

Engaging with art museums on social media

An exploratory study on the interaction between Dutch museums and their audience on Instagram

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Abstract

The 21st-century museum is constantly looking for new ways to attract a wider audience and be competitive with other leisure organizations. In recent times, in fact, museums have been trying to shift their identity from exclusive, elitist institutions to more democratic and accessible ones. Given their definition of 'difficult brands', they need to find creative and innovative strategies to trigger people's interest in what is happening behind their imposing buildings. Within the rise of Web 2.0, Instagram is a visually-rich platform that provides a more direct line of communication with other users, along with various tools to engage the audience in different projects, for instance through the use of hashtags and content creation. However, in spite of the huge traffic on social media and the social effects of networks, as well as the opportunities to create, comment, and edit that they offer, this kind of active participation only pertains to the minority of the users. Research has been investigating this 'participation inequality', trying to identify the reasons behind the different ways people participate on social media. Among these factors, differences in cultural capital and use of technology affect the ways in which audience members engage with museums' narratives online. This problematic vision of audience engagement has led this research to look into how art museums use social media and how does the audience of art museums engage with the content created by them on Instagram. To do so, an embedded and sequential multi-methods design was employed through the means of two sets of semi-structured interviews. The first set of interviews was conducted with marketing professionals of two Dutch museums, Boijmans Van Beuningen Museum and Dordrechts Museum. The findings that arose from these interviews were used as guidelines for the second part of the research, the interviews with the audience of the aforementioned museums. Having identified three frames within which museums operate online allowed looking into how they use social media in terms of marketing, inclusivity, and collaboration, and what their audience expects of them. The findings highlight that museums use social media to attract a wider, more diverse audience and interact with their followers through likes and comments. However, the analysis retrieved limitations in the ways in which institutions adapt educational, informative content to the immediate, catchy communication of social media. This may hinder the audience's experience when it comes to enjoyment and satisfaction, as they have high expectations of how museums should employ social media, in particular concerning co-creation projects. In fact, followers of museums showed high levels of cultural capital and digital proficiency that make them engage meaningfully with Instagram's content and functions. Thus, a negotiation between what the audience expects and how much the museum is willing to let go of its authority to endorse participation should take place.

KEYWORDS: museums marketing, audience engagement, Instagram, cultural capital, digital and participation divide.

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1. Introduction

This thesis focuses on the communication between two actors, art museums and their audience, through the channel of a social media platform, Instagram. In particular, the thesis looks at the ways in which users interact with a museum's Instagram profile, and which are the possible factors that influence this relationship. In order to do so, the strategies employed by professionals in the field of social media marketing were investigated, along with what they want to achieve in terms of engagement when utilizing Instagram. In this sense, having the perspective of both the institutions and the audience helps in understanding whether the expectations on both sides are met, or whether there is room for improvement. To look into this, the usage of social media by museums is delineated through three different frames (marketing, inclusivity and collaborative) theorized by Kidd (2011). Moreover, special attention is paid to whether and how these frames align with the ways in which museum's followers understand their participation. In order to achieve this, an embedded and sequential multi-methods design (Creswell & Plano Clark, 2007; Creswell, 2014) was employed through the means of two sets of semi-structured interviews with the aforementioned populations.

Several are the reasons behind the decision to research Instagram rather than other social networking applications. First of all, just by looking at the statistics, it is evident how this platform has grown vertiginously in popularity since its launch in 2010. For instance, the active users on a monthly basis had reached the number of eight hundred million in 2017, two million more than at the end of 2016 (Statista, 2017). It is also reported that Instagram is able to reach a younger and more diverse population, who uses it more than Facebook or Twitter, attracted by its immediacy in the sharing of images, rather than words alone, to communicate with their peers (Salomon, 2013; Abbott, Donaghey, Hare & Hopkins, 2013; Bakhshi, Shamma & Gilbert, 2014). In fact, another relevant characteristic of this app is its liveness, as users can publish content regarding an activity while it is happening (Weilenmann, Hillman & Jungselius, 2013). Herein lies the reason for the popularity of this social media: the possibility not just to take pictures, but also to manipulate them through editing tools and filters, and then to post them live, is what differs Instagram from other applications, and what makes it so popular among youngsters for their personal gratification and as a form of entertainment (Ting, Wong, de Run & Lau, 2015). This way, young adults are transforming it into a space of interaction in which to converse through likes, tags, and comments (Jang, Han, Shih & Lee, 2015). However, in spite of its success, many scholars highlight that not much research exists on Instagram and its social implications, and point out that it should be taken into more consideration (Ting, Wong, de Run & Lau, 2015; Hu, Manikonda & Kambhampati, 2014). Thus, it can be said that the relative newness of the Instagram phenomenon and the numerous possibilities in which it can contribute to stimulating interest in cultural institutions, make this research academically relevant.

