, these videos offered illustrations and explanations of specific forms, genres, artistic techniques, and technologies used by professional artists in their work. These promotional videos were posted on the YouTube Play channel right after the project was officially announced on YouTube in June 2010 along with other promotional videos. In these ways, these videos indirectly communicated what kind of artistic video genres YouTube Play invited for the contest, even though the rhetoric of the project in regard to selection criteria always stressed that the Guggenheim "wanted to be as broad as possible […] to capture a wide range of different artistic genres that one might find on YouTube" (Young 2012). According to the titles of the videos of the "HP+Intel Make Series," these genres included "2D Character Animation," "Digital Flipbook," "Experimental Film," "Music/fashion film," "Stop-Motion Animation," and "Time Lapse."

The analysis of the finalist and shortlisted videos according to their artistic genres indicates that many videos corresponded to the selected and promoted genres. For example, the finalist videos represented most of these genres. Even though Chief Curator Nancy Spector emphasized that the final selection of winning videos "is diverse in technique," the 25 finalists included five 2D character animations, five stop-motion animations, two time-lapse videos, two music/fashion videos, and two experimental films, which were initially promoted through the series. However, it is important to note that, for example, such genre as "Digital Flipbook" was not presented among finalist videos or among a broader selection of shortlisted clips. This indicates that some of the genres, envisioned by the Guggenheim to be important, proved to be irrelevant for the artistic YouTube community. Also, the final selection of clips represented a great amount of new genres which were very popular among YouTube creators. For example the "mash-up" video genre, discussed earlier in this thesis, appeared to be a favorite among online publics and was strategically featured through winning videos. Other genres "discovered" and popularized through the project included documentary videos, short feature films, digital art, mixed media and mixed genre videos, and even "YouTube art."

Thus, in terms of selected genres, the curatorial choice of the YouTube Play videos indicates an employment of two equally important strategies: "top-down" curatorial selection, implemented through the promotion of specific genres featured through the "HP+Intel Make" videos; and "bottom-up," or "populist" curatorial logic, based on identifying and recognizing genres which already won attention and appreciation among the YouTube masses. Combining these two

strategies, YouTube Play first of all acknowledged its respect for and demonstrated its understanding of the popular public taste on YouTube, and then provided an opportunity for its main sponsors, such as HP and Intel, to advertise their services and products for the artistic community.

The "HP+Intel Make Series" of videos were presented on the channel as useful informational resources for artists that provided "tips and tricks for making creative video;" the video description announced, "HP and Intel enable all video makers to imagine, experiment, and create" (Play Biennial 2010c). All these promotional videos featured famous or established video artists who work in specific genres of video production, such as animation, music, fashion films, or experimental videos. At the same time, the videos served as integrated advertisements of HP and Intel products, promoted as necessary tools for high quality video art production. By showcasing these established artists at work in a "behind-the-scenes" manner of presentation, these videos exposed viewers to a wide range of technical products that Intel and HP are happy to sell to artists, for example HD photo and video cameras, PCs and laptops, or scanners.

Manovich (2009) argues that a digital revolution is enthusiastically promoted first of all by those who produce digital equipment; YouTube Play illustrates how this promotion works, showing how an artistic project can serve as a platform for commercial industries to advertise their goods to global consumers. HP and Intel equipment was marketed on YouTube Play as a necessary technological supply for artistic video production, under the slogans of support, appreciation, and promotion of new forms of digital arts. "The power of YouTube and the reputation of the Guggenheim form the perfect stage for the artistic expression possible on PCs," said Tracey Trachta, Director of Marketing Communications Initiatives, Personal Systems Group, HP. "HP is moved by the imagination of digital artists, and we want to encourage the creation, sharing and appreciation of online video as an art form" (Guggenheim 2010d). The rhetoric of artists in the "HP+Intel Make Series" strongly stressed the significance of new technologies provided by the companies for creating high quality arts. For example, Jimmy Dava, a video artist from Los Angeles, shared:

> I am thrilled with all the technology that I have available to me today, because without this I would not be able to do what I do. I would not be able to follow my passion, I would not be able to have this reward – after going through all my steps in the process – in two days

to have a finished product that could show the world what I feel inside, and how I see things. I think it's a blessing to every artist out there (Play Biennial 2010b).

Just as YouTube and the Guggenheim did in their promotional narratives, HP and Intel stressed their global image to target broader international audiences. For example, on the official YouTube Play page, they were presented as "the world's largest technology companies" bringing "together a portfolio that spans printing, personal computing, software, services, and IT infrastructure to solve customer problems" (Play Biennial 2010b). The promotional text stressed that they create "new possibilities for technology to have a meaningful impact on people, businesses, governments, and society" (Play Biennial 2010b). These promotional messages reinforced the cosmopolitan identity of these companies that were advertised not as American corporations, but as global service providers that can produce high quality equipment for contemporary international artists.

In a similar manner as with the YouTube promotional narrative, many followers of the project challenged this commercially-driven discourse and tried to defend the artistic space of the project from being polluted with advertisements. Many negative comments were posted to protest against the HP and Intel commercial messages. Even though the "HP+Intel Make Series" were presented by the Guggenheim as "technical support" videos for amateur artists, to explain what innovative techniques and technologies could be used for producing "video art," online publics met these promotional videos with strong irritation and intolerance. The following comments posted on these videos illustrate how YouTube Play followers expressed their open protest against the commercial logic of the channel.

Example:

luc59457:   "That's what YouTube thinks you want to see. *Oh and have you noticed, many partners, place many cuts in most of their videos. This is also what they consider professional and what YOU want.* Most people cannot analyze as much … They are mostly too young to criticize something as flashy as this…"[141]

Myoh1:   "*Geez, lots of ranting here...* Just use whatever you like, Windows, Mac OS, Linux,... on an HP, Dell, Toshiba, Macintosh, Packard Bell or anything else.

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[141] Comment on the video clip "About YouTube Play" by luc59457, (6/14/2010 9:23:00 PM), http://bit.ly/1llQPrs.

It's up to YOUR personal preferences and needs, and not someone else's...
HP and Intel are just promoting their brand here…"[142]

PostalPete: "Do you really need both HP and intel to do this kind of animation?"[143]

IMAGIMATIONanimation: "No. Any computer hardware and animation and software can create animation. *This video is only a promotion for HP and Intel*. For example, I do my animation on mac OSX, so your choices are not limited."[144]

JimrnytheJ: "Lol, apple Logo at 0:40. *Sorry HP, but if you're going to force animators to use your computers, it looks like they're going to sneak stuff like that in to spite you. Lots of other logos and trademarks, too*. Personally I use Boinx iStopmotion on the Mac, and it works rather well! (*see my lego animations if you don't believe me!*) ...also 2:21 'We put our two frames onto a laptop' ... it's a desktop! *Two* desktop monitors! Looks like these guys know how to confuse and irritate their editors."[145]

Austin Texas: "*YouTube makes TONS of money by featuring these* videos on the front page. *Intel and HP are probably paying them* 6 figures."[146]

0markskillen0: "Pure marketing hype masquerading as 'entertaining' don't even watch this"[147]

[142] Comment on the video clip "HP+Intel Make - Stop-Motion Animation with Ricky Martin" by Myoh1 (3/28/2011 4:53:00 PM), http://bit.ly/1Cb0uGx.

[143] Comment on the video clip "HP+Intel Make: 2D Character Animation with Tom Baker" by PostalPete (7/30/2010 6:59:00 PM), http://bit.ly/1zTt1fN.

[144] Comment on the video clip "HP+Intel Make: 2D Character Animation with Tom Baker" by IMAGIMATIONanimation (7/30/2010 7:03:00 PM), http://bit.ly/1zTt1fN.

[145] Comment on the video clip "HP+Intel Make - Stop-Motion Animation with Ricky Martin" by JimrnytheJ (8/16/2010 3:28 PM), http://bit.ly/1Cb0uGx.

[146] Comment on the video clip "HP+Intel Make - Stop-Motion Animation with Ricky Martin" by Austin Texas (7/30/2010 3:50 PM), http://bit.ly/1Cb0uGx.

[147] Comment on the video clip "HP+Intel Make: 2D Character Animation with Tom Baker" by 0markskillen0 (7/31/10 9:07 PM), http://bit.ly/1zTt1fN.

Mars Yao:	"分明都是用苹果做的嘛，台式机上的软件也貌似mac，只是用了hp的显示器而已，影片最后部分看到的键盘是Mac的。最后部分拿hp的产品摆摆样子就想蒙混过关。。。"[148]
	[Translated from Japanese: 'Seasons' are created on the Apple computer. Well, desktop software also looks like Mac, they used only the HP monitor. See also the last part of the movie, they use the Mac keyboard. *They just used some parts of the HP products as 'cosmetic'* in order to advertise them…]
Limafilho27:	"…*this is obviously an HP and Intel commercial and the woman is an actress. All she talks about is technology (hp and intel, duh!).* and the art part, well, it is just to lure you in. plus, the 'artsy' comments are poor. *very much like marketing stuff. but it didn't work for me. gonna have to do better, HP and Intel.*"[149]
ElectrifyingCinema:	"*This commercial is about HP and Intel* so their agreement is to only show/talk about HP products running Intel products…"[150]
Hyperion311:	"Ok, this YouTube Play thing is pretty lame. *I thought it would be a proper video, not ads*."[151]

These comments protested against imposed brand promotion, strictly framed around the names of particular companies, such as Intel and HP. These negative sentiments were even further reinforced in comments directed not against companies per se, but against the professional artists who were hired for shooting the promotional series.

Example:

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[148] Comment on the video clip "HP+Intel Make - Stop-Motion Animation with Ricky Martin" by Mars Yao (6/18/2010 2:43 AM), http://bit.ly/1Cb0uGx.
[149] Comment on the video clip "HP+Intel Make: Experimental Film - Begonia Colomar" by Limafilho27 (7/30/10 6:41 PM), http://bit.ly/1sR1M2Q.
[150] Comment on the video clip "HP+Intel Make - Stop-Motion Animation with Ricky Martin" by ElectrifyingCinema (7/7/10 1:56 PM), http://bit.ly/1Cb0uGx.
[151] Comment on the video clip "HP+Intel Make: Digital Flipbook - Jimmy Dava" by hyperion311 (7/28/10 7:01 PM), http://bit.ly/1sR1KIs.

Movzx0fh: "It still amazes me *how people without a sense of taste* can brag about how every piece of nothing they were able to produce is awesomely groundbreaking ..."[152]

Szostak: "how many more experimental video artists do we really need? *This self-masturbation from Ms. Hipster from Brooklyn adds nothing to the conversation and is just another versioning of stuff we've seen before.* In fact if you listen to her closely, she's duct taped together borrowed words from true artists. No originality and I am sure *she got this gig from connections versus artistry*…"[153]

Komfyrion: "I bet those actors were like sitting there thinking something like: 'omg, this *is so stupid, but I get paid so...*'"[154]

SteveWiilliams18: "*Maybe she wants to put more passion into her work* than just sitting down in a chair and clicking a couple of buttons, waiting for some boring rendering process to finish and then uploading it to YouTube..."[155]

These messages illustrate that people actively responded to the promotional narratives integrated in the educational and informational resources with severe criticism, in turn indicating that people were highly selective and critical when consuming YouTube Play content. However, not all comments on YouTube Play had such a negative sentiment or high degree of protest. Some messages indicate that the strong promotional rhetoric of the advertising campaigns managed to change some audience members' perceptions of what defines digital and new media art, and the necessary conditions for art creations. For example, many complaints of online amateur artists on the channel signal that their artistic confidence was significantly undermined, especially in the cases when these artists did not have expensive professional equipment for their video art production. In some comments to promotional videos, YouTube Play participants stressed that they were intimidated by the video clips from the series which featured artists using expensive professional tools for video production. In other cases, online audiences were more disappointed

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[152] Comment on the video clip "HP+Intel Make: Experimental Film - Begonia Colomar" by movzx0fh (7/31/10 7:55 AM), http://bit.ly/1sR1M2Q.
[153] Comment on the video clip "HP+Intel Make: Experimental Film - Begonia Colomar" by suzanne szostak (7/30/2010 2:25:00 PM), http://bit.ly/1sR1M2Q.
[154] Commenting on the video clip "HP+Intel Make: Digital Flipbook - Jimmy Dava" by komfyrion (7/31/2010 8:38:00 PM), http://bit.ly/1sR1KIs.
[155] Comment on the video clip "HP+Intel Make: Experimental Film - Begonia Colomar" by SteveWiilliams18 (7/31/10 7:10 AM), http://bit.ly/1sR1M2Q.

and expressed their opposition to the promotion of professional equipment, pointing out that it contradicted the original "Do-It-Yourself" spirit of the project.

Example:

TheLizzieBoredomShow: "*there is nothing 'youtube' about this*. Everything has professional equipment and/or skills. *I'm disappointed and I don't think YouTube or the Guggenheim are ready for revolutionaries*."[156]

Andrewdc456: "YouTube Play is a way for YouTube to get more users to make you feel like you have a chance at being the next YouTube star when really you don't, *unless you have a great camera* ..."[157]

MaLisYTC: "I said it b4 and will say it encore: *I am so intimidated by people like this with this kind of equipment at hand … I'm afraid of entering the contest with my digital camera-made vids that may pale in comparison*. Can I get a witness?"[158]

MainFrame: "Pretty interesting, *I want to do the same, but I just don't have the equipment*. I got a cheap drawing tablet and flash, that's it. Can't really do much with it."[159]

MainFrame: "Yeah, I got more than 10 minutes of animated sequences, *but I don't have equipment to do what I want. I don't have a camera, so I can't do stop motion*."[160]

Blueflame971: "I have a question for you guys at play biennial …I see that you are using the wire trick to make it look like the domino is flying. *I understand how you are doing it... but what program is it... i know its probably going to be like a 6.000 dollar program…but still want to buy*."[161]

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[156] Comment on the video clip "YouTube Play. Live from the Guggenheim. The full show", TheLizzieBoredomShow, (10/24/2010 6:22:00 PM), http://bit.ly/1zySKg2.
[157] Comment on the video clip "About YouTube Play" by andrewdc456 (6/14/10 10:15 PM), http://bit.ly/1prcJe3.
[158] Comment on the video clip "HP+Intel Make: Experimental Film - Begonia Colomar" by maLisYTC (7/23/10 5:23 PM), http://bit.ly/1sR1M2Q.
[159] Comment on the video clip "HP+Intel Make: 2D Character Animation with Tom Baker" by MainFrame (7/31/10 11:06 AM), http://bit.ly/1zTt1fN.
[160] Comment on the video clip "HP+Intel Make: 2D Character Animation with Tom Baker" by MainFrame (8/1/10 2:27 PM), http://bit.ly/1zTt1fN.
[161] Comment on the video clip "HP+Intel Make - Stop-Motion Animation with Ricky Martin" by blueflame971 (6/15/10 9:11 PM), http://bit.ly/1Cb0uGx.

These comments illustrate that in some cases YouTube and its partners succeeded in creating a perception of necessity among amateur artists, or a dependency uponspecific tools and equipment for art creation. Making a comparison with Adorno's and Horkheimer's study *The Culture Industry: Enlightenment as Mass Deception* (1944), Manovich argues that mass production of cultural objects by users in the early 21ˢᵗ century is a more advanced and sophisticated form of "cultural colonization" than mass consumption of commercial culture in the 20ᵗʰ century (Manovich 2009). Indeed, selling tools for artistic content creation rather than selling ready-made cultural products is a more advanced promotion that taps into a strong need of "prosumers" to create rather than to merely consume culture. Thus, YouTube Play appeals to many active online audiences, who are interested in digital art creation, and, at the same time, the channel provides a space for powerful promotion by advertising specific companies, their services, and their products.

This promotion was especially productive when combined with "word of mouth" marketing. For example, some comment feeds for shortlisted and finalist videos created uncontrolled open "market spaces" where people shared information about different software programs and equipment needed to produce certain types of videos: stop-motion animation, time lapse, combination of footage with digital animation, etc. The following short dialogues, collected from various YouTube Play videos, demonstrate that online users actively requested information regarding different digital tools required for video production, thus inviting artists and knowledgeable fellows to share a lot of information about various products and software programs used for digital creation.

Example:

William82oct: "which editing program did you use?"[162]

RomanticChildStudios: "We used *Adobe Premiere Pro*. We're going to be shooting a feature on the *5D called 'Lullaby for a Lunatic'* but we'll be using *Final Cut Pro* to edit the feature. If you google "romantic child studios blog" we post a lot of info about our technical process on the site. You might find it helpful. Take care." [163]

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[162] Commenting on the video clip "Mars to Jupiter" by William82oc (9/1/10 11:58 AM), http://bit.ly/1ErWfYT.
[163] Commenting on the video clip "Mars to Jupiter" by RomanticChildStudios (9/1/10 8:30 PM), http://bit.ly/1ErWfYT.

Hibyc: "Amazing work, I can't wait till *I purchase the 5d* …by the way what type of lens did you use ?"[164]

RomanticChildStudios: "Thank you! We used a *Nikon lens adapter and a Nikon telephoto lens*. We rented the lens and unfortunately I don't remember the specs of that particular lens, but I remember it being a fast lens as we needed it to handle well in low light."[165]

<div align="center">***</div>

JohnPaulMusic: "Brilliant!! Really clever and what a transformation!! What software did you use to make this? Please reply in English or message me. Thanks. Jp"[166]

Harry8571: "This film was made using *Morph, a little morphing program*, in 2002. Placing dots (sometimes a lot of them) you morph one foto into the next and subsequently place all those little pieces of film together. That's all, together with the right eye and a lot of patience and care. I redid some of the transformations several times until I was satisfied with the result."[167]

<div align="center">***</div>

MrPmj1979: "How was this done? What is the technique used here?"[168]

BboyIrock: "This thing is called stop-motion video. But this is way beyond basics and way beyond advanced level. This is a masterpiece. + They used some *software like Flash or Adobe After Effects for after-work*."[169]

<div align="center">***</div>

CheeseFreaky: "That was mind-blowingly AMAZING. Did you use a particular program for the mosaic effect?" [170]

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[164] Commenting on the video clip "Mars to Jupiter" by hibyc (9/7/10 2:27 PM), http://bit.ly/1ErWfYT.
[165] Commenting on the video clip "Mars to Jupiter" by RomanticChildStudios (9/8/10 1:05 AM), http://bit.ly/1ErWfYT.
[166] Commenting on the video clip "Pasfilm" by JohnPaulMusic (10/26/10 6:29 AM), http://bit.ly/1A3Lc1A.
[167] Commenting on the video clip "Pasfilm" by harry8571 (10/26/10 8:18 AM), http://bit.ly/1A3Lc1A.
[168] Commenting on the video clip "Luis" by MrPmj1979 (3/11/11 12:15 PM), http://bit.ly/1aebk57.
[169] Commenting on the video clip "Luis" by harry8571 (4/20/11 1:17 AM), http://bit.ly/1aebk57.
[170] Comment on the video clip "Sushi" by CheeseFreaky (4/21/09 6:48 PM), http://bit.ly/1z4mCxx.

TheDoc4000:   "you can make these things by using a _program on a mac_, it isn't impossible but still impressive…"[171]

<p align="center">***</p>

GrafLubber: "which programs u use for this or how does that work?"[172]

Nizzoh: "_After Effects, Cinema 4d, Photoshop, Illustrator_, but we also used real footage and drawings."[173]

<p align="center">***</p>

ThomasXkiteXforXlife: "nice effects - how did you make them?"[174]

Stumbleman: "Thanks dude! This was kind of a laborious process where I took my shot footage, ran it though an application that displayed the footage in _ASCII format on my screen (called ASCII Projecktor_), adjusted the settings for the look I wanted in each scene, then had to use screen recorder software to grab what was being displayed. Once the screen recorder output a video file of the screen, I had to bring it into _After Effects_ and crop the image properly to fit at full res."[175]

ThomasXkiteXforXlife: "Really nicely done : D I don't have _Adobe AE but I have Adobe Premiere Elements 8.0._.. (: What's so special about AE? To me, it looks like everyone uses it but ain't it just a cut&montage programme like Premiere?"[176]

Stumbleman: "The main difference between the two applications: _Premiere_ is a video editing program used to actually assemble your footage and make the proper edits. _After Effects_ is generally meant to be used after you'd done your initial edits and you want to do more advanced things like compositing (layering partial sections of footage over other sections), advanced titles (credits,

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[171] Comment on the video clip "Sushi" by TheDoc4000 (4/21/09 6:06 PM), http://bit.ly/1z4mCxx.
[172] Comment on the video clip "Bad News" by TheDoc4000 (6/10/10 8:58 AM), http://bit.ly/18hZZ3n.
[173] Comment on the video clip "Bad News" by Nizzoh (6/10/10 1:12 PM), http://bit.ly/18hZZ3n.
[174] Comment on the video clip "Bang Bang Eche - Nikee" by thomasXkiteXforXlife (6/9/2010 4:15 PM), http://bit.ly/17NiRpG.
[175] Comment on the video clip "Bang Bang Eche - Nikee" by stumbleman (6/9/2010 4:28 PM), http://bit.ly/17NiRpG.
[176] Comment on the video clip "Bang Bang Eche - Nikee" by thomasXkiteXforXlife (6/9/2010 8:03 PM), http://bit.ly/17NiRpG.

subtitles, etc), or fancy things like 3D effects, explosions, or other computer-generated effects..."[177]

When audiences commented on the winning videos created by artists, and not the videos produced by the project organizers to advertise themselves, the "commercial" character of the audiences' discussions unexpectedly served as an educational resource about various software products and digital tools. These discussions did not appear to irritate online users. In contrast, this information was welcomed and was perceived as important and helpful, mainly because it was not imposed upon audiences through the promotional video content of the project, but was shared among fellows through the "word of mouth" exchanges.

As a result, these numerous online discussions lead to creating new meanings and associations around contemporary genres and styles of art and digital art. Despite a high degree of audience resistance to "new" or digital arts, many comments on the most viewed YouTube Play finalist and shortlisted clips signal that online publics found new layers of perception of digital art, associated with specific techniques of digital art production. The following examples include online users' comments defining art in terms of patience, effort, and mastery of technical skills or specific digital technologies to unleash creativity and innovation. These messages, posted to some winning videos, demonstrate that throughout the project, general online public revealed new dimension of art perception, in which art is understood in close relationship with technical skills gained through the active use of digital technologies.

Example:

Japai: "*It's hard enough to make a cool light painting in a long exposure still picture but to make light painting ANIMATION* like this requires constantly flowing imagination, firm hand, well timed choreographic team work, stamina and ...I don't know what... tai chi mental powers! You gotta visualize all this in your head and draw it blind! *Conceptual art in the form of light graffiti animation. Massive cool*."[178]

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[177] Comment on the video clip "Bang Bang Eche - Nikee" by stumbleman (6/9/2010 10:11 PM), http://bit.ly/17NiRpG.
[178] Comment on the video clip "Lucky- All India Radio" by japai (11/5/09 2:33 PM), http://bit.ly/1FOGLA2.

Iamagrey: "That was freaking AWESOME!!! *Great animation. I would call it art*!"[179]

Mylena82: "… that's a *great art work*! really really great! I can see through the *vid sooo much patience you'd brought witching to create this*! Wow!"[180]

<div align="center">***</div>

Carola Rost-Maskawy: "*What an awesome work of art*!!! The music is excellent and the *graphic arts are perfect*. What great ideas!!! I'm so enthusiastic about it, I can't describe. I wish you all the success you deserve!"[181]

Cheshire348: "OMG, that was soo good! *Drawing that must have taken such a long time*! *I, as an art fanatic, am impressed*! Kudos to you, my friend! Keep it going…"[182]

<div align="center">***</div>

brampf: "Excellent work, you have captured something unique and original. Bringing the viewer into your own world, *I can tell that you put a lot of thought and effort into creating this fantasy world*. *Great art direction, concept, and animation!*"[183]

RyanMurphyTube: "This is really, really cool! There's something about it that makes me want to keep coming back to it... It's haunting, inviting, and refreshing. There are lots of *stop-motion style things out there but this is very different*. …Thanks for this *piece of art* :)"[184]

On one hand, the comments show that some online audiences eagerly embraced new genres of digital art, specifically those that the project promoted: stop motion, animation, graphic art, documentary performance. On the other hand, in their messages, online users specifically expressed their deep respect and appreciation of digital artists' skills, diligence, and a great amount of work invested in creating new media arts. This demonstrates the power of the YouTube Play project to reach global audiences and exert influences on the ways people understand "new" arts,

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[179] Comment on the video clip "Deuce" by iamagrey (10/28/10 1:03 PM), http://bit.ly/1ILc6Gb.
[180] Comment on the video clip "Deuce" by Mylena82 (10/24/10 11:08 AM), http://bit.ly/1ILc6Gb.
[181] Comment on the video clip "Galt Aureus - The Armada" by Carola Rost-Maskawy (9/22/2010 6:37 PM), http://bit.ly/17UMhSF.
[182] Comment on the video clip "Galt Aureus - The Armada" by Cheshire348 (1/19/2011 7:46 PM), http://bit.ly/17UMhSF.
[183] Comment on the video clip "The Coincidental Dreamers" by Abrampf (9/24/10 3:54 PM), http://bit.ly/1CJr8Ua.
[184] Comment on the video clip "The Coincidental Dreamers" by RyanMurphyTube (11/4/11 9:40 AM), http://bit.ly/1CJr8Ua.

and how the meaning of art is being extended beyond direct associations with "mysterious experiences" or a special "gift."

This section demonstrates two oppositional perspectives of the audience's interaction with the promotional dimension of the channel. From the perspective of public criticism, the examples discussed in this section show that many online users responded to the marketing and promotional efforts of the partner companies Intel and HP very negatively, which proves that many YouTube Play followers were against the integrated commercial logic of a project that was promoted as a global artistic contest. The intrusion of marketing campaigns and advertisements into the "museum space" was considered by online users as inappropriate and led to active protests and criticism. From the perspective of public online learning and social interactions with artists and each other, audience explorations of and reflections on the shortlisted and finalist videos showed less antagonism to promoted technologies, artistic genres, and digital techniques of art production. In contrast, the active interaction among amateur video producers and general publics was effective in creating new perceptions confirming that digital technologies and equipment of certain brands are vital tools for digital art production.

6.5. Conclusion

All three sections of the chapter illustrate that the interaction of the global publics with the main *promotional* narratives, such as "Guggenheim as a 'museum of the new,'" "YouTube as a public channel of creativity and sharing", and "Intel and HP as a technology of art production," is not univocal. Specifically, it is possible to differentiate between two types of narratives that engaged online publics in completely different ways. First, there were videos produced by the Guggenheim and its partners strictly for informational and promotional purposes, for example video invitations to participate in the project, jury videos, or the "HP+Intel Make Series." This is the "institutional" narrative that generated a strong negative sentiment in online discussions. Second, there was selected video content created by the contest participants, including shortlisted and finalist videos. These illustrated the "artistic" narrative that in most cases evoked greater appreciation, acceptance, and understanding among online publics.

Specifically, within the "artistic" narrative, online audiences actively engaged in discussions and debates about museums, art, and technologyy with less skepticism toward promoted messages and more eagerly accepted new perceptions of digital and video arts. Thus, certain shortlisted and

finalist videos that demonstrate new genres of digital arts, specifically promoted by the Guggenheim through the "HP+Intel Make Series," not only were met by online publics with special enthusiasm and appreciation but became "iconic" examples of certain "YouTube genres." For example, a stop-motion animation video, "Rymdreglage - 8-bit trip," by Swedish maker Tomas Redigh, remains popular today. Redigh created a "lego world" through "1500 hours of moving legobricks and taking photos of them" (Redigh 2009). The video's YouTube rating continues to grow, while most of the comments posted on the clip praise the excellent quality and creativity of this animation, showing how it inspires other amateur video makers to experiment with this genre. The following comments, posted on the clip three years after the YouTube Play contest ended, demonstrate not only a high level of the publics' admiration for this creation, but, more importantly, point to this genre's great popularity among YouTube users who continue to try it, actively use it in their own work, or play with it.

Example:

Sandra Foley: "This. Is. Awesome. *I do stop motion with legos and after this it is just like woah that blew my mind*!"[185]

Amaury Astier: "Hello Everybody! *I'm doing stop motion too* so don't forget to come have a see on what I do, comment and comment if you liked it"[186]

Jesse Diliberto: "Nice *This inspired me to make a stop motion music video as well*. Check out Leaving the cave stop motion"[187]

Will Dunnigan: "Please have a look at my channel *I have just started with stop motion* … But really enjoyed it and will upload more."[188]

Poopa Koopa: "Hi guys, please *could you take the time to view a stop animation video* me and my friend made by clicking the link (the name) above. Please take into consideration that it is our first video. "[189]

[185] Comment on the video clip "Rymdreglage - 8-bit trip" by Sandra Foley (12/11/12 9:33 PM), http://bit.ly/1B6ljoN.
[186] Comment on the video clip "Rymdreglage - 8-bit trip" by Amaury Astier (12/19/12 7:56 AM), http://bit.ly/1B6ljoN.
[187] Comment on the video clip "Rymdreglage - 8-bit trip" by Jesse Diliberto (1/17/13 7:23 PM), http://bit.ly/1B6ljoN.
[188] Comment on the video clip "Rymdreglage - 8-bit trip" by Will Dunnigan (1/26/13 7:56 AM), http://bit.ly/1B6ljoN.
[189] Comment on the video clip "Rymdreglage - 8-bit trip" by Will Dunnigan (1/29/13 12:02 PM), http://bit.ly/1B6ljoN.

Tim Abbott: *"loved this vid! … check out my stop motion animation on my channel. …* Thanks guys"[190]

Ghlain: "I *have to do a stop motion film* for my game design class and *found this video.. mind blown..*"[191]

RoomForImpr0vement: *"This is great, but now I'm jealous of the stop motion skills* and I'm jealous of the amount of lego they got o.O"[192]

JMvid100:   *"2,340 people tried to do this stop motion"*[193]

These comments point to a strong "curatorial sagacity" of the Guggenheim in selecting and popularizing certain genres through YouTube Play. Shortlisted videos like this serve as "classical" examples of certain genres which continue to be very relevant for cultural production on YouTube. New users discover these videos on a daily basis, for example, from 2013 to 2015 the number of views on the "Rymdreglage - 8-bit trip" increased from 13,313,221 to 14,086,321 and the number of "likes" jumped from 137,689 to 145,730, pointing to this creation's growing popularity. However, this and many other videos selected by the Guggenheim, like "mega popular" mash-ups (for example, "Wonderland Mafia" and "Guitar: Impossible") a musical clip ("Die Antwoord - Zef Side") or a stop-motion ("Western Spaghetti by PES") remain a part of the official YouTube Play channel, thus redirecting new users' attention to the Guggenheim and the project. By capitalizing on the online public's creative work and its promotion through YouTube, the museum continues to build its international reputation as an innovative cultural institution supporting new developments in contemporary cultural production.

The shortlisted and finalist videos selected by the YouTube Play jury were very instrumental in delivering the most important YouTube Play *promotional* messages, because they communicated to the general public through the "language" of YouTube audiences, through videos that were created "by the people, for the people." Overall, the "artistic" promotional narrative, constructed through a strategic choice of winning videos, led online audiences to more constructive discussions, engaged them in meaningful social interactions with each other and with artists, and thus was very productive in influencing audiences' opinions and perceptions about new video arts.

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[190] Comment on the video clip "Rymdreglage - 8-bit trip" by Tim Abbott (5/5/13 6:06 AM), http://bit.ly/1B6ljoN.
[191] Comment on the video clip "Rymdreglage - 8-bit trip" by Ghlain (8/5/13 11:38 AM), http://bit.ly/1B6ljoN.
[192] Comment on the video clip "Rymdreglage - 8-bit trip" by RoomForImpr0vement (4/7/13 4:01 PM), http://bit.ly/1B6ljoN.
[193] Comment on the video clip "Rymdreglage - 8-bit trip" by RoomForImpr0vement (6/29/13 10:50 AM), http://bit.ly/1B6ljoN.

In contrast, within the "institutional" narrative, promotional videos were met with severe criticism and intolerance which is a quite natural effect caused by advertisements raising audiences' resistance against imposed promotion. In marketing, resistance – defined as "a motivated state in which the goal is to withstand the effects of a persuasive communication" (Jacks and O'Brien 2004; Knowles and Linn 2004) – always accompanies the consumption of marketing information. Resistance stems from people's basic need to restore freedom in response to a persuasion attempt: "Many people feel that ads intrude on their private space, are manipulative, often deceitful, and create stereotypes" (Shimp 2003; Knowles and Linn 2004). Within the YouTube Play communication space, the online publics' resistance was directed not against companies and their brands per se, but against the advertisement activities in spaces they perceived as cultural, educational, or as places of leisure and enjoyment.

For example, on YouTube Play, a large number of comments with negative sentiment toward the brands seemed not to hurt the reputation of the companies among their loyal customers. Despite this criticism, some audiences expressed a genuine affiliation, appreciation, and commitment to these brands, attesting to an existing diversity among audiences, not only in terms of cultures and languages, but also in terms of opinions. The following comments, posted on the promo YouTube Play videos, demonstrate that the promotional rhetoric did work quite effectively for some online publics.

Example:

Savadesoie: "Loving Gratitude To YouTube And All of you Brothers and Sisters FanS of YouTube. … ♩♫ ˙•♥•˙ ♫♩ loving hugs ♩♫ ˙•♥•˙ ♫♩ To All Of You"[194]

PerkinsII: "I watched it live =) YouTube U rock"[195]

Agustin Sellhorn: "YOUTUBE ROCKS!"[196]

Deleriousexile: "!!SQUEE!! I'm a YOUTUBE fanatic!"[197]

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[194] Comment on the video clip "YouTube Play. Live from the Guggenheim" by Savadesoie (10/24/2010 7:57:00 PM), http://bit.ly/1EgQFXf.
[195] Comment on the video clip "YouTube Play. Live from the Guggenheim" by PerkinsII (10/22/10 9:01 PM), http://bit.ly/1EgQFXf.
[196] Comment on the video clip "YouTube Play. Live from the Guggenheim" by Agustin Sellhorn (10/23/10 12:00 AM), http://bit.ly/1EgQFXf.
[197] Comment on the video clip "YouTube Play. Live Streamed from the Guggenheim. 8pm ET, Oct 21" by deleriousexile (10/21/10 8:52 AM), http://bitly.com/1llQPrt.