Given the numbers reported above, it does not come as a surprise that many profit and non-profit organizations have started to look at Instagram to connect with (potential) costumers more personally, in order to create a bond with them (Bergström & Bäckman, 2013). This is also true for museums, which are constantly looking for new ways to engage with a broader audience (Kotler & Kotler, 2000). In recent years, it can be said that this effort has reached new levels. In 2015, for example, the Renwick Gallery at the Smithsonian in Washington, D.C., opened an exhibition called 'Wonder', which featured large-scale installations with unexpected materials, from prismatic rainbows to dead insects. 'Wonder' became a social media phenomenon, attracting more visitor in one month than in the entire year. While the exhibition was not designed with this purpose in mind, the curators decided to embrace it, by posting signs that encouraged visitors to take pictures (Pardes, 2017). This was the comment of the curator Nicholas Bell: "we're all flabbergasted, to be frank. I wonder, what are they even trying to say? 'I am here Instagramming?' It's like this new first-person narrative of the museum experience. I'm fascinated" (2016, as cited by Pardes, 2017, par.7). Indeed, visiting a museum in the 21st century also means documenting the experience, not just by taking pictures of the art, but by photographing themselves in those spaces (Fei, 2016, as cited in Pardes, 2017). This is the case for works by artists like Yayoi Kusama, whose Infinity Mirror Rooms have overcome boundaries allowing visitors to step inside the art. Kusama's installations attract big crowds, who stand in line for hours to take a selfie inside those rooms (Codik, 2018). Generating these levels of engagement has thus become the new goal of museums, all while trying to find a balance between their educational role and the audience's request to be entertained (Kotler & Kotler, 2000).

Engagement can be considered a multi-dimensional concept that, throughout history, has been subject to many definitions in different fields (for an overview, see Brodie, Hollebeek, Jurić and Ilić, 2011). Within this research, the definition given by Mollen and Wilson (2010) seems the most appropriate: "Online engagement is a cognitive and affective commitment to an active relationship with the brand as personified by the website or other computer-mediated entities designed to communicate brand value" (p.923)

Yet, it can be argued that arts institutions still struggle with fully taking advantage of social media platforms when it comes to interacting with their public (Lazaridou, Vrana & Paschaloudis, 2017). In fact - given their definition of 'difficult brands' due to discontinued availability or unpredictable outcomes - they need to invest even more resources than 'regular' brands in creating a bond with consumers, based on trust and social connectedness (Hartley & Harrison, 2007). In this sense, taking advantage of Web 2.0 may carry significant potential for museums, but a gap exists in research concerning these two actors (Padilla-Mélendez & del Águila-Obra, 2013). Therefore, this thesis' contributes to marketing strategies of museums in a socially-relevant way, by focusing on their audience and actually providing them with their perspective.

Furthermore, it is important to highlight that art institutions should look at their audience more carefully if they want to communicate with them effectively. In fact, museums need to take into account that, as it happens offline, social inequalities and imbalances also occur in the online environment (Kidd, 2017). In particular, different studies, which will be addressed more in-depth in the theoretical framework, consider several social factors that play a role in how people participate within Web 2.0, even when it comes to younger users, who are generally referred to as 'digital natives'. Some of these are age, gender, cultural capital, digital proficiency, socioeconomic status, and skills (Tondeur, Sinnaeve, van Houtte & van Braak, 2010; Livingstone & Helsper, 2007; Hargittai & Walejko, 2008; Blank & Reisdorf, 2012; Van Volkom, Stapley & Amaturro, 2014). These findings further problematize the view of social media as facilitators of participation in the cultural sector and point out that this interaction does not happen without pitfalls, making it relevant to analyze more closely.

For all the aforementioned reasons, two research questions have been formulated. The first one regards the institutions' marketing strategies to achieve an effective social media presence:

- *How do art museums use social media?*

In order to look into this matter more in detail, these sub-questions have been defined:

- Who is their target audience on social media?
- What do they post on social media?
- How do they trigger engagement among their audience, in terms of content creation, use of hashtags, behind the scenes content, etc.?
- What do museums think of Instagram?
- How do they perceive it as compared to other social media?

The second question, on the other hand, focuses on the Instagram users:

- *How does the audience of art museums engage with the content created by them on Instagram?*

In this case, the sub-questions are the following:

- Who are the users who engage with art museums on Instagram in terms of socio-demographic variables?
- How do they use Instagram and social media in general during their daily life?
- What are the motives behind such usage?
- What are their preferred ways to use the app to interact with art museums?

Considering the previous researches and theories regarding the topic and the findings that arose from them, it is appropriate to hypothesize that art museums use social media to promote events and upcoming exhibitions, as well as to make their name known to a wider public. However, it can be foreseen that their online presence can be improved, given that the audience they manage to reach is still limited. Concerning the audience, it is conceivable to believe that its level of engagement is indeed influenced by their personal background, and that people with a higher

level of education and digital proficiency are more likely to follow art museums on Instagram, since they are not only already interested in arts and culture due to their personal background, but also have the required abilities to meaningfully use a mobile application.

Given the focus on two subjects and their modalities of interaction through Instagram, this thesis' outline proceeds by discussing both parts in parallel. In the theoretical framework, the argumentation starts by addressing the relationship between museums and their audience and how it has evolved over the years. Afterward, the concept of engagement is introduced, along with the factors that may influence, and hinder, audience participation, namely cultural capital and digital divide in relation to digital media. Given this critical point, the use of social media by museums is discussed, with its downsides and limitations, according to the frames employed by Kidd (2011). The last section of the chapter is focused on Instagram. In particular, the platform is considered as a tool to engage with consumers and trigger interactions, both in general and for museums specifically. In the method section, the research methodology is explained, as well as how the sampling, operationalization and data analysis of both populations occurred, in accordance with the sequential and embedded nature of the research design. The results section is also divided into two parts, the first focusing on the interviews with the museums' professionals and the second on the audiences' points of view on the analyzed strategies. Finally, the last chapter aims to draw conclusions on the findings that arose from the dataset, considering the audience and museums as general subjects, not as belonging to the two museums. After that, limitations and suggestions for future research are discussed.

2. Theoretical framework

2.1 Museums and their audience: from one-to-many communication to the ‘new museology’

A museum can be described as an institution whose main aim is to conserve the artifacts it contains and to educate the community on their meaning and relevance for society. In this sense, museums are seen as an authority, repository of great knowledge, which provides their visitors with the tools to interpret history and other disciplines (Russo, Watkins, Kelly & Chan, 2008). In the words of the former Director of London’s British Museum, Sir David M. Wilson: “Museums are about the material they contain. The first duty of the museum curator is to look after that material... His second duty is to make that material available to whoever wants to see it” (1991, in Kotler & Kotler, 2000, p.271). For this reason, museums usually adopted a one-to-many communication model, in which the curator’s knowledge was conveyed to the community through the exhibition itself, while two-way communication was often delegated to non-curatorial staff (Russo, Watkins, Kelly & Chan, 2008).

In recent times, however, the centrality of the museum’s collection over its audience has been put into discussion, and museums have started to see themselves as spaces in which their cultural authority is explored, rather than asserted, with visitors collaborating to the museum’s ‘making of meaning’ (Russo, Watkins, Kelly & Chan, 2008). This shift from an exclusive and elitist vision of their institutional role to a more democratic and accessible one has been defined as ‘new museology’ (Ross, 2004). In adopting this new, reflexive approach (Ross, 2004), museums managers have developed strategies in terms of goals setting and marketing in order to reach a larger audience, connect with their community more effectively, and, subsequently, to increase visitors’ numbers. Sometimes, these strategies go beyond the collection itself, in the attempt of providing the audience, with new, exciting experiences. It is the case of the American Museum of Natural History in New York, which regularly organizes sleepovers as a part of the ‘Night at the Museum’ event. Or of the Santa Cruz Museum of Art & History in California, which, to fight financial troubles, opened a food hall and an outdoor venue for concerts, yoga, and art events with the help of the community (Silver, 2018). In the words of the Executive Director of the museum: “We changed our museum by reorienting on our community and really saying we exist to be of, by and for you, and to help build a stronger community” (Simon, 2018, as cited in Silver, 2018, par.16).

As it can be seen from these two examples, the main challenge is to find a balance between the museum’s original mission of collecting, conserving, and educating, and making itself competitive and appealing to a broader public. For instance, a museum may have a loyal basis of members and affiliates, but it may need to attract a wider and more diverse public to have a stronger impact on the community. In this sense, a museum may also decide to create a new identity in order to appeal to different segments of the public, like young people or families. These

segments of the audience, on which a museum decides to focus its efforts, can be defined as 'target'. Identifying a target audience allows museums to better adjust to meet its needs and expectations, which will translate into a more regular and active participation (Kotler & Kotler, 2000). In this sense, managers need to determine how they can meet the interests of the new groups they wish to engage by setting realistic goals and using the right type of tools.

Kotler and Kotler (2000) identify three possible strategies that can be implemented to improve a museum's relationship with its audience: creating a better experience during the actual visit, community service, and repositioning on the market from an entertainment point of view, in order to become a popular leisure organization with a diverse public. Regarding the latter, the biggest difficulty that can be encountered is combining this new image with the integrity of the museum itself. In fact, the risk is that new offerings might transform a museum in an entertainment center, weakening other activities related to the collection, scholarships, and education. According to Kotler and Kotler (2000), this would be a mistake, as audience research shows that visitors value the collection on display because it allows them to break the routine of their daily life. Thus, museums should safeguard their role of collecting and preserving authentic artifacts, as that is what distinguishes them from non-museum leisure organizations. Moreover, studies have proved that people participate in the cultural life of a museum because it allows them to discover more about themselves, the community they live in and its history (Falk, 2006). Yet again, "without an audience and community support, even the greatest exhibition and collection will fail to generate response" (Kotler & Kotler, 2000, p.286).

So, how can museums establish a meaningful relationship with their audience? Hartley and Harrison (2007) analyzed how to develop a bond between customers and culture or arts organizations, the so-called 'difficult brands'. These brands, which include, among others, museums, theater, and festivals, are defined by two main characteristics: 'constrained availability' and 'uncertainty of outcomes'. The former refers to the fact that these services are available only at certain times decided by the organizations, rather than by the behavior of the customers; the latter indicates that customers are aware that they are taking a risk when they decide to experience a cultural event. For instance, a visitor to a new artist's exhibition might be left dissatisfied with it, because his works do not meet his taste. Due to these two elements, cultural organizations have limited opportunities to satisfy their consumers, and thus need to find other factors to create loyalty (Hartley & Harrison, 2007). In this sense, it is important for marketers to keep in mind that difficult brands can represent an attractive alternative to mass-market services, as they have the potential to engage individuals on a higher psychological level (Muniz & O'Guinn, 2001).

In their exploratory study, Hartley and Harrison (2007) identify three components that create a relational bond between consumers and cultural organizations: connectedness, trust, and involvement. Regarding connection, it can be said that consumers feel emotionally linked to the brand, and thus perceive a sense of personal achievement if the brand is successful; in addition,

consumers value the social bond that develops when participating in activities with like-minded people, and, finally, feel enthusiastic about their experience and are willing to support the brand in the future. Overall, these elements highlight that modern consumers “are likely to seek out brands and products with which they share a strong personal attachment or affinity” (Hartley & Harrison, 2007, p.2).