Djchase29:	"… Godbless u (U-Tube) keep up the good work, u-tube rules, this live show is the next GEN"[198]
Chris M.:	"Google real partner of world"[199]
Prashant Sinha:	"I damn like this... luv u hp!!"[200]
Minami935:	"Great performance. I like HP and also windows 7."[201]
Doubleoroos:	"The Guggenheim rules!"[202]
Mavis0221:	"Guggenheim~always is my favorite Museum in NYC~"[203]
Taylor Pridgen:	"Hell yeah Guggenheim. Long live Frank Lloyd Wright."[204]
TheFnana:	"I ♥ GUGGENHEIM"[205]

It is important to note that the brands might have received more positive public feedback if they had not used the YouTube Play communication space primarily as a marketing site in such an aggressive manner. Tired of mass media commercials, many people protested against advertisements placed within a public space, which originally promised to be a museum contest of creative videos.

Furthermore, despite a high level of criticism generated on YouTube Play toward the organizers' brands, such a strong public resonance attests to a power of the project to attract the public's attention. Online protests, complaints, and debates constitute important user-generated content that directly contributed to the economic value of the site. Writing and speaking on YouTube (as on any other for-profit social media site) – whether it's speaking positive or negative things, "for" or "against" YouTube – is just a form of a social media currency, which can be easily translated into economic capital. As Hearn (2010) asserts, "if markets are conversations, then value must be generated through our visible, affective and quantifiable participation in these conversations…"

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[198] Comment on the video clip "YouTube Play. Live from the Guggenheim" by djchase29 (10/23/10 12:43 AM), http://bit.ly/1EgQFXf.
[199] Comment on the video clip "YouTube Play. Live from the Guggenheim: highlights." by Chris M. (10/29/10 11:26 AM), http://bit.ly/19oiljp.
[200] Comment on the video clip "HP+Intel Make - Stop-Motion Animation with Ricky Martin." by Prashant Sinha (8/18/10 5:04 AM), http://bit.ly/1Cb0uGx.
[201] Comment on the video clip "HP+Intel Make: Experimental Film - Begonia Colomar." by minami935 (8/30/11 12:47 AM), http://bit.ly/1sR1M2Q.
[202] Comment on the video clip "Meet the YouTube Play Jury." by doubleoroos (9/25/2010 10:41 AM), http://bit.ly/1ot9n41.
[203] Comment on the video clip "YouTube Play. Live from the Guggenheim" by mavis0221 (12/14/10 12:37 PM), http://bit.ly/1EgQFXf.
[204] Comment on the video clip "YouTube Play. Live Streamed from the Guggenheim. 8pm ET, Oct 21" by Taylor Pridgen (10/21/10 5:06 AM), http://bit.ly/1zWtjXw.
[205] Comment on the video clip "YouTube Play. Live Streamed from the Guggenheim. 8pm ET, Oct 21" by TheFnana (10/21/10 8:42 PM), http://bit.ly/1zWtjXw.

(421). Through her research on online brand management and digital reputations, she demonstrates that the digital reputation economy transforms social practices of meaning-making and self-expression into a form of economic capital, while advertising these practices liberates global consumers from the "top-down directives of a promotional culture" (Hearn 2010, 423).

In the age of digital capitalism, a strong "reputation," which historically had direct associations with the quality of work or achievements, now appears to be derived exclusively from the efficiency with which the attention of larger audiences is acquired (Rodden 2006, 80). As Andrew Wernick confirms in his book, *Promotional Culture*, the intensification of digital marketing replaces social activities associated with a search for "meaning," "truth," or "reason," with practices of sharing personal emotions leading to "winning attention" of particular brands (Wernick 1991). Thus, online "reputation" is emerging as a new measurement of social value, assessed though "the ability of an object to act as a catalyst for flows of public affect" (Arvidsson and Peitersen 2009, 9). This social economy capitalizes on a natural human desire to speak "from the center of the self," however, this speech "only becomes valuable once it has been aggregated, represented and put to work" (Hearn 2010, 431).

As a result, individual contributions and investments in creating a public discourse constitute a "free labor," defined by Tiziana Terranova as an "immanent process of channeling collective labor into monetary flows and its structuration with capitalist business practices" (Terranova 2004, 73). Extensively promoted as "authentic expression" and "personal empowerment" digital labor is a "voluntary activity whose affective qualities are colonized for value by capitalist interests" (Hearn 2010, 435).

Thus, a large amount of social activity on YouTube Play, no matter what activity, has a dollar equivalent, because advertising campaigns and commercials are placed on those YouTube videos pages that generate a larger number of views, comments, "likes" or "dislikes." This means that even a growing number of negative comments with "reformist ambitions" on YouTube Play automatically added to its online reputation, measured through its ability to attract consumers' attention, and consequently contributing to its economic value. YouTube Play, which allowed a high level of criticism, open sharing of controversial opinions, and public concerns, was very instrumental in building a comfortable communication environment where international audiences could freely express their points of view and observations. These online practices of protest or

complaint seemed to have a positive effect on the general public, because they satisfied the online users' needs of self-expression and sharing emotions which are required for consumers' satisfaction in the digital realm of capitalism reality (Wernick 1991). This social power of the online project to generate and engage large audiences in active cultural exchanges and interactions attests to the strong capacity of YouTube Play to serve as a new channel for exercising contemporary diplomacy.

However, focusing on the promotional dimension, this chapter demonstrates that YouTube Play "diplomacy" has quite different objectives and mechanisms of operation in comparison with nation branding initiatives. In terms of the main functions of their promotional messages, the YouTube Play narratives are deprived of messages promoting the American nation or marketing the cultural values and ideals of the United States. In contrast, the participating companies strictly focused on their brand promotion, employing images of universal appeal and value. For example, the promotional slogans, such as the Guggenheim as a "museum 'of the new'," YouTube as a channel for digital creativity and sharing, or HP and Intel as advanced technology for creating art, integrated into their rhetoric of universal values of progress, future development, access, and freedom of expression. This demonstrates that new "diplomacy" of transnational actors heavily relies on constructing globally appealing images and brands which can better target and engage larger international audiences.

On the level of the operational mechanisms of the promotional narrative, YouTube Play branding has a higher flexibility and adaptability to negative perceptions. While "nation branding is a highly selective representation that accentuates the positives" and "it is not a balanced portrayal of a country" (Wang 2014), YouTube Play promotion seems to aim for larger audience numbers, for people who are attracted to the channel not necessarily only through "positive" feedback. It operates on the strong emotional engagement of participants and followers who are welcome to share their opinions, positive or negative, their criticism, and their complaints. Even though the organizers did care and invested a lot of resources and efforts in creating a favorable image about themselves in the eyes of online publics, the dissonance between the brand's representation and actual perception did not have as negative consequences in the course of the project as it would have in the case of nation branding activities.

In the latter case, "the potential loss of trust as a result of gross misrepresentation is incalculable and can be very difficult to recover" (Wang 2014). However, within YouTube Play negative brand perceptions seemed not to completely destroy a strong appeal of the project to large international audiences and not to "kill" the online publics' appreciation of the YouTube diversity and creativity. Specifically, the "artistic" narrative within the promotional dimension was very instrumental for evoking and amplifying positive sentiment in audiences' online discussions and conversations and eventually had a strong impact on participants' perceptions of the main messages communicated by the Guggenheim and its partners. Thus, the project was very efficient in popularizing certain YouTube video genres among global online publics and creating a positive perception of certain technical tools and software programs for digital art production. The next section explores the informational dimension of the project to further illuminate the "artistic" narrative of YouTube Play and its power to influence audiences through social interaction and communication.

Chapter VII.
Informational dimension: Living and challenging cosmopolitanism online

7.1. Introduction

This chapter focuses on the *informational* dimension of the YouTube Play channel. According to the functional classification of cultural diplomacy messages, *informational* narrative constitutes one of the most important levels of diplomacy. These messages "inform and educate [foreign publics] about a nation and its policies, ideals, and values" (Fitzpatrick 2010, 90), which significantly improves foreign perceptions on issues of mutual interests and helps to build bridges of credibility, trust, and mutual understanding.

In the framework of American cultural and public diplomacy, the *informational* aspect has traditionally remained central. According to the US State Department, diplomacy seeks to represent the country to the outside world by:

> providing information to foreign publics through broadcast and Internet media and at libraries and other outreach facilities in foreign countries; conducting cultural diplomacy, such as art exhibits and music performances; and administering international educational and professional exchange programs (Nakamura and Weed 2009, 1).

American Ambassador to Moldova (2001) Pamela Smith stresses that the main purpose of diplomacy is, "to understand, inform, and influence foreign publics … to broaden the dialogue between Americans and U.S. institutions and their counterparts abroad" (Smith 1998). Specifically, she points out that the primary activities of public diplomacy are to, "provide information about the U.S., its people, values, and institutions," which help to, "build lasting relationships and mutual understanding through the exchange of people and ideas" (Smith 1998).

Likewise, Hans Tuch defines public diplomacy as "official government efforts to shape the communications environment overseas in which American foreign policy is played out" (Tuch 1990). All these definitions of diplomacy strongly emphasize that informational aspect, based on the principle that "disseminating America's message" (Zaharna 2004, 141) is the central pillar of diplomacy. In the academic literature, the *informational* dimension of diplomacy has traditionally been studied from the perspective of intercultural competence (Zaharna 2004; Bolewski 2008). A wealth of information on foreign culture and traditions improves intercultural competence and

"paves the way for the acceptance and tolerance of other cultures and allows members to be open to new values" (Bolewski 2008, 145).

Intercultural competence usually entails more nuanced knowledge than a mere history of another culture or its language (Slavik 2004; Kealey et al. 2004; Zaharna 2004). Understanding the "mindsets" of people, diplomats, and politicians of another country is imperative to efficient diplomacy and usually requires a deep knowledge of cultural differences (Kealey et al. 2004, 431). Thus, a theoretical framework of cultural relativism has remained central in cultural diplomacy studies and practical implications. For example, drawing on Edward Hall's paradigm of low- and high-context cultures (1976), or Geert Hofstede's dimensions of cultural differences (Power distance, Individualism, Masculinity, Uncertainty avoidance) (1984), the "Primacy-of-Culture Perspective" dominated research on cross-cultural communication, persuasion, and diplomacy (Hudson 1997; Zaharna 2004; Rhoads 2009). Furthermore, this paradigm shaped the design of public and cultural diplomacy programs and initiatives that intended to educate foreign publics on unique national values, traditions, and culture.

However, in recent decades there has been a significant shift in the *informational* functions of cultural diplomacy from stressing national differences to promoting cosmopolitan values and identities. "Foreign ministries across the world have sooner or later come to realize this: the construction of diplomatic cosmopolitan values matters" (Rivas 2010, 45). For example, Joseph Nye in his theory on "soft power" particularly stressed that in the contemporary global context, traditional self-interested diplomacy is being replaced by a diplomacy of mutuality of interests: "Soft power uses a different type of currency […] to engender cooperation – an attraction to shared values and the justness and duty of contributing to the achievement of those values" (Nye 2004, 7).

From the perspective of cross-cultural persuasion, some scholars have provided important findings on the power of "universals of human behavior" (Rhoads 2009). Cultural universalism implies the existence of shared principle behavior or norms of human condition, for example human rights, that are applicable across cultures, regardless of their cultural values and traditions (Rhoads 2009). Drawing on the research of the famous psychotherapist Harry Stack Sullivan (1953), who insisted that humans are much more similar than they are different, Rhoads argued that understanding universals of human psychology is primary in cross-cultural persuasion and diplomacy, while

knowledge of cultural differences is secondary and supplemental. Furthermore the findings of Donald Brown (1991), an American anthropologist who listed hundreds of human universals in an effort to emphasize the fundamental cognitive commonality between members of the human species, have been particularly instrumental in developing a new cosmopolitan paradigm in the studies of cross-cultural communication and persuasion. Applying this research to practices of cultural diplomacy, "human universals" have increasingly been utilized in new cultural diplomacy discourses promoting "improvement of multilateral channels to reach common goals, the construction of global awareness about other people's life conditions and lifestyles around the globe, and the spread of solidarity and peace in nations worldwide" (Rivas 2010, 48). Especially in American diplomacy, "the quality of discourse in world politics from the world's superpower has undergone a major shift from a nationalist, parochial judgment to a refreshing cosmopolitanism," based on principles of cultural universalism (Rivas 2010, 53).

Considering this tension between the cosmopolitan appeal of diplomatic discourses versus their traditional intention to educate international publics about national values and culture, it is interesting to explore the *informational* dimension of YouTube Play, representing a project of a transnational actor in the global environment of cross-cultural communication and diplomacy. In the previous chapter, I highlighted how YouTube Play promotional messages lacked a traditional focus on "selling America" to the world. This chapter further exposes whether and to what extent the *informational* narratives of YouTube Play educate online publics about exclusively American values, traditions, and ideals, or communicate cosmopolitan ideals that imply universal similarities across cultures. More importantly, an in-depth analysis of the *informational* dimension of the project can reveal how global online audiences interact with these constructed narratives and how their own national self-expressions and representations challenge or contribute to them.

This chapter consists of three sections looking at the channel's *informational* aspect, focusing on three themes of particular salience in the analysis of cosmopolitan narratives: "Human Being & Personality;" "Space & Locality;" and "Politics & Wars." My preliminary analysis of the YouTube Play video content indicated that online videos within three topics, as well as participant's conversations around these videos, led to active discussions and debates of various questions that were strongly relevant to developing or challenging cosmopolitan narratives. Practices of representing a human being in a modern world, portraying places of human real or virtual existence, or describing urgent political problems or conflicts, either focused on illuminating some

"universal" details across cultures , or, in contrast, referred to more specific national peculiarities and cultural differences. These "universals" in representation of human issues across various contexts has a direct and strong relation to the construction of the grand cosmopolitan narratives on YouTube Play.

Drawing on Ulrich Beck's theoretical observations (2006), this chapter integrates universalism in understanding and describing cosmopolitanism, as both, in "dealing with difference do not exclude, but actually mutually presuppose, correct, limit and support each other" (Beck 2006, 57). Even though universalism privileges sameness across cultures, while cosmopolitanism, means the recognition of difference, "cosmopolitanism without universalism […] is in danger of slipping into multicultural randomness" (Beck 2006, 59). In order to tolerate difference without "absolutizing it," cosmopolitan constructions – as Beck argues – are usually based on "affirming universal norms" (Beck 2006, 59). In this analysis, these universal norms are taken as indicative criteria pointing to cosmopolitan narratives that might be constructed on YouTube Play through illuminating "human universals" in various images or forms of their manifestation. These include: universal human emotions, feelings, and state of beings; similar urban conditions of contemporary spaces of existence; or shared problems and human dramas caused by wars and conflicts. In this way, the cosmopolitan messages of the project narrative can be defined as those promoting universal human values and stressing global problems and issues that unite diverse international audiences. On one hand, they are "global" in their relevance to people from various communities, and, on the other, they are "local" in their cultural sensitivity.

Thus, the chapter looks at the textual and visual content of the channel within three themes to identify and explore the main meanings and messages communicated by YouTube Play. Each section focuses on the messages highlighted and promoted by the Guggenheim and YouTube, specifically, through the selection of the visual content of the channel. The sections will also explore textual practices of online audiences and explain how these online activities relate to dominant YouTube Play narratives. Also, each section analyzes textual practices of national self-identifications and compares if and how expressions of national diversity are placed within the YouTube Play space, helping to further understand the nature of "new" diplomacy exercised on behalf of non-state actors in a transnational context.

7.2. Portraying a human being: Constructing an image of a global citizen

This section focuses on analyzing the video content that is devoted to the topic of "Human Being & Personality." It explores the tension between the dominant narrative of YouTube Play in representing a contemporary person in relation to oneself, to other people, family, and society, and various national narratives that emerged in online discussions and conversations among international participants.

My analysis of the YouTube Play video content indicated that many clips featured characters who would be better described through the narrative of cosmopolitanism, rather than through specific details of their national communities or local environments. Thus, many videos exhibited universal human feelings, similar experiences and emotions that can be shared across a wide variety of cultural groups and national traditions. A diverse kaleidoscope of video clips with completely different subject lines, modes of representation, or background narratives, illuminated shared feelings, emotions, and experiences among people from around the globe.

For example, the shortlisted computer animation "Pahóm," created by Israeli media artist Adam Kramer, tells a story of human greed and evil. Pictured as two identical bubbles, two people are presented in this clip as completely deprived of human bodies, which would usually bring the peculiarities of gender, race, age, or nationality into focus (Kramer 2010). However, exhibiting human emotions and forms of behavior, these bubbles draw out a human drama between two people struggling for "gold," imminently leading to a murder of one character by another. The following comments posted to the clip confirmed that many viewers perceived the video's characters as representative of the "human" nature.

Example:

TheTime2lose: "WOW! I think this is so phenomenal! I feel like this shows so accurately *human nature*. Great job! Now I'm interested in checking out your other stuff!"[206]

Antonoso: "Great job. Awesome interpretation of the *human nature.* congratulations"[207]

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[206] Comment on the video clip "Pahóm" by TheTime2lose (9/26/10 12:32 AM), http://bit.ly/1A5VR0m.
[207] Comment on the video clip "Pahóm" by antonoso (9/29/10 12:34 AM), http://bit.ly/1A5VR0m.

12smartcookie2499: "he killed him for money, though they were their only friends. This, quote, is based on *human behavior*"[208]

Andrewloi: "true, sad, slow, simple....*human.....*"[209]

Representation of personalities on YouTube Play also contributed to a construction of "universal" characters or personages. For example, in his clip "Self Portrait: Artist as Artist" American media artist Jeff Zischke constructed a composite image of himself by combining portraits of well-known artists from different countries and centuries, all merged with Photoshop in a series of self-portraits mimicking the tone and posture of the original portraits. Van Gogh, Dostoevskiy, Leonardo da Vinci and other famous artists inspired Zischke to create his "self-portraits" that appropriated the form and the content of the original paintings. Through this clip the author tries to identify himself with these giant figures, each of whom influenced his work, as he explains (Zischke 2010). This clip matches the dominant narrative of the Guggenheim, evoking global aspirations and universal idealism, which have been fundamental to the museum's rhetoric of self-representation, as it traditionally identifies itself with internationally recognized artists. At the same time it contributes to the construction of the cosmopolitan narrative, because it strongly demonstrates that art as a creation of people coming from different countries and traditions stands beyond national or cultural barriers as a global phenomenon.

"999 Days: Urban Barbarian," a video project by English artist Russell Shaw Higgs, uses a similar practice of video creation. The clip is devoted to creating a self-portrait, constructed by pasting together single shots of self-portraits collected for nearly three years (Higgs 2010). These "selfies" portray a man wearing an outfit made of plants, tree branches, pieces of ceramics and glass, plastic scraps, rubbish, or fabric rags. This accumulation of materials, colors, and forms, combined, distracts the viewer from really seeing Higgs as a personality; rather, he can be viewed as a piece of performance art or a sculpture. Devoid of specific details, which could communicate the artist's membership in a particular cultural community, the video portrays an "urban barbarian" (Higgs 2010), a product of a post-modern world or a "citizen" of a global community.

In a similar way, the music video "pasfilm 2000" by Dutch artist Harry De Dood, is a montage of personal photos from childhood through the present, which creates a story of personal change,

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[208] Comment on the video clip "Pahóm" by 12smartcookie2499 (10/21/10 3:39 PM), http://bit.ly/1A5VR0m.
[209] Comment on the video clip "Pahóm" by andrewloi (10/27/10 4:27 AM), http://bit.ly/1A5VR0m.

growth, and development (De Dood 2010). Likewise, American artist Matt Kresling, in the music video "Seventeen," combines photos from his youth with recent self-portraits to contrast his adolescence with present life (Kresling 2009). Both clips, constructing composite images of artists from two different countries, equally appeal to various online viewers. These clips do not stress the individuality of personal experiences but, in contrast, portray human life from a universal perspective, highlighting the commonality and relevance of such processes as growing and aging to people from diverse backgrounds.

The clips depicting people in "recognizable" moments or periods of their lives powerfully tapped basic human emotions and feelings, and incited numerous responses from online audiences. For example, "Home," a clip by Canadian artists, portrays a very old woman who in a short documentary-style film is eating tomato soup. In the movie, the woman's hands shake from age, and she exhibits a childish delight and real human enjoyment with her simple food. She evokes strong emotions, making people think about their own aging. Many online viewers expressed their appreciation of the video and stressed its strong emotional appeal.

Example:

TheRicardoFTW: "Strong emotion is involved in this video takes the strong emotion the woman has for a memory the soup makes her remember. For her, the memory is so important, that she tries the hardest to re-gain that memory, since time is erasing it, by eating the soup, that's why she doesn't care about spilling it. *We don't know what the memory is because that is irrelevant, what the video is about is how we can have so much emotion in simple memories or ideas in simple things such as a soup.*"[210]

Haifajohn: "This is just beautiful. I think it really *speaks to the true nobility of the elderly, and how these most experienced souls get so much more out of less*, while we barely give ourselves the time to learn from them. Brilliant!"[211]

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[210] Comment on the video clip "Home" by TheRicardoFTW (10/21/2010 3:51:00 PM), http://bit.ly/17gowoi.
[211] Comment on the video clip "Home" by haifajohn (9/26/10 3:29 PM), http://bit.ly/17gowoi.

E Kiyoko Nanni: "Beautifully done! *A simple film with a strong message many of us can empathize with*. I sure can as the aging process gets me closer to that stage in my life that could become a reality!"[212]

Uemciicmeu: "*Outstanding snap of a moment in time*, an indomitable person with such a sense of joy. You captured this so well..."[213]

Reflecting on their experience as participants in the contest, the authors of this clip shared that they chose this clip for YouTube Play specifically because it is able to target diverse audiences and communicate universal messages. "It's the most poetic. It's very quiet, I could see it in a gallery," said Rob Stockman, the film producer, while Andrew Smith, the writer, continued: "It's also very universal, because it doesn't really have much talking." Finally, Aaron Phelan, the film director concluded: "It is a solo performance. A great deal of intimacy is created with the viewer, and that speaks to how powerful the experience of connecting with the world online can be. But there's also an element of voyeurism, both in this scene and in general, with viewing the world through your computer screen" (MomCulture 2010). The points made by Phelan are really important in the framework of the YouTube Play contest. Being a part of the new museum experience, YouTube Play continues the tradition of a "panopticon gaze" panorama imposed by the Wright's rotunda building of the Guggenheim (Millard 1966, 119). The YouTube Play communication space mimics a mirror space reality, where by watching others, people are first of all looking inside themselves.

The portrayal of a human being is the main focus of about 30 clips, and is indirectly reflected in many other videos featured on YouTube Play. Such a large number of videos representing this thematic category in comparison to the quantities of clips devoted to other topics indicates that it was an important subject for the Guggenheim to engage audiences. Millard observes that from its early days, the Guggenheim remained a public space were people were the main focus of attention: "ever since it opened, it has been obvious that the Guggenheim is primarily a museum of human beings, and that the people circulating within it compete for attention with whatever paintings may be hung there" (Millard 1966, 119). When the new Guggenheim building in New York was first opened, someone suggested that it would make "an admirable aquarium." The entire space of the museum evokes a special feeling because of its shapes: rotunda escalations, the glass dome above

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[212] Comment on the video clip "Home" by E Kiyoko Nanni (9/27/10 6:55 AM), http://bit.ly/17gowoi.
[213] Comment on the video clip "Home" by uemciicmeu (10/19/2010 3:05:00 AM), http://bit.ly/17gowoi.

it, and the window on the main floor, making one feel submerged inside a huge bubble, full of people slowly moving around like fish in an aquarium (Millard 1966 119). Inside this unusual space, comparable to a "panopticon," a person is not only a subject which is moving around for art experiences and contemplation, but also an object for observation, a central figure which catches attention.

In a similar way, YouTube Play not only provides a video gallery representing human beings and their emotions and experiences, but also exposes the public's "digital traces," documented through online comments. These digital "footprints" left by online publics potentially make every single participant an object of observation, which even further involves people in active interaction with the content of the project. For example, such an exposure in online comments to emotions and feelings shared by people from various countries and cultural backgrounds, strongly engaged online participants and was instrumental in creating productive exchanges of emotions and personal stories. This effect of emotional engagement in online discussions was visible in the comment streams to the videos that represented human beings in relationship with each other and illustrated important human feelings such as love, friendship, companionship, family, and respect for parents and elders.

There were a large number of videos that focused on human relationships and family values. For examples, "Iron" a fictional movie by a Russian filmmaker Aglaya Kurnosenko (Kurnosenko 2010), music video "Language of Love" by Austrian musical group Favela Gold (Favela Gold 2010), or a short film entitled "Nice To Meet You" by German artist Marcel Rudigkeit (Rudigkeit 2009), explored the mystery of human love. Such films as "Dogasaur," by Canadian director Jeff Kopas (Kopas 2008), or "The story of an engine" by American animator Brad Wolfley (Wofley 2010), exposed the viewer to family dramas and portrayed how children and their parents cope with these challenges. These movies appealed to universal human feelings and stressed the importance of human ties and family connections across cultures.

An illustration of the power of these videos to bring online viewers together to share emotions is the finalist music video "Gardyn | Pogo," created by Australian artist Nick Bertke, devoted to his mother and her passion for gardening. Bertke composed a melody that appealed to large international audiences by simply mixing various sounds of his mother's voice with sounds of nature and her garden. This clip strongly engaged people from different countries in celebrating

their universal feelings of love and respect to parents and family. The video generated many positive comments, which in a polyphonic narrative created a mosaic of human emotions inspired by the music. A number of comments on this music video revealed how the clip incited in viewers their childhood memories and even brought happy tears to their eyes.

Example:

Todd James:	"Pogo *makes me feel the sort of happiness I only felt when I was a child*. Tranquility must flow through his veins. "[214]
Jenn Thompson:	"I don't know what it is, but watching this, *I'm smiling like I haven't in so long, and yet am at the verge of tears. There's so much emotion in this, and the love in his mother's eyes* … It's amazing how full of spirit something can be…"[215]
Thirithus:	"Your music gives me emotions I really can't explain. It makes me feel alive. *It makes me feel like going out in the world and just living life*. Your music brings happiness and tears. Your music *makes me want to go after my dreams and live life to its fullest* …"[216]
Diamondman12:	"*these songs always pull me out of a bad mood and make me remember happier times…*"[217]
Jacquelyn Audrey:	"*This made me cry* …It simply beautiful and the very fact that you starred your own mother says a lot about you and your wonderful work and passion. *There are no other words to describe how amazing this … music…* Classic."[218]

In many comments, online participants actively shared their personal family memories, thus demonstrating the clip's strong universal appeal. Even though this music video was devoted to a concrete person, Nick Bertke's mother, it evoked powerful associations with family members for diverse viewers who connected to this clip on a personal level through appreciation of universal human love and respect to family.

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[214] Comment on the video clip "Gardyn | Pogo" by Todd James (2/10/11 5:59 PM), http://bit.ly/1etFv7C.
[215] Comment on the video clip "Gardyn | Pogo" by Jenn Thompson (3/15/11 4:33 AM), http://bit.ly/1etFv7C.
[216] Comment on the video clip "Gardyn | Pogo" by diamondman12 (1/9/11 7:48 PM), http://bit.ly/1etFv7C.
[217] Comment on the video clip "Gardyn | Pogo" by Mick Vermeer (5/6/11 6:40 AM), http://bit.ly/1etFv7C .
[218] Comment on the video clip "Gardyn | Pogo" by Jacquelyn Audrey (2/9/11 12:59 PM), http://bit.ly/1etFv7C.

Example:

Silverhawkroman: "*Reminds me of my mom...* it's been a year and half since I've last seen her…"[219]

Joku02: "*Every time I listen to this song I am reminded on how my mother told me to always follow my heart and never forget how to fly…* and every time I hear this, my heart soars and bring a tear to my eye…"[220]

Dracapalley: "… Gardyn doesn't just reveal an 'extra depth', *it's just pure love from start to finish. It's family.*"[221]

Busybee567: "*I've just called my parents, husband, and best friends…* listening to this song makes me feel so much love for people who matter in my life :')"[222]

Drew Day: "…*my grandmother used to walk around her garden and have me outside helping with gathering vegetables for her*, when she would cook when I was younger. Every time I think of that it makes me cry, because no matter how much I want her to come back, I know that it won't happen… so all I can really do is relish the good times we had, while she was still here, on this big round thing we all call home."[223]

In these comments participants told their own family stories and exposed personal experiences. These responses illuminated and made "textually" visible to the followers of the clip that, even though they come from different countries, they share a lot of things in common, specifically, their respect and love for their families and close ones. It helped to create even further an atmosphere of understanding and open sharing of their emotions, involving more participants in the online conversation. Videos like this strongly appealed to diverse international publics because they tapped on universal human emotions and values. The following example demonstrates that the music created by the Australian artist generated diverse multicultural associations and references, thus demonstrating its relevance across countries and cultures.

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[219] Comment on the video clip "Gardyn | Pogo" by silverhawkroman (1/12/11 4:27 PM), http://bit.ly/1etFv7C.
[220] Comment on the video clip "Gardyn | Pogo" by Joku02 (2/9/2011 8:24 PM), http://bit.ly/1etFv7C.
[221] Comment on the video clip "Gardyn | Pogo" by Dracapalley (10/22/10 3:08 PM), http://bit.ly/1etFv7C.
[222] Comment on the video clip "Gardyn | Pogo" by busybee567 (3/26/11 3:04 PM), http://bit.ly/1etFv7C.
[223] Comment on the video clip "Gardyn | Pogo" by Drew DAy (3/9/11 2:22 AM), http://bit.ly/1etFv7C.

Example:

Masterscheme1: "Pogo has managed to take e*very major music Reggae, Hip Hop, Classical, Rock, Samba, etc. and combine it with trance.* Put a dash of his own style.... and create like a whole style of music … Its absolutely beautiful…"[224]

Cwovie: "reminds … of the *Japanese* movie zatouichi by takeshi kitano,"[225]

BMXorSKTE1: "…REMINDS ME SO MUCH OF THOMAS FOR BEAUTY AND THE GEEK *AUSTRALIA*!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!" [226]

DvanBavel: "This video reminds me of GiR2007[227] video's :) youtube.com/user/GiR2007"[228]

JOXCY: "…reminds me of Deborah Meaden[229]."[230]

Will Leah: "pogo has managed to unleash a whole new genre …I can see in a years' time this type of music reaching the charts *in the UK* top 40 with enough publicity…"[231]

Triatloncomuy: "Awesome composition. It reminds me (saving the differences and thematic) to some mysterious guitar man[232] videos with a nice instrument background." [233]

Jacob Joddrell: "Reminds me of Age of Mythology[234]" [235]

Agapeflower: "This reminds me of August Rush[236]!! The music is all around us. :) Beautiful."[237]

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[224] Comment on the video clip "Gardyn | Pogo" by masterscheme1 (2/1/11 8:35 AM), http://bit.ly/1etFv7C.
[225] Comment on the video clip "Gardyn | Pogo" by cwovie (1/26/11 2:34 AM), http://bit.ly/1etFv7C.
[226] Comment on the video clip "Gardyn | Pogo" by BMXorSKTE1 (12/27/2010), http://bit.ly/1etFv7C.
[227] GiR2007 – YouTube channel of James Provan, Scottish video artist.
[228] Comment on the video clip "Gardyn | Pogo" by DvanBavel (4/4/2011), http://bit.ly/1etFv7C.
[229] Deborah Meaden is a famous show woman from England.
[230] Comment on the video clip "Gardyn | Pogo" by JOXCY (4/19/2011), http://bit.ly/1etFv7C.
[231] Comment on the video clip "Gardyn | Pogo" by Will Leah (1/21/11 6:54 AM), http://bit.ly/1etFv7C.
[232] "Mysterious guitar man" is a musician from Los Angeles, USA.
[233] Comment on the video clip "Gardyn | Pogo" by Triatloncomuy (1/10/2011), http://bit.ly/1etFv7C.
[234] Age of Mythology is a video game popular in North America and Europe, based on the Greek mythology.
[235] Comment on the video clip "Gardyn | Pogo" by Jacob Joddrell (7/4/2011), http://bit.ly/1etFv7C.
[236] "August Rush" is a popular American movie about Irish musicians.
[237] Comment on the video clip "Gardyn | Pogo" by agapeflower (6/24/2011), http://bit.ly/1etFv7C.

Ckycharms8282:   "What part of the country is this? It looks like yall live *in the mountains of New Mexico*."[238]

This and other examples provided in this section demonstrate that international online audiences easily connected to the YouTube Play video content devoted to the topic of human being. This connection was mainly established on the basis of sharing universal human emotions and feelings which strongly resonated with the cosmopolitan vision of the project. This cultural universalism of basic human emotions helped to construct an image of a modern person living in the cosmopolitan reality, or the cross-roads between local and global. Even though cultural expressions of emotions in different countries or communities can be different (localism), online sharing of human feelings and personal stories, restricted by the use of textual means of self-expression illuminated global similarities in human values and in the ways ideals were expressed online. This cosmopolitan representation helped to build a coherent and meaningful narrative across videos produced by diverse international artists, as well as to connect online publics from various countries.

From the perspective of cross-cultural communication and diplomacy, these emotional connections built on celebrations of shared human values of love, family, or friendship are an effective tool for building bridges of tolerance and trust among countries. In cultural diplomacy literature, this is known as "emotional appeal." The tradition of employing emotional appeal as a rhetorical means for persuasion started with Greek philosopher Aristotle, who identified and explained three main artistic proofs utilized in rhetorical persuasion: ethos, pathos, and logos. Pathos is known as the use of appeal to human emotions to evoke specific feelings in audiences and to involve listeners in active conversation (Aristotle 1991, 6). Since that time, rhetorical tools in political and cross-cultural communication heavily relied on utilizing emotional appeals to engage relevant concerns and stimulate the public's interest and anxiety (Gerber 2008). As Scott indicates, in public and cultural diplomacy, emotional appeal as a rhetorical means helped to influence foreign publics by "creat[ing] cohesion and invit[ing] identification not only with actors but with values as well" (Scott 2013, 1). Especially in the world of online communications, the use of emotions by political leaders significantly affects public engagement and participation:

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[238] Comment on the video clip "Gardyn | Pogo" by uckycharms8282 (8/24/11 3:27 AM), http://bit.ly/1etFv7C.

emotional appeals can strongly increase citizens' political participation both online and offline (Jones et al. 2013).

In intercultural communication theory it is specifically stressed that "emotional appeal" can be a very strong force encouraging involved participants to reconsider their cultural meanings and interpretations. Specifically, this happens when one comes into contact with the "other" through "conflict and cooperation, love and hate, denial and empathy, and many other shades of feeling, judgment, and action" (Inayatullah and Blaney 1996, 66). Taking into account the power of human emotions to evoke feelings of sympathy toward the "other," traditional cultural diplomacy practices have always heavily relied on cultural events which incited strong emotions. One of the well-known historical examples demonstrating the power of human emotions to unite peoples and cultures is a legendary exhibition, *The Family of Man,* organized by MoMA in 1955. The exhibit was composed of 503 photographs grouped around human universal themes of love, children, family, and death; "The photographs included in the exhibition focused on the commonalties that bind people and cultures around the world and the exhibition served as an expression of humanism in the decade following World War II" (MoMA 2010). The show toured the world for eight years and was exhibited in 37 countries on six continents. It became one of the most well-attended and well perceived American cultural diplomacy exhibitions in the times of the Cold War (Turner 2012).