2.2 Audience engagement and museums: prior knowledge, recreational motivation, and cultural capital

This sense of involvement with and commitment to a specific consumption experience can be defined as engagement (Abdul-Ghani, Hyde, & Marshall, 2011; Higgins & Scholer, 2009). Engagement is a concept consisting of different elements within the cognitive, emotional and behavioral sphere (Brodie, Hollebeek, Jurić & Ilić, 2011; Hollebeek, 2010), and varies depending on the actors involved and the context in which it takes place (Brodie, Hollebeek, Jurić & Ilić, 2011). Subsequently, consumers may experience different levels of engagement. In the context of this research, three are the main factors that positively affect engagement between a museum and its audience: prior knowledge, recreational motivation, and cultural capital (Taheri, Jafari & O'Gorman, 2014). Prior knowledge, gained thanks to different means, like a museum's website, social media, or friends and family, allows visitors to have an enriching consumption experience and a deeper appreciation of the arts (Carú & Cova, 2005). In fact, visitors who have previous experience with visiting museums, and have knowledge regarding the topic of an exhibition, may be able to engage more meaningfully than others (Black, 2005). Concerning motivation, it increases audience engagement when it can be defined as recreational, i.e. visiting a museum seen as a moment of enjoyment and personal satisfaction. Finally, cultural capital has been long used to investigate cultural consumption (Taheri, Jafari & O'Gorman, 2014).

2.2.1 The importance of cultural capital

The theory of cultural capital, first introduced by sociologist Pierre Bourdieu in the 1960s, has long been used to investigate consumption and participation in the cultural sector (Taheri, Jafari & O'Gorman, 2014). Cultural capital can be defined as “certain cultural tastes and styles and participation in cultural activities such as literature, theatre, concerts and museum visits” (Bourdieu, 1966, as cited in Tondeur, Sinnaeve, van Houtte & van Braak, 2010, p.153). An important aspect of the theory of cultural capital is its connection to an individual's social background. According to Bourdieu (1966; 1986), cultural capital gets formed during childhood and influences many spheres of an individual's life. In his theory, the different levels of cultural capital present in households are to blame for the unequal educational achievements of students of different social classes. In fact, students from middle-class families enter the school system with a cultural capital, acquired through socialization, that helps them in succeeding. Thanks to this acquisition, they are already at

ease in a knowledge-based environment because of the inheritance of their parents' own capital with which they got in contact from early childhood. It has been proven, in fact, that the cultural preferences of parents, as well as their education level, are very influential in the construction of cultural capital and participation among adolescents (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1990). On the other hand, students who grow up in lower classes do not get acquainted with these characteristics and behaviors at home, and therefore struggle to adjust and have a higher failure rate (Bourdieu, 1966). In particular, Bourdieu (1984) focuses on the father's background, as he argues that his position is determinant in establishing the social position of the whole family. However, Bourdieu (2001) also addresses that 'cultural housekeeping', i.e. the general tone of the cultural capital within the family, is, for the most part, a task of the mother. This is especially important when it comes to contemporary households, in which the mother's cultural capital might in some cases prevail the one of the father, as well as being directed towards different types of cultural activities (Willekens, Daenekindt & Lievens, 2014).

According to Bourdieu (1984), the consumption of cultural activities is strictly linked to social stratification, meaning that to a person of a certain social class belongs a certain taste (highbrow culture for the higher classes, lowbrow for the less wealthy). However, studies on cultural tastes (Peterson, 1992, 2005; Peterson & Simkus, 1992; Peterson & Kern, 1996) have highlighted a different relationship between taste and social status based on the consumption of omnivore and univore individuals (Taheri, Jafari & O'Gorman, 2014). An omnivore is someone whose cultural interests and consumption range across a variety of activities belonging to the high, mid and low brows. On the other hand, an univore is an individual who is characterized by a limited taste. According to this theory, people belonging to the higher social classes are not defined by elitist preferences, but by an omnivorous consumption and appreciation of culture (Tampubolon, 2010). Thus, it can be said that a high level of cultural capital corresponds to an omnivorous approach to cultural participation.

2.3 Audience engagement and museums: the role of social media

Recent developments in technology and communication have considerably widened the concept of audience engagement, and other elements have joined prior knowledge, recreational motivation and cultural capital in influencing its result. Information resources have grown, in fact, more complex, which translates into the public being more digitally-savvy and thus having higher expectations regarding an organization's use of digital media. Within the cultural field, for instance, the museums analyzed by Padilla-Mélendez and del Águila-Obra (2013) use web platforms to give useful information to their visitors before the physical visit takes place. Secondly, museums often set up online stores, podcasts or educational programs to enhance the visitors' experience. In this sense, they are developing innovative products such as online radio, Internet TV or videos on demand to keep up with the latest novelties. Within the digital technologies, social media have

started to play a relevant role in the marketing strategies of museums. Social media can be defined as “a group of Internet-based applications that build on the ideological and technological foundations of Web 2.0, which allows the creation and exchange of user-generated content” (Kaplan & Haenlein, 2010, p.61). Given their many implications, more than fifty percent of the forty most visited art museums in the world have started to use them as a tool of promotion, to trigger visitors to make repeat visits and, thus, stimulate loyalty beyond the visit itself (Padilla-Mélendez & del Águila-Obra, 2013).