A similar strategy was used later by the USA in an attempt to restore sympathy to the country and improve its image after decades of military interventions around the world which led to the tragic events of 9/11. Schneider (2003) describes the following example from the history of American international cultural relations, which demonstrates the power of "emotional appeals" in establishing diplomatic contact with other countries:

> In the aftermath of 9/11, the State Department sent to embassies and cultural centers all over the world a stunning collection of photographs by Joel Meyerowitz. The photographs captured every aspect of the devastation, the rescue, and the recuperation in lower Manhattan and at the Pentagon. Although some naysayers decried the exhibition as an exercise in self-pity, the overwhelming response was one of empathy and sympathy. Meyerowitz, who traveled to several locations with the exhibition, described the responses of people who told him that his photographs humanized the monolith they knew as the

United States. Visitors to the show stood silently and respectfully before Meyerowitz's photographs […] amidst the devastation, cognizant that these were photos not of a superpower but of fellow members of the human family (Schneider 2003, 11).

This capacity of arts to move audiences and reveal their identities has always been taken by diplomacy practitioners as the basis for increasing "understanding and respect between disparate cultures and peoples" (Schneider 2010, 101). The key strength of arts and culture within the context of diplomacy is their ability to go beyond a rational level and to tap into emotions, precipitating unpredictable and uncommon ways of discovering the world (Schneider 2010, 107). As many examples from the YouTube Play project demonstrate, online audiences can be strongly engaged in interactions with cultural content that touches people on the emotional level and brings personal memories to the surface.

This interaction with content does not necessarily lead to deep cross-cultural explorations that could enhance more detailed and intelligent knowledge and understanding of other countries and cultures. However, it is one of the most important components in human cross-cultural interaction, because it allows the establishment of human contact with the "other." As Schneider stresses, "you cannot demonize people when you're sitting there listening to their music" (Schneider 2010, 101). Indeed, in many cases, YouTube Play participants and followers were brought together by sharing universal human values and created a shared world of positive emotions and feelings, revealing how similar they are across different countries.

Despite these commonalities and shared emotional experiences, constructed around YouTube Play video content, online communication among international audiences was also marked by a high level of national representations. Many online participants strongly expressed their national identities and emphasized their differences and belonging to national communities. These practices of nation self-representation challenged the dominant narrative of the project, in which "human universals" place a modern person in a cosmopolitan reality of global interconnectedness. In such self-representation, participants were undertaking social practices of differentiation and exclusion rather than cosmopolitan inclusion.

For example, a collective celebration of national identity, which united online participants from the same countries, was one of the most popular online communication practices. Taking into account the competitive nature of the YouTube Play contest, which selected only 125 videos out

of 23,000 submissions, the project not only recognized personal talent and creativity, but also was an occasion to express national pride. Online visitors were happy to identify with countries where winning videos were produced and took a pride in the achievements of their national artists. In the following paragraphs I present three examples from different national "communities" that actively engaged in celebrations of their national identities and cultures. These examples, on one hand, illuminate the strong enthusiasm with which compatriots involved themselves in textual practices of national self-identification, and, on the other hand, demonstrate a similarity between these practices across communities.

The video "Luis," by Chilean film makers Niles Atallah, Joaquin Cocina Varas, and Cristobal Leon, generated a great number of comments with extremely positive sentiments which highly praised Chilean artists for their contribution to the contest. A horror movie, "Luis" was very popular among various online publics because it universally appealed to different viewers through the creation of a strong atmosphere of mystery and fear. A rather abstract video, it was "shot frame by frame with a digital photo camera," and featured animated ghosts and inhabitants of "other worlds" painted on the walls with charcoal in an abandoned, dirty, and old house (Atallah et al. 2010). The video immersed online viewers in the world of horror, by exposing anomalies which do not usually happen in daily human life.

It also attracted a large number followers and fans, particularly from the Chilean community. Many Chileans commented on the clip not only by congratulating the artists for their success, but more importantly, by celebrating this success as a national victory.

Example:

Gastón Ojeda: "this is *from my country!! CHILE*!"[239]

Nicole Mendoza: "Very very very good, this one and Lucía are just perfect! *Wonderful for Chilean talents!!!*"[240]

Reptilio mann: "Magnifico, increible, sorprende que aún queden realizadores chilenos de calidad. Felicitaciones."[241]

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[239] Comment on the video clip "Luis" Gastón Ojeda (4/6/2013 7:04 PM), http://bit.ly/156KGr3.
[240] Comment on the video clip "Luis" Nicole Mendoza (4/24/2011 5:33 PM), http://bit.ly/156KGr3.
[241] Comment on the video clip "Luis" Reptilio mann (10/25/2010 10:07 PM), http://bit.ly/156KGr3.

	[Translated from Spanish: magnificent, amazing, surprising that there are *quality Chilean filmmakers*. *Congratulations*.]
Carla Squella:	"acabo de verlos en las noticias...excelente trabajo... éxito en la premiación! ..saludos desde Chile "[242]
	[Translated from Spanish: "just saw them *on the news ... excellent work ...* success in the awards! …*best wishes from Chile*"]
Munioxx86:	"Obra maestra y lo mejor de todo que es chileno!" [243]
	[Translated from Spanish: "Masterpiece and *best of all it is Chilean*!"]
Papatrenek:	"chilenos locosssss!!!!"[244]
	[Translated from Spanish: *Crazzzzy Chileans*!!!!]
Djdospemekes:	"*proud 2 b Chilean*!"[245]

As these comments demonstrate, the movie evoked positive feedback from the national community and helped people to elevate their cultural identity and represent themselves positively in a transnational communication space. "I am proud to be Chilean," said one of the online visitors, indicating that the cultural content of YouTube Play is an important tool for national self-identification. The comment stream of another video described earlier, "Birds on The Wires" by a Brazilian artist Jarbas Agnelli, also illustrates how online national communities celebrate the success of their fellow artists.

This video generated more than a half-million views and more than 600 comments from diverse international audiences. This video went viral and became very popular among international viewers. It emphasized miracles of nature and arts in human life, demonstrating the beauty of the world that we all share and showing "universal" signs of nature which can speak to people from different countries. However, this video especially appealed to Brazilians, who actively celebrated the success of the clip, posting most of their comments in Portuguese, thus making it clear that they communicated first of all to their national fellows to share their national happiness and pride.

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[242] Comment on the video clip "Luis" Carla Squella (10/23/2010 3:20 PM), http://bit.ly/156KGr3.
[243] Comment on the video clip "Luis" munioxx86 (4/29/2010 2:10 PM), http://bit.ly/156KGr3.
[244] Comment on the video clip "Luis" papatrenek (3/13/2010 10:53 AM), http://bit.ly/156KGr3.
[245] Comment on the video clip "Luis" Djdospemekes (3/11/2010 12:52 PM), http://bit.ly/156KGr3.

Example:

Helljawz: "Brazilian PRIDE!"[246]

Gabriel1612:   "I concur! And I only watched the video because you favorited it, *how surprised (and proud) I got when I noticed it was made by a brazilian*! :D"[247]

Renan Di Carlo: "fantástico, coisa de gênio! só achei chato que não tem nada no vídeo que mostra que você é do brasil. sei lá se você se importa, mas acho que é uma boa oportunidade de mostrar para o mundo que o brasil tem mais que bunda, carnaval e futebol."[248]

                          [Translated from Portuguese: fantastic thing of genius! But I *just found it annoying that there's nothing in the video that shows that you are from Brazil*. I do not know if you care, *but I think it is a good opportunity to show the world that Brazil has more than beautiful women, carnival and football*.]

Vinícius Miani: "*Vai Brasil* !"[249]

Orc Maldito: "*BORA BRASIL*!!!!!!!!!!!"[250]

Tininhahorta: "Vídeo brasileiro está entre finalistas de bienal do YouTube" (G1, 22/10). Na torcida!"[251]

                          [Translated from Portuguese: *Brazilian Video is among the finalists for biennial YouTube* (G1, 22/10)]

MARTINIANO009: "Brasileiros são os melhores!!"[252]

                          [Translated from Portuguese: *Brazilians are the best!!*]

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[246] Comment on the video clip "Birds on The Wires" helljawz (9/20/2010 13:49), http://bit.ly/1a8d61S.
[247] Comment on the video clip "Birds on The Wires" Gabriel1612 (9/22/2010 22:20), http://bit.ly/1a8d61S.
[248] Comment on the video clip "Birds on The Wires" Renan Di Carlo (5/9/2010 18:44), http://bit.ly/1a8d61S.
[249] Comment on the video clip "Birds on The Wires" Vinícius Miani (9/20/2010 12:05), http://bit.ly/1a8d61S.
[250] Comment on the video clip "Birds on The Wires" Orc Maldito (9/20/2010 12:23), http://bit.ly/1a8d61S.
[251] Comment on the video clip "Birds on The Wires" tininhahorta (10/22/2010 14:01), http://bit.ly/1a8d61S.
[252] Comment on the video clip "Birds on The Wires" MARTINIANO009 (9/2020/10 13:43), http://bit.ly/1a8d61S.

Ozú Bronze: "isso é brasil XX)"[253]

[Translated from Portuguese: *This is Brazil*.]

TheKelvinclark: "Parabéns, colocando bonito o nome do nosso pais lá fora, vc merece falar que é brasileiro"[254]

[Translated from Portuguese: *Congratulations, that's beautiful to know that it is coming from our country, you deserve to speak for Brazil*.]

As all these comments illuminate, the clip strongly encouraged many Brazilians to express their national pride and to demonstrate their national belonging to their native country. Furthermore, some comments even stressed that the YouTube Play contest was perceived by audiences as a chance to promote their national talents and artists in the international arena. Thus, one of the viewers complained that it was disappointing "that there's nothing in the video that shows that you are from Brazil." This comment convincingly demonstrates that YouTube Play was perceived as a competition space across countries to demonstrate and promote their national talents and showcase achievements: "I do not know if you care, but I think it is a good opportunity to show the world that Brazil has more than beautiful women, carnival and football."

A similar stress on the national "representativeness" of YouTube Play videos can be seen in the comments stream for the video, "The Light Pressure of a Thought." This animation was created by Mexican artist Paula Assadourian to demonstrate the challenges of "a busy minded couple's relationship" (Assadourian 2010). On the one hand, the video raises universal questions of challenges, complexities, and misunderstandings in relationships between men and women living in the contemporary reality of a busy world. In this way, the clip relates to the daily routines and problems of people from different countries, where similar urban conditions intervene in human relationships and bring new challenges for building human connections. On the other hand, this video was read by many Mexican fans and followers as representative of their own country and culture. Even though many Mexican viewers happily cheered the video and celebrated their national pride, some of the users emphasized that the clip should have used the Spanish language instead of English in order to highlight Mexican national identity. The following example

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[253] Comment on the video clip "Birds on The Wires" Ozú Bronze (10/22/2010 5:17), http://bit.ly/1a8d61S.
[254] Comment on the video clip "Birds on The Wires" TheKelvinclark (11/2/2010 14:18), http://bit.ly/1a8d61S.

demonstrates how Mexican users praised the success of the video and, at the same time, debated the issue of a better representation of "Mexican-ness" in the content and form of the clip.

Example:

Salvador Flores: "esto es genial simplemente Méxicana, VIVA MÉXICO!!!! ESTO SI ES ARTE Y DEL BUENO"[255]

[Translated from Spanish: this is a great submission from México, *VIVA MEXICO !!!! THIS IS A GRET ART*.]

Angeldprso: "no es por ser troll pero por que mierdas esta en ingles "[256]

[Translatedfrom Spanish: I don't want to troll but this […] *is in English*.]

Amonite2000: "Extraordinario, qué talento! Que orgullo que sea Mexicana...viva México. Y para aquellos que quieren que el video sea en Español..ja ja..si no se fijaron es una película muda...¡Por Dios! y además actualícense y pónganse a estudiar. El ser mexicano y patriota no quiere decir que no hablemos otros idiomas…que no se les cierre el mundo! " [257]

[Translated from Spanish: Extraordinary, what a talent! *This is our pride that it is Mexican... viva Mexico*. And for those who want the video in Spanish .. ha-ha .. if you have not noticed it is a silent movie ... Oh God! … *Being a Mexican patriot does not mean we do not speak other languages ... we should not be closed to the world!*]

Angeldprso: "me refiero por que esta escrito en ingles como identidad mexicana tendria que estar en español , para tu informacion yo se 3 idiomas pero no ingles digo para que no escribas que me ponga a estudiar siento que deberiamos dar mas importancia al español eso eso es todo"[258]

[Translated from Spanish: *I refer to the fact that the video is annotated in English. Representing Mexican identity, it has to be in Spanish*. For your

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[255] Comment on the video clip "The Light Pressure of a Thought" Salvador Flores (9/20/10 2:21 PM), http://bit.ly/1vm1irS.
[256] Comment on the video clip "The Light Pressure of a Thought" angeldprso (9/20/10 3:10 PM), http://bit.ly/1vm1irS.
[257] Comment on the video clip "The Light Pressure of a Thought" Amonite2000 (9/20/10 4:16 PM), http://bit.ly/1vm1irS.
[258] Comment on the video clip "The Light Pressure of a Thought" angeldprso (9/20/10 8:37 PM), http://bit.ly/1vm1irS.

information I know 3 languages, but not English. *I feel that we should give more importance to Spanish, so that's all.*]

Diosa Hebe: "Muchas felicidades, está increíble tu video, que bueno es contar con talento mexicano como el tuyo :D"259

[Translated from Spanish: Congratulations, your video is amazing. *It is great that we have a Mexican talent like yours* :D]

Luardo Villalobos Ayala: "Apoyo al talento mexicano en el concurso internacional YouTubePlayBienal. Este vídeo seleccionado a la etapa final. Felicidades a la mujer que representa la calidad mexicana por llegar hasta este punto del certamen."260

[Translated from Spanish: *This clip supports the Mexican talent* in the international YouTube Play Biennal competition. This video was selected to the final stage. Congratulations to the woman who represents *the best Mexican quality to reach such a success in the contest*.]

Joakiks: "es la viva representación del típico refrán mexicano... "cada cabeza es un mundo" y de cómo a veces nos agobiamos sólos en vez de hacer lo que realmente hace una pareja, complementarse, apoyarse, escucharse y más que nada, quererse, ojalá ganes! FANTÁSTICA!"261

[Translated from Spanish: this is an embodiment of *the typical Mexican saying* ... 'each head is a world' and how sometimes we feel overwhelmed and alone instead of doing what really makes a couple, such as complementing, supporting, listening and most of all, loving each other. I hope you win! FANTASTIC!]

PahuaBalllackour: "Oooh acabo de leer en Yahoo Noticias que este video es parte de una ronda de finalistas, mucha suerte! Felicidades y que orgullo que una mexicana nos este representando :) Hermoso video"262

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259 Comment on the video clip "The Light Pressure of a Thought" Diosa Hebe (9/20/10 10:20 PM), http://bit.ly/1vm1irS.
260 Comment on the video clip "The Light Pressure of a Thought" Luardo Villalobos Ayala (9/23/10 3:16 AM), http://bit.ly/1vm1irS.
261 Comment on the video clip "The Light Pressure of a Thought" Joakiks (9/21/10 1:33 AM), http://bit.ly/1vm1irS.
262 Comment on the video clip "The Light Pressure of a Thought" PahuaBalllackour (9/21/10 9:33 PM), http://bit.ly/1vm1irS.

[Translated from Spanish: Oooh I have just read on Yahoo News that this video is part of the finalist round, good luck! Congratulations and *what a pride that a Mexican woman represents us in the contest :)* this is a beautiful video.]

070carlyle: "decepcionante que este es uno de los videos mexicanos......nos falta mucho"[263]

[Translated from Spanish: *It is disappointing that this is just a single Mexican video at the contest ......* we are missing out.]

All three examples highlighted that online followers of the YouTube Play project, from different countries, found it important to express their national identities and to stress the national origin of their fellow artists. Despite the fact that these videos contributed to representing and highlighting universal themes of the YouTube Play video content, the online compatriots of the artists insisted that their clips, first of all, manifest their national character, traditions, and values. "This is an embodiment of *the typical Mexican saying* 'each head is a world,'" a Mexican follower of the contest pointed out, although this idiom can be found in many languages and cultures. Furthermore, these debates about expressing patriotism through the video content of the project demonstrated that people from different countries preferred to employ national paradigms in representing themselves online rather than constructing cosmopolitan identities.

This preference exposes a strong tension between the ways people understand universal narratives and connect to shared human feelings and emotions, and how they identify with their unique national cultures and arts. Furthermore, a tension between national self-identification and a cosmopolitan *form* of representation can be traced in the ways in which different national communities celebrated their nations on YouTube Play. Thus, a comparison among these examples of national self-expressions exposes a strong similarity between textual practices across various national "communities" (in these examples, Mexican, Chilean, and Brazilian). Even though these collective celebrations stressed a unique national character and patriotism and were expressed in their national languages, the ways people engage in celebrations of their national identities are quite similar. All three streams of comments emphasized national "pride" ("proud 2 b Chilean!" or "Brazilian PRIDE!"), highly praised national "talent" ("It is great that we have a Mexican talent

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[263] Comment on the video clip "The Light Pressure of a Thought" 070carlyle (9/26/10 11:36 AM), http://bit.ly/1vm1irS.

like yours" or "Masterpiece and best of all it is Chilean!"), and tended to elevate the success of an individual artist to the status of a national victory ("Vai Brasil!" or "VIVA MÉXICO!!!!").

These similar textual forms of national expressions signal that expressions of nationalism on YouTube Play have acquired a new level of universal representation shared across online publics from different countries. Even though some scholars understand nationalism as "a product of cultural human evolution" which is naturally achieved at certain stages of development by any society due to shared "human universals," such as "conflict" and "cooperation" (Montani 2012, 72), cultural relativism literature has always stressed strong cultural differences in constructing and communicating national identities (Zaharna 2004). Specifically, scholarly research on expressions of nationalism online emphasized structural, semantic, or rhetorical differences in constructing national discourses on social networks (Lamont 1992; Zeruvabel 1997; Collins 2004; Robinson 2009). For example:

> Different national groups employ different frameworks and regimes of justification when defending a viewpoint or attacking opposing views. French nationals typically appeal to structural and cultural factors when trying to account for the actions and motivations of individual and collective actors, whereas Americans refer to religious, psychological, and historical factors (Lamont and Thévenot 2001).

However, YouTube Play conversations suggest that despite such a variety of expressions of nationalism present in online discussions, people from different countries employed similar frames to express their national belonging. This demonstrates the power of YouTube culture to create "universal" forms of self-representation and national expressions which are being willingly adopted by online participants from different countries to celebrate their nations. This form of online representation can be understood as a "cosmopolitan *form* of communication," first identified and described by Barnett Pearce (1989). He argued that as a social process, communication is a way for people to construct their social and cultural realities and identities. Therefore, "individual interactions over time influence a given culture and vice versa… 'ways of being human' both grow out of and create their own '*forms* of communication'" (Grimes and Orlando 2003, 11). The cosmopolitan form of communication, in contrast to ethnocentric, for example, emerges in large transnational environments. It does not deny or treat as interior cultural knowledge and identities of the "other," but is open to changing how intercultural contact is being

performed for the benefits of a more productive and convenient communication recognizing differences (Grimes and Richard 2003, 16).

YouTube Play created the conditions for cosmopolitan *forms* of communication that allowed the establishment of certain norms of behavior. These *forms* of national self-expression emphasized national talents as a form of elevating national pride and were expressed in similar practices of demonstrating patriotism and national belonging. Even though none of the selected videos was devoted to political or cultural nation promotion per se, these clips helped online national "communities" present their countries as talented and innovative. These online practices were reinforced through the competitive atmosphere on YouTube Play, which created conditions for active demonstrations of national talents and achievements. From the perspective of cultural diplomacy, YouTube Play's competitive environment strongly resembles traditional practices of international competitions or exchanges, which have always served to demonstrate the best of national talents to the outside world and to project national character in a positive light.

Despite the high degree of national pride that these projects usually evoke in participants, they also usually "establish standardized international rules and shared global norms such as fair play [which] are cosmopolitan aspects of the Olympic movement" (Scholz 2012, 79). According to Scholz's research, these shared rules and universal human practices, accepted in the transnational community of the Olympics among international athletes, make "this association a partial expression of cosmopolitanism," which has "the potential indirectly to advance cosmopolitan norms among those who do not necessarily embrace cosmopolitanism" (Scholz 2012, 495). Even though the Games are dominated by nationalist interests, since the ancient times these events have provided a stable platform for developing strong relationships among nations and have always symbolized international peace and cooperation (Beacom 2012). As Morgan also confirms, the Olympic movement has traditionally aspired to generate "international good-will and greater intercultural contact," by bringing participants from various countries together to develop stronger relationships and learn about each other's cultures and traditions; this nurtured the cosmoplitan vision of the Olympics (Morgan 1995, 79).

However, due to the global popularity and importance of these international events, host countries acquire a powerful leverage tool to highlight their cultural appeal and promote favorable national images, their political ideologies, and their regimes. In 1936, Nazi Germany tried to use the

Olympics to promote its speedy industrial development and economic rise under Hitler (Findling and Pelle 2004, 107). China in 2008 attempted to impress the world with its incredible opening ceremonies performances, to produce an impression of economic power and innovative development (Cull 2008a). In comparative parallels, the global appeal and popularity of YouTube Play attests to the strong power of the Guggenheim to attract and engage people across countries, as well as to construct and promote its international authority in contemporary arts and design.

This section highlights complex processes of cosmopolitan representation versus national expressions that emerged within the YouTube Play cultural content devoted to the theme of "Human Being & Personality." Even though the content of the video contest strongly appealed to quite diverse international audiences, because it featured human emotions, feelings and values, in their textual practices, YouTube Play users expressed their strong affiliations with national cultures. This tension between cosmopolitan narratives and national self-identifications reveals that global audiences prefer to construct their identities through national affiliations and do not miss a chance to stress their national belonging when it leads to celebration of national achievements and success. However, these practices of national self-expression on YouTube are quite universal across cultures and are usually performed through cosmopolitan *forms* of communication, which unify culturally diverse content through shared and commonly used textual practices of representing and celebrating nations. This signals that YouTube Play exerts certain influences upon online behavior and patterns of communication among international participants, which is further explored in the next section through the thematic prism of "Space & Locality."

7.3. "Non-Places" and virtual-"scapes" as global milieus of intercultural encounters

Following the design of the previous section, I will first reveal the cosmopolitan nature of YouTube Play's video content and then expose various textual practices of online users which challenge dominant narratives. The analysis of the YouTube Play video content revealed that many YouTube Play videos were devoted to depicting various places and locations, however most of them presented spaces in rather general terms, without specific details that could illuminate important peculiarities of a concrete geographic location. Many videos were marked by a cosmopolitan vision of contemporary urban locations, big cities or small neighborhoods, which share a lot of common characteristics across different countries. For example, the clip "The City / D&AD" by English media artist Matthew Young, animates audio recordings of street interviews with people

from different countries who answer the question, "What is 'The City' to you?" As a result, this short animation reconstructs a cosmopolitan view of a contemporary image of the city, which, despite geographic location and cultural belonging, is universally described as a "dirty," "polluted," "colorful," and "noisy" place with crowds of people and pigeons.

Another clip, "Frame of Imagination" by Taiwanese artist Chia-Hui Lin, makes an attempt to "establish a visual recording system to experience unpredictable surroundings of cities and spaces" (Lin 2008). Though the video is devoted to sharing personal experiences of visiting London, it in fact gives the viewer a distant perspective, refusing immersion into London reality. In contrast, the viewer looks at the city "through the action of wandering" and "routine experiences." In this way, "the notion of time and space can be seen as a conception of folding condition" creating universal sketches on the canvases of psychogeographical experiences (Lin 2008).

The triviality and routine of everyday life in urban spaces is also vividly depicted in such video clips as0, "Cardboard" by Dutch filmmaker Sjors Vervoort and "Minilogue - Animals" by Swedish artist Kristofer Ström, both of which look at cities through cosmopolitan lenses. By contrasting the reality of universally recognizable urban symbols with digitally integrated forms of imaginary or unreal worlds, the clips illuminate the commonness and familiarity of urban life. Demonstrating the power of these clips to create an image of a routine, urban reality recognizable across cultures and countries, many comments posted to these clips confirmed that in some cases it was rather hard for audiences to identify exact locations depicted in the clips, and their guesses indicated a high diversity of places the clips brought to mind for them.

Example:

Otti Albietz:	"*Where was this filmed*? Want to do something of this manner for a music video. Very nice it is too."[264]
Sekerwete:	"*Amsterdam? R'dam? Haarlem*?"[265]
Milanetto1998:	"waar is dit opgenomen?"
	[Translated from Dutch: Where was it filmed?][266]

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[264] Comment on the video clip "Cardboard" by Otti Albietz (8/20/10 4:22 PM), http://bit.ly/1A6kEBn.
[265] Comment on the video clip "Cardboard" by Sekerwete (4/5/10 4:58 AM), http://bit.ly/1A6kEBn.
[266] Comment on the video clip "Cardboard" by Milanetto1998 (3/13/10 6:33 AM), http://bit.ly/1A6kEBn.

Hagenar:	"I happened to pass through there yesterday. It's Eindhoven, Netherlands. We see an older Philips building, the 'Lichttoren' and one of the city's train stations, Beukenlaan. Very cool video."[267]

<center>***</center>

MouseyOx:	"That's amazingly weird. + Is part of it *in Glasgow*?"[268]
Tazteful:	"Looks like Malmö to me."[269]

<center>***</center>

Nattacus:	"Any idea where this was filmed? I'm guessing *Turkey...*"[270]
Meneeroscar:	"Guess it's *Sweden*. The busses are Swedish and Minilogue is from Sweden so 1+1"[271]

<center>***</center>

Zarowny:	"IS THIS *SWEDEN*!? sorry but the Bussseeesss and all that look like swedens XD ? *were in Sweden if it is* ."[272]

Though each of the videos depicts a specific location, they do not focus on their uniqueness. In contrast, the places are presented as overshadowed by the penetration of a virtual reality. The colorful cartoon characters, integrated in the boring life of urban spaces, bring life to these places and fill them with new colors, sounds, and forms of imaginary reality. In these videos, the collective image of a contemporary city possesses cosmopolitan characteristics and is depicted as a universally recognizable place familiar to every traveler.

Though the majority of the clips presented places without indication of their names and without emphasizing their belonging to a particular national community, some of the clips were more specific. Nevertheless, these clips still generated discussions on shared human issues and topics. One such video is "Contemporary America" by American artists Dandy Noel. The clip is a montage of two contrasting footages of a women, first inside a big city, full of noise, pollution, and stress, and second, on the beach of a beautiful ocean with pleasant surroundings and a natural

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[267] Comment on the video clip "Cardboard" by hagenar (9/22/10 10:51 AM), http://bit.ly/1A6kEBn.
[268] Comment on the video clip "Minilogue - Animals" by MouseyOx (2/15/09 9:37 PM), http://bit.ly/1znXXVF.
[269] Comment on the video clip "Minilogue - Animals" by Tazteful (2/18/09 5:44 PM), http://bit.ly/1znXXVF.
[270] Comment on the video clip "Minilogue - Animals" by Nattacus (1/9/10 3:51 PM), http://bit.ly/1znXXVF.
[271] Comment on the video clip "Minilogue - Animals" by meneeroscar (1/10/10 6:56 PM), http://bit.ly/1znXXVF.
[272] Comment on the video clip "Minilogue - Animals" by Zarowny (9/22/10 10:47 AM), http://bit.ly/1znXXVF

harmony of colors, sounds, and sensations (Noel 2010). Through the contrast between urban and natural environments, the clip illuminates the unhealthy conditions and disadvantages of life in big metropolitan centers which are disconnected from nature.

The clip generated many comments which indicated that a lot of viewers looked at this video through the lenses of cosmopolitan vision. Thus, the following commenters emphasized that "contemporary America" is portrayed as a cosmopolitan urban space, dirty and polluted, which creates a dangerous atmosphere separating a human being from the natural environment where one belongs. It is clear that in their comments people did not necessarily identify these metropolitan centers with the urban dimension of the USA, but stressed how this situation is similar to other countries and locations.

Example:

EC0urbanGeNiUs713: *"That's not America, it's called the city."*[273]

Bonmio: *"… I don't believe she's blaming the country* - I think she's pointing out what people say is increasingly happening - over-stimulation and less connection. Interesting to see other people's comments."[274]

TheCheryle2010: *"…The world is not about the individual life as much as it represents the collective spirit of our era. This is one of many ways to show stress."*[275]

Kingsnorth: *"We are all responsible to the world we find ourselves in.* Now we have to find our purpose and take actions to make changes."[276]

These comments indicate that online users saw local problems ("*Contemporary America*") through the prism of larger humanitarian issues shared among all the planet's inhabitants. In relation to an increasing cosmopolitan look and atmosphere of big urban metropolitan centers, some users pointed out that they are becoming even more and more global, losing their national character and ambiance. For example, a few comments specifically stressed that many cities around the world with increasing modernization and globalization lose their national peculiarities and become

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[273] Comment on the video clip "Contemporary America" by EC0urbanGeNiUs713 (10/21/2010 2:34:00 AM), http://bit.ly/19ogOCc.
[274] Comment on the video clip "Contemporary America" by bonmio (1/3/2011 4:10:00 PM), http://bit.ly/19ogOCc.
[275] Comment on the video clip "Contemporary America" by TheCheryle2010 said (10/19/2010 7:36:00 AM), http://bit.ly/19ogOCc.
[276] Comment on the video clip "Contemporary America" by Kingsnorth (10/15/2010 12:29:00 PM), http://bit.ly/19ogOCc.

cosmopolitan centers. Thus, the following comment was submitted to the clip "Shanghai Traces" which aims to portray the "dramatic beautification campaign that overran Shanghai in anticipation of hosting the World Expo" (Houge 2010). The comment highlighted that many contemporary cities, like Shanghai, under the pressure of global competition to become "magnets for tourists," are redefined to match the image of ideal cosmopolitan touristic centers and fail to represent places with distinct and unique national identities.

Octobre1986: *"…Shanghai actually doesn't look very Chinese anymore. It's more like a Gucci and Prada-town. And the ppl show off... It's a very unnatural city and everywhere were happy EXPO-volunteers and over-whelming EXPO-videos. If you want to see the true Shanghai, go out at night on the streets!"*[277]

Another segment of videos that contributed to the construction of a collective image of contemporary spaces and locations, is devoted to picturing imaginary realities or dream worlds. These magic spaces exist only in artists' imaginations, however they are desirable locations for audiences' virtual travels. A large group of such clips includes: "One Day in Creativity," a documentary by French artist Bertrand Duten (Duten 2010); "Continuum," an experimental psychological video sketch by British media artist Mark Hamilton Gruchy (Gruchy 2010); Canadian animation "Dreamscape," by Nicole Duquette (Duquette 2010); or a musical clip, "Whisper," by American artist Tommy Wallach (Wallach 2010). These extremely diverse videos have one thing in common: they all picture "non-places" of dream reality, which transcend geographical boundaries, thus making viewers a part of a different reality shared across humanity. This characteristic makes them important nodes in the YouTube Play communication space, connecting and appealing to large and diverse international audiences.

Whether these clips explore human personalities, take viewers on a historical journey to the past, explore the worlds of imagination, or portray transformations of reality with the help of creative penetration of magic powers, all these videos recreate special spaces where national cultural differences become unimportant and boundaries between people from different backgrounds seem to be eliminated. Many comments collected from streams posted to these winning clips stress their

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[277] Comment on the video clip "Traces" by Octobre1986 (10/17/2010 10:42 PM), http://bit.ly/1LxL1UN.

abstract surreal nature and confirmed that, because they portray imaginary realities, they are so meaningful and relevant to people on emotional, psychological, and cultural levels.

Example:

Goldenlink10: "[It] *reminds me of a dream I once had* except at the end I fell into never ending darkness even felt the butterflies"[278]

MurasakiNeko: "Very beautiful and emotional. I like the animation style, and *I quite like that it is fairly vague about details, leaving it open for personal resonance...*"[279]

99KawaiiBlack99 : "... La beauté de l'environnement du rêve est bien plus importante qu'une technologie stupide et inutile. Sublime. Bravo."[280]

[Translated from French: *The beauty of the dream environment* is much more important than a stupid and unnecessary technology. *Sublime.* Congratulations.]

Suzanne Tourtillott: "I've loved this kind of stop-motion animation ever since seeing Street of Crocodiles in the eighties. *The dreamers' expressions are endearing and all too human.* Visual effects – such as the figure seen through a clouded pane – are done with a soft touch, and the gentle urgency of the music pushes the story forward. Well done!"[281]

Abrampf: "Excellent work, you *have captured something unique and original.* Bringing the *viewer into your own world*, I can tell that you put a lot of thought and effort into *creating this fantasy world*. Great art direction, concept, and animation!"[282]

Hanadeho: "That was a great video. *It showed me things that I never knew I could do in real life. I guess that is why dream are there for us. To imagine the impossible or what we think we can't do.*"[283]

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[278] Comment on the video clip "Continuum" by goldenlink10 (10/17/10 12:49 PM), http://bit.ly/1zODrwv.
[279] Comment on the video clip "Dreamscape" by MurasakiNeko (10/21/10 7:28 AM), http://bit.ly/1CJ11PN.
[280] Comment on the video clip "Dreamscape" by 99KawaiiBlack99 (5/17/11 2:29 PM), http://bit.ly/1CJ11PN.
[281] Comment on the video clip "The Coincidental Dreamers" by Suzanne Tourtillott (9/22/10 12:27 AM), http://bit.ly/1CJr8Ua.
[282] Comment on the video clip "The Coincidental Dreamers" by Abrampf (9/24/10 3:54 PM), http://bit.ly/1CJr8Ua.
[283] Comment on the video clip "Some of My Dreams" by hanadeho (10/21/10 9:52 AM), http://bit.ly/1ERgRYo.

HighlandsBird: 		*"Since surrealism came to films, it became even more powerful*. Love it! Thanks for a great artistic work."[284]

This genre of video presentation of spaces provided many contest participants with a wide range of artistic tools and techniques that allowed them to recreate special "non-milieus" of virtual escapes. Drawing a parallel with experiences that people can have in the "architectural wonder" world of the Guggenheim museums in New York or Bilbao, the YouTube Play space can also be understood as an imaginary bubble of a different reality, "an escape from order: the order of one after another; the order of a rational, linear progression of rooms, objects, exhibits; the order of regulated movement; the order of looking; the order to look – to look at all and only look" (Fraser 2006, 137). The majority of the YouTube Play videos take online audiences on a journey beyond traditional geography. Like the Guggenheim's physical spaces, which are transnational by nature, the videos on YouTube Play created a special "escape from identity in a place of endless differentiation. We can escape from our place of origin. We can feel at home away from home … we can be free to embody the productions of our imaginations. And that is the museum's revolutionary effect" (Fraser 2006, 137). From this perspective, the YouTube Play videos created an illusion of "escape lands," where people from the global community could find their "home."