In this sense, the ability of social media to generate viral marketing and trigger word-of-mouth is particularly relevant for difficult brands, in order to overcome their constraints and promote their brand in the online environment. For clarity, viral marketing is defined as “the process of encouraging individuals (i.e. customers, users, visitors etc.) to pass along favourable or compelling marketing information” (Hausmann, 2012, p. 175), while word-of-mouth is the “informal, positive, neutral or negative communication between consumers about organisations and their services” (Hausmann, 2012, p.175). In fact, the possibility of quickly spreading information online is especially effective to reduce the uncertainty factor mentioned by Hartley and Harrison (2007). On one hand, consumers can rely on reviews posted by other users, get feedback or ask questions; on the other hand, social media give the opportunity to visualize services that would otherwise be intangible (a performance, for example) through pictures or videos. The materialization of artistic content, can, in fact, spark the interest and trigger emotions of users even before they have actually experienced it. This way, they might decide to pay a visit in ‘real life’ (Hausmann, 2012).

However, in order for museums to reach their social and economic purpose, social networking services (SNS) have to be used strategically, especially in terms of motivating engagement among their audience (Padilla-Mélendez & del Águila-Obra, 2013). For this reason, having some insight into how potential visitors gather, share, and communicate information on these platforms becomes extremely important in order to employ a successful online strategy (Marty, 2008; Key, 2005). In fact, engaging the audience in the online environment does not happen overnight, but is instead a process that Evans (2010) describes as a “ladder-type” (p.15) model, at the end of which a company is able to establish a long-term bond with its customers.

2.4 Participation in Web 2.0

Social media have opened many doors for museums and companies to engage their audience more effectively through technology. This characteristic of social media is connected to the broader theme of Web 2.0. Approaching it from the perspective of the users, Web 2.0 can be defined by two main components: network effects and platform. The former is linked to the idea that the more people participate in something, the more valuable that thing becomes. The network effects are based on websites or applications such as Facebook or Twitter, where participation is a common practice. Enters the platform, which is able to create a simple environment where users

are free to engage in whichever activity they prefer (Blank & Reisdorf, 2012). From this, Web 2.0 can be defined as “using the Internet to provide platforms through which network effects can emerge” (Blank & Reisdorf, 2012, p.539).

However, in spite of the huge traffic on these platforms and the social effects of networks, as well as the opportunities to create, comment, or edit that they offer, this kind of active participation only pertains to the minority of the users (Russo & Peacock, 2009). It has been found, in fact, that only 1% of users participate and are responsible for most of the contributions, while the remaining 99% either contribute only seldom or are just lurkers (they read or observe, but are not active) (Nielsen, 2006). Research has been investigating this “participation inequality” (Nielsen, 2006, par.2), trying to identify the reasons behind the different ways people participate on social media. What came out of these studies is the difficulty of identifying a typical user within Web 2.0. Users population is, in fact, highly fragmented because of the different generations, life stages, skills, experiences and access opportunities present in the population. This requires a broader understanding of motivations, incentives, rewards and group dynamics on the internet (Russo & Peacock, 2009). This shows how the original culture of the internet as a free and open-ended network, in which communication practices are governed by principles of openness and cooperation (Castells, 2001), “stands side by side with the potential of surveillance, restrictions and inequality” (Valtysson, 2010, p.205).

Given the penetration of technology in many aspects of the society and of people’s lives, it can be said that differences in cultural capital may also affect the ways users engage with digital content. In addition, if we consider the use of technology as a form of cultural capital (Tondeur, Sinnaeve, van Houtte & van Braak, 2011), it can also be argued that social background may also have an influence on a person’s approach to ICT (North, Snyder & Bulfin, 2008), thus making it unequal among the society.

2.4.1 Digital divide as cultural capital

Nowadays, the skills required at school are not only connected to the elitist forms of culture, such as theater and classical music, mentioned by Bourdieu (1966), but are integrated, and outdated, by competencies in ‘new media’. The introduction of this new set of skills brings other social disparities to the fore, as access to ICT is also not equally distributed among the society. This new form of exclusion is defined as ‘digital divide’, which causes some people to have fewer possibilities to connect with others, create knowledge, as well as share and benefit from it (Tondeur, Sinnaeve, van Houtte & van Braak, 2011). Moreover, if we consider ICT in relation to Bourdieu’s cultural capital (1986), it can be said that computer-ownership can be seen as an indicator of economic capital, while the purposeful use of ICT as an indicator of cultural capital. This translates into the argument that the digital divide has to be considered not just for its digital connotation, but as a new condition of cultural capital (Tondeur, Sinnaeve, van Houtte & van

Braak, 2011). Furthermore, this divide should be looked at as multifaceted, influenced by the changes in socioeconomic status among the population, rather than unitary and strictly related to access. In this sense, Blank and Reisdorf (2012) identify two sets of variables that affect the use of Web 2.0: demographic variables and Internet-related factors. The former takes into account whether one's social environment facilitates the use of technology; the latter considers personal characteristics, experiences, and skills.