Public consciousness and understanding of national identity, heritage, and culture have traditionally been constructed though the promotion of "symbolic associations, which are emotionally invested in a sense of place" (McLean 2005, 51). Geographic locale, a physical space of a living nation, has always been a central object of national rituals of worship and of elevating feelings of citizenship and belonging. According to Urry, the museum context is the most powerful "ritual device" that reinforces or helps people regain "a lost sense of place" (Urry 1999). However, in the YouTube Play space, the logic of cosmopolitanism has reversed these traditional museum intentions to provide people with a sense of a belonging to a particular geographic community. In contrast, the image of "place" that emerged on YouTube Play could be better described as "non-place," or a virtual milieu, transcending geographical, political, and cultural borders.

The concept of a "non-place" was first introduced by Augé (1995) in his book, *Non-Places: Introduction to an Anthropology of Supermodernity,* where he identified and described special spaces, like airports, freeways, supermarkets, subways and malls, which he called "the non-lieu,

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[284] Comment on the video clip "The Traveling Rooms of a Little Giant" by HighlandsBird (11/7/11 4:00 AM), http://bit.ly/1ERhuB4.

non-place, the negation of anthropological place, whose main characteristic is being transitive and asocial" (Augé 1995, 103). Continuing this line of thought, Wollen (2002) added cinemas to the list of "non-places." Iversen applied this concept to new media and argued that watching YouTube is very similar to experiencing oneself in an airport or subway:

> When visiting You Tube, you are everywhere and nowhere at the same time, perhaps sitting at home, in an office, or on a train to visit relatives. You Tube is an ocean of images and sound, offering all kinds of experiences. Letting your fingertips do the traveling, you have access to a mobile space that can take you anywhere – and most often takes you nowhere (Iversen 2009, 347).

YouTube Play videos, in a similar way, created experiences of being in a "non-place," because a strong cosmopolitan vision of the project went beyond appreciation of the local and created opportunities for virtual traveling to non-existing imaginary worlds. This "non-place" character of the project's video geography can be interpreted as a result of a growing "nomadic culture" of the contemporary human condition in the post-modern world. As Gray and Graham (2007) point out, in a contemporary global society, "a sense of displacement and alienation is pervasive…Many people feel detached from the places where they live and have no particular sense of belonging or responsibility toward their communities" (303). This transnational culture is a result of global migrations and travels of the 21st century. Many YouTube Play videos reflected these recent trends and added to the construction of the cosmopolitan vision of the world, where urban places are "universally" dirty, polluted, and stressful, and imaginary worlds are colorful, happy, and joyful.

Despite such a strong cosmopolitan representation of spaces and localities, in their comments, many online users expressed quite opposite views on "displacement and alienation." For example, a favored textual practice was offering a personal introduction that included an indication of location. Many users submitted short, positive, and encouraging responses to their favorite clips on YouTube Play that provided information about their location or country of origin.

Example:

Digimanpk: "A Genuine Source of Inspiration.!! Bravo *from a Pakistani*!"[285]

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[285] Comment on the video clip "Birds on The Wires" digimanpk (10/6/2010 18:11), http://bit.ly/1a8d61S.

Mmorkester: "Great, amazing..... regards *from Norway*"[286]

Harmagedom: "Upstanding job! Congratulations *from Brazil*!"[287]

Łukasz Kira: "Lekker hoor video!! Greetz *from Poland*:D!"[288]

Emilionl: "a big WOW *from Holland* nice music and animation"[289]

Vinchebtos: "… Saludos a Jarbas y a Brasil *desde Argentina…*"[290]

Xookwankii: "THIS IS REALLY ART!! :D CONGRATS MONICA I LOVE YOUR WORK!! GREETS *FROM MEXICO*"[291]

Danrocks1981: "HAPPY IN *PARAGUAY*!"[292]

JohnAndronikTV: "This is awesome! Hello *from Latvia* ;)"[293]

Armandino101: "*Salut from Canada*! Great day! Great video!! Nicely done man!!"[294]

3dPowerClips: "Amazing °!° very nice Videos! Hugs *from Germany*"[295]

Hifallutin2000: "Hi cuzzie, greetings *from Brussels*. Awesome song and vid!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!! Xoxoxoxoxoxoxoxoxoxoxox"[296]

Mike Trees: "Mike Keller, love you *from Czech Republic*."[297]

Thousands of similar comments not only demonstrated the high degree of YouTube Play's internationalism, but also served as another online tool for national or local self-identification and expression. In a similar way as examples discussed in the previous section, these practices of self-expression employed a national paradigm for representing oneself online that challenged the cosmopolitan narratives of the YouTube Play content. Nevertheless, again these practices were marked by a high degree of similarities in the forms of expressions of their national affiliations.

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[286] Comment on the video clip "Birds on The Wires" mmorkester (1/2020/2010 7:27:00 PM), http://bit.ly/1a8d61S.

[287] Comment on the video clip "Noteboek" marketer (10/16/2008 7:13:00 PM), http://bit.ly/1dsu64S.

[288] Comment on the video clip "Noteboek" Łukasz Kira (11/7/2008 6:41 AM), http://bit.ly/1dsu64S.

[289] Comment on the video clip "Wow tenspace" Emilionl (3/5/2009 12:36 PM), http://bit.ly/159Svad.

[290] Comment on the video clip "Birds on The Wires" vinchebtos (10/29/2010 7:46 AM), http://bit.ly/1a8d61S.

[291] Comment on the video clip "Deuce" Xookwankii (5/8/11 1:14 AM), http://bit.ly/1ILc6Gb.

[292] Comment on the video clip "HP+Intel Make - Stop-Motion Animation with Ricky Martin" danrocks1981 (2/12/2011 3:48 AM), http://bit.ly/1BrxWKJ.

[293] Comment on the video clip "HP+Intel Make: 2D Character Animation with Tom Baker" JohnAndronikTV (6/14/10 8:23 AM), http://bit.ly/17wqHUA.

[294] Comment on the video clip "One Day in Creativity" armandino101 (5/25/10 10:54 PM), http://bit.ly/1CP6H8n.

[295] Comment on the video clip "Cardboard" 3dPowerClips (6/9/12 12:56 AM), http://bit.ly/1A6kEBn.

[296] Comment on the video clip "Whisper" hifallutin2000 (7/29/10 11:56 AM), http://bit.ly/1BrNVs8.

[297] Comment on the video clip "Bang Bang Eche - Nikee" Mike Trees (7/6/11 1:15 PM), http://bit.ly/17NiRpG.

All the comments from a great variety of countries either intended to greet the filmmakers ("greetings from Brussels", "Salut from Canada!", "Saludos … desde Argentina", "Hello from Latvia"), or shared their sincere emotions and feelings as a sign of appreciation of their videos ("love you from Czech Republic," "Hugs from Germany," "HAPPY IN PARAGUAY"). Moreover, almost all of these comments were posted in English rather than in national languages and strongly stressed the writer's location or origin ("from Mexico", "from Norway", "from Brazil"). These similarities also attest to the employment of a cosmopolitan *form* of communication by international audiences in their practices of national expressions, which reinforces the previous findings and observations about the power of YouTube Play to be a special transnational space of communication which sets specific norms of online interactions.

Furthermore, from the perspective of cultural diplomacy, these YouTube Play self-representation practices helped to establish bridges of appreciation of each other's cultures and opened up communication spaces for more transparency and understanding. These textual practices intended not only to share viewers' goodwill with people from different countries, but also helped to transmit messages of support and appreciation that carry a national sentiment and attitude. In this way, these messages acquired more significance, because they not only shared a personal opinion, but at the same time, aspired to present a national stand point. In the framework of constructed cosmopolitanism, these practices exposed the global diversity of participants, while at the same time emphasized respect for this diversity and illuminated the universality of human goodwill and the importance of cooperative relationship and reconciliation. In this way, even though national participants self-identified with their national cultures and traditions, they also self-affiliated with a global community with cosmopolitan rules and values, such as respect for peaceful coexistence and shared human rights of happiness and self-expression.

Another favored online practice, which stood in opposition to the dominant cosmopolitan narrative of the video content, was guessing and identifying the neighborhoods, cities, regions, and countries represented on YouTube Play. This section has already mentioned that many videos did not feature specific recognizable symbols that would help people to precisely identify a geographic location, and in some cases audiences, indeed, were lost and confused. Nevertheless, people were very curious to know where the videos were filmed which led to collective practices of search and eventual finding out what areas on the world map these clips portrayed. The following examples

contain comments posted to various video clips, not necessarily devoted to representing "Space & Locality," but which intensely incited the publics' quest for identifying geographical locations.

Example:

LiunaChan: "*Berlin* :D Sehr niedlich!"[298]

[Translated from German: This is *Berlin*. Very cute!]

Stabbinhobo12: "it's in *New York*... you gotta expect this stuff, I'm in Michigan, nothing happens here lol"[299]

Y112358: "ahh…*Paris*…sorry my French is not so good…but all I want to say is: the reason for loving *Paris* are the people! Je t'aime"[300]

LilithFilth: "This is *Melbourne*! :) Can I see your pics on flickr?"[301]

Jrvw02: "Tremendo video! de *Puerto Rico* para el mundo. Felicitaciones" [302]

[Translated from Spanish: Tremendous video! From *Puerto Rico* to the world. Congratulations.]

Doris Kolbe: "This is a wonderful video - the rhythm of colours and the background noises of a busy town - I *feel Shanghai*"[303]

Mjzapjr: "… Thanks for showing the world how many lazy people live *in New Orleans* leaching off the system!!"[304]

These comments indicate that cities or countries as spaces with unique identities, names, histories, and social and cultural characteristics still remain an important point of reference for many online users who pay a certain respect and tribute to naming these places when they reveal where exactly the video actions take place. In this way, international online audiences not only powerfully decontextualized the cosmopolitan vision of the YouTube Play video content, but also personalized it. Sharing the names of these locations not only revealed that people recognized the places that were familiar for them, but also exposed very personal emotional affiliations to these

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[298] Comment on the video clip "Nice to Meet You" Mike Trees (9/20/2010 5:25 AM), http://bit.ly/1B5cgmL.
[299] Comment on the video clip "Human Mirror" stabbinhobo12 (5/23/12 10:33 PM), http://bit.ly/14AL7KG.
[300] Comment on the video clip "One Day in Creativity" y112358 (4/16/2011 10:33:00 AM), http://bit.ly/1CP6H8n.
[301] Comment on the video clip "Lucky- All India Radio" LilithFilth (10/21/10 2:58 AM), http://bit.ly/1FOGLA2.
[302] Comment on the video clip "Screen Action!" jrvw02 (9/20/10 10:45 AM), http://bit.ly/1w2F0qf.
[303] Comment on the video clip "Shanghai Traces" Doris Kolbe (3/22/2012 1:15 AM), http://bit.ly/1LxL1UN.
[304] Comment on the video clip "Everyone Forever Now - "Stoop Sitting" Mjzapjr (5/24/11 1:39 PM), http://bit.ly/1ACc9Nr.

spaces. Even though participants, who shared their personal experiences with these places could be locals or international tourists, the comments indicate that people valued and specifically stressed a unique character of these places. This attention to spatial uniqueness stands in strong opposition to the cosmopolitan emphasis on the universality or "familiarity" of urban locations and shared human spaces. This shows the limitations of the online audience's ability to embrace a cosmopolitan outlook on world locations. People eagerly recognized places and self-identified with them in cases when they had strong personal attachments and experiences with them.

Finally, certain video clips (without specifically meaning to do so) created such positive and appealing images of the countries or cities portrayed, that they incited a strong desire from international audiences to visit or even to move to these places. For example, the clip discussed above, "Gardyn | Pogo," which picturesquely portrayed the bright colors of Australia's tropical nature and gardens, generated a lot of positive feedback. The clip turned out to be a powerful tool in touching the "hearts and minds" of YouTube audiences from other countries, creating an appealing image of Australia as a place people wanted to visit.

Example:

Krissytown: "This video is so pretty! *Makes me love this wonderful country even more…*"[305]

Daniel Courtney: "…*when I watch this, I can feel the heat of the Australian sun on me*, in such a lush and beautiful surrounding to an amazing home."[306]

Maggie Pearl: "so peaceful…*would love to visit Australia someday* for my world travel bucket list…"[307]

Jahstice: "good lord. This is the most awesome garden and house I have ever seen. It looks so great, warm, and beautiful. … *I hope I will have such a place to live one day there…*"[308]

Another example of the power of some videos to incite a desire to visit or even to move to a specific city is "Human Mirror," documenting a sort of "flash mob" street performance, organized by a

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[305] Comment on the video clip "Gardyn | Pogo" by krissytown (6/22/11 9:33 PM), http://bit.ly/1etFv7C.
[306] Comment on the video clip "Gardyn | Pogo" by Daniel Courtney (7/13/11 7:52), http://bit.ly/1etFv7C.
[307] Comment on the video clip "Gardyn | Pogo" by Maggie Pearl (8/19/2013), http://bit.ly/1etFv7C.
[308] Comment on the video clip "Gardyn | Pogo" by Jahstice good lord (3/22/11 10:59), http://bit.ly/1etFv7C.

large group of tweens in New York's subway (Todd 2008). Several comments expressed viewers' appreciation of New York's creativity, innovation, and unpredictability, which inspired their desires to move to the city.

Example:

Joet1994ify: "omg I love you guys … and can't get enough of these videos lol *I wanna move to New York* >:O"[309]

Anthony Hanson: "You will never know what you will find in New York City"[310]

YellaStarsa: I love all their events.^_^ *I wanna live in New York...* D:....."[311]

Trixxx70:   "ONLY IN New York ;))))))"[312]

Erma fladerma: "This is exactly why *I want to move to New York*"[313]

Both of these sets of examples demonstrate that despite the cultural, social and economic homogenization of urban spaces across the globe, many people still find and cherish a unique spirit of particular cities and countries. Thus, even though audiences value and relate to cosmopolitan "non-places" and virtual worlds, physical locations with their specific characteristics remain important points of reference and self-identification. These practices of online representations in affiliations with places, however, are universal across countries and in many cases employ cosmopolitan *forms* of expressions creating specific patterns of online interactions.

This section demonstrates that the video content within the thematic area of "Space & Locality" is engaging and moving people to reveal and celebrate their geographical diversity. Also it opens up new trajectories for uniting international audiences on the basis of their appreciation and interest in virtual experiences of digital traveling, especially to non-existent or imaginary worlds. The next section further explores the interactional dynamics between YouTube Play video content narratives and practices of self-expression by international audiences, however its focus will be on engaging with a different topic: "Politics & Wars."

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[309] Comment on the video clip "Human Mirror" joet1994ify (10/17/11 7:34 PM), http://bit.ly/14AL7KG.
[310] Comment on the video clip "Human Mirror" Anthony Hanson (1/17/12 8:21 PM), http://bit.ly/14AL7KG.
[311] Comment on the video clip "Human Mirror" YellaStarsa (9/5/12 1:24 AM), http://bit.ly/14AL7KG.
[312] Comment on the video clip "Human Mirror" trixxx70 (6/19/13 2:16 PM), http://bit.ly/14AL7KG.
[313] Comment on the video clip "Human Mirror" erma fladerma (6/30/13 8:38 PM), http://bit.ly/14AL7KG.

7.4. Wars and conflicts, struggling for a global peace

In the framework of cosmopolitan narratives, the category of "Politics & Wars" is one of YouTube Play's most contradictory themes because both concepts are closely related to questions of nationalism and various issues of cross-cultural negotiations and conflicts. Thus, there is a strong potential to create tensions with cosmopolitan messages. However, in this section I will further demonstrate the cosmopolitan vision that the YouTube Play video evoked, and then explore how international audiences interacted with this narrative from their national standpoints.

The YouTube Play videos about wars or political issues are quite diverse in their origins, in the ways they portray war, in the conflicts they depict, in the perspectives they defend, or in the questions they raise. They present a wide range of war portrayals from the very specific to the abstract. On the one hand, there are such clips as "This Aborted Earth: The Quest Begins," an animation that presents war in more general forms. The clip is created by American artists Michael Banowetz and Noah Sodano, who utilized 19th and early 20th century engravings from old books to "immerse the viewer in a surreal retro-Gilliam world" of history across "The Renaissance, the Enlightenment, the Industrial Revolution: all failures" that brought violence and war (Banowetz 2010). Understanding war as abstract, global "chaos, desolation and destruction," the authors of the film portray it as a disastrous illogical force, transcending times and spaces, shaping human history.

SIRTONY: "*Again ...mankinds #1 Ability to Kill each other* ...for Billions of reasons like the Billions that have been Killed by Each other...Great tribute to the Ongoing Argument that My God told me to Kill you...and my god is better than your god so we must all Kill each other until God's Work is done...*Yes mankind has broken all the records in the Universe and stands at the TOP of the LIST for Killing more of it's OWNKIND...then any other Planet in the History of the Universe...*"[314]

In a similarly abstract way, "Hard Rain" by French artist Benjamin Sabatier, is a recreation of an "ambivalent space, forcing the eye into the … continuous bombardment of over 3,000 darts," a poetic representation of violence and destruction and an "aesthetic symbol of devastation"

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[314] Comment on the video clip "This Aborted Earth: The Quest Begins" by SIRTONY (10/21/2010 6:05:00 PM), http://bit.ly/1ATxm7v.

(Sabatier 2010). Another animation, "Give Peace a Dance," created by Russian group "Dance Animation," is an unusually light and positive cartoon emphasizing how the "universal language of arts," especially the language of dance, is the best weapon to mitigate conflicts and reach peaceful solutions (Shaburanov 2010).

On the other hand, there are many clips which immerse viewers into specific milieus and tell stories of particular wars and conflicts. For example, a short Canadian feature film, "Mars to Jupiter," "is about the integration of a Rwandan genocide survivor into North American society," portraying "broken" victims of war within a new cultural and social environment of peaceful and festive life in Montreal (Romantic Child Studios 2010). There is also an artistic Lego stop-motion animation, "The River" by American independent film maker Nikolas Jaeger, who pictured the sufferings of a soldier lost in a forest during the American Civil War (Jaeger 2010).

Both of these types of representations: the concrete and the abstract, are quite consistent with the dominant cosmopolitan narrative of the channel. The abstract videos portray war as a universal human phenomenon relevant to all despite various backgrounds and contexts. Videos representing particular conflicts also contribute to this universal narrative, because they offer a comparative perspective across times, locations, and situations. This perspective not only highlights differences but, more importantly, provides a common context, where similarity is revealed, thus portraying a war as a "universal" disaster.

As a response to this narrative, many comments reinforced this "depersonalized" portrayal of war as an extremely multifaceted phenomenon of global significance. At the same time, other commenters engaged with the subject of war on a more personal level, making it a part of one's reality with specific names, details, and experiences. One of the examples of this contradictory dynamic is, "Taxi III Stand Up and Cry Like a Man" by Irish artist Lisa Byrne. The documentary is devoted to victims of the bombardment paramilitary attacks during the 80s and 90s in Northern Ireland (Byrne 2010). This film features people who personally experienced this tragedy, it "employs art in order to reach the healing effect and let the people, victims, […] relieve their emotions, because it is hard to live with that" (Play Biennial 2010e). The documentary offers a strong therapeutic effect by humanizing "subjects to military attacks" and giving them a voice to share their stories, helping them to expose their emotions, and making their personal tragedies translatable into language that everybody can understand. This human factor in representing the

war made the video very touching and relevant to general online audiences by appealing to their human emotions and sensitivities. Many comments to the video stressed that viewers easily connected to the tragic events of the war by listening to the personal stories of regular people, ordinary taxi drivers.

Example:

Acechadwick: "*It made me cry*. People just wanting to get by. Live their lives quietly, provide for their families, watch their children grow up, die peacefully in old age. *Sad, sad sad...*"[315]

Gman9884 "*...scars run deep, peace is a long way away* I think... it's hard to forgive when some people lost their loved ones ..."[316]

Mkspring: "*People have no idea what these men have been through*! Their own war, their own hell! God Bless and Keep them!"[317]

Seaneen1610: "What a fantastic piece of Art. Its always the most basic ideas of ideas that work out truly wonderful. But then it takes a genius to come up with them! *Too often in this age of multi media these voices are not heard. You should be very proud Lisa of your creation and well done to all the drivers who were brave enough to take part.*"[318]

Liz2porter: "Good to see a film representing *both side of the communities experiences of the troubles.*"[319]

WubwubDubstep: "No top-rated comments as well. It's like a *moment of silence between the video and the comment thread for the victims of these pointless tragedies.*"[320]

However, not all the audiences took such a neutral and generalized position in discussing this video. Some rare comments expressed a sincere national compassion for the committed crimes and communicated a deep regret and sympathy towards the people who suffered the tragedy of the

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[315] Comment on the video clip "Taxi III Stand Up and Cry Like a Man" by acechadwick (10/8/10 6:26 AM), http://bit.ly/1kDbdmb.
[316] Comment on the video clip "Taxi III Stand Up and Cry Like a Man" by gman9884 (10/8/10 6:13 PM), http://bit.ly/1kDbdmb.
[317] Comment on the video clip "Taxi III Stand Up and Cry Like a Man" by mkspring (10/25/10 9:43 PM), http://bit.ly/1kDbdmb.
[318] Comment on the video clip "Taxi III Stand Up and Cry Like a Man" by seaneen1610 (10/26/10 5:55 AM), http://bit.ly/1kDbdmb.
[319] Comment on the video clip "Taxi III Stand Up and Cry Like a Man" by liz2porter (11/8/10 2:05 PM), http://bit.ly/1kDbdmb.
[320] Comment on the video clip "Taxi III Stand Up and Cry Like a Man" by WubwubDubstep (4/17/11 1:31 PM), http://bit.ly/1kDbdmb.

war. For example, the following comment shares sincere feelings of sorrow for the violence committed by England over the people of Northern Ireland:

LargeRedRizla: "I am a 26yr old *Englishman who hates his nation's history for what they did in the past* to these men, I'll admit I'm not educated enough to have a valid opinion but I have the utmost respect for these fellas … To have such bravery for the duty to their family is worthy of high honors."[321]

Such rare comments are really important, not only because they demonstrate that ordinary people express a national responsibility for the historical past of their countries, but also because they reveal national identities of people, thus making the subject of war a personal issue rather than an abstract topic. It is important to stress here, that in comparison to other thematic areas, such as "Human Being & Personality" or "Space & Locality," the video content portraying wars did not encourage such a high degree of national self-identification. On the one hand, this points to the topic's strong sensitivity, which many online users might prefer to avoid discussing. On the other hand, it indicates that staying anonymous in conversations about these issues could be a more comfortable and "safe" way for people to engage in interactions with this subject. Either way, such behavior among online publics only contributed to the dominant cosmopolitan narrative of the project and helped to unite such a high diversity of videos and participants in a coherent space of multimedia experiences. Nevertheless, this silent compliance cannot be taken as a sign that international audiences interpreted or understood the YouTube Play videos and the issues they discussed in similar ways.

In some cases online discussions demonstrate that national views and standpoints really lead participants to take opposite perspectives in discussing important questions. One of those examples is a debate between an American viewer and a Canadian viewer of the video, "Post Newtonianism" by American media artist Josh Bricker. His clip is based on a parallel channeling of two videos with sound: the video on the left is "a loop of actual war footage taken from cameras mounted on American military aircraft, from both airplanes and helicopters," which were taken during the first Gulf War in 1991, as well as the later occupation of Iraq and documented bombing of military targets (Bricker 2010). The footage on the right is a replay of the popular video game "Call of Duty 4: Modern Warfare." Both of these sets of footage are combined in one clip and accompanied

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[321] Comment on the video clip "Taxi III Stand Up and Cry Like a Man" by LargeRedRizla (10/8/2010 5:42:00 PM), http://bit.ly/18TwwKO.

by a sound track, composed through a montage of audio tracks taken from the video game, as well as the recordings "released by Wikileaks … in which the US military killed two reporters working for Reuters, as well as a number of unarmed civilians" (Bricker 2010).

As Bricker highlights, his video exposes media representational strategies of disembodiment and depersonalization of war, which in many cases make the war a routine. The recordings and replay of the video game in this clip is a means to integrate the subject of war in the informational environments of contemporary society. This clip reflects strategies of war representation in contemporary media and its integration in the video game industry which, according to the author, increases social tolerance to violence and indifference to human tragedy. This assumption, however, was challenged in online discussions and, more importantly, was discussed from different national positions. The following dialogue between American and Canadian users presents a debate on the power of the video games to incite violence and increase tolerance for murder from two opposite national standpoints.

Example:

BlinkingBulbStudios: "I'm a bit underwhelmed by this montage. By no means I want to diminish your achievement for appearing on YouTube Play. I just feel you're assuming that since we witness war from afar and do not react to it, we are desensitized to it. *Playing Call of Duty is barely different from playing Cops and Robber as kids. I have met my share of soldiers (some even gamers) that have returned from Afghanistan with PTSD. Nothing can desensitize you to the real thing.* Unless I've completely missed the point."[322]

TiberiusCelsus1:   "*I think his point is that we, people whose only knowledge of war is what we see in these grainy infrared cameras and in Call of Duty are becoming desensitized to the horror that war is.* I can't say I agree entirely, though... with all of the real footage, I flinched whenever I heard a gunshot. And those 40 seconds with the guy crawling around..."[323]

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[322] Comment on the video clip "Post Newtonianism" by BlinkingBulbStudios (10/28/10 2:36 AM), http://bit.ly/17vCaUg.
[323] Comment on the video clip "Post Newtonianism" by TiberiusCelsus1 (11/9/10 2:40 AM), http://bit.ly/17vCaUg.

BlinkingBulbStudios: "... I guess it depends on your education. It's probable that kids that aren't aware of what's going on in Iraq and Afghanistan and who's only knowledge of war is through video games might be somewhat desensitized, but I don't think that situation can last very long. Eventually, they've got to learn about it… "this is no big deal killing each other in the name of ANYTHING that makes you believe they MUST DIE" –- *People think that it's easy to kill another human being. It's not. It's never easy. The only way to be able to do it is detach yourself from the situation. Those gunners aren't killing human beings, they're killing "targets", otherwise they would never be able to cope with it.* Only some mentally unstable soldiers actually "enjoy" killing."[324]

TiberiusCelsus1: "I'm not sure. *A lot of my friends are really getting a video game mentality to war, even the ones who know people over there. One of my friends cheered during the sniper scene in Hurt Locker (and any news story involving a sniper shooting). Another talks about how wonderful it must be to get /paid/ to kill "Muslim terrorist sons of bitches".* I hope this changes soon. There's something disturbing about the thought of future leaders and servicemen enjoying war too much."[325]

BlinkingBulbStudios: "*Then it might be that I'm giving too much credit to the American educational system. I could also be the fact that living in Québec, we simply have a different mentality about war. See, as a nation that was conquered and colonized by the English, for every war England was involved in, we had to fight for them, whether we wanted or not. So, we're kind of more aware of the horrors of war* because we're more inclined to be weary when our country goes to war."[326]

This dialogue not only represented contrasting perspectives on the problems of media war representations, but also challenged the cosmopolitan, universalized perceptions of war constructed through the YouTube Play video content. Specifically, within the dialogue, two

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[324] Comment on the video clip "Post Newtonianism" by BlinkingBulbStudios (11/9/10 6:00 AM), http://bit.ly/17vCaUg.
[325] Comment on the video clip "Post Newtonianism" by TiberiusCelsus1 (11/9/10 9:33 AM), http://bit.ly/17vCaUg.
[326] Comment on the video clip "Post Newtonianism" by BlinkingBulbStudios (11/9/10 10:12 AM), http://bit.ly/17vCaUg.

conversationalists revealed their national identities and empasized that their national differences caused them to develop the opposite perspectives that they defended. *"[L]iving in Québec, we simply have a different mentality about war,"* one of the users stressed, and used this reference to explain why Quebec people are "more aware of the horrors of war." The opposite party, observing that the young generations are "really getting a video game mentality to war" with regret pointed out that many his friends confess "how wonderful it must be to get /paid/ to kill 'Muslim terrorist sons of bitches.'" This confession not only stressed the negative consequences of the video game industry that glorifies and celebrates war, but also pointed to the power of post-9/11 American public diplomacy and mass media propaganda that dehumanized Muslims and created quite negative attitudes and perceptions of these peoples in the minds of regular Americans who started to see a real threat and enemy in Muslim people. Though in this comment stream the dialogue is the only example of expressed national differences in war perceptions, it is still a meaningful contribution to understanding the interactional dynamics between the cosmopolitan vision of the YouTube Play project, which was manifested through the selection of the videos, and national representations that emerged in the communication space of the channel.

The following example highlights even further the power of national self-expressions and serves to illustrate how questions of national identity become important issues in online conflicts and struggles among online audiences. The following excerpts from the comment stream of the video, "I Met the Walrus," show online conversations demonstrating how people from the same national community overcome the difficulty of their country's under-representation. These comments were submitted to the finalist video directed and animated by Canadian artist Josh Raskin. This animation is based on a tape recording of a 1969 interview with John Lennon taken by 14-year-old Jerry Levitan in Toronto. Answering questions about the philosophy, meaning and messages of his songs, John Lennon said in the interview:

> …messages are there on all levels in our music and whatever level you get it on…and it's about everything. So it's about UK, it's about USSR, *it's about nothing*, it's about USA. But anything you hear is there. You know, it's all there. Either trivial or profound whatever. It's all there you know (Levitan 2007). [Emphasis added]

Ironically, Canadian artists animating the video placed a big label that read "nothing" over Canada, which really grabbed the attention of most of the audiences and became a sensitive issue for

discussions about the national character, history, and role of Canada in the international community. Many Canadians protested against this representation of their country on YouTube Play. A lot of people found it important to actively contribute their messages to the stream to support Canada, revolt against such a "shameful" image of the country, and zealously defend their national identity.

Example:

ChickenVendetta: "'It's about UK, It's about USSR, it's *about nothing (CANADA)* It's about USA.'"[327]

Nikki1862: "*Why would you write NOTHING across Canada*? This interview takes place in Toronto, so I'm pretty sure *we're something*."[328]

Shurikenstar: "Nothing=Canada? Toronto Canada, where the interview is taking place by a CANADIAN citizen. *That is offensive to the original interviewer*."[329]

Jacobo Tafoya: "It is not unknown that there is a folkloric and despective vision from the people in the U.S. toward Canadian culture. *If you write NOTHING over Canada and U.S. over itself, do not be surprise if some people perceive a despective in that.* Watch it without the video? (?) I'm not talking about the audio: the content is outstanding, those were some great new-old words from John and I thanks the team for giving us it. *The problem here was your lack of 'something'*."[330]

Roy Philbin: "hey man, *canada ain't nothing! eh*!"[331]

Krzemianpl: "04:13 - *wait, Canada is nothing*? That's *hell of a peaceful message* to the world, mate."[332]

Patriot_In_White: "I was about to like the video, then I saw a *Big NOTHING over Canada*."[333]

Graeme Riches: "Did Canada have to represent nothing? *I'm going to cry :(*"[334]

[327] Comment on the video clip "I Met the Walrus" by ChickenVendetta (7/18/2010 3:38 PM), http://bit.ly/14mi8aj.
[328] Comment on the video clip "I Met the Walrus" by Nikki1862 (1/3/2011 4:09 AM), http://bit.ly/14mi8aj.
[329] Comment on the video clip "I Met the Walrus" by shurikenstar (1/5/11 2:13 AM), http://bit.ly/14mi8aj.
[330] Comment on the video clip "I Met the Walrus" by Jacobo Tafoya (3/2/2011 11:06 AM), http://bit.ly/14mi8aj.
[331] Comment on the video clip "I Met the Walrus" by Roy Philbin (3/5/2011 11:00 PM), http://bit.ly/14mi8aj.
[332] Comment on the video clip "I Met the Walrus" by Krzemianpl (3/31/2012 7:33 AM), http://bit.ly/14mi8aj.
[333] Comment on the video clip "I Met the Walrus" by Patriot_In_White (11/21/2011 5:46 PM), http://bit.ly/14mi8aj.
[334] Comment on the video clip "I Met the Walrus" by Graeme Riches (11/22/2011 5:20 PM), http://bit.ly/14mi8aj.

Emann43:   "*I am Canadian and I am offended*!!"[335]

As this example demonstrated the questions of national identity were very sensitive, relevant, and important for the YouTube audiences. Many people actively engaged in conversations about their country and its international reputation on the global scene, taking these questions on the personal level. This clearly evidenced that the YouTube Play community is not a neutral environment devoid of political implications. In contrast, in certain cases, like in the comment stream to the clip "I met the Walrus", YouTube Play offers a battle ground for people fighting for their national reputation and defending their national identity.

Apart from the extremely negative comments revolting against such a misrepresentation of Canada in the eyes of the global public, there were interesting messages that tried to go beyond nationalistic views and looked at the questions of the Canadian identity objectively from a perspective of a common sense and historical justice. The most interesting moment in these comments was when many people met the challenge of the negative image of their country within the international online community with a certain dignity and, definitely, with a sense of humor.

Example:

DoloresHaze84:   "LOL Canada = NOTHING! *I'm Canadian and I find that funny* XD Pretty sweet film."[336]

Necropirate: "Canada=Nothing? hahaha...*we're in trouble now*."[337]

Streborcire: "…*agree, very good, Canada=nothing, no one here but us chickens* … Hilarious! (it was recorded in a Toronto hotel room)."[338]

Isitonacornflake: "*Poor Canada … This is brilliant, positively brilliant*. I only hope to be half as amazing as John one day. :)"[339]

Joshywoshy4747: "Where it says nothing over Canada-*as a Canadian, I am not offended*."[340]

DerkaDerka66:   "So because John Lennon made brilliant music that means he is a brilliant person who has all the answers to every question there ever was and *if you*

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[335] Comment on the video clip "I Met the Walrus" by emann43 (11/21/20211 8:44 PM), http://bit.ly/14mi8aj.
[336] Comment on the video clip "I Met the Walrus" by DoloresHaze84 (10/16/10 2:38 PM), http://bit.ly/14mi8aj.
[337] Comment on the video clip "I Met the Walrus" by Necropirate (10/21/10 3:01 AM), http://bit.ly/14mi8aj.
[338] Comment on the video clip "I Met the Walrus" by streborcire (11/1/10 11:37 PM), http://bit.ly/14mi8aj.
[339] Comment on the video clip "I Met the Walrus" by Isitonacornflake (11/6/10 11:32 PM), http://bit.ly/14mi8aj.
[340] Comment on the video clip "I Met the Walrus" by Joshywoshy4747 (8/3/11 5:44 PM), http://bit.ly/14mi8aj.

think he says Canada is nothing then that must be so. Well why don't you step outside your own country and find out things for yourself because the only things you know about Canada are the things people want you to know."[341]

Nemesis962074: "…we all love Canada, *specially when traveling to other countries.*"[342]

Ryan K: "4:12 *I LIVE IN NOTHING*! :D"[343]

H2theibrid: "I laughed so hard when they labelled Canada as 'nothing' *even though I'm Canadian =D*"[344]

Rick Jones: "*Im in Canada* and when he *said its in Nothing, that was Canada*, lol."[345]

Lazystevie: "*I'm a fellow Canadian* and I'm just curious as to why you are offended by what he said. Is it cuz he labeled us as nothing? *You have to look at the context. It was 1969, what significance or major contributions did we really partake in that was revolutionary and life changing?*"[346]

The above examples demonstrate an exceptional case, when online visitors stepped back from a strict nationalistic viewpoint and tried to look at their country from a different perspective: "step outside your own country and find out things for yourself because the only things you know about Canada are the things people want you to know." These attempts at national self-criticism and realistic assessment were not necessarily pleasant exercises, however, they were quite important and valuable for people in their understanding of their country's role and position in the world. More importantly, these comments clearly illustrate that practices of national self-identification were prevalent in this online conversation. Even though people were involved in discussing rather challenging and sensitive issues, they still openly exposed their national identity which demonstrates that creating "national" communities on YouTube Play was encouraged not only by positive experiences, such as, for example, celebrations of national talents and success, but also was strongly urged by perceived threats of national misrepresentation.

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[341] Comment on the video clip "I Met the Walrus" by DerkaDerka66 (8/26/10 2:30 AM), http://bit.ly/14mi8aj.
[342] Comment on the video clip "I Met the Walrus" by nemesis962074 (1/20/12 1:35 AM), http://bit.ly/14mi8aj.
[343] Comment on the video clip "I Met the Walrus" by Ryan K (5/24/11 5:49 PM), http://bit.ly/14mi8aj.
[344] Comment on the video clip "I Met the Walrus" h2theibrid (11/22/11 6:28 AM), http://bit.ly/14mi8aj.
[345] Comment on the video clip "I Met the Walrus" Rick Jones (12/18/10 3:51 PM), http://bit.ly/14mi8aj.
[346] Comment on the video clip "I Met the Walrus" lazystevie (11/23/11 6:13 AM), http://bit.ly/14mi8aj.

In the video, this "underrepresentation" of Canada was caused by the use of irony by Canadian filmmakers, who did not have a deliberate intention to undermine the Canadian image in the global community or to offend Canadians. Some of the online users sensed that and tried to calm down aggressive and defensive Canadians engaging in textual practices of protest against such an ironic representation of their country.

Examples:

IAmKEIS   "If you listen to him say that again, he never referred Canada as the 'nothing'. That was something placed in the artists who made the video. *They're all Canadian, so I'm sure it was a joke / their way to put their countries name up there.*"[347]

Alexkwong31:   "apparently *the filmmakers are Canadian and did it as a big joke*. so its ok. *Comedy/tongue in cheek sometimes is taken out of context*"[348]

Deathmelon6789: "The producer/co-star in the film is Canadian *so I don't think he's attacking Canada as mush as making an inside joke on how most of the world sees Canada as just the "hat" of the U.S. and not as a country.*"[349]

IAmKEIS: "Even if they are foreigners, it was simply a joke. They have dick jokes, etc all over the video. *Was probably just they're way to represent their country in a funny way.*"[350]

IAmKEIS: "I've wrote a few comments back that there's no reason to act the way people are acting about the Canada thing. *There are numerous 'hidden' jokes through the video. They're all in good fun, and aren't meant to be offensive at all, to anyone.*"[351]

However, despite all these attempts to interpret the good will and positive intentions of the filmmakers, the subtle irony was not met by general Canadian audiences with expected understanding and acceptance. In contrast, as the previous examples demonstrated, people actively protested and expressed their negative attitude toward this unfavorable image of their country. This

[347] Comment on the video clip "I Met the Walrus" iAmKEIS (11/21/11 9:48 PM), http://bit.ly/14mi8aj.
[348] Comment on the video clip "I Met the Walrus" alexkwong31 (11/21/11 5:58 PM), http://bit.ly/14mi8aj.
[349] Comment on the video clip "I Met the Walrus" deathmelon6789 (11/2/11 11:54 AM), http://bit.ly/14mi8aj.
[350] Comment on the video clip "I Met the Walrus" iAmKEIS (11/21/11 7:38 PM), http://bit.ly/14mi8aj.
[351] Comment on the video clip "I Met the Walrus" iAmKEIS (11/21/11 9:56 PM), http://bit.ly/14mi8aj.

case demonstrates the high risks of appropriating irony as a rhetorical device, especially within a museum context. Canadian literary scholar Linda Hutcheon (1994), in her seminal book *Irony's Edge*, has already pointed out that the use of irony by museums in representing sensitive issues around "feminist, gay and lesbian, postcolonial, and poststructuralist theory and practice" is "dangerous" (Hutcheon 1994, 204). Through the case study of the 1989 Royal Ontario Museum exhibition entitled, "Into the Heart of Africa," which faced a demonstration by the African-Canadian community and lead to criminal charges being laid against curator Jeanne Cannizzo, Hutcheon brilliantly showed that human perceptions of irony are very unstable, unpredictable, and in most cases negative and considered unacceptable, when irony is being applied to representations of highly sensitive social issues.

The YouTube Play example also highlights that the ironic image of a country evokes active and strong reaction from national audiences and involves people in debates defending their national identity. This indicates that, despite the globalized and universalized vision of shared human problems like wars and conflicts, the questions of national identity remain very powerful and important and shape the online self-representation of many YouTube Play users.

This section provided some examples of how the theme of "Politics & Wars" was portrayed within the YouTube Play contest. These examples show that the contradicting dynamics between the cosmopolitanism character of the video content and practices of expressing nationalism, identified in two previous sections devoted to portraying topics of "Human Being" and "Space & Locality," also defines the nature of communication spaces around the clips discussing the issues of wars and conflicts. As in the other sections, these examples illuminate that even though online audiences can engage in general conversations about wars, stressing their inhumane nature and negative consequences, they are highly perceptive to misrepresentation or underrepresentation of their national identity. This dynamic points out that people can eagerly apply cosmopolitan lenses in looking at many global political problems, unless these problems directly concern their own nation and identity. In latter cases, online audiences exhibit a high degree of sensitivity and prefer to engage in online battles to defend and reconstruct their national representation in the international communication space.

7.5. Conclusion

Within the *informational* dimension, YouTube Play communicates strong cosmopolitan messages promoting universal human values and illuminating global problems and issues uniting diverse international audiences. At first glance, this commitment to cosmopolitan rhetoric suggests a strong similarity to the rhetoric of American cultural diplomacy that has traditionally promoted its national values and beliefs as universally relevant and important across the globe.

Thus, many American leaders have recently used cosmopolitan promotional appeals to market the image of the USA as a country of universal values. For example, Professor of Politics and International Affairs at Princeton University, Anne-Marie Slaughter, who also served for the Obama administration, declared:

> Our shared values are essential because they link America to the world. The belief that American values are universal values – that all men and women are created equal, that all are entitled to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness, regardless of race, creed, or nationality connects us to other nations. From the early days of the nation, Americans understood that the eyes of the world were watching our experiment – in the hope that what worked for us could work for them as well (Slaughter 2008, 7).

This and similar speeches by American politicians and diplomats shape the *informational* dimension of U.S. cultural diplomacy, making the rhetoric of cosmopolitanism one of the central means of appeal in diplomatic communication. However, as discussed earlier in the thesis, cosmopolitanism is always context-bound and culturally located, being biased towards the values and beliefs of the culture from which it speaks (Kristeva 1993). Many scholars argued that American rhetoric of cosmopolitanism is highly imperialistic, promoting "universalist" ideas of human rights, democracy and freedom from the position of the American hegemonic power in the global arena (Huntington 2004; Rayan 2007; Hayden 2011).

The cosmopolitanism of YouTube Play, however, is different from American imperialistic promotion of cosmopolitan values and ideals, especially in terms of its political and economic reasoning and logic. Though the project is organized by American organizations, it is not intended for strictly political purposes of American propaganda and the *informational* dimension of the channel does not contain massages aiming to educate or inform international audiences about American life style, values, ideals, or traditions. The cosmopolitanism of YouTube Play, as a

rhetorical construction of such transnational institutions as the Guggenheim and YouTube, has much stronger resemblance to ideologies promoted by transnational corporations, in which "difference is made superfluous by the establishment of a culture-free global neoliberalism and the activities of a flexible transnational capitalist class" (Halsall 2005; 2009).

YouTube Play, as a space of international communication, aims to target highly diverse international audiences to satisfy their needs and appeal to various cultural tastes and preferences. The Guggenheim and YouTube, as transnational actors, strategically employ a "global talk" to position themselves "as a cosmopolitan in the world, with a degree of cultural sensitivity and cultural competence as part of its competitive advantage" (Garsten 2003, 357). This is reflected in two main aspects of YouTube Play's cultural content, its global reach, and its local cultural sensitivity. Comprised of video clips produced by artists from many countries, the channel not only targets various national and cultural audiences, but also provides an opportunity for these national communities to represent themselves through video messages and online communications.

The Guggenheim and YouTube are interested in portraying themselves as organizations operating beyond national boundaries, thus, projecting their commitment and belonging to a "borderless world" (Ohmae 1990, 2000). The global unity and, at the same time, diversity, represented through the *informational* dimension of YouTube Play, do not allow the demonstration of particular cultural loyalties. Instead, through its cosmopolitan frames and forms of communication, the space exhibits a high degree of similarities between cultural values and identities which add to the construction of a cosmopolitan narrative.

Furthermore, from the perspectives of public interactions and communication, YouTube Play exhibits the characteristics of a different cosmopolitanism, which is different from both American imperialistic national promotion of universal values, as well as a global rhetoric of transnational corporations appealing to diverse markets. The cosmopolitanism that emerged through online practices of public self-expression and communication resides in social mechanisms and dynamics between online audiences and narratives, which are more "post-universalistic," "not reducible to concrete identities, but … understood as a form of cultural contestation in which the logic of translation plays a central role" (Delanty 2006, 25). Defined as a "self-problematization," "tension between the universal and the particular" social or cultural cosmopolitanism is more than just a

political ideology or an economic strategy, it is an on-going process of self-constitution redefining relationships between local, national and global which usually happens in extremely transnational spaces of communication (Appiah 2006; Delanty 2006; Hull et al. 2010).

YouTube Play creates this special interactive transnational communicative space, where online publics engage in activities of protests, negotiations, struggles, and defense. Despite a high degree of conformity to certain aspects of constructed cosmopolitan narratives, for example emotional sharing of universal human feelings or celebrating universal values of love, family, nature, friendship, the online publics predominantly refer to national affiliations as a means of self-expression and identification. The YouTube Play space provides an environment where a dynamic layer of culture emerged, so-called culture "in-the-making" – "a socially enacted, dynamic process involving the reproduction and revision of practices" (Weisingerand Salipante 2000, 384), which manifested itself in universal or cosmopolitan *forms* of online representations. Within this temporal cultural space, the homogeneity and coherence of national cultures was questioned, while diversity and subcultural tendencies were discussed as new cultural conditions of human existence. This capacity of the YouTube Play platform to reconstruct social reality through cross-cultural encounters is valuable, but at the same time quite natural in the conditions of increased globalization, immigration, and "deterritorialization" of cultural communities. In the contemporary world, "cultures are influencing one another as diverse peoples interact, making problematic the identification of cultural characteristics that are stable over time and place. Cultural differences need no longer be seen as taxonomical but as refractive…" (Weisinger and Salipante 2000, 383).

In this way, cross-cultural learning and knowing in the contemporary world is more an ongoing social process than a cognitive set of ideas, or preconceptions (Garfinkel 1991; Weisinger and Salipante 2000). YouTube Play, which brought people from 91 countries together, can be understood as an extremely saturated transnational space where various cultures converse, influence each other, and mix. Under such conditions cross-cultural learning among the YouTube Play audiences can be described as "socially produced, dynamic, active, practical, and contested" which eventually lead to the adoption of cosmopolitan *forms* of communication (Weisinger and Salipante 2000, 386).

This social process of cosmopolitan communication is marked by increasing unification and homogenization of cultural forms, modes of interaction and behavioral practices, which eventually constitute the communicative space. Though many online users were involved in textual practices celebrating or defending their countries or national identities, their online activities of national self-expressions were quite similar in terms of usage-specific frames and modes of communication. Despite the fact that these textual practices demonstrate the importance of national affiliations and stress local significance for online publics from different parts of the world, they also reveal the universal character of this behavior and demonstrate a cosmopolitan *form* of self-expression.

In this way, YouTube Play, as a strategically designed platform and, at the same time, as an emergent international social environment, is very powerful and influential because it shapes how participants communicate their national identities or express their personal geographical affiliations. Defining specific social forms of online textual behavior which are cosmopolitan in nature, the YouTube Play space "domesticates" diversity and nationalism, making them only "exotic content" rather than a combination of both form and content. By creating this unity in diversity, YouTube Play demonstrates the strong power of cultural influence on global publics. Unlike traditional cultural diplomacy, it does not provide educational opportunities for international audiences to learn about American culture and values. In contrast, it is devoid of strict national affiliations. Nevertheless, in terms of its cultural impact, it is a strong educational tool defining how people from various countries communicate and what norms of social behavior they adopt in online environments.

YouTube Play's cultural content demonstrates cosmopolitan vision and overshadows nationally specific stories, ideas, or themes. Even when in certain cases the videos featured unique national artefacts or activities, they still tapped into universal human feelings and emotions and illuminated a strong relevance to shared human concerns and problems. Interacting with this content, international online audiences engaged in conversations which in most cases only reinforced the power of cosmopolitanism to unite people on the basis of their diversity. This chapter reveals that YouTube Play, as a cooperative initiative between the "universal" museum and the YouTube channel of the transnational corporation Google, becomes a powerful form of cross-cultural communication. Reaching out to international audiences, educating them about and involving them

in cosmopolitanism as a form of social behavior and a mode of interaction with cultures, the YouTube Play can be understood as an example of "new" cultural diplomacy.

Chapter VIII.
Relational dimension: YouTube Play as a space of cross-cultural encounter

8.1. Introduction

Focusing on the *relational* dimension of YouTube Play, this chapter analyzes interactions among online audiences from a dialogical perspective. In the functional classification of three types of diplomatic messages (Fitzpatric 2010), the *relational* perspective, in contrast to the two other types, not only includes information transmission from one party to another, but enables a dialogue between participants. According to this perspective, cultural diplomacy programs are designed to bring people together to share their cultural knowledge and ideas, and establish personal relationships leading to mutual trust and respect. Cultural knowledge that emerges during a genuine dialogue has more persuasion power because it is not simply imposed by one party on another, but is created through a "truth-seeking dialogue" (Fitzpatric 2010, 91), or epistemic dialogue.

Epistemic dialogue is used "as a tool for reasoned discourse or as a means of knowing" (Mifsud and Johnson 2000, 93) through discovering, acknowledging, and negotiating cultural differences. This understanding of cultural learning comes from a hermeneutical tradition re-conceptualized by Hans-George Gadamer (1975) in his seminal work *Truth and Method.* Though he developed hermeneutical methods mainly to interpreted and understand historical texts such as the Bible, his traditions have been actively employed in recent cross-cultural communication research. Gadamer discusses dialogical practices of exploring each other's larger socio-cultural and political contexts as a way to come to a mutual agreement or understanding. For Gadamer, cross-cultural understanding is a matter of negotiating between oneself and the "other" in an active dialogue, aiming to establish a common framework or "horizon." The idea of fusing these horizons demands that understanding is not just a passive reconstruction of meaning, but "always a productive activity…" that also constantly changes the values and beliefs systems of involved participants (Gadamer 1975, 165).

Every conversation, according to Gadamer, suggests the development of a common language. This is not a matter of adjusting or adapting conversational partners to one another. In a productive conversation, participants usually come under the influence of an emerging truth and become bound to each other in a new community of meaning. Todorov (1984) also indicates that only a

dialogical type of communication makes it possible to realize a search for "truths," not as a "point of departure," but as a goal of establishing "understanding," a "common horizon" that transcends "one's own partiality and one's parochialism" (Todorov 1987, 160). Nandy (1983) further points out that while commonalities indeed make communication more possible and easy to establish, it is rather the difference that makes dialogue "necessary and valuable," because only by linking "different levels and parts" of various cultures can a learning dimension of mutual discovery be established (Nandy 1983, 17).

In line with this perspective, international communication scholars argue that a real dialogue across countries can be established through discursive practices of exchanging "opinions, counter opinions, meanings, and counter meanings – the process by which interests are asserted, negotiated, and constrained" (Heath 1993, 142). The main purpose of these discursive practices is not necessarily to defend one's own opinion or accept the point of view of the "other," but to find a middle ground where points of view intersect and the "truth" emerges. American diplomacy scholar Zaharna (2004) calls this dialogical process a "ritual" communication. She explains that it is usually more "relationship-centered" and focuses "on two-way relationship-building strategies to create links between people" (Zaharna 2004, 141).

The *relational* power of diplomatic communication has been recognized by many scholars. For example, Snow stresses that propagandistic, *promotional* or even *informational* ways of transmitting messages to international publics cannot compete in their efficiency with the *relational* approach: "today there is general agreement among researchers that personal communication has a stronger influence on people's attitudes than mass communication" (Snow 2008, 240). Historical examples from Cold War-era diplomacy demonstrate that American exchange programs have effectively employed dialogical communication to increase their persuasion power.

Historian Mulcahy (1999) indicates: "The inter-American beginnings of U.S. cultural diplomacy […] were seen increasingly as part of a 'campaign of truth' to counter Soviet propaganda" (12). Various exchange programs aimed to "expose" participants to the American system and to build personal experiences in the cultural, economic, and political context leading to developing more friendly attitudes as a result of this familiarity (Lambert 1954). Furthermore, exchanges between people (artists, scholars or scientists) were considered the most effective means of cross-cultural

communication, because they allowed people to learn from each other on a personal, rather than an official or bureaucratic level. Thus, for example, in his historical analysis of Cold War diplomacy, former U.S. Foreign Service officer Yale Richmond (2003) made a strong case for cultural exchanges. He argued they contributed more than previously recognized to "raising the Iron Curtain." Based upon interviews with Russian and American participants, his analysis of various exchange programs that took place between 1958 and 1988 demonstrates that American diplomacy based on person-to-person engagements fostered social, cultural, and political changes that paved the way for Gorbachev's reforms and an eventual collapse of the USSR, putting an end to the Cold War (Richmond 2003).

As discussed earlier, in recent years with the development of new media technologies, the important role of intercultural contacts and dialogues in cultural diplomacy has increased exponentially. Considering this strong emphasis on dialogical communication in diplomacy, it is important to explore YouTube Play as an interactive environment that can empower cross-cultural epistemic dialogue leading to better learning and understanding among participants. This chapter approaches this task through exploration and analysis of the dialogical practices among YouTube Play users. It consists of two main parts which take different directions in these explorations. The first section, "Cross-cultural dialogue among participants," examines dialogical communication among participants from different countries and focuses on the results of these interactions. Understanding YouTube Play as a communication platform with "diplomatic" potential, this chapter reveals whether its social environment provides necessary conditions for cross-cultural negotiation, learning, destruction of stereotypes, and challenging or changing cultural perspectives and opinions.

The second section, "Language negotiations," advances the analysis of dialogical communication among participants but shifts focus from the content of messages to their form. Specifically, this part explores the YouTube Play linguistic environment and discusses various mechanisms of language negotiations happening on the channel. On one hand this section intends to reinforce an empirical framework with more examples of effective cross-cultural dialogue among participants. On the other hand, it opens new horizons for investigation and analysis of the cultural impact of YouTube Play, as an extremely multicultural and multilingusitic environment. Looking at the self-organizational power of the YouTube Play "public sphere" to negotiate a common language, the

chapter reveals how online processes of linguistic homogenization unfold in transnational online environments and what political implications they entail.

8.2. Cross-cultural dialogue among participants

Being a highly diverse international environment, YouTube Play invites many people from different cultural backgrounds to participate in multicultural dialogues. In many cases, these dialogues went far beyond a mere sharing of emotions or feelings, but discussed specific questions to understand various issues or negotiate an agreement. These dialogical practices aimed to find a middle ground, a common "truth" or a solution to a problem. From the perspective of cultural diplomacy, dialogical communication can lead either to more efficient cross-cultural learning or revealing and destroying cultural stereotypes.

Cross-cultural learning occurs when participants discover and get to know cultural nuances and details. On YouTube Play there were many cases when video content generated discussions that brought participants together, revealing and discussing cultural differences. As an illustration of this, I would like to give several examples of how people shared their understandings of different national traditions or perceptions and learned about each other's differences. The following online conversation responding to the clip "Contemporary America" (Noel 2010) exposes how online commenters discussed their national cultures and mentalities.

Example:

TheCheryle2010: "*Contemporary America is fast*. If you allow external stimulation to control your emotions you may very well be represented in this short video…"[352]

Incheonlazerhead: "I prefer the *speediness of everything in America* to the *drag-feet never-ending bank holiday mentality of the British*."[353]

Nochannel: "Это германский менталитет. Приезжай в Россию :), мы рассуждать любим больше, чем действовать…"[354]
[Translated from Russian: This is a *Germanic mentality*. Come here to Russia :), *we like to contemplate more than act*…]

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[352] Comment on the video clip "Contemporary America" by TheCheryle2010 said (10/19/2010 7:36:00 AM), http://bit.ly/19ogOCc.
[353] Comment on the video clip "Contemporary America" by incheonlazerhead (10/14/2010 7:53:00 PM), http://bit.ly/19ogOCc.
[354] Comment on the video clip "Contemporary America" by nochannel (10/15/2010 7:51:00 PM), http://bit.ly/19ogOCc.

Atamv:	"Why is this the German mentality? And why do you love to talk more than act?"[355]
Gajustempus:	"Just to surprise you: Except for driving fast, *we Germans love slowing things down and give them the attention certain things deserve* (look at our bureaucracy we got. Proof enough?)"[356]
Nochannel:	"You've got a bit incorrect translation. Germanic, not German. And "рассуждать" is closer to "think audibly in conversation" than to "talk". On 1st q: *just watching traits, history and some decisions of different Germanic (by language) people, I draw a conclusion that they (compared to other Europeans) tend to be pragmatic, analytically minded individualists*, who prefer just to do, when it is clear enough what to do. I may be wrong, ofc. On 2nd q: I don't know. Kinda national trait"[357]
Nochannel:	"… oh, I wish we had your bureaucracy ... When I spoke about the Germanic mentality, I meant not 'slow down', but 'talk about more philosophical and existential questions'"[358]
Atamv:	"I used google translate, and it's not known to give the most accurate translation when it comes to words that have different meanings. :) Even though I didn't expect or meant for you to give me such an elaborate description about these things I'm still happy you did. And if the majority of your people share your view on responsible contemplation and philosophy before careless acting I hope it will spread!"[359]

This international conversation about national mentalities is an example of an epistemic dialogue which turned out to be helpful for sharing different perspectives on different countries and their pace of social life. What is really important in this polylogue is that it started with a misunderstanding of the opinion shared by a Russian user: "Это германский менталитет…" (*This is a Germanic mentality),* which was misinterpreted by the American and the German

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[355] Comment on the video clip "Contemporary America" by Atamv (10/15/2010 9:16:00 PM), http://bit.ly/19ogOCc.
[356] Comment on the video clip "Contemporary America" by gajustempus (10/16/2010 5:46:00 AM), http://bit.ly/19ogOCc.
[357] Comment on the video clip "Contemporary America" by nochannel (10/16/2010 6:17:00 AM), http://bit.ly/19ogOCc.
[358] Comment on the video clip "Contemporary America" by nochannel (10/16/2010 6:17:00 AM), http://bit.ly/19ogOCc.
[359] Comment on the video clip "Contemporary America" by Atamv (10/16/2010 5:30:00 PM), http://bit.ly/19ogOCc.

commenters as "German mentality." This misunderstanding in the case with the German participant resulted in an attempt to correct this "mistake" by providing more information about the German life style: "*we germans love slowing things…*" In the case with the American participant this evoked curiosity and a question: "Why is this the German mentality?" The Russian user in return offered his explanations, which helped to overcome misunderstandings and opened up the dialogue for further cross-cultural sharing and explorations of each other's perceptions of national cultures and traditions.

Especially from the perspective of diplomatic communication, this spontaneous short exchange demonstrates the YouTube Play capacity to inspire people to learn from each other: "I didn't expect … you to give me such an elaborate description about these things" one of the participants shared**,** but, "I'm still happy you did." Furthermore, he stressed: "And if the majority of your people *share your view on responsible contemplation and philosophy before careless acting I hope it will spread*!"[360] This last comment points to a power of cross-cultural dialogues to bring participants to mutual understanding and even acquiring new visions and perspectives. In this exchange participants passed through uncomfortable moments of confusion and came to mutual understanding and respect of each other's opinions.

The level and degree of this cross-cultural learning does not go beyond a mere sharing of personal perceptions about their own cultures. This sharing has a rather anecdotal nature, and one can question the educational impact of these personal exchanges. However, the important thing about the dialogue is its ability to lead the parties to a mutual agreement and a better understanding of each other's opinions which can encourage curiosity for further and deeper learning.

The following example demonstrates how online visitors discover and discuss national dining habits and traditions across cultures. These small conversations emerged around the video clip "Noteboek," by Dutch artist Evelien Lohbeck, in which one of the scenes shows a protagonist eating a cheese sandwich with a fork and a knife (Lohbeck 2008). This moment attracted much attention from audiences coming from various cultural backgrounds, especially from those countries where such a dining habit seemed strange or inappropriate.

Example:

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[360] Comment on the video clip "Contemporary America" by Atamv (10/16/2010 5:30:00 PM), http://bit.ly/19ogOCc.

Daniel Plus Yovino: "I am surprised that she cut her toast with a fork and knife!"[361]

Macboy09: "... I knew that Americans found that habit of us weird... But you are Italian? Don't you ever have cheese on your bread or something?"[362]

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Joshatdot: "heh very cool! … but why eat toast &cheese with knife & fork?"[363]

Melissa Domacassee: "It's a Dutch thing hahaha."[364]

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Steven Sharpe: "Who eats toast with a knife and fork?"[365]

Annenatuurlijk: "Dutch people do :)"[366]

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KC Smoke: "Who eats toast with a knife and fork?"[367]

Sylentiger: "... man, people have to remember they are NOT the only culture in the WORLD...just because you pick it up with your hands, some feel that is nasty...do you know a lot of people eat Fried Chicken, Chicken strips with a knife and fork, and watermelon, and the list goes on...Think outside of your Small box."[368]

This series of small exchanges demonstrate moments of cross-cultural learning, in which online visitors shared their discoveries of something new about other cultures. In this way, YouTube Play not only exposed people to specific details and nuances of other cultural traditions, but also helped to confirm and even explain this knowledge in dialogues with online participants. In some cases, the responses of the users to the surprised reactions of their counterparts seemed a bit aggressive: "people have to remember they are *NOT the only culture in the WORLD*," and "just because *you pick it up with your hands, some feel that is nasty*." However, they really brought cultural

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[361] Comment on the video clip "Noteboek" by Daniel Plus Yovino (8/4/2009 5:07:00 AM), http://bit.ly/1dsu64S.
[362] Comment on the video clip "Noteboek" by macboy09 (12/5/2009 7:53:00 PM), http://bit.ly/1dsu64S.
[363] Comment on the video clip "Noteboek" by Joshatdot (11/7/2010 5:37 PM), http://bit.ly/1dsu64S.
[364] Comment on the video clip "Noteboek" by Melissa Domacassee (11/9/2010 4:10 AM), http://bit.ly/1dsu64S.
[365] Comment on the video clip "Noteboek" by Steven Sharpe (10/28/10 12:08 AM), http://bit.ly/1dsu64S.
[366] Comment on the video clip "Noteboek" by annenatuurlijk (10/31/2010 12:28 PM), http://bit.ly/1dsu64S.
[367] Comment on the video clip "Noteboek" by KC Smoke (11/20/2011 12:21:00 PM), http://bit.ly/1dsu64S.
[368] Comment on the video clip "Noteboek" by Sylentiger (12/2/2011 11:00:00 AM), http://bit.ly/1dsu64S.

differences into focus and justified the existence of diversity as normal and valuable. These expressions of intolerance toward closed-mindedness very often were just overreactions to a naïve surprise and exclamations of discovery: "but why eat toast &cheese with knife & fork?" Nevertheless, they were indeed eye-opening for people from other countries, who experienced a cultural pattern break and learned to be more sensitive to cultural differences. The fact that these responses did not evoke further argument or negative feedback only proved that participants were satisfied with the answers to their surprise and accepted this new knowledge.

Again, one can seriously question the trivial character of these conversations, which are concerned with such small nuances of cultural dining habits and seem not to bring a wealth of cultural knowledge about the "other." However, the important effect of these dialogues is twofold: they not only spread awareness among online participants about cultural diversity, but they also teach people to acknowledge and respect cultural differences on all possible levels, including dining "rituals," which constitute an important part of any culture.

A wide range of epistemic dialogues included not only conversations revealing cultural differences in "doing" things, but also involved participants in more sophisticated discussions which aimed to uncover meanings of important concepts from different cultural perspectives. The following interaction between online users constitutes a genuine "truth-seeking" dialogue in which participants tried to define and understand what certain concepts signify.

Example:

Durelino: "well first... *I would use word contemplation instead of meditation cause I think meditation is thinking about nothing (or not thinking at all)* something seems wrong with the video. I am not getting it. Isn't it up to you to get your own context and see what you want to see? *The whole meditation (contemplation!) seems to be as if we are forced to go there* and yet all the content is of unquestionable importance/ relevance. …"[369]

Hamishtarah: "*In French to meditate means to think And I think that the "Zen Meditation" gave us a wrong understanding of this verb*: For the Buddhist monks who do not

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[369] Comment on the video clip "We Love Museums... Do Museums Love Us Back?" by durelino (11/11/2008 11:37:00 AM).

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practice the Zen meditation. To meditate means "thinking" they can by example meditate to resolve their (inner) conflicts in order to progress…"[370]

Durelino: "thnx. *Actually I don't know where I got the idea that contemplation and meditation is the opposite*... maybe has to do something with the Zen Buddhism. Are you sure that other than Zen Buddhists actually think? *Isn't the meditation about forgetting*... and *finally forgetting that you forgot*... getting to nirvana like Buddha did?"[371]

It is important in this case that online users referred to different cultural visions or philosophies while trying to uncover the meaning of the word "meditation." In this way, they built a respectful conversation, where mutual understanding is more important than revealed differences in personal or cultural perceptions. Even though the participants did not find a consensus in how to actually define "meditation," their dialogue seemed to be productive in terms of challenging participants' knowledge and opening up new trajectories for further explorations.

As these examples demonstrate, various online dialogues exposed participants to new ideas or perceptions which incited curiosity or spread awareness about cultural differences. In this way, YouTube Play's dialogic processes built a strong foundation for establishing a "two-way symmetrical model of public relations," (Nelson 2009) where people had a chance to persuade each other. This "two-way symmetrical model" provides a necessary frame for creating special "zones of meaning" (Heath 1993). "When actors engage in a truth-seeking discourse, they must be prepared to change their own views of the world, their interests, and sometimes even their identities" (Risse 2000, 2). This type of communication has a particularly important implication for cultural diplomacy, because it not only establishes bridges of mutual understanding and tolerance, but it also has a strong persuasive power to influence the cultural knowledge and identities of participants (Heath 1993; Riordan 2006; Nelson 2009). In this respect, YouTube Play has a strong potential to be a "mediative" space of "shared meanings" developed through "truth-seeking" dialogue and influencing each others' views and opinions.

It is important to note that not all online conversations necessarily led to mutual consensus or finding a solution to perceived shared difficulties, misunderstandings, or conflicts. As a free and

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[370] Comment on the video clip "We Love Museums... Do Museums Love Us Back?" by Hamishtarah (11/11/2008 1:33:00 PM).
[371] Comment on the video clip "We Love Museums... Do Museums Love Us Back?" by durelino (11/12/2008 5:53:00 AM).

uncensored space of global public communications, YouTube Play also allowed various types of "undiplomatic" communication, which in some cases resulted in online discrimination and racism, verbal abuse, or severe trolling. However, attempts to disrupt peaceful communication online usually only irritated participants and led them to marginalize these abusive attacks either by ignoring them completely or interrupting these threads in a very aggressive manner. Despite these occasional negative exchanges, YouTube Play was also a place for genuine cross-cultural encounter and learning, helping participants to understand the "other." Focusing on these positive cases of cross-cultural exchanges, YouTube Play can be understood as a site of "new" cultural diplomacy, where cross-cultural learning is a result of public effort, rather than a product of cultural promotion or propaganda.

Revealing and destroying cultural stereotypes is another important effect of dialogic communication. It refers to changing initial false or incorrect perceptions which exist in social discourses as cultural clichés. From a communication perspective, as Gadamer (1976) argues, these clichés cannot be divorced from the "situated position" of an interpreter. Any attempt to understand something always happens within one's background assumptions and preconceptions within existing social, cultural, and political contexts or traditions. As Inayatullah and Blaney also explain, "there is no such thing as 'first contact,'" because it always happens before an actual cross-cultural encounter on the level of imagination (Inayatullah and Blaney 1996, 79). Before encountering each other in real life, people from various cultural backgrounds have already developed strong perceptions of each other's cultures which are constructed on the basis of their personal experiences and knowledge.

Understanding, in this case, includes stepping beyond one's existing cultural prejudices and placing oneself within a new situation or tradition (Gadamer 1975, 272), which is achieved through a cross-cultural dialogue. Dialogical communication can change initial prejudices and develop a new vision and understanding to destroy stereotypes shaped by myths, texts, and traditions. On YouTube Play, online users actively engaged in various conversations which were very helpful in revealing cultural stereotypes. The following examples, collected from different comment streams, demonstrate a wide scope and diversity of online conversations in which online participants actively protested against stereotypes and tried to bring to the public's attention a need to correct trivial misconceptions.