In terms of demographic factors, studies have investigated the impact of socioeconomic status (SES), age, and gender on the use of Web 2.0. Through their survey on young people in Flanders, for instance, Tondeur, Sinnaeve, van Houtte and van Braak (2011) have demonstrated that there is no relationship between computer ownership and SES, probably affected by the wide availability of computers in western countries. Nevertheless, it is important to note that geographical locations still affect the possibility to access computers and, therefore, digital equity. Moreover, they also found out that socioeconomic status moderately affects proficiency in information technology among their sample. This could be explained with the fact the majority of young people uses the Internet, thus making the distinction applied to adults between owners and non-owners, users and non-users, seem irrelevant (Livingstone & Helsper, 2007). Thus, as the diffusion of ICT requires a new set of attitudes and competencies compared to what addressed by Bourdieu (1966) in his time, it can be relevant to consider cultural capital as a characteristic that evolves and can be interpreted differently according to place and time (Tondeur, Sinnaeve, Van Houtte & van Braak, 2011).

In addition, Livingstone and Helsper's (2007) study on English children and young people reveal that different age, gender, and socioeconomic status do cause inequalities related to access and use of the internet. The reasons behind this can be traced in little understanding of the benefits that may come from it, lack of interest, and restrictions on access, also due to parental anxiety. In order for this gap to be filled, children and teenagers should be allowed to reach entertainment and communication online more easily, being these the activities that encourage confidence in their approach to technology. Thus, it can be argued that identifying the benefits that can arise from internet use is relevant in order to connect it with debates about social inclusion and exclusion.

Moreover, many studies point out the difference in use between young people and older generations (Czaja et al., 2006; Olson, O'Brien, Rogers & Charness, 2011; Zickuhr & Madden, 2012; Van Volkom, Stapley & Amaturio, 2014). In particular, people between sixty and ninety-one years old are the ones who express the least interest in and an unfavorable attitude towards technology, compared to middle-age people (40-59) and the younger population (13-39). Older people, in fact, feel like they lack the skills to fully comprehend technology and are upset by the upheaval that digital media has caused to social interactions. In spite of this, participants were open to using technology, given that assistance was provided. This result shows that skill level of

users' may influence the use of technology much like gender or socioeconomic status (Van Volkom, Stapley & Amaturro, 2014). Engaging with Web 2.0, in fact, requires more complex actions than searching or reading, along with deeper knowledge of the structures behind these actions (Blank & Reisdorf, 2012). In conclusion, it can be said that the contrasting results of the mentioned researches show the complexity of the digital divide in our society (van Dijk & Hacker, 2003).

2.4.2 Participation divide

Another fundamental element of Web 2.0, in which inequalities of use also carry relevant meaning, is the possibility for users to create and share content. Hargittai and Walejko (2008) demonstrate that even in the democratic context of social media, engaging in creative activities is not equally distributed among users. In particular, by taking a sample of highly wired young adults, they discovered that factors of socioeconomic status and gender affect content creation and sharing. What they found out is the relevance of the parents' education level on the degree of participation of their children. In particular, students whose mother or father has a graduate degree are more likely to create music, videos or artistic photography. Thus, even though digital media might make content available for everyone to see, engaging in content creation is indeed unequally distributed according to social background.

Concerning gender, their study found out that women are less inclined to share their creations online. Men and women also differ in the kinds of activities they engage with on the web. For example, 26.6% of men in the sample reported creating videos, against 16.9% of women. Even in this context, however, abilities affect who shares content online. In fact, when relating skills to gender, the former prevails. This proves that a lack of abilities may hinder people from taking full advantage of content creation and sharing. Therefore, considering the importance gained by online content for cultural policies and institutions, this 'participation divide' should be addressed when considering social inequality among the use of digital media (Hargittai & Walejko, 2008).

2.5 Framing the social media use of museums

In order to investigate whether the 'new museology' shift of museums has contributed towards a more inclusive dialogue, or whether digital and participation divides still affect the online outreach of cultural institutions, Kidd (2011) identifies three frames within which museums operate online. The use of frames allows her to look into whether "the frames being projected by an institution match the frames within which users organise and understand their participation" (Kidd, 2011, p.66). When this alignment occurs, participation can be considered successful. Her analysis proves that a more considered and sensitive use of social media may translate into a more meaningful and elaborate participation (Kidd, 2011).

2.5.1 The marketing frame

The first and most evident of these frames is the marketing frame, which consists, as we have seen, in the employment of social media to inform the public on exhibitions and events, as well as contributing to the promotion of the museum's brand. However, focusing solely on these 'basic' marketing activities is a missed opportunity to take advantage of the most relevant aspect of social media, i.e. fostering social relationships. In this case, the 'rules' of engagement occurring on social media "tend to be clear to those versed in deciphering and utilising a particular social medium, but it becomes very apparent when these norms and forms of etiquette are unknown or misunderstood" (Kidd, 2011, p.68). Thus, misinterpreting the way users see these media translates into a misalignment of expectations, and participation is less likely to happen (Kidd, 2011). As underlined by Richardson (2009) in regard to Twitter, this attitude of considering social media only as advertising platforms is fairly common among museums. For example,

Right now Twitter is full of museums broadcasting events listings and press releases and in doing so they make themselves both as brands and institutions seem distant and uninviting. It is obvious to the communities who exist in this space that these institutions just don't get it.

This can be damaging to a museum's brand, because it projects the image of an institution who can't be bothered to learn how a space which is important to its audiences works. Social networks are a huge part of the lives of some segments of your audience and a lack of respect for them translates to a lack of respect for these audiences (par.10-11).

Moreover, considering users only as the recipients of information, instead of active participants, confines their role to mere consumers. According to Evans (2010), consumption, which consists of listening, reading, watching or downloading, is only the first step that leads to brand loyalty. In fact, it can be defined as the very beginning of any social media activity, as none of the other online forms of interaction would occur without this passage. For instance, no one would retweet a post without reading it first. For this reason, consumption is by far the most common activity among users. However, in order for audience members to go beyond this point, they need to be encouraged and empowered enough so that the interactions happening around the content become the main focus.