Example:

Girl0Interrupted0: "Actually, this is very interesting... for those of you who did not understand, allow me to explain my personal deduction. I think that either the creator *is trying to fight stereotypes* of how each gender is meant to behave. We are shown a woman who fantasizes about having a family, aka, *the stereotype of women just being objects for sex and birth*, and we are shown a man who fantasizes about fucking, aka, *the stereotype that all men care about is sex*."[372]

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Aud582: "… When it was made, this video was aimed for France. Then, no need to start saying wrong things about French people not speaking or writing in English because they think they are the best. *Let's just forget the stereotypes!* I'm French and I enjoy as much speaking English or any other language I know as I enjoy speaking my mother tongue. So, let's wait for the subs and then, you'll tell us if shy people act the same way in your country as they do in our."[373]

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MechaManUpgraded: "You are pathetic … *who Stereotypes Americans as Fat people and Couch Potatoes. Not all Americans are like that*… I'm also willing to bet money that you haven't even been to America either, have you? …"[374]

These examples illustrate that YouTube Play visitors quickly reacted to stereotypical thinking if it was exposed in online discussions, and tried to share their personal opinions ("allow me to explain my *personal deduction*"), cultural perspectives ("*I'm French* and I enjoy as much speaking English … as I enjoy speaking my mother tongue"), and experiences ("…*you haven't even been to America either…*"), to reveal stereotypes before they were further reinforced in the course of online discussions.

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[372] Comment on the video clip "Deuce" by Girl0Interrupted0 (10/12/2010 8:52 PM), http://bit.ly/1gA5VRN.
[373] Comment on the video clip "Le Syndrome du Timide - The Shy Syndrome" by Girl0Interrupted0 (10/23/2010 10:03 AM), http://bit.ly/16lf4rJ.
[374] Comment on the video clip "Western Spaghetti by PES" by Natalya Nieves (3/26/13 5:58 PM), http://bit.ly/1fyFhuP.

In order to demonstrate the power of online conversations to destroy stereotypes, I would like to examine and analyze the following example in more detail. This online conversation presents an online "fight" against cultural ignorance and ethnic and racial stereotypes. The conversation emerged in the comment stream to the musical clip "Zef Side," produced by a South African musical rap band *Die Antwoord* (Die Antwoord 2010).

Example:

Natalya Nieves: ".............what's their nationality?"[375]

Meaghansarah89: "South African."[376]

<center>***</center>

Ashtonlegoguy: "what country r they from?"[377]

i7887: "South Africa."[378]

<center>***</center>

GFCDelta: "they are from South Africa but they are white."[379]

Freshklain: "*i'm south african too and i am white, how is that unusual*?... for the same reason *why not all americans are indians*. South Africa was a colony, and was run by white people for a long time…"[380]

<center>***</center>

MelissACID: "*I still wonder why, with all the information we have, there are still people who think africans are all black*, south americans are all indians and europeans are all white..."[381]

Lari-Chanel: "*Zef is common, white afrikaans. It's the poorer white afrikaner*, VERY common, but funny …, it's what I would have been if my Mom hadn't found an english man to make babies with."[382]

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[375] Comment on the video clip "Die Antwoord - Zef Side" by MechaManUpgraded (6/22/13 10:55 AM), http://bit.ly/1ldNo6l.
[376] Comment on the video clip "Die Antwoord - Zef Side" by meaghansarah89 (3/26/13 6:51 PM), http://bit.ly/1ldNo6l.
[377] Comment on the video clip "Die Antwoord - Zef Side" by Ashtonlegoguy (2/15/13 9:57 AM), http://bit.ly/1ldNo6l.
[378] Comment on the video clip "Die Antwoord - Zef Side" by i7887 (2/15/13 10:13 AM), http://bit.ly/1ldNo6l.
[379] Comment on the video clip "Die Antwoord - Zef Side" by GFCDelta (2/16/13 4:02 AM), http://bit.ly/1ldNo6l.
[380] Comment on the video clip "Die Antwoord - Zef Side" by Freshklain (2/16/13 7:27 AM), http://bit.ly/1ldNo6l.
[381] Comment on the video clip "Die Antwoord - Zef Side" by MelissACID (2/17/13 8:30 PM), http://bit.ly/1ldNo6l.
[382] Comment on the video clip "Die Antwoord - Zef Side" by Lari-Chanel Hallowes (3/15/13 7:01 PM), http://bit.ly/1ldNo6l.

kimberawification13: *"south africa is pretty damn far from the equator....what did you expect?* everyone from africa is black? i know a lot of people assume that..."[383]

Brian Prince: "yeah i think thats just ppls … tendency to attribute everything with a beat to 'black music'. ppl here *dont realize how different we are than other areas of the world not that there isnt european or asian racist its pretty apparent to anyone judging us against the rest of the world we still have a pretty serious problem...* i guess with educating ourselves? that being said (and remembering 50 yrs ago) it could be worse i guess."[384]

Fireblaze15: "They look like that cuz *south africa is all mixed cultures and whatnot.*"[385]

This example demonstrates that the question of African "whiteness" became a sensitive issue for debates that involved participants in fights against existing cultural illiteracy and brought a certain clarity to some sensitive issues. These comments illustrate how online visitors emotionally revolted against stereotypical thinking about white South Africans: "I still wonder why, with all the information we have, there are still people who think Africans are all black." More importantly, participants used different types of arguments to explain why these false perceptions were so rude and ignorant. Thus, they employed different geographical ("…far from the equator…"), historical ("… a colony, and was run by white people..."), or cultural ("Africa is all mixed cultures") reasoning to uncover some realities of the country and offer initial explanations for such a phenomenon. Through sharing their own ideas and perceptions the concerned participants intended to correct stereotypical vision and improve cultural competences of less aware online visitors.

It is important to stress here that though this conversation demonstrates a strong intention on behalf of participants to destroy existing cross-cultural stereotypes, its educational capacity and degree of informational richness is probably quite low. Indeed, YouTube Play's fast-paced, uncensored online environment, with its distractions and changes, does not allow the establishment of the kind of enduring flows of informational exchange that can lead to more in-depth and rich cross-cultural learning. Nonetheless, these conversations are very important and meaningful, because they

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[383] Comment on the video clip "Die Antwoord - Zef Side" by kimberawification13 (4/18/13 9:14 PM), http://bit.ly/1ldNo6l.
[384] Comment on the video clip "Die Antwoord - Zef Side" by Brian Prince (4/14/13 12:12 AM), http://bit.ly/1ldNo6l.
[385] Comment on the video clip "Die Antwoord - Zef Side" by Fireblaze15 (5/21/13 2:37 PM), http://bit.ly/1ldNo6l.

demonstrate that online participants do care about false misconceptions and immediately jump into conversations to fight stereotypes.

These protests against cultural illiteracy may not provide comprehensive knowledge about various cultural phenomena, however they have a strong power to warn online participants about their misbeliefs and incorrect behavior. In the above comment stream, explanations provided by different users did not evoke further negative feedback or replies from people to whom these comments were addressed. This "silence" indicates that people who expressed their initial cultural ignorance seemed to acknowledge their mistakes and accept that they were not only wrong, but rude.

This example also reinforces findings from the previous chapter, which demonstrated that people are very sensitive to the misrepresentation of their countries and nations, and they will actively engage in online conversations to change these misconceptions. Even though these perceived "threats," first unite people from the same country in their textual practices of protests, there are also other cases which demonstrate a multicultural "cooperation" in revealing and destroying stereotypes.

For example, the comment stream posted to "Precise Peter," a cartoon created by German artist Martin Schmidt, illustrates how German-, Russian-, English-, and Polish-speaking participants engaged in discussions defending German culture and history (Schmidt 2010). In his cartoon, Schmidt employed irony as a means to capture the strong national spirit and respect for traditions, order, and precision. However, his irony on national character generated many negative comments, leading to debates around sensitive issues of German society and history.

Example:

Mrkaysagthey: "ich frag mich was das thema dahinter sein soll... etwa strenge erziehung? oder fürsorge an sich?"[386]

[Translated from German: I wonder what is the theme behind this movie: is it *about strict rules of bringing up children or is it more about the whole society*?]

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[386] Comment on the video clip "Precise Peter" by mrkaysagthey (9/20/2010 1:16 PM), http://bit.ly/1aWja1Z.

PPGCSuicide: "... ich kann mir gut vorstellen das es bestimmt so ähnlich penible Menschen hier in Germany leben."[387]

[Translated from German: ... *I can imagine that it rather pictures so vividly the meticulous character of people who live here in Germany…*]

Hass740: "Дибильный мультфильм. Тупой и плоский юмор, который отупляет детей!"[388]

[Translated from Russian: Bad animation. *It is rather flat and stupid humor, which is dangerous for children.*]

NoMoreDenis: "Мульт не то что бы для детей, в нем высмеивается так сказать шаблонизация, воспитание детей путем прививания им ненужных стандартов. Здесь это в виде того, что всё должно быть по линейке, прям как в армии. И противопоставлена этому детская непосредственность. Ребенок у которого всё криво-косо."[389]

[Translated from Russian: *But this animation is not for children. It makes fun of social standards, as well as of parenting based on transmission of these strict social patterns of behavior.* In the cartoon the parents and other members of the family obey strict rules, just like in the army. And their behavior is opposed to the spontaneity of their youngest child, who does everything wrong, in his own naïve way.]

Aleksander Dmowski: "*Dad is a Hitler soldier*?"[390]

Zabikrolik: "Takie mam własnie zdanie o Niemcach. hehehehe dokładnie takie." [391]

[Translated from Polish: *This animation totally corresponds to my own opinion about the Germans*. Hehehehe *exactly*."]

ZUOtoMy: "nie "hitlery" tylko Niemiec i nie wiem jakie to ma znaczenie kto animacje zrobił, skoro jest fajna."[392]

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[387] Comment on the video clip "Precise Peter" by PPGCSuicide (9/20/2010 2:26 PM), http://bit.ly/1aWja1Z.
[388] Comment on the video clip "Precise Peter" by Hass740 (9/22/10 2:56 AM), http://bit.ly/1aWja1Z.
[389] Comment on the video clip "Precise Peter" by NoMoreDenis (9/22/10 5:33 AM), http://bit.ly/1aWja1Z.
[390] Comment on the video clip "Precise Peter" by Aleksander Dmowski (9/22/10 7:12 AM), http://bit.ly/1aWja1Z.
[391] Comment on the video clip "Precise Peter" by zabikrolik (9/22/10 9:24 AM), http://bit.ly/1aWja1Z.
[392] Comment on the video clip "Precise Peter" by ZUOtoMy (9/22/10 11:16 AM), http://bit.ly/1aWja1Z.

	[Translated from Polish: *But "Hitlers" were born not only in Germany*, and it has nothing to do with this amazing animation.]
Nin0nata:	"Jaka patologia i walnięty na głowe ojciec matka z synem wafle a ten dzieciak jedynie normalny , xd . beznadziejne."[393]
	[Translated from Polish: *What a pathologic, sick society portrayed in the images of the father, mother, sons and daughters*, and only the youngest kid is normal. This is hopeless.]
Smalin:	"Is this a homage to Der Struwwelpeter[394]?"[395]
Herrschmidt.tv:	"I guess it is.. I grew up with Heinrich Hoffmanns stories and really love them!"[396]
CSILin:	"Don't think so, it's more an *hommage to the typical German precise tick*…"[397]
Dogspeaker39:	"*Stupid stereotype with Germanophobia*. Dad in video was born after WWII, in 50th years in 20 Century…*Don't touch our world History. Grannies made their problem, but our live is not them*."[398]

This conversation touched upon some difficult issues for Germans. Certain users directly related German precision and respect for strict order to Hitler and his totalitarian regime: "Dad is a Hitler soldier." Such references are offensive to Germans, because Hitler is associated with the most shameful part of German history. However, what is important is that many participants, and not necessarily Germans, protested against these stereotypes about German culture and resisted the association of the animation's characters with this historical figure. "*But 'Hitlers' were born not only in Germany*," a Polish user insightfully pointed out. Many other participants also resisted such direct associations and offered explanations which tended to rise above narrow associations with

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[393] Comment on the video clip "Precise Peter" by Nin0nata (9/22/10 11:24 AM), http://bit.ly/1aWja1Z.
[394] *Der Struwwelpeter* (1845), or *Shockheaded Peter*, is a German children's book by Heinrich Hoffmann. It comprises 10 illustrated and rhymed stories, mostly about children. Each has a clear moral that demonstrates the disastrous consequences of misbehavior in an exaggerated way. The title of the first story provides the title of the whole book.
[395] Comment on the video clip "Precise Peter" by smalin (9/25/10 6:48 PM), http://bit.ly/1aWja1Z.
[396] Comment on the video clip "Precise Peter" by Herrschmidt.tv (9/26/10 3:43 AM), http://bit.ly/1aWja1Z.
[397] Comment on the video clip "Precise Peter" by CSILin (10/20/2010 4:23 PM), http://bit.ly/1aWja1Z.
[398] Comment on the video clip "Precise Peter" by dogspeaker39 (11/11/2010 3:41 AM), http://bit.ly/1aWja1Z.

only German society: "*But this animation ... makes fun of social standards, as well as of parenting based on transmission of strict social patterns of behavior.*"

Though some users indeed rather aggressively protested against "*Stupid stereotype with Germanophobia,*" their comments really disrupted and prevented further destructive comments evoking negative reference to German history. This example illustrates that though national stereotypes do recur on YouTube Play, they often are critically addressed and challenged by participants from different countries whose insights and concerns helped to prevent the development of negative sentiments towards particular cultures.

There is an extensive body of literature, including cross-cultural communication scholarship, conflict resolution, and education studies, that explore the ability of human interaction to undermine national stereotypes (Bellamy and Weinberg, 2008). Drawing on these findings, cultural diplomacy programs and exchanges have always aspired to, "diminish certain national stereotypes, give judgments a real-world basis, and provide experiential references for those who influence public opinion" (Mulcahy 1999, 12). The assumption that person-to-person exchanges are powerful means to fight bad will and misunderstanding is based on the observation that distance between people from different countries only reinforces false perceptions and encourages divisive stereotypes. Cultural differences, as many scholars confirm, "are often trivialised, exoticised and essentialised as ends in themselves" (Guo and Beckett 2007, 126). However, during personal cross-cultural contacts, participants are able "to increase intercultural competence" leading to a better trust and understanding.

Unlike traditional cultural diplomacy, YouTube Play does not and cannot provide a space where people can meet each other in real life. Geographical and physical distances remain and in some cases even prevent meaningful and deep cross-cultural learning experiences. Nevertheless, online audiences promptly react against stereotypes and actively self-"police" the comments streams of online conversations to fight "wrong" representations of their cultures, values, and traditions. With significant limitations, YouTube Play still is a powerful communication space where cross-cultural contact frequently occurs without control or censorship, which in many cases leads to spreading a better awareness about cultural differences and improving the cross-cultural competencies of online users. In this way, the *relational* dimension of YouTube Play enhances the capacities of the channel to be a platform of cultural diplomacy. These "diplomatic" powers are not necessarily

purposefully designed for achieving specific political objectives. Being only a side-effect of online cross-cultural communication, the YouTube Play "diplomacy," however, has a positive impact upon online audiences.

8.3. Language negotiations

This section looks at how users negotiated their linguistic existence on YouTube Play and what language they used as *lingua franca*. Through various examples of cross-cultural negotiations and debates, which further expose YouTube Play's *relational* dimension, this section strengthens previous findings and reveals the strong cultural influences of the platform upon international audiences, specifically in the linguistic context.

In terms of linguistic diversity, the potential of YouTube Play as a platform for international online communication was quite high. Participants and followers of the project communicated in 26 different languages, including non-European languages, such as Hebrew or Arabic, for example, as well as Japanese, Malay or Russian (See Appendix 3). However, 91 per cent of all comments were posted in English, which indicates that YouTube Play is a predominantly English speaking "community." This situation is not very different than the state of linguistic diversity on YouTube or the Internet generally. According to the 2013 statistics, English remains one of the most spoken languages on the Internet. Even though the Internet's global penetration rate steadily increases, and more and more people from different linguistic backgrounds use the Internet on a daily basis, English remains a dominant language. Among the top 10 languages used on the Web, English is used by the largest portion of internet users – 28.6 per cent, outnumbering Chinese (23.2 per cent) and Spanish (7.9 per cent), which take the second and third places among the most spoken languages on the net (Internet World Stats 2013). However, these general statistics do not necessarily reflect a complete picture of local language uses, especially within various national linguistic contexts. Considering that, "hundreds of millions of people are already participating online today in languages other than English," with a growing trend "continuing in the years to come" (Danet and Herring 2007), the Internet has become a platform for new forms of communication and interaction in local languages. Recent scholarship on language uses online demonstrates that with the increase of multilingual offerings on the Web, the Internet is becoming "a space of multiple languages, rather than a space of multilingualism" (Kelly-Holmes 2013, 144). As Pariser points out, the Internet is a monolingual "bubble" (Pariser 2012), due to the fact that

more languages are achieving their own bounded spaces and places of use on the Web (Warschauer et al. 2007; Kelly-Holmes 2013). There is, for example, "Russian Internet," "Chinese Internet," or "Spanish Web," each of which provide exhaustive and rich resources in native languages that satisfy local users who do not necessarily need to use English to consume cultural content or interact with people from the same linguistic background.

Furthermore, many global social networking sites and search engines – in their attempt to diversify and enlarge consumers markets – allow hyperdifferentiation in relation to languages and are available in many native languages.

> For example, Facebook is available in Irish, Northern Sámi, and Pirate English, while Google offers its search engine in Klingon, the fictional language of the "Star Trek" science fiction television series and movie franchise. Furthermore, search engines use information about users' geographically based internet protocol (IP) addresses to tailor user content and trajectories to their assumed linguistic profile, while online translation tools automatically "warn" users of content in languages other than the one associated with that geographic location, offering to localise the "foreign" content for them (Kelly-Holmes 2013, 135).

In terms of spatial, temporal and linguistic reach, the Internet is becoming more "bordered," confining individuals to national boundaries and national language groupings (Kelly-Holmes 2006). Even in bilingual settings where English is officially used as a language of education and professional communication, native language is used extensively in personal and informal communications, including online chats and interactions on the social Web (Paolillo 2001; Warschauer et al. 2007). Likewise, diaspora communities online prefer to use their home languages for interpersonal communication rather than languages of their host countries, and even within bilingual online environments they tend to establish niches in which their home language remains dominant (Androutsopoulos 2007). All these findings suggest that even though English is the most spoken language online, it is not necessarily the most used language of communication in various ethnic and national communities on the Internet.

Nevertheless, the situation in international online communities is quite different. Even though in many cases these settings are largely informal, uncontrolled and uncensored, English becomes the most common language for communication among English and non-native English speakers (Švelch 2015, 172). Richard Rose points out that "English appears to be operating as a *lingua*

franca in many areas of web culture" (Rose 2008), and non-native speakers of English have for a long time outnumbered speakers of other languages, making English a global language of communication. Indeed, English remains a leading language of communication in various international contexts: "in political debates, at scientific conferences, in the media, as well as more widely in popular culture" (Axelsson et al. 2007, 363; Crystal 1997; Phillipson 1992). On the Internet, as Burns further points out, English has become the "global language, the international lingua franca, and that its future in the information age is assured" (Burns 2003, 18).

Some scholars even argue that English is frequently chosen as an international language in various multicultural platforms of online communication, because it has come to be "ideologized" as a "neutral" language (Cheshire and Moser 1994; Callahan 2005; Park and Wee 2012), or even a "global" language (Martin 2011; Kelly-Holmes 2005). "English is fetishized as the 'neutral' choice, the 'global'" choice, the language of technology and modernity" (Kelly-Holmes 2013, 136). Even though some critical scholars warn that the "very idea of language neutrality is deeply ideological in nature" (Wee 2010, 422), native and non-native speakers of English keep using it as a *lingua franca* in multicultural online environments.

YouTube Play, which aspired to be a truly international online channel, is an example of a multicultural online setting where English has become the dominant language of communication among participants from various countries. On the one hand, YouTube Play demonstrated a high respect to artists from various linguistic backgrounds by posting invitation videos of the contest in 14 different languages. On the other hand, even though it, indeed, allowed many users to express themselves in various languages, the design and content of the channel strongly shaped the linguistic preferences of online communications, making English the master language.

Thus, the YouTube Play video content strongly appealed to English speaking audiences, either because the videos were produced by Anglophones (57 per cent of all selected videos), or because they were adapted for English speaking publics (98 per cent). Logically, the majority of comments generated by this content were written in English (See Appendix 3), because active consumption and interaction with this content required at least minimal English language skills. In contrast, a small number of YouTube Play videos that were not adapted for English speaking audiences demonstrated a much higher number of comments posted in native languages. For example, the Italian film "L'amante" was produced, described, and annotated in Italian, and it received all of its

comments in that language (Peronace 2010). Likewise, the Russian film "Iron" (Kurnosenko 2010) was produced exclusively in Russian without translation or subtitles, and 56 per cent of the comments it generated were in Russian, while another Russian cartoon, "Give Peace a Dance," with a title and descriptions in English, received no Russian comments (Shaburanov 2010). This clearly indicates that the choice of finalists and shortlisted videos, which favored Anglophone content, were strictly defined by YouTube Play's English-speaking audiences.

Oriented for English-speaking publics, YouTube Play established certain linguistic norms which were willingly accepted, exercised, and even defended not only by native English speakers, but also by online users of different linguistic backgrounds. Several studies of international online communities have already revealed that within international online communication spaces, minority languages introduced by participants are rarely accepted by native or non-native speakers of English (Axelsson et al. 2007). Being perceived as a "utility language," a *lingua franca* that is used to make oneself understood and to communicate with others, English mostly acts as a shared or "backup" language in multicultural, or so-called "cosmopolitan" settings, which usually marginalize other languages (Axelsson et al. 2007).

This acceptance and promotion of English as the most comfortable language for communication among online publics was quite visible on YouTube Play. Specifically, some participants advocated for English as the most appropriate language for international communication on the channel. For example, when video narrations were not in English, or were in "bad English," or when English subtitles were not available, some visitors actively complained and requested English translations. The following examples illustrate this by providing comments posted on various YouTube Play videos.

Example:

FabTheGap:　　　"Oh man what an awesome movie!!! But *couldn't you have taken English as a language so that it would have been even cooler and readable for everyone all over the planet*? P.S. I'm from Germany, not USA ;-)"[399]

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[399] Comment on the video clip "Noteboek" by FabTheGap (10/20/2008 6:11:00 PM).

BloodedXX: "I don't want to sound rude but *if you're making a video in English, be sure to look through the speech before filming*. There were a few small mistakes. Anyway, nice video, good work."[400]

WillBillHMS: "Pretty and very artistic, *I just wish I could understand what the person meant in the description*. Broken English is such a pain at times."[401]

Wackydude3333: "In English please..."[402]

Lebleufleur: "*Some captioning in English would be awesome*, particularly because of the important message he's giving, and *the difficulty to some not fully speakers of English to understand it* because of the challenge that the accent and the voice saturation gives. Thank you, it would be WIDELY appreciated, and thank you for uploading this, it really inspired me."[403]

Gmac8819: "even as a native speaker of English, I have a hell of a time understanding these speakers! *Thank God for subtitles*!!"[404]

Lecisko: "*English subtitles would be nice next time for us who don't have English as their native language*. Thanks!"[405]

AGetzler: "*This needs subtitles*. I couldn't make out the narration, it was so soft. Otherwise haunting and beautiful."[406]

In these comments to various videos, different online participants emphasized how important it was to communicate in proper English on YouTube Play. As some comments clearly illuminate, even non-native English speakers requested linguistic support (i.e. subtitles or translations in English), thus demonstrating their acceptance of and agreement with established linguistic norms which placed English in the dominant position. However, not all online users took such a conformist perspective on the use of English as online *lingua franca*. Several online debates on YouTube Play indicate that the position of English was challenged by some participants who protested its dominance. Nevertheless, these protests did not only change the established linguistic

[400] Comment on the video clip "Some of My Dreams" by BloodedXX (4/10/11 9:29 AM), http://bit.ly/17XGIyM.
[401] Comment on the video clip "Wow tenspace" by WillBillHMS (2/28/09 11:27 PM), http://bit.ly/159Svad.
[402] Comment on the video clip "About YouTube Play" by wackydude3333 (6/14/2010 4:34:00 PM), http://bit.ly/1C0yD8M.
[403] Comment on the video clip "I Met the Walrus" by lebleufleur (12/3/10 3:23 AM), http://bit.ly/14mi8aj.
[404] Comment on the video clip "Taxi III Stand Up and Cry Like a Man" by gmac8819 (10/24/10 5:41 AM), http://bit.ly/18TwwKO.
[405] Comment on the video clip "Nigel" by lecisko (10/15/10 12:13 PM), http://bit.ly/1Gwa4og.
[406] Comment on the video clip "The Traveling Rooms of a Little Giant" by AGetzler (10/26/10 5:52 PM), http://bit.ly/1ERhuB4.

norm s on YouTube Play, but also seemed to engage some non-native speakers to defend English as the most appropriate language on the channel.

The following example is based on a conversation around a French film, "Le Syndrome du Timide – The Shy Syndrome," by French artist Pierre-Axel Vuillaume-Prézeau (Vuillaume-Prézeau 2010). The clip is in French and initially was posted on YouTube without English subtitles. However, after numerous debates and negotiations happened on the comment stream for this video, the artist provided English subtitles, demonstrating his respect to all online viewers who could not understand it in French.

Example:

Tricipitinus: "…no English subtitles? EPIC FAIL."[407]

Antoine Grondin: "You don't speak French? Oh, what a shame!"[408]

Tricipitinus: "I *did learn 3 foreign languages*…and you? the point is - *most ppl understand English.* so i*f you want an international audience provide at least English subs. not everyone subdues himself to the demigods of France…*"[409]

Illumirage: "Well, *I wish this was translated into English*. But visually, it was pretty impressive. Nice work."[410]

Weylwargot: "nein! ich bin eigentlich kein Franzose. Französisch ist mir egal. Ich glaube nur, dass man ohne Englisch überleben sollte. Es hat mit keiner vermutlichen Überlegenheit der französische Sprache zu tun, so zu sagen. Es geht um Würde. Warum denn sollte ich alles in Englisch übersetzen?! Wenn ich Regiseur wäre, würde ich das nie machen-so sollten die Leute meine Muttersprache (nämlich Spanisch) lernen." [411]

[Translated from German: "I'm not a Frenchman. French do not care. *I just believe that you should survive without English.* It has nothing to do with any supposed superiority of the French language, to speak. *It's about*

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[407] Comment on the video clip "Le Syndrome du Timide - The Shy Syndrome" by Tricipitinus (10/22/2010 12:14:00 PM), http://bit.ly/16lf4rJ.
[408] Comment on the video clip "Le Syndrome du Timide - The Shy Syndrome" by Antoine Grondin (10/22/10 1:29 PM), http://bit.ly/16lf4rJ.
[409] Comment on the video clip "Le Syndrome du Timide - The Shy Syndrome" by Tricipitinus (10/22/2010 3:23:00 PM), http://bit.ly/16lf4rJ.
[410] Comment on the video clip "Le Syndrome du Timide - The Shy Syndrome" by Illumirage (10/22/10 3:56 PM), http://bit.ly/16lf4rJ.
[411] Comment on the video clip "Le Syndrome du Timide - The Shy Syndrome" by weylwargot (10/22/2010 5:49:00 PM), http://bit.ly/16lf4rJ.

Tricipitinus: "ich behaupte auch nicht, dass man alles immer auf englisch einstellen muss - aber wenn man ein kurzvideo an einem internationalen (bzw. englischen - nämlich guggenheim museum) wettbewerb teilnehmen lässt - dann erwarte ich mir das ehrlich gesagt schon!" 412

[Translated from German: "I do not claim that everything always has to adjust to English – *but if you have a short video in an international contest, organized by an Anglophone museum, such as the Guggenheim, and you want to be competitive – then, I sincerely expect that it should be translated into English*!"]

Yipme: "@Tricipitinus the video never said French people were better than the rest of the world, or that everybody should learn French, and as *it's a French video, so they speak French... maybe the crew didn't have the time to put the subs, no need here to be rude.*"413

Zeleon22:   "either way, *they're not obliged to put English subs in it to satisfy non-French speakers*. You won't get the full meaning of the video if you're not Francophone, but it's still an impressive piece."414

Antoine Grondin: "Nice to you, *but if you don't know French, it is your very own problem*, and not *ours to translate for you every piece of YouTube you would require us to provide with subtitles*. You should consider avoiding to declare something an *"EPIC FAIL"* if you want to be better understood in the future."415

Pierre-Axel Vuillaume-Prézeau (film director):   "*subtitles are coming soon*! I'm working on it, it's not easy to do and I was

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412 Comment on the video clip "Le Syndrome du Timide - The Shy Syndrome" by Tricipitinus (10/22/2010 5:51:00 PM), http://bit.ly/16lf4rJ.
413 Comment on the video clip "Le Syndrome du Timide - The Shy Syndrome" by yipme (10/22/10 7:01 PM), http://bit.ly/16lf4rJ.
414 Comment on the video clip "Le Syndrome du Timide - The Shy Syndrome" by Zeleon22 (10/22/10 7:34 PM), http://bit.ly/16lf4rJ.
415 Comment on the video clip "Le Syndrome du Timide - The Shy Syndrome" by Antoine Grondin (10/22/10 9:34 PM), http://bit.ly/16lf4rJ.

in New York so I can't do it until now! Thanks"[416]

Tricipitinus: "again for all francophonics here: I do NOT demand that every YouTube video has to have English translation. *But I DO think it would be wise to add at least English subs for a video that has taken part in an international competition for an international (or even mainly English speaking) audience. As I just saw pehaboy [film director] already announced integrating English subs soon, thx for that*!"[417]

Mex1jvr: "shut people complaining about English subs, not everyone speaks English in the world, quit being ethnocentric...... congrats to you pehaboy, I love the vid. Je parlez un peu de francaise. But I speak German English and Spanish.... it is a little hard to understand, but I will find a way! (currently learning French in college)..."[418]

Pierre-Axel Vuillaume-Prézeau (film director): "English Subtitles are available!"[419]

These comments show how international audiences deliberated around the issues of linguistic priorities on YouTube Play. On one hand, many users advocated against English language dominance and emphasized that video creators were "not obliged to put English subs … to satisfy non-French speakers." On the other hand, those requesting English translation insisted that, "*a short video in an international contest, organized by an Anglophone museum, such as the Guggenheim,*" should be translated into English to reach as broad an audience as possible. In this way, these messages emphasized the cosmopolitan nature of the online platform and stressed the international or global nature of English, the language of the majority. The author of the video did apologize for not providing the English subtitles in the first place and made them available on the 17th of October, 2010, and the subtitles were positively welcomed by grateful audiences. This debate challenged the dominance of English, but also reinforced it. The fact that the author of the

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[416] Comment on the video clip "Le Syndrome du Timide - The Shy Syndrome" by Pierre-Axel Vuillaume-Prézeau (10/23/10 1:55 AM), http://bit.ly/16lf4rJ.
[417] Comment on the video clip "Le Syndrome du Timide - The Shy Syndrome" by Tricipitinus (10/23/10 4:39 AM), http://bit.ly/16lf4rJ.
[418] Comment on the video clip "Le Syndrome du Timide - The Shy Syndrome" by mex1jvr (10/23/10 2:48 PM), http://bit.ly/16lf4rJ.
[419] Comment on the video clip "Le Syndrome du Timide - The Shy Syndrome" by Pierre-Axel Vuillaume-Prézeau (10/24/10 9:03 AM), http://bit.ly/16lf4rJ.

video translated it into English (though translation was not required to participate in the contest) reveals the power of YouTube Play, as a cosmopolitan environment, to set linguistic priorities.

Apart from open debates which eventually led to strengthening the dominance of English on YouTube Play, non-native English-speaking audiences supported the linguistic norms on the channel through various textual practices. Specifically, many international audiences translated their messages in English, thus, demonstrating that this is "the language by which one can reach most people. Therefore, if one wants to be seen and known online, one must communicate in English" (Axelsson et al. 2007, 376). Considering that YouTube is not directly connected to Google Translate, a free online language service for language translations, communicating in native languages on YouTube Play in certain cases caused discomfort for participants, who actively tried to overcome these language barriers. In order to be heard by the majority, many online commenters who posted to different YouTube Play videos made efforts to communicate in English to establish a truly dialogical communication, especially with speakers of other languages.

Example:

鵬文 陳: "HI,你好,你看不懂我說的中文.但是我還是要跟你說,你的作品超級棒!!!!我是一群小朋友的老師,他們說要留言給你,跟你說,你繼續加油加油加油加油加滿油,好讓我們有更多好的作品可以欣賞喔~~:) HI, *Hello, I say you can not read Chinese, but I still want to tell you* that your work is superb!!!! Group of kids I was a teacher, they said to leave a message to you, tell you, you continue refueling fill up, so that we have more good works can admire Oh ~ ~ :)"[420]

[Chinese → English]

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[420] Comment on the video clip "Autumn Story" by 鵬文 陳 (3/10/10 12:22 PM), http://bit.ly/cRieqy.

Rivasrocks06660: "it's very easy this short. It's based in an urban legend of Chile something about people who leaves the skin on the nights to be an animal, it's a very good story."[421]

Rivasrocks06660: "esta muy bueno el film por que si conoces tradiciones chilenas hay leyendas que cuentan esto, heneal corto."[422]

[Spanish → English]

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Ural Machianov: "Интересная работа, а сколько кадров в секунду?"[423]

Ural Machianov: "Interesting work, but how many fps per second?"[424]

[Russian → English]

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Armorel67: "We have an everyday symphony at our backyard... My husband calls it "O.S.P.A", Orquestra Sinfônica dos Passarinhos do Adriano, *in English something like "A.B. S.O.", Adriano Birds Symphonic Orchestra."[425]*

[Portuguese → English]

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Kiwiskateboarding: "I just saw this at the Guggenheim!!!! Je vien Juste de voir ca au Guggenheim !!!!!"[426]

[French → English]

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Glioth: "*A rough translation for those who don't know Japanese would be*… There is it between number and several characters of the countdown [an interval]. The thing which the [an interval] こそが we regard as time. I express the

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[421] Comment on the video clip "Luis" by armorel67 (12/31/11 10:42 PM), http://bit.ly/156KGr3.
[422] Comment on the video clip "Luis" by rivasrocks06660 (3/10/10 12:20 PM), http://bit.ly/156KGr3.
[423] Comment on the video clip "Life Buoy" by Ural Machianov (9/23/10 11:46 AM), http://bit.ly/19kclSx.
[424] Comment on the video clip "Life Buoy" by Ural Machianov (9/23/10 11:47 AM), http://bit.ly/19kclSx.
[425] Comment on the video clip "Birds on The Wires" by Armorel67 (3/10/10 12:05 PM), http://bit.ly/1a8d61S.
[426] Comment on the video clip "Le Syndrome du Timide - The Shy Syndrome" by kiwiskateboarding (10/22/10 11:45 PM), http://bit.ly/16lf4rJ.

interval of that time by a picture spatially. I reconstitute 11 flower arrangement works as a three-dimensional work and lay it out in the very large space. The camera seems to be spread in the flow of the time and catches those works one by one in turn."[427]

[Japanese → English]

<center>***</center>

mDwiktor: "That's really impressive clip . i like polish accent in this french or russian climate :D Najlepiej słychać polskie (rosyjskie) słowa jak śpiewa oh kochanie :D"[428]

[Polish → English]

The above comments indicate that users from different countries and linguistic backgrounds found it important to translate their messages in addressing international publics. This shows that the supremacy of English was equally perceived and accepted among the major international audiences who felt the need to switch away from their native languages to enter the international communication space of the channel. It does not, however, mean that native languages were not used or were completely ignored on YouTube Play. Various discussion streams were dominated by comments written in other languages, but these uses of non-English languages had quite different and more specific goals in communication.