2.5.2 The inclusivity frame

Aside from promotional and marketing purposes, social media are used by arts institutions to favor the participation of the public in the cultural experience, giving them the opportunity to have a say in the cultural debate. In this sense, previous studies show that museums' visitors are interested in engaging with different discourses as long as they can make comments or converse with others about them (Kelly, 2006, as cited in Russo, Watkins, Kelly & Chan, 2008). Social media provide an effective platform for this inclination, as museums have also started to share their collections on their different social media channels, making them available to a wider public and thus fostering discussion. By doing so, many institutions have embraced the interactivity of SNS, in which their authority functions as a tool to encourage participation among their community of interest (Russo, Watkins, Kelly & Chan, 2008). In this sense, users become 'curators' of content, defined as the process of liking, commenting, tagging, rating, or reviewing content (Evans, 2010). This is the first point after consumption in which a user begins to actively create something: *"Curation teaches people to participate, to create, in small, low-risk steps that are easy to grasp. (...) That's how you build a community"* (Evans, 2010, p.17). In fact, "the ability of an individual or a community to create, upload, and share digital cultural content demonstrates a proven and growing demand for creative expression, the exploration of identity, and cultural participation using social media" (Russo, Watkins, Kelly & Chan, 2008, p.27).

The inclusivity frame addresses the belief that creating a social media profile will inevitably trigger conversations with communities of interest. Communities, however, do not get created and maintained by themselves. The simple decision of opening a Facebook account or a YouTube channel does not mean that a community of people will gather around those profiles and start an active dialogue (Kidd, 2011). On the contrary, it has been proved that only a small part of active and potential users actually engages with the content posted within online communities (Alexander et al., 2008, as cited in Kidd, 2011). As said, Nielsen (2006), estimates it to be only 1% of the users. Therefore, the existing potential that social media have of widening the community surrounding a museum should be the object of a careful strategy. In this sense, Kidd (2011) advises approaching the matter in a transparent way, by publicly addressing the idea behind the social media strategy of a museum. This way, the institution and the users' frames are more likely to align, leading to the creation of inclusion and a sense of community. Another solution to trigger conversation is to fully embrace the medium and the norms of the community on that medium. This was done, for example, by the Brooklyn Museum, New York, in connection to YouTube:

(...) the more we thought about YouTube, the more we came to believe that content created by the museum might not be as engaging as content created by others. Asking for visitor-created content seemed to be more in sync with the YouTube community.
(Bernstein, 2008, in Kidd, 2011, p.70)

Therefore, having an open dialogue, also with users, about how to successfully carry on these activities, along with creating interesting content are important if one's wants to encourage a genuine and inclusive participation (Kidd, 2011)

2.5.3 The collaborative frame

A good strategy for museums to give more space to their audience could be taking advantage of the fact that user share pictures, information, and experiences among communities. Thus, they could use user-generated content to make their audience become both critic and creator of digital culture (Russo, Watkins, Kelly & Chan, 2008). On a general level, co-creation is referred to as "any act of collective creativity" (Holdgaard & Klastrup, 2014, p.192) that involves both the institution and the users. Indeed, people enjoy sharing and posting what they are doing or their interests, along with being acknowledged for the content they share with other users. However, this requires a further effort than liking a picture, hence audience members need to be encouraged and supported through tools, templates or samples that they can use. The final step of this engagement model is collaboration (Evans, 2010). Contrary to the previous phases, which can all be considered individual activities, collaboration entails a "strong social action" (Evans, 2010, p.19). The collaborative frame refers to this possibility of co-creating content for the museum, for example through story-making and crowd-sourcing (Kidd, 2011).

Story-making consists of asking audience members "to offer re-presentations of themselves, their communities, and their multiple heritages using information technology as a filter" (Kidd, 2011, p.71). Through these participatory projects, a variety of information, such as videos or digital stories, is collected to reshape the narratives surrounding the museums' collection, its heritage and even the institution itself. The results of these projects are generally posted on social media, but they usually lack any curatorial guidelines on how they should be best approached and used. For this reason, story-makers might perceive that the main promise of considering all their interpretations and heritages valuable is not met by the museum, with the risk of making them feel exploited just to create more data. Crowd-sourcing, on the other hand, can be seen as a more challenging and reflective way in which the audience can collaborate with the institution. Through this kind of project, in fact, members of the public are asked to participate in the curating and archiving of the museum by creating web-based tasks. In this sense, Kidd (2011) gives the example of the Victoria and Albert Museum in London, which asked its public to help them crop images of the digital archive in order to have the best view of the object possible. This way, the audience is not only involved in a creative process, but the purpose of the initiative is framed honestly. The purpose and outcomes are, in fact, clearly stated, so that a true partnership can take place and users can understand the context in which it will happen, and how to contribute valuably (Kidd, 2011). As a result, the understanding of this collaboration results in the alignment of expectations on both sides.