As Axelsson et al. (2007) indicate, in cosmopolitan settings online users tend to speak their native languages when they want to establish contact or find other users who come from the same background. "…[T]he manner in which the introduction is made and how other users perceive the intention of the speaker are very important for the response to the language and the outcome of the language encounter" (Axelsson et al. 2007, 376). For example, the previous chapter provided examples of national cultural celebrations manifested in textual practices performed mostly in native languages. In these cases, people preferred to use their home languages, because their communication was not oriented for other international participants and was bound by a common purpose – to express their national identity and to celebrate their nation.

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[427] Comment on the video clip "Wow ten space" by glioth (3/3/2009 9:16:00 PM), http://bit.ly/159Svad.
[428] Comment on the video clip "Favela Gold - Language of Love" by mDwiktor (9/28/2010 1:14 AM), http://bit.ly/17zoLuK.

In contrast, in cases when people needed to address online users from other countries, YouTube Play audiences needed to communicate in English. In order to smooth this communication with foreigners, many online participants even used special forms of "pre-interaction management" (Švelch 2015, 172). As Švelch explains, disclaimers such as "excuse my English," for example, are very common in international online interactions which are used to "avoid potential misunderstandings and prevent native speaker norms from being applied to them" (Švelch 2015, 172). In a similar manner, many YouTube Play users employed these pre-interaction management techniques to apologize for not being brilliant English speakers and at the same time to deliver a message that was important for them to share. The following comments, collected from different YouTube Play video streams, indicate that some nonnative English speakers purposefully intended to reach participants from other countries without sending wrong messages of offense or disrespect.

Example:

Marcos Blasques: "Hello Gary! Fantastic travel! A diferent and modern humanistic vision to the 'Genesis' creation!!!! Very very good! A musical abrass for you, *please, excuse my terrible english... Ok! :)*"[429]

FLeanderP: "This is great work... I like this sound of music. It's like an city in the night. With all that lights. And than that voice. (*I'm not English, sorry for my mistakes if I got one*). But this is an new music genre. But is here an name for? But My point is that this is great. Keep going!"[430]

Ornalea: "*I'm sorry that I don't really have the perfect words in English* for saying all I sow heard and felt when I sow your video …"[431]

These attempts to communicate in *lingua franca,* or in the language of the majority, signal that online users engaged in meaningful dialogical practices. These simple acts of translation or apologies for poor language skills helped online users cross linguistic and cultural barriers and take a step toward establishing contact with the "other." This points to a strong *relational* potential of YouTube Play which enables such cross-cultural encounters to happen online.

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[429] Comment on the video clip "Create Myself" by Marcos Blasques (7/27/2010 10:16 AM), http://bit.ly/1buoJUO.
[430] Comment on the video clip "Gardyn | Pogo" by FLeanderP (http://bit.ly/18epQVw), http://bit.ly/1buoJUO.
[431] Comment on the video clip "A Braided Beaded Balls Suit" by Ornalea (10/23/2010 3:16:00 AM), http://bit.ly/1al7mHR.

Furthermore, within YouTube Play's *relational* dimension, cross-cultural interactions among participants were very effective in furthering the channel's cultural influence upon online publics. Specifically in the linguistic context, the dominance of English had an impact on the native languages used on YouTube Play. Many scholars have observed that within cosmopolitan online environments the dominant language of communication usually has a strong influence "on home languages which undergo transformations" as a result of this impact (Androutsopoulos 2007, 19). Because language contact usually plays an important role in language change, in their online speech many online users usually start to develop "individual or national bilingualism with English" (Mafu 2004; Peel 2004).

The dominance of English on YouTube Play seemed to be influential in terms of reinforcing language "creolization." Many native speakers of different languages experienced a predominantly Anglophone textual environment and came into contact with speakers of English. As a result, English significantly influenced the linguistic "purity" of their comments and was increasingly integrated into native speech. Thus, many comments posted to various YouTube Play videos were written in different languages but contained English phrases, words, or expressions as an important component.

Example:

Nici30stm: "ich finds *cool*"[432]

Ko em: "Echt gut! Ein bisschen *Open end*, und so isses eben wirklich."[433]

[Languages: German + English]

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Jotatanka: "Koncepcija visiškai neaiški... pašnekėjo ir tiek ... P.S. Bareikio ingliš labai jau lisjueinijen. *P.P.S Green screen FTW*"[434]

[Languages: Lithuanian + English]

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[432] Comment on the video clip "Precise Peter" by nici30stm (9/20/2010 12:53 PM), http://bit.ly/1aWja1Z.
[433] Comment on the video clip "'Car Park' Kurzfilm" by Ko em (9/20/2010 8:57:00 AM), http://bit.ly/15Ijf56.
[434] Comment on the video clip "Some of My Dreams" by jotatanka (5/1/2010 6:17 AM), http://bit.ly/17XGIyM.

GuruDapi: "Super geweldig *awesome*, alleen jammer dat het klokje rechtsonder niet doorloopt. Maar verder een heel leuk filmpje!"[435]

[Languages: Dutch + English]

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Larize Villarroel" *"Very nice and smart. Congratulations.* Muito legal e criativo."[436]

[Languages: Spanish + English]

***

Zdpopup: "*Very good.* 我怎么看到了中国的国画元素啊, *on this, I think Japanese is stronger than our Chinese.*"[437]

[Languages: Chinese + English]

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Regino dos santos: "Je ne sai qoi dire parceque j'ai vu et je revoi ça me fait rever a chaque foi plus bravo. *Many thanks* de Rio de Janeiro. »[438]

Cherubine: "j'ai adoré la vidéo, mais la musique, encore plus ! quelqu'un connaitrait le titre ? *svp ! does someone know the tittle of the music please ? thx*"[439]

[Languages: French + English]

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Rebolledo2kx: "'すごいすごい　とってもすごい！ *Incredible*!"[440]

Betty Tureaud: "偉大な映画Ionoは痛ましい話、あなたはとてもうまく説明されます。 *i am a big fan :) but you know that*!"[441]

[435] Comment on the video clip "Noteboek" by GuruDapi (11/10/2010 8:37 PM), http://bit.ly/1dsu64S.
[436] Comment on the video clip "Noteboek" by Larize Villarroel (10/16/2008 11:03:00 AM), http://bit.ly/1dsu64S.
[437] Comment on the video clip "Wow ten space" by zdpopup (3/1/2009 3:09 AM), http://bit.ly/159Svad.
[438] Comment on the video clip "The Coincidental Dreamers" by Regino dos santos (10/15/10 7:26 PM), http://bit.ly/17Msil3.
[439] Comment on the video clip "YouTube Play: invitation to the Contest in French" by Cherubine (7/31/10 1:18 PM), http://bit.ly/1bRTAgu.
[440] Comment on the video clip "wow ten space" by rebolledo2kx (3/29/2009 6:22 PM), http://bit.ly/159Svad.
[441] Comment on the video clip "A Question of Honour" by Betty Tureaud (9/6/10 7:58 AM), http://bit.ly/16FMCBY.

[Languages: Japanese + English]

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Данила Измайлов: "Гениально придумано и сделано...*very good*."[442]

[Languages: Russian + English]

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Ornalea: "‏היחידות הפעמים אחת וזו שלך ההשראה מלאת מהיצירה שנדהמתי ברור (; חיים דנה היי‏
‏חושיי את ועוררתם הקסמתם ...ליצירה הרקע את לקרוא הסתקרנתי ממש והפעם טורחת שאני‏
‏רבה תודה‏ … But I can send my thanks for a great great art Good luck"[443]

[Languages: Hebrew + English]

On the one hand, these comments demonstrate a willingness and commitment among international online publics to establish a dialogue with the "other," which stresses the *relational* power of YouTube Play as a space for cross-cultural contact. Though online users tried to stick to their native languages, they still purposefully used English "cliché" phrases that are known and understandable among major international audiences: "Good luck," "Very good," "Incredible," "I'm a big fan," "Awesome," "Cool," "Congratulations." These simple catchphrases, which usually do not require translations, have a strong power to grab the attention of targeted addressees and transmit simple positive messages. Integrated in the native speech of online participants, these words serve as gateways to other cultures and languages and might incite curiosity in some users to translate the whole message.

On the other hand, these online comments, which incorporate English words or even whole phrases, clearly expose the influential power of cosmopolitan online environments to invite adaptation of and assimilation to dominant linguistic norms of behavior by online participants. This mixing or blending of languages is a quite typical process in bilingual or multilingual environments, where dominant languages have the ability to "extinguish" weaker languages (Roberts 1939, 26). YouTube Play represents a linguistic setting where the dominant position of English was initially and purposefully predetermined. The contest was organized by Anglophone organizations (Guggenheim and YouTube), the majority of the video content was produced in

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[442] Comment on the video clip "Noteboek" by Данила Измайлов (8/14/2010 12:23:00 PM), http://bit.ly/1dsu64S.
[443] Comment on the video clip "A Braided Beaded Balls Suit" by Ornalea (10/23/2010 3:16:00 AM), http://bit.ly/1al7mHR.

Anglophone countries (57 per cent of the participating artists came from the United States, United Kingdom, Canada, or Australia) or was adapted for English-speaking audiences. The integration of English words, phrases and expressions in the native language texts signal that under the influence of the dominant language, native languages, indeed, undergo transformations and increasingly adopt bilingual practices.

All examples in this section illuminate a power of English as a *lingua franca* on YouTube Play. From the perspective of diplomatic communication, such a dominant position of English significantly contributes to the efforts of American cultural diplomacy to promote English as a "global" language. Language teaching programs abroad have always been one of the core objectives of traditional cultural diplomacy, because a language has always been understood as a vehicle for spreading cultural and political influence:

> Along with political and economic domination, a great power exerts tremendous cultural influence over its colonies or satellites. Language offers a particularly dramatic illustration*,* as with the linguistic quilt the French and the British stitched across Africa. When empires decline, so does their cultural sway, including the use of their language (Singer 2001, 19).

Beyond a mere exchange of information, languages have a very important function in transmitting cultures and representing national identities. In this sense, a language can be understood as a power and a means of social and political control. In the history there have been many examples of how languages were used by governments beyond their mere communicational functions (Krebs and Climent-Ferrando 2012, 232). For example, the history of linguistic colonization can be traced back hundreds of years, at least to the British in China in 1637 (Cole 2007), who tried to impose their language, culture and religion. Even now, teaching English remains central to the diplomatic agenda of many western Anglophone countries.

For example, the goal of the British Council is "to increase the use of English as a tool for international communication and intercultural understanding" (British Council 2008). Though the British Council acknowledges that a productive dialogue can be achieved in a variety of languages, it still stresses the international importance of English as, "the basis for the self-development of hundreds of millions of people" and a crucial element in "building long-term relationships, understanding and sharing knowledge" (British Council 2010, 14). Likewise, the Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs of the U.S. government promotes the "learning and teaching of

American English around the world as an integral part of the Department of State's efforts to foster mutual understanding between the people of the United States and the people of other countries" (Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs 2010).

These activities are closely linked with such strategic foreign policy objectives as deepening and enriching global audiences engagement with Americans, increasing access to the many exchange programs, and advancing the "Department of State's economic statecraft and foreign assistance goals by expanding access to the local and global job markets, particularly among youth" (Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs 2010). A great number of various English teaching programs are administered through local American Embassies and Consulates and are overseen by Regional English Language Officers.

Furthermore, the linguistic situation on YouTube Play serves as empirical evidence for claims made in favor of global force of capitalism and neoliberalism, which translate economic powers of the West, especially the USA and its transnational corporations, into cultural and linguistic hegemony (Guo and Beckett 2007, 120). "Economic and social globalization, pushed along by the rapid diffusion of the Internet, creates a strong demand for an international lingua franca, thus furthering English's presence as a global language" (Warschauer et al. 2007). The dominance of English is further reinforced by the Internet, where technical parameters of online communication are defined by transnational media conglomerates representing Western hegemony. The Internet exists in compliance with technical standards, protocols, formats and other collective rules necessary to interconnect and exchange data. These standards, controlled by certain media companies, become powerful constraints limiting the range of possibilities for multilingualism and for linguistic diversity (Bortzmeyer 2012, 104).

The domination of certain languages empowered by technological progress is a historically predetermined condition, which made English the most spoken language on the planet. Thus, Burns (2003) explains:

> English has always benefited from developments in technology. It has been an important medium of the press for nearly 400 years (The Weekly News, from 1622, the London Gazette from 1666); the first radio broadcasting was carried in English through Marconi's wireless telegraphy in 1895, the signals first reaching Australia in 1918; similarly, the world's first high-definition television service began in 1936, provided by the BBC; the

First World War ensured that from 1915 the motion picture industry, with its roots in both Europe and the United States, was firmly established in the States; and the first sounds accompanying moving pictures were in English. With the end of the twentieth century came the explosion in electronically transmitted information and the communication resources of the Internet and the World Wide Web […] the United States, after all, has been the source of Internet developments, the computer literature and its professional interactions are English-based, as are document handling software, support manuals, helplines, on-screen systems, and so on (23).

However, some scholars strongly disassociate the global dominance of English from "its immediate nationalistic or colonial/postcolonial context" (Ganahl 2001, 29). The historical predisposition of English language hegemony in international online environments is explained as a post-national cultural and linguistic phenomenon, which is not necessarily connected with ongoing political or "diplomatic" efforts on behalf of certain governments or states. Being a language of the largest media and entertainment transnational corporations, English has become the *lingua franca* of global markets shaping the cultural and linguistic preferences of international audiences.

YouTube Play, as one of these examples, creates a highly diverse transnational online space of online communication, where English dominates. Though this dominance is predetermined by the project design and content, uncontrolled and uncensored online interactions among international online participants reinforce the position of English as the main language. Many users stressed that English was the most comfortable language to explore, understand, and enjoy the cultural content of the international contest. Though foreign audiences freely used their native languages for communicating within their national communities, an effort to write in English was required on their side when they needed to interact with artists or when they wanted to exchange opinions with users from different countries. In situations when both parties were non-English speakers, online participants still used English, since it was perceived and willingly accepted as the "universal" YouTube Play language.

8.4. Conclusion

Looking closer at the YouTube Play *relational* dimension, the chapter reveals a strong capacity of the platform to be a space of a meaningful cross-cultural contact which can lead to greater global

peace and understanding. The findings of this chapter suggest that people-to-people interactions on YouTube Play have strong similarities with person-to-person exchanges in a diplomatic cross-cultural context. For example, both of these types of activities involve their participants in "truth-seeking" conversations, cross-cultural learning, or debates revealing national stereotypes. These practices result in increasing people's intercultural competences, while not provoking the kind of resistance that often occurs when cultural knowledge is simply imposed through promotion or propaganda.

According to cultural diplomacy scholarship, knowledge gained through personal interactions tends to be better accepted by participants as "authentic and honest": There is less questioning, more acceptance, and a more rapid change in perceptions. The change often reflects an emerging view that similarities far outweigh differences and that remaining differences can be viewed as enriching rather [than] threatening" (Bellamy and Weinberg 2008, 59). Snow further indicates that "the primacy of the individual in contact with another individual is still the most important opportunity to change attitudes" of peoples about each other (Snow 2008, 220).

Furthermore, cultural diplomacy has always been understood as transforming ordinary people into cultural ambassadors: "If a visitor can be transformed into a cultural ambassador, new communication bridges, partnerships, [and] networks" (Riordan 2006) can be created between the host and home societies (Sevin 2010, 583). "Average Americans, in their natural state, are the best ambassadors a country can have," Mueller also emphasized (Mueller 2006, 60). In this way, bringing people together on the level of citizens' engagements without involvement and control from the government has remained one of the most important components of official cultural diplomacy in the USA.

From this perspective, active YouTube Play online participants can be understood as honest, non-commissioned, and free "cultural ambassadors," representing their national cultures, traditions, and values. YouTube Play, as an extremely apolitical environment, provides a rich space for cross-cultural communication, where audiences freely engage in online interactions contributing, in some cases, to a development of "mutual understanding." However, unlike traditional diplomacy, YouTube Play does not necessarily frame this cross-cultural encounter as a contact between exclusively American audiences with the rest of the world. The online cultural environment of

YouTube Play is extremely diverse and transnational in nature, which encourages and sustains multidirectional communications between online users from various countries.

Potentially, any YouTube Play participant can benefit from a multicultural communication and contact with people from all over the world. YouTube Play does not have strategically designed interactional mechanisms that could purposefully connect certain national groups or communities. In contrast, the communication on the channel is highly multilateral, unpredictable, and chaotic. However, exerting such a powerful influence over participants in terms of challenging or changing their cultural prejudices or incorrect perceptions, online communication among international users makes this platform something more than a mere entertainment channel or international public relations campaign.

Being a transnational space where cross-cultural learning is happening, YouTube Play represents a site of "new" cultural diplomacy, which also promotes global cultural co-existence and peace without attributing its powers to the political will of a specific state. Nevertheless, this form of online diplomacy has some important disadvantages in comparison with traditional cultural diplomacy. Unlike the latter, YouTube Play communication does not have capacities to sustain lasting networking relationships among people, which are usually established and nurtured through traditional cross-cultural exchanges. People who passed through exchange experiences have been always considered as reliable cultural ambassadors, who upon their return to home countries help to promote "international good will and understanding" (Mulcahy 1999, 22). These ambitious and powerful effects of traditional cross-cultural exchanges are not applicable to a description of the results of online cross-cultural interactions on YouTube Play.

YouTube communication does not usually allow a development of deeper connections and does not encourage further reciprocity and collaboration. A cross-cultural encounter on YouTube usually is very brief, "immediate," and without any expectations for future follow-up or continuation. Nevertheless, the above examples reveal that, in certain cases, these quick contacts are very productive in exposing online participants to new cultural information leading to either revealing cultural stereotypes or to better understanding each other's cultures and traditions. In this way, YouTube Play represents a cross-cultural communication channel bringing global publics together for meaningful engagements and exchanges.

Since the times of the Cold War, diplomacy, as "appropriately structured interaction," has been seen to be the most effective when three major conditions are met. They include: 1) the equal status of participants and their ability to participate; 2) two parties share interests and goals; and 3) certain social norms and regulations bind the communication process (Cowan and Arsenault 2008, 20). The findings of this chapter suggest that YouTube Play meets these conditions, even though it is not a cultural diplomacy program per se. In fact, the YouTube platform of the contest provides free access to all interested individuals to create personal accounts and to socially interact, which makes it possible for all Internet users to become online participants of the project. Also, online visitors are united by common interests in the project and interact with its content pursuing quite similar goals, such as watching the video content while sharing their opinions, engaging in conversations, or expressing their concerns and issues.

Finally, online users, certainly, were bound by the YouTube Play social environment, which created cosmopolitan cultural norms and practices. For example, the second section demonstrates that English dominance on YouTube Play encouraged online participants to use it as *lingua franca* for person-to-person online exchanges. YouTube Play immersed speakers of different languages in predominantly Anglophone environment and eventually defined linguistic preferences of online participants who willingly accepted and even defended these cosmopolitan social and linguistic norms of online behavior.

YouTube Play audiences enthusiastically participated in various cross-cultural exchanges, whether by supporting participants emotionally, revealing important cross-cultural differences, sharing concerns, or even helping each other with translations and interpretations. These practices make YouTube Play an important channel for "new" cultural diplomacy where the *relational* approach has strong cultural implications.

Chapter IX.
Conclusion

One of the most recent issues of the *International Journal of Cultural Policy*, entitled, "*Cultural diplomacy: beyond the national interest?*" and published in 2015, summarizes the state of research on new forms of cultural diplomacy, revealing that "while the last decade and a half has seen a wealth of interest in the topic," "a rigorous, theoretically informed analysis which locates actually existing cultural diplomacy practices within their social, political and ideological contexts and examines the complex and sometimes contradictory ways in which they operate" is still missing (Ang et al. 2015, 366). The authors especially stress that government-driven cultural diplomacy in recent decades has been increasingly complimented by the efforts of new players, requiring further analysis of the "new world (dis)order […] with a flood of transnational flows of culture, which are beyond the control of governments and may or may not be in line with their definitions of the national interest at all" (Ang et al. 2015, 372). Furthermore, Ang et al. (2015) urge the need to "disaggregate the very notion of 'cultural diplomacy' and examine separately its various modalities," among which digital diplomacy provides alternative channels and new tools for implementing "'traditional' cultural diplomacy activities grounded in social and cultural exchange such as people-to-people engagements, collaborative projects, etc" (379). This thesis addresses this gap in the current academic literature by providing an analysis of non-state forms of contemporary cultural diplomacy, specifically focusing on the digital dimension.

This thesis presents a detailed case study analysis of the Guggenheim museum, as a new non-state actor in the international arena, and its global online project YouTube Play, as an example of a new form of cultural diplomacy. The Guggenheim's history, institutional philosophy and international activities demonstrate that the museum plays a powerful role in the global environment by constantly increasing its presence, visibility, and influence in new geographical areas through its growing network of franchises and various international activities, including online projects. Even though the Guggenheim, in its historical past and in some ongoing programs, was involved in cooperation with the U.S. government, the museum has more ambitious institutional goals going far beyond a mere representation of the USA, its people, culture, values and traditions in the international arena.

Pursuing its institutional interests on the global scene, the Guggenheim actively collaborates not only with various large transnational corporations, but, more importantly, solicits its funding from governments of different countries. The scope and diversity of museum funding sources directly contributes to the Guggenheim's power to pursue its institutional goals outside of the influence of a single political or economic party. In its current international programming, activities, and communication efforts, the Guggenheim is not driven by any national "political project." In contrast, the emergence and rapid development of such a phenomenon as a global Guggenheim is a "product" of increasing neoliberal globalization. Under the new economic conditions of decreased government funding and support, museums and international organizations need to ensure their financial sustainability. This pushes them to solicit support from international sources, leading to a stronger engagement with audiences and constituents across geographical, political, and cultural borders. Further, this economic logic leads museums, as non-state actors, to redefine their institutional identities in favor of promoting their transnational character, and communicating predominantly cosmopolitan values, which help to appeal to and engage large and diverse global audiences.

A greater flexibility, mobility, and adaptability of brand images in local cultures, leading to a stronger promotional rhetoric, place these actors outside of their national contexts, creating a new dimension of contemporary diplomacy going "beyond the national interest" (Ang et al. 2015). Unlike state actors of cultural diplomacy, the Guggenheim is actively involved in various international projects and cross-cultural collaborations, not to promote specific political ideologies or national values, but to pursue its own institutional cultural and economic goals. These goals are associated with the ambition of the Guggenheim to be a global museum of contemporary art and a powerful international authority to define canons of artistic excellence, to support innovation and experimentation in arts, and to shape the cultural preferences and tastes of international audiences. A case study of one of its online initiatives, the YouTube Play project, demonstrates that the museum does have strong communication powers to reach international audiences, engage global publics in cultural activities, and influence cultural perceptions.

The analysis of the YouTube Play project as a strategically designed international campaign provides important insights into the structural logics and purposes of new "diplomatic" projects implemented online by contemporary non-state actors of diplomacy. Specifically, the analysis reveals that a strong institutional goal to enlarge and diversify audiences, as well as to increase

brands' visibility and attractiveness across larger geographical markets, leads transnational actors to focus on populist strategies in their design of cultural projects. These strategies, integrated in such project design components as public appeal through pop culture, engaging specifically younger generations, or tapping into the contemporary audiences' cultural needs for interaction and cultural production ensure a high level of the project popularity among diverse international audiences. This directly translates into the social and economic powers of the online activity, not only to engage online populations, but also to capitalize on the social activity, which attracts more sponsors and funding, reinforces brand promotion, popularizes cultural products and services on the global scale, and even brings economic returns. Promoting the YouTube video as a new genre of contemporary art, the Guggenheim succeeded in bringing the global publics' attention to new technologies, presented as conceptually new tools of cultural production. Establishing a strong association between these technologies and the YouTube, HP and Intel brands, the museum became a powerful facilitator in the complex processes of spreading the influence of transnational corporations on global markets.

Despite such a strong economic focus, these international global online activities exert powerful cultural influences over global audiences. Though, unlike state cultural diplomacy, these online interactions do not serve national projection by spreading political ideologies or educating publics about national cultural values and traditions, they play an important role in pushing forward the forces of cultural globalization. Analysis of online communication on YouTube Play reveals the strong cultural impacts of the project upon international audiences. Specifically, the platform's international environment enabled active cross-cultural interactions among diverse participants who influenced each other. As a result, these cross-cultural influences provided conditions for establishing cosmopolitan *forms* of communication, leading to cultural and linguistic homogenization. Accepted by major online publics as social norms of cultural and linguistic behavior, YouTube Play audiences from different countries willingly adopted cosmopolitan textual practices of self-expression which allowed them to integrate in the transnational context of global communications. Expressing themselves through established patterns of online communication and using English as *lingua franca,* international online participants demonstrated that, despite high degrees of nationalism, people from different countries share a new layer of cosmopolitan identity. This is the identity of a contemporary, hyper-connected person existing on the cross-border between local and global cultures. Employment of these cosmopolitan *forms* of

behavior becomes particularly visible within transnational online environments which are limited to written forms of communication and textual practices of self-identification and expressions.

Furthermore, the study of the audiences' interactions on YouTube Play illuminates the complexities, diversity, and richness of various forms of online cross-cultural communication, which enable people from different countries to learn about each other's cultures. Though with significant limitations, especially in comparison to "traditional" cultural exchanges which bring people—in real life contexts—to open their cultural horizons for new knowledge, values and understandings, digital cultural diplomacy also contributes to the development of participants' intercultural competencies. The findings of this thesis specifically illuminate that cross-cultural communication among online publics on YouTube was instrumental for spreading awareness about sensitive cultural issues and stereotypes, revealing some inconsistencies and difficulties in understanding some cultural questions, as well as giving opportunities to interested active participants to share their perspectives and address cross-cultural misunderstandings and intolerance. The potential of digital diplomacy to improve "mutual trust and understanding" among people from different countries gives a premise to understand YouTube Play not only as a strategically designed global public relation campaign, but as a new form of contemporary cultural diplomacy.

In light of this detailed exploration, the YouTube Play project is an example of global communication efforts by transnational actors with powerful cultural impacts upon international audience, demonstrating an emergence of a new type of cultural diplomacy: the diplomacy of non-state actors. Illustrating the "diplomatic" nature of this cross-cultural communication phenomenon, as well as its non-state character, this thesis contributes to the academic literature on cultural diplomacy. Specifically, it reveals important nuances and details which allow differentiation between new forms and types of diplomacy in the 21st century, which are not only based on the categories of various actors involved, but also on their institutional cultural and economic interests, agenda, and ambitions in the global environment. Illuminating how online cross-cultural engagements contribute to two main paradigms of diplomacy, *cultural projection* and *cultural relations,* the research demonstrates the emergence of new powerful channels and tools of cultural diplomacy which exist in the online dimension of contemporary global communications.

It goes without saying that research based only on a single case study has significant disadvantages in terms of its inability and low capacity to be translated into more comprehensive, generalized knowledge which can bring meaningful understanding of specific phenomena. More case studies of a similar nature can provide further necessary data which can help to make more valuable and convincing conclusions as to whether the Guggenheim is a unique example of "non-state" cultural diplomacy, or rather a part of an emerging trend in future cultural and arts management. A thorough comparative analysis between cases from various national contexts could help to determine if traditional "national" cultural institutions, faced with decreasing government funding and under the pressure of economic globalization, can also transform into non-state actors of cultural diplomacy.

Furthermore, this analysis mostly refers to U.S. cultural diplomacy as an established practice of cross-cultural communication which helps to contextualize the different nature of non-state contemporary diplomacy. Bringing in other perspectives, possibly from other respective disciplines—for example, international public relations or brand management scholarship—could likely provide more nuanced understanding of the YouTube Play project as an example of online cross-cultural communication with strong cultural and economic implications. Nevertheless, this thesis presents a fundamental point of departure for future, more advanced and more accurate, studies of this new phenomenon of cross-cultural communication. Specifically, it lays the foundation for understanding and analyzing online museum diplomacy, which under present conditions of increasing globalization, acquires stronger powers to target international audiences and exert cultural impacts.

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Appendices

Appendix 1: Analysis Sample | YouTube Play videos

Section 1: YouTube Play promotional videos

Clip Title	Views	Comments	Link
About YouTube Play	1,067,011	954	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Y6a3T6O4SQU
YouTube Play Intro video: behind the scenes	135,562	128	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=BGY5gWIa9A0
YouTube Play: invitation to the Contest in Czech	26,378	9	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=NHODCY4tsus
YouTube Play: invitation to the Contest in Chinese	5,091	5	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=UhVVFxqLuJQ
YouTube Play: invitation to the Contest in Dutch	103,980	82	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Bpb4CdgL-wU
YouTube Play: invitation to the Contest in English	1,630,507	923	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Wa5NNtFt0TY
YouTube Play: invitation to the Contest in French	88,050	24	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Sum_mInGoCk
YouTube Play: invitation to the Contest in German	138,300	119	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=IN2YKgI0sbs
YouTube Play: invitation to the Contest in Italian	3,222	4	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=j3fgiNo1D08
YouTube Play: invitation to the Contest in Japanese	43,192	4	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=7I6RBFQebtQ
YouTube Play: invitation to the Contest in Korean	10,523	1	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=iMm9zE2_SF0
YouTube Play: invitation to the Contest in Polish	155,907	84	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=24hi-BNeI24
YouTube Play: invitation to the Contest in Portuguese	4,081	1	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ZODrUtrhpyM
YouTube Play: invitation to the Contest in Russian	79,455	39	http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=LN1Rp9VRiVo
YouTube Play: invitation to the Contest in Spanish	8,024	6	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=3OyolVtEzc8
YouTube Play: invitation to the Contest in Swedish	46,082	37	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=LELE8kjLMfo

Section 2: Jury videos

Clip Title	Views	Comments	Link
About YouTube Play with jurors	114,278	84	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=fe4JPtbZGuU
Meet the YouTube Play Jury	75,256	25	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=dcQ34c0M7U8
Meet the YouTube Play Jury : Apichatpong Weerasethakul	10,626	18	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=E0QQzepudTU
Meet the YouTube Play Jury: Laurie Anderson	25,883	16	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=nawYYpfq7HE
Meet the YouTube Play Jury: Marilyn Minter	9,577	12	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=HaZ4j_Tm8B8
Meet the YouTube Play Jury: Stefan Sagmeister	12,696	9	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=mpGPYwIaPic
Meet the YouTube Play Jury: Takashi Murakami	73,386	56	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=M2O6vg0ksAM
YouTube Play: Introducing the Shortlist	892,106	160	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=uXAOSg2RN_8

Section 3: YouTube Play Show videos

Clip Title	Views	Comments	Link
Michael Showalter: YouTube Play Live	56,905	28	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=56LyL9O2La4
YouTube Play. Live from the Guggenheim. The full show	148,541	90	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=8WxLyoknPH8
YouTube Play. Live from the Guggenheim: highlights	107	58	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=NDv4oPpj8vs
YouTube Play. Live Streamed. 8pm ET, Oct 21	728,575	416	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=osc8Gvz40C4
YouTube Play: Exterior projections on the Guggenheim	2,733	0	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=KZayPOIdvZM

Section 4: 'HP+Intel Make' videos

Clip Title	Views	Comments	Link
HP+Intel Make: 2D Character Animation with Tom Baker	260,976	134	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=qHQ2UpVKISc
HP+Intel Make: Digital Flipbook - Jimmy Dava	88,057	31	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=IyGIKqSYnIk
HP+Intel Make: Experimental Film - Begonia Colomar	260,306	129	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=HOaRO-S6h64
HP+Intel Make: Music/fashion film - Elisha Smith-Leverock	13,694	15	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=2JPlQLKLowQ
HP+Intel Make: Stop-Motion Animation with Ricky Martin	483,999	303	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=lG_ztW4ka20
HP+Intel Make: Time Lapse - Tarah Dowling	15,516	22	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ddXjRht8bH4

Section 5: Finalists' Profiles videos

Clip Title	Views	Comments	Link
Everynone: Profile	1,437	1	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=pq6d8gvHh7w
Jarbas Agnelli: Profile	823	2	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=s72AtCzPn88
Jerry Levitan: Profile	327	0	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=_dKEFZVA0T0
Jillian Mayer: Profile	4,567	11	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=5nZLceJ1gHc
Keith Loutit: Profile	1,480	1	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=d1QA3OXx1Sk
Lisa Byrne: Profile	2,157	2	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=AOoX3siKR4w
Perry Bard: Profile	2,086	4	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=qsechFfg5ts
Pierre-Axel Vuillaure-Prézeau: Profile	1,208	1	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=gQve67OdNEA

Section 6: Finalist Directors' Commentary videos

Clip Title	Views	Comments	Link
Auspice: Director's Commentary	1,397	0	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=JG4AJfukJ3M
Bear Untitled: Director's Commentary	860	1	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=3qI0eeCu5AE
Deuce: Director's Commentary	1,470	4	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=96X-KYmxHeM
Gardyn': Director's Commentary	3,028	15	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=1ruV07c8dgA
Ladybirds' Requiem: Director's Commentary	1,913	3	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=X7pA7bWmKno
Luis: Director's Commentary	779	0	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=qMfuTldKq9g
Moonwalk': Director's Commentary	2,115	5	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=wPD_oS_3xog
Noteboek: Director's Commentary	1,079	1	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Z-50ir-9tgs
Seaweed: Director's Commentary	4,681	6	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=XDzHhguYCU8
Strindberg and Helium: Director's Commentary	2,202	1	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Xt6xSFF3zpU
Synesthesia: Director's Commentary	748	0	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=hsyunBS8Aas
The Huber Experiments: Director's Commentary	1,825	1	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=0BjJ1jCtM8Q
This Aborted Earth: Director's Commentary	524	0	https://www.youtube.earth/watch?v=-S_QU_HWaHk
Wonderland Mafia: Director's commentary	3,585	9	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=7RFnYJU6CSs

Section 7: Finalist videos

Clip Title	Theme	Country	Views	Comments	Link
Bathtub IV	Art & Digital art	Australia	295,510	180	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Us6kDalkqgM
Bear untitled	Art & Digital art	Denmark	132,583	80	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=cdBZohX4FnM
Birds on The Wires	Art & Digital art	Brazil	668,666	600	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=LoM4ZZJ2UrM
Die Antwoord - Zef Side	Art & Digital art	Africa	14,252,204	18,873	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Q77YBmtd2Rw
Ladybirds' Requiem	Art & Digital art	Japan	249,069	50	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=tFqAc9kRP8g
Luis	Art & Digital art	Chile	80,137	530	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=veMBIWv0ews
Seaweed	Art & Digital art	UK	335,539	169	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=YTNfSluaUzs
The Global Remake	Art & Digital art	USA	202,145	19	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=uEykp9PsDkw
The Huber Experiments	Art & Digital art	USA	182,496	134	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=xf5QQ3UADRQ
Wonderland Mafia	Art & Digital art	USA	1,630,537	970	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=mkIoJZdKIAE
Deuce	Human being	USA	313,686	942	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=K-6pcZoSL0s
Gardyn	Pogo	Human being	Australia	1,578,521	5,412	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=cBN-CAhOYQ0
Le Syndrome du Timide	Human being	France	147,312	164	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=e2fqFlNx8CI
Strindberg and Helium	Human being	USA	118,083	56	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Lw8ctJTF1ZY
I Met the Walrus	Politics &War	Canada	2,706,432	72,016	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=jmR0V6s3NKk
Post Newtonianism	Politics &War	USA	56,727	64	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=-cto649nkjY
Taxi III	Politics &War	N. Ireland	87,008	56	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=vOPjbAWwRdw
This Aborted Earth	Politics &War	USA	48,009	15	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=G9geI52zIxI
Noteboek	Space & Locality	Netherlands	1,056,382	957	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=tP-reW1eLYE
Scenic Jogging	Space & Locality	USA	110,277	95	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=uMq9Th3NgGk
Synesthesia	Space & Locality	USA	186,577	283	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=qZEL31Mq2OA
Words	Space & Locality	USA	129,829	201	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=FQrGBZDGjl4
Auspice	Technology	USA	173,278	88	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ijv7hYVxMdY
Moonwalk	Technology	Czech R.	395,958	443	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=0DVN4m41QCE

Section 8: Shortlisted videos | Theme: Art & Digital Art

Clip Title	Country	Views	Comments	Link
A Braided Beaded Balls Suit	USA	168,000	41	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=3tRZx6nusS4
A Hunger Artist	USA	93,250	24	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=gH4beVv-TRc&
Autumn Story	Australia	484,091	448	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=6gvOVWKKxmo
Bang Bang Eche - Nikee	Canada	86,646	20	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=U16kMIrWAHQ
Commencer Une Autre Mort	USA	55,284	15	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=iOau5_eKbmI&
Galt Aureus - The Armada	USA	140,472	1,449	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=jVFrwZYK_aE
Guitar: Impossible	USA	15,243,672	57,111	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=MuU00Q3RhDg
Illegal Drugs	USA	261,538	834	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=_EEjP5xidoY
In order of appearance	USA	30,426	17	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=TTntxxEFxPE
Kibble Kat	Mexico	29,847	23	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=UhzOFfQe00U
Learning Curve	USA	34,854	13	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=TS267vvAlUg
Lucky- All India Radio	Australia	610,809	663	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=tSeNk5ZE-kw
Man on a rock	USA	20,307	10	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=n0P6uIYeP0s
Meme Remix // Mix Tape	USA	102,129	27	https://meme.youtube.com/watch?v=nEAeyR9k2FA
Mike Relm vs Zoetrope	USA	319,631	202	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=i56XeM0-b8Y
Mother of All Funk Chords	Israel	1,620,249	2,964	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=tprMEs-zfQA
Myth of My Ancestors	USA	9,286	4	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=wXPfbYuoqTA
OK Go - This Too Shall Pass	USA	40,900,652	44,659	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=qybUFnY7Y8w
Remake	USA	37,683	8	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Id5vUb9252U
Revenge	Netherlands	120,714	0	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=mrQdj_-XV_Y
Sushi	USA	929,806	1,271	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=054xg4Cidv4
The Fuchsia Fits	USA	40,841	30	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=oXmBPANtlrI
The Sound of One Tree Clapping	USA	13,378	11	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ctomSmLO7pE
Western Spaghetti by PES	USA	11,866,288	18,341	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=qBjLW5_dGAM
Why Do Things Get In A Muddle	France	20,929	9	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=8e-ynuys5XE

Section 9: Shortlisted videos | Theme: Human Being & Personality

Clip Title	Country	Views	Comments	Link
"Car Park" Kurzfilm	Germany	93,680	81	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=mfnXXX3fkKc
999 Days: Urban Barbarian	UK	163,311	155	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=1e0O6OWUL3k
Dogasaur	Canada	25,095	9	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=z1fQ0J_89i4
Favela Gold - Language of Love	Austria	44,380	25	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=LUIXhFzjegk
Foods	USA	113,651	0	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=vDBaCpjETfg
Home	Canada	58,525	33	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=8-k_wlp8IEM
Homo Modernus, Tractatus Philosophicus	Spain	49,151	83	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=bZRuGGXAxew
Hulachess	USA	50,621	28	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=SSonAJTM18Q
Human Mirror	USA	8,928,028	6,404	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=9MBBr-a2KnM
Kiko Pérez	Spain	15,749	10	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=EYT6RLZ7pu8
L'amante	Italia	32,486	62	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=qFiWIEM7BpU
Nice to Meet You	Germany	96,513	152	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=n6rHIHmvgIk
Nigel	UK	20,325	19	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=rxNd_Z-fCuY
Out of Soul	Germany	44,875	26	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=V7IyTC_8XJA
Pahóm	Israel	65,634	25	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=1Gj8ZaKnpao
Pasfilm 2000	Netherlands	43,098	22	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=EEs_JCc1nMU
Precise Peter	Germany	99,453	115	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=n76EHkPR0Wc
Rymdreglage - 8-bit trip	Sweden	13,313,221	40,416	https://Rymdreglage.youtube.com/watch?v=4qsWFFuYZYI
Save Me!!!	USA	6,692	9	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=fS-hwm2f8T4
Self Portrait : Artist as Artist	USA	29,884	12	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=nMX_BDqS3zs
Self-Completion	Israel	22,485	3	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=7ZTnSj-fq-o
Seventeen	USA	89,397	136	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=zLwS4SxLwqQ
The Final Breaths of a Main Character	USA	49,293	35	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=yFtsoCh4dZM
The Iron	Russia	87,036	41	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=7_eUo8kgeZQ
The Light Pressure of a Thought	Mexico	25,551	89	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=gbUmdr8staY

Section 10: Shortlisted videos | Theme: Museum

Clip Title	Country	Views	Comments	Link
Don't Touch	UK	65,491	118	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=zbuw_QuxmDE
The Coincidental Dreamers	Brazil	26,945	23	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=6lB_as_zK3M
We Love Museums... Do Museums Love Us Back?	USA	65,267	379	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=gaFbmuEUdwI

Section 11: Shortlisted videos | Theme: Technology & Internet

Clip Title	Country	Views	Comments	Link
A Door Opens	UK	129,674	58	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=RFjrEr8vlVY
Bad News	Germany	194,233	198	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=L2TvdksHXd4
Digital Therapy	Ireland	33,447	10	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=AwiE2kRajZM
Hollywood Internet	Sweden	70,863	5	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ISqQIhlvUOg
Screen Action!	Puerto Rico	47,855	51	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=PUmbG9TxYKA
Upload Me	USA	39,847	123	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=a52sSrzJSHs
We're sorry: Your future is no longer available	USA	78,795	42	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=gnEJmzhjb54
Yelp (With Apologies to Allen Ginsberg)	USA	68,738	44	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Z6TwsJ-M51I

Section 12: Shortlisted videos | Theme: Politics & Wars

Clip Title	Country	Views	Comments	Link
Give Peace a Dance	Russian	41,926	16	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=7RVTnjctBY0
Hard rain	France	74,558	56	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=x4Wi05zbSZk
Mars to Jupiter	Canada	39,819	20	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=PM73-rBzCCc
Star Wars Chronicles of Young Skywalker Unmasked	USA	38,385	38	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=tAGILn_zK8g
The Chair Not Taken	Israel	17,797	15	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=OpOLuNJAc0A
The River	USA	18,060	110	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=JT25fECSJyc

Section 13: Shortlisted videos | Theme: Space & Locality

Clip Title	Country	Views	Comments	Link
A Question of Honour	France	150,521	37	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=YftouEm3CT4
Acornucopia	Canada	59,322	60	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ZxG73AYT4j8
Bedstuy Street Interviews	USA	129,135	30	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=uXWJhGmJX9Y
Built-in Obsolescence	UK	10,132	9	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=V7Pg7rslA9c
Cardboard	Netherlands	281,500	280	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=18usd0iV3eI
Cat Food	Germany	49,067	23	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=pR9KPnwcWRU
Contemporary America	USA	81,940	32	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=vKUDdQx6QaY
Continuum	Jamaica	53,445	20	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=o2n44mS6o4M
Dreamscape	Canada	15,758	46	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=2H8T1ylW9Sg
Epilogue	USA	7,562	6	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=HhcGdtuClJ0
Ero Machina	USA	9,163	8	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Q8gcRGGdQAA
Everyone Forever Now - "Stoop Sitting"	USA	79,877	33	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=s_Ps3BcVdLM
Frame of imagination	Taiwan	19,615	4	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Wne7WSwrIeI
Life Buoy	Romania	50,896	37	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=V2lDnDswOgs
Minilogue - Animals	Sweden	1,041,803	1,091	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=–3slK2O_Dk
Neurosonics Audiomedical Labs Inc	England	850,215	669	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ukZCHX5ffEI
One Day in Creativity	France	49,510	38	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=vqSmCKrzPe4
Shanghai Traces	USA	51,095	21	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=9YvoHcsviPc
Some of My Dreams	Lithuania	66,958	113	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=BG1oUPMSDXQ
Sounds in the key of Z	Belgium	15,226	29	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=krKSBgTBajM
The City / D&AD	UK	7,546	6	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=sjX-SGjF9zc
The Traveling Rooms of a Little Giant	Hong Kong	245,662	94	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=VCj2s9_6b-4
Whisper	USA	38,752	34	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=X6MN-5iEoxg
Wow tenspace	Japan	469,651	1,095	https://wow.youtube.com/watch?v=4HMm9jrgDzM

Appendix 2.

Shortlisted videos' statistics

Section1. Geographic distribution of views

Clip Title	Country	Geographic distribution of views in per cent (%)																								
		USA	UK	Spain	Brazil	India	Germany	Mexico	Puerto Rico	Argentina	Russia	Canada	Italy	Japan	France	Netherlands	Israel	Poland	Czech R.	Indonesia	Tunisia	Morocco	Australia	Sweden	Mexico	Other countries [444]
A Hunger Artist	USA	5	26				14								12			7								36
A Question…	France	2	9				10							14	27											38
Bad News	Germany	11	3		3	32					3															49
Bang Bang Eche	Canada		17				23				7				10			10								33
Cat Food	Israel	9	14				15								7		13									42
Chair Not Taken	Israel	20					5					10			4		24									37
Continuum	Jamaica		14				10				7				9			8						6		44
Ero Machina	USA	31	5				10				5	5														44
Global Remake	USA	48	7				7					6			4											28
Illegal Drugs	USA	23	12				16								7			11								32
In order of …	Israel	8	13				9				5				10											55
Kibble Kat	Mexico	45	2				9	11				2														41
Kiko Pérez	Spain	17		19			5		7	5																47
Luis	Chile	33		5	9						5			5												49
Moonwalk	Czech R.	12					9				9							17	12							41
Mother of All …	Israel	33	7				6								5		5									39
Noteboek	Netherlands	16		3			7								4	35										34

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[444] For each of the clips, I calculated the number of views (by %) in the top five countries (according to the number of views). The column, "Other countries," shows the total number of views in the rest of the countries.

Clip Title	Country	Geographic distribution of views in per cent (%)																								
		USA	UK	Spain	Brazil	India	Germany	Mexico	Puerto Rico	Argentina	Russia	Canada	Italy	Japan	France	Netherlands	Israel	Poland	Czech R.	Indonesia	Tunisia	Morocco	Australia	Sweden	Mexico	Other countries
One Day in…	France	4	5				11								46							3				31
Out of Soul	Germany	48	7				7				2	6			4											38
Pahóm	Israel	24	5				8								6		6									51
Pasfilm 2000	Netherlands		10				10								8	13		10								49
Post Newton	USA	20	6			10						8			11											35
Precise Peter	Germany	4					50					7						14	3							22
Remake	USA	11	7				7				7							9								49
Scenic Jogging	USA	48	7				7				2	6			4											38
Screen Action!	Puerto Rico	32	5						26			4												3		30
Seventeen	USA	21	8				11											5		11						43
Shy Syndrome	France	5					2					6			48						16					33
Star Wars …	USA	16	26												12	5			4							37
TehChing …	USA	13	13				17								12			9								37
The City	UK	24	8				10					6			6											46
The Fuchsia Fits	USA	27	5				10					6			7											45
The Huber …	USA	52	10				8					7											2			21
The Iron	Russia		6				5				38				4			22								25
Tree Clapping	USA	31	6				7					5			4											48
We're sorry	USA		20				11								8			9						6		46
Whisper	USA	30	10								4				6			7								43
Why Do …	France	7	13				12								11	9										48
Yelp	USA	49	5	10								6			3											27

Section2. Age demographics.

Clip Title	Country	Most views in	Number of views according to age groups in per cent (%)								
			13-17	18-24	25-34	13-34	35-44	45-54	55-64	65+	45+
A Hunger Artist	USA	USA	16	13	14	43	17	25	13	2	40
A Question of Honour	France	France	12	11	12	35	16	45	4	0	49
Bang Bang Eche - Nikee	Canada	Germany	15	21	16	52	18	18	6	6	30
Continuum	Jamaica	UK	8	13	14	35	20	28	12	5	45
Illegal Drugs	USA	USA	29	18	17	64	16	11	6	3	20
Kibble Kat	Mexico	USA	13	10	11	34	20	30	14	2	46
Kiko Pérez	Spain	Spain	10	9	14	33	27	30	9	1	40
Moonwalk	Czech R.	Poland	14	14	19	47	20	19	10	4	33
Mother of All Funk Chords	Israel	USA	6	10	20	36	26	22	10	6	38
Noteboek	Netherlands	Netherlands	11	8	11	30	22	31	16	1	48
Out of Soul	Germany	Germany	18	13	15	46	20	22	10	2	34
Pasfilm 2000	Netherlands	Netherlands	8	11	16	35	17	30	17	1	48
Precise Peter	Germany	Germany	25	19	17	61	15	14	7	3	24
Remake	USA	USA	12	12	15	39	23	24	13	1	38
Seventeen	USA	USA	17	12	13	42	17	24	14	3	41
TehChing Hsieh…	USA	Germany	30	19	14	63	21	16	0	0	16
The City / D&AD	UK	USA	9	10	12	31	15	34	19	1	54
The Fuchsia Fits	Canada	USA	14	11	12	37	18	27	15	3	45
The Huber Experiments	USA	USA	16	12	14	42	19	24	12	3	39
We're sorry…	USA	UK	23	14	15	52	17	19	9	3	31
Whisper	USA	USA	12	10	28	50	11	15	19	5	39
		Average	**15%**	**13%**	**15%**	**43%**	**19%**	**24%**	**11%**	**3%**	**38%**

Appendix 3.
YouTube Play language distribution
Section1. Total languages distribution of YouTube Play comments

Total number of comments 21,215
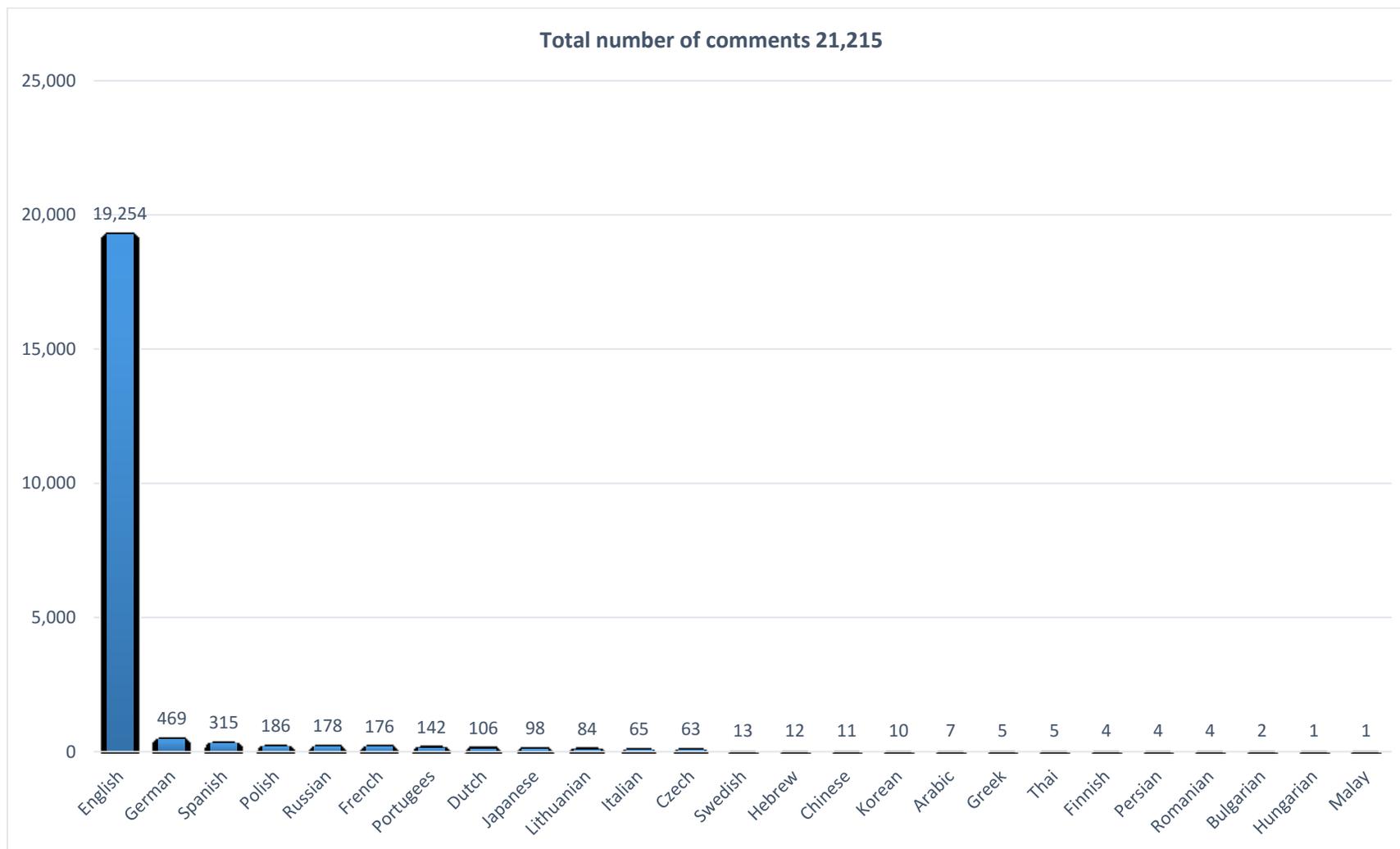
Section 2. Videos produced in the USA

Clip Title	Most views in	Comments	English comments	English comments (in %)
A Braided Beaded Balls Suit		41	34	83
A Hunger Artist		24	23	96
At The Beach		28	28	100
Auspice		88	87	99
Bedstuy Street Interviews		30	30	100
Commencer Une Autre Mort		15	15	100
Contemporary America		32	29	91
Deuce		500	500	100
Ero Machina	USA	8	8	100
Everyone Forever Now – Stop sitting		33	33	100
Galt Aureus - The Armada		500	498	100
Guitar: Impossible		500	473	95
Hulachess		28	28	100
Human Mirror		500	499	100
Illegal Drugs	USA	500	497	99
Learning Curve		13	13	100
Man on a rock		10	10	100
Meme Remix // Mix Tape		27	27	100
Mike Relm vs Zoetrope		201	201	100
Myth of My Ancestors		4	4	100
Neurosonics Audiomedical Labs Inc		500	495	99
Nigel		19	19	100
OK Go - This Too Shall Pass		500	489	98
One Tree Clapping	USA	11	11	100
Post Newtonianism		64	64	100
Remake	UK	8	7	88
Save Me!!!		9	8	89
Scenic Jogging	USA	59	54	92
Self Portrait: Artist as Artist		12	12	100
Seventeen	USA	136	134	99
Shanghai Traces		21	18	86
Star Wars Chronicles	UK	38	38	100
Strindberg and Helium at the Beach		56	56	100

Clip Title	Most views in	Comments	English comments	English comments (in %)
Sushi - Kyle Andrews		500	488	98
Synesthesia		283	280	99
TehChing Hsieh…	Germany	13	12	92
The Coincidental Dreamers		23	21	91
The Final Breaths of a Main Character		35	35	100
The Fuchsia Fits	USA	30	30	100
The Global Remake	India	19	14	74
The Huber Experiments	USA	134	134	100
The River		110	104	95
The story of an engine		24	24	100
The Tale of Wendylin Wayne		500	500	100
This Aborted Earth		15	15	100
Upload Me		123	119	97
We Love Museums – Do Museums Love Us Back?		379	379	100
We're sorry: You future is no longer available		42	40	95
Western Spaghetti by Pes		500	481	96
Whisper	USA	34	33	97
Wonderland Mafia		500	500	100
Words		201	200	100
Yelp	USA	44	44	100

Section 3. Videos produced in Anglophone countries

Clip Title	Country	Most views in	Comments	English comments	English comments (in %)
Autumn Story	Australia		448	442	99
Bathtub IV	Australia		180	176	98
Gardyn | Pogo	Australia		500	500	100
Lucky- All India Radio	Australia		500	494	99
Acornucopia	Canada		61	58	95
Bang Bang Eche - Nikee	Canada	Germany	20	20	100
Dogasaur - Short Film	Canada		9	9	100
Dreamscape	Canada		46	44	96
Home	Canada		31	31	100
I Met the Walrus	Canada		500	500	100
Mars to Jupiter	Canada		20	19	95
Digital Therapy	Ireland		10	10	100
Continnum	Jamaica	UK	20	18	90
Create Myself	Scotland		500	500	100
Die Antwoord - Zef Side	South Africa		500	491	98
999 Days: Urban Barbarian	UK		155	146	94
A Door Opens	UK	UK	58	56	97
Built-in Obsolescence	UK		9	9	100
Don't Touch	UK		118	118	100
Seaweed	UK		169	167	99
The City / D&AD	UK	USA	6	6	100

Section 4. Videos produced in non-Anglophone countries

Video clip	Country	Most views in	Comments	English comments	Native comments	Native comments (in %)
Language of Love	Austria		25	10	6	24
Sounds in the key of Z	Belgium		29	27	1	3
Birds on The Wires	Brazil		500	327	124	25
Luis	Chile	USA	500	412	82	16
Moonwalk	Czech R.	Poland	443	286	56	13
Bear untitled	Denmark		80	41	0	0
A Question of Honour	France	France	37	34	1	3
Hard rain	France		56	41	14	25
Le Syndrome du Timide	France	France	164	55	106	65
One Day In Creativity	France	France	38	19	19	50
Why Do Things Get In A Muddle	France	UK	9	9	0	0
Bad News	Germany	UK	198	197	0	0
Car Park	Germany		81	9	72	89
Nice To Meet You	Germany		152	41	110	72
Out Of Soul	Germany	Germany	26	7	17	65
Precise Peter	Germany	Germany	115	25	60	52
The Traveling Rooms of …	Hong Kong		94	93	0	0
Cat Food	Israel	Germany	23	23	0	0
In order of appearance	Israel	UK	17	16	1	6
Mother of All Funk Chords	Israel		500	492	5	1
Self Completion	Israel		3	2	1	33
The Chair Not Taken	Israel	Izrael	15	14	1	7
Pahóm	Israel	USA	21	20	1	5
L'amante	Italia		62	0	62	100
Ladybirds' Requiem	Japan		50	23	20	40
Wow tenspace	Japan		500	460	25	5
Some of My Dreams	Lithuania		113	29	84	74
Kibble Kat	Mexico		23	13	10	43
The Light Pressure of a Thought	Mexico		89	6	83	93
Taxi III	N. Ireland		56	56	56	100
Noteboek	Netherlands	Netherlands	500	406	86	17
Pasfilm 2000	Netherlands	Netherlands	22	13	7	32
Cardboard	Netherleands		280	274	0	0

Video clip	Country	Most views in	Comments	English comments	Native comments	Native comments (in %)
Screen Action!	Puerto Rico	Puerto Rico	51	29	22	43
Life Buoy	Romania		37	31	4	11
Give Peace a Dance	Russia		16	16	0	0
The Iron	Russia	Russia	41	14	23	56
Homo Modernus	Spain		83	83	0	0
Kiko Pérez	Spain	Spain	10	3	7	70
Hollywood Internet	Sweden		5	5	0	0
Minilogue - Animals	Sweden		500	482	9	2
Rymdreglage - 8-bit trip	Sweden		500	450	4	1
Frame of imagination	Taiwan		4	3	0	0

Section 5. Languages of production | Videos produced in non-Anglophone countries

Video clip	Country	Speech	Titles	Subtitles in English	Native comments (in %)
Language of Love	Austria	German	English	+	24
Sounds in the key of Z	Belgium	Silent	English	N/A	3
Birds on The Wires	Brazil	Silent	English	-	25
Luis	Chile	Silent	Spanish	-	16
Moonwalk	Czech R.	Silent	English	N/A	13
Bear untitled	Denmark	English	English	N/A	0
A Question of honour	France	Silent	English	N/A	3
Hard rain	France	Silent	English	N/A	25
Le Syndrome du Timide	France	French	French	+	65
One Day in Creativity	France	French	English	-	50
Why Do Things Get in A Muddle	France	Silent	English	N/A	0
Bad News	Germany	Silent	English	N/A	0
Car Park	Germany	Silent	English	N/A	89
Nice To Meet You	Germany	Silent	English	N/A	72
Out of Soul	Germany	Silent	German	-	65
Precise Peter	Germany	Silent	German	-	52
The Traveling Rooms of …	Hong Kong	English	English	N/A	0
Cat Food	Israel	Silent	English	N/A	0
L'amante	Italia	Italian	Italian	-	100
In order of appearance	Israel	Silent	English	N/A	6
Mother of All Funk Chords	Israel	English	English	N/A	1
Self Completion	Israel	Hebrew	Hebrew	-	33
The Chair Not Taken	Israel	Silent	English	N/A	7
Pahóm	Israel	Silent	English	N/A	5
Ladybirds' Requiem	Japan	Silent	English	N/A	40
Wow tenspace	Japan	Silent	English	N/A	5
Some of My Dreams	Lithuania	English	English	N/A	74
Kibble Kat	Mexico	Silent	English	N/A	43
The Light Pressure of a Thought	Mexico	English	English	N/A	93
Taxi III	N. Ireland	English	English	N/A	100
Noteboek	Netherlands	Silent	English	N/A	17
Pasfilm 2000	Netherlands	Silent	English	N/A	32
Cardboard	Netherlands	Silent	Dutch	+	0

Video clip	Country	Speech	Titles	Subtitles in English	Native comments (in %)
Screen Action!	Puerto Rico	Silent	English	N/A	43
Life Buoy	Romania	Silent	Romanian	-	11
Give Peace a Dance	Russia	Silent	English	N/A	0
The Iron	Russia	Russian	Russian	-	56
Homo Modernus	Spain	English	English	N/A	0
Kiko Pérez	Spain	Silent	English	N/A	70
Hollywood Internet	Sweden	Silent	English	N/A	0
Minilogue - Animals	Sweden	Silent	English	N/A	2
Rymdreglage - 8-bit trip	Sweden	Silent	English	N/A	1
Frame of imagination	Taiwan	Silent	English	N/A	0

Section 6. Language distribution of comments on YouTube Play promo videos

Video clip	Comments	English	Japanese	Russian	Czech	Spanish	Portuguese	Persian	Arabic	French	German	Polish	Dutch	Chinese
About YouTube Play	500	495		1			1	3						
YouTube Play Intro: behind the scenes	128	123		2							1		1	
YouTube Play: invitation to the Contest in Korean	1	1												
//-//-// in Portuguese	1	1												
//-//-//in Japanese	4	2	2								1			
//-//-// in Italian	4	3										1		
//-//-// in Chinese	5	5												
//-//-// in Russian	39	5		34										
//-//-// in Spanish	6	6												
//-//-// in Czech	9	8			1									
//-//-// in French	24	13									11			
//-//-// in German	119	18										101		
//-//-// in Polish	84	20											64	
//-//-// in Swedish	37	37												
//-//-// in Dutch	82	73				1						3	5	
//-//-// in English	500	498		2										
Meet the YouTube Play Jury	29	29												
//-//-//: Stefan Sagmeister	7	7												
//-//-//: Marilyn Minter	12	12												
//-//-//: Laurie Anderson	16	16												
//-//-//: Apichatpong Weerasethakul	18	18												
//-//-//: Takashi Murakami	56	28	27	1										
About YouTube Play - with jurors	84	84												
HP+Intel Make: Music and fashion film - Elisha Smith-Leverock	15	15												
//-//-//: Time Lapse - Tarah Dowling	22	22												

Video clip	Comments	English	Japanese	Russian	Czech	Spanish	Portuguese	Persian	Arabic	French	German	Polish	Dutch	Chinese
//-//-//: Digital Flipbook - Jimmy Dava	31	31												
//-//-//: 2D Character Animation with Tom Baker	134	122							1	1	10			
//-//-//: Experimental Film - Begonia Colomar	129	126				1				1	1			
//-//-//: Stop-Motion Animation with Ricky Martin	303	299									3			1
Michael Showalter: YouTube Play Live	28	28												
YouTube Play. Live: highlights	58	56							1		1			
YouTube Play. Live: The full show	90	87	3											
YouTube Play. Live Streamed from the Guggenheim.	416	402		3		5	1			1	3	1		
Total:	2,992	2691	32	43	1	7	2	3	2	14	124	66	6	1
Total in per cent (%):	100.0	89.94	1.07	1.44	0.03	0.23	0.07	0.10	0.07	0.47	4.14	2.21	0.20	0.03

Appendix 4.
The YouTube Play Jury Composition

Name	Country	Art Medium
Laurie Anderson	USA	Music, Video
Darren Aronofsky	USA	Video
Douglas Gordon	Scottish-born living in the USA	Installation, Video, Photography
Ryan Mcginley	USA	Photography
Marilyn Minter	USA	Painting, Video, Photography
Takashi Murakami	Japan	Painting, Sculpture, Video
Shirin Neshat	Iranian-born living in the USA	Video, Photography
Apichatpong Weerasethakul	Thai-born living in the USA	Video
Stefan Sagmeister	Austrian-born living in the USA	Graphic Design
Animal Collective: Josh Dibb, Brian Weitz, Noah Lennox	USA	Music
Nancy Spector, Chair	USA	Guggenheim Chief Curator

Appendix 5.
Guggenheim Board of Trustees, Composition of 2010

Name	Title	Since	Professional Occupation	Country	Expertise
Rover Edward F	Secretary	2006	Former partner at White & Case, L.L.P	USA	Business
Azua Jon Imanol	Trustee	1997	Chairman and CEO of E-Novating Lab	Spain	Business
Bullock Janna	Trustee	2007	Founder and President of RIGroup	USA	Business
John Calicchio	Trustee	2007	Chairman of the Board of Apex Marine Ship Management	USA	Business
Dalenson Theodor	Trustee	2009	Founder of the Nove Capital Management	Sweden	Business
Daskalopolulos Dimitris	Trustee	2009	Chairman of the SEV Hellenic Federation of Enterprises	Greece	Business
Ehrnrooth Carl Gustaf	Trustee	2008	Private investor with Corbis Investments S.A	Finland	Business
Ganek David	Trustee	2005	Partner and Head Manager at Level Global Investors	USA	Business
Lawson Johnston II Peter	Trustee	2000	**Great-grandson of Solomon R. Guggenheim**, Managing Partner of the Guggenheim Partners, LLC	USA	Business

Year	Contributions, gifts, grants		Government grants		Program service revenue[447]		Membership dues		Unrelated business income[448]		Total (in US $)
	in US $	in %	in US $	in %	in US $	in %	in US $	in %	in US $	in %	
2001	19,634,971	52.39	538,800	1.44	16,057,699	42.85	214,234	0.57	-468,371	-1.25	37,477,758
2002	30,953,137	65.18	249,600	0.53	18,102,566	38.12	310,271	0.65	340,673	0.72	47,489,096
2003	22,620,181	51.46	260,756	0.59	17,314,458	39.39	283,639	0.65	386,959	0.88	43,957,929
2004	24,566,904	47.71	840,883	1.63	20,936,417	40.66	604,348	1.17	1,270,633	2.47	51,487,967
2005	28,639,230	46.63	643,201	1.05	25,996,501	42.33	339,830	0.55	1,117,695	1.82	61,417,673
2006	26,922,543	39.51	436,420	0.64	30,049,163	44.10	571,317	0.84	1,653,153	2.43	68,146,303
2007	37,675,220	47.73	6,222,186	7.88	23,286,474	29.50	749,495	0.95	1,256,146	1.59	78,941,785
2008	18,437,324	32.36	3,363,837	5.90	27,717,935	48.65	2,589,387	4.55	1,392,745	2.44	56,969,589
2009	14,604,926	29.79	2,040,148	4.16	29,728,154	60.65	2,556,110	5.21	1,458,045	2.97	49,019,081
2010	17,117,742	29.68	1,654,691	2.87	29,573,785	51.28	2,458,997	4.26	1,837,933	3.19	57,671,996
2011	14,771,272	20.44	1,855,302	2.57	39,028,473	53.99	2,676,831	3.70	2,419,258	3.35	72,284,172
2012	25,592,744	31.52	1,333,371	1.64	40,559,103	49.96	2,770,672	3.41	1,662,341	2.05	81,190,884
Average	**23,461,350**	**39.87**	**1,619,933**	**2.75**	**26,529,227**	**45.09**	**1,343,761**	**2.28**	**1,193,934**	**2.03**	**58,837,853**

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[446] Extracted from IRS Forms 990 for 2001-2012 (Citizen Audit 2013; Nonprofit Explorer 2001-2012).
[447] Program service revenue includes revenues from admission; participating fees; copy rights and reproductions royalties; loans and rental fees; retail store, special events, and restaurants sales.
[448] Unrelated business income is a part of the program services revenue.