The vision of a new democratic approach to communication gives for granted that, just because social networking sites count innumerable users around the world, museums will be able to reach a variety of people without any particular distinction. As Kidd (2011) demonstrates in her study, this assumption has to be reconsidered and problematized, given that museums' narrative and their audience of interest fail to be representative across the population. Hence, the role of the audience as both participant and content on social media platforms should be analyzed also from an ethical perspective. The value that users retain on social media, both for themselves and for institutions, remains questionable. Museums are, in fact, referred to as 'forums' or 'contact zones', places which are often characterized by inequality and disempowerment. What Kidd (2011) has demonstrated through her research is that even the most compelling participatory project may become problematic in terms of democracy, as the aforementioned asymmetries may hinder the final result. For these reasons, talking about differences in cultural capital and digital proficiency seems appropriate to identify the causes of these inequalities.

2.6 Downsides and limitations of using social media

The aforementioned argument highlights the importance of contextualizing social media activity. Stating the reason why the institution is encouraging a certain activity, where it takes place, which kinds of activities are more appropriate, and how the audience can shape and manage engagement are all factors to take into account (Kidd, 2011). In fact, using social media may be perceived as trendy, but without effective strategies, the negative consequences may outnumber the benefits (Padilla-Mélendez & del Águila-Obra, 2013). In their studies concerning the different frames adopted by cultural institutions when it comes to social media, scholars have illustrated several missteps that may occur within the 'new museology' paradigm in the online environment (Fletcher & Lee, 2012; Hausmann, 2012; Holdgaard & Kjastrup, 2014).

Among the sample of American museums analyzed by Fletcher and Lee (2012), museums mostly use Facebook and Twitter to promote events and upcoming exhibitions or to post promotions and announcements, along with trying to expand their fan base. To them, usability, the creation of a brand or recognition online still matter more than engaging in a dialogue with the users. This approach can be defined as one-way communication, which does not trigger high levels of engagement, as users only have to acknowledge the information posted and hopefully will then visit the museum or participate to an event. However, they do not encourage them towards an active online participation. In fact, social media require a further effort than just conveying information and then leaving it up to the audience to deal with, as it happens with more traditional means of promotions, like banners or ads. In order to have a positive impact, social media accounts require time investment, to ensure the 'virality' of a post and prevent the audience from losing interest. The museums interviewed by Fletcher and Lee (2012) also stress the importance of

the quality of the content posted. In fact, the person in charge of social media should avoid posting content that is plainly promotional, and focus on quality. Content should be interesting and witty, challenging the audience to think while, at the same time, entertaining them. Achieving this clearly demands time, staff, and understanding of how to use a platform in the most effective way.

Hausmann (2012) also emphasizes the limitations of using social media for arts institutions. First, the possibility of using social media goes beyond just having a computer and an Internet connection, but is also linked to having the necessary human resources to be active and ensure the reputation of the institution on the platform. Given that the economic crisis already caused a cut in the expenses in the cultural field, these resources are often at short. This can be especially limiting for smaller organizations, which are not able to hire new employees exclusively to manage the SNS. For this reason, this task is often delegated to existing staff, who may lack the knowledge or time to carefully work on it. Moreover, even when an institution decides to integrate social media into their marketing strategy, measuring their success may not be easy to assess. In fact, in spite of the analytics tools to check sentiment, interactions, and growth (Evans, 2010), these figures may not allow coming to the conclusion that they are effective in attracting actual visitors. This might bring up the discussion of whether the resources spent on social media should instead be aimed at the 'real-life' museum (Hausmann, 2012). Holdgaard and Klasttrup (2014) highlight that social media campaign are, in fact, characterized by a high unpredictability, as they have to count on the fact that they will reach a wide public and go viral. However, even if an institution succeeds in creating a social media presence that is humorous, positive, triggers emotions, and is visually pleasant (Shifman, 2014), other factors cannot be directly controlled by the person in charge, namely positioning the content in the right place at the right time, and reaching the 'right' people within a network, who may share it with an even wider audience (Holdgaard & Klasttrup, 2014).

2.6.1 Limitations of co-creation processes

Even in the collaborative frame, which is considered to be the most effective in triggering participation among audience members (Kidd, 2011), there are some downsides that have to be taken into account. Specifically, in their study on the co-creation process in the museum environment, Holdgaard and Klasttrup (2014) highlight how this practice is often not well defined within the cultural sector. Despite this focus on the participatory role of the audience, many studies on the topic do not explicate "who benefits from user participation and in which way" (Holdgaard & Klasttrup, 2014, p.193), nor the potentially problematic nature of co-creation. In her book 'The Participatory Museum', Simon (2010) argues that co-creation implies a partnership in which both parties have to decide what they need and the goal they shared. This way, the project equally belongs to both partners, which, in turn, confers more power to the non-institutional party. As it has been said, however, museums are considered an authoritative voice in the community with a reputation to maintain. In this sense, participating to a campaign or activity that could be seen as

trivial or too daring could damage the image of the brand. Related to this, social media are characterized by a communication that is short, catchy and funny, adjectives that are not often associated with artistic projects, which are perceived as more complex and 'serious'. In this sense, it might be difficult to adapt this kind of content to social media, and hence attract the attention of the user and make them content-creators (Holdgaard & Klasttrup, 2014).

The problematic relationship between social media and co-creation proves that, in order to develop continuous participation, museums have to first understand the underlying dynamics that lead users' behavior on social media. (Russo & Peacock, 2009). In this sense, the expectations of both parts – the institution and the users – have to be established and enforced (Shirky, 2008). This implies a negotiation of, on one hand, what a museum is capable of offering when it comes to endorsing participation and, on the other hand, what might be the users' boundaries in that sense (Russo & Peacock, 2009). In case the alignment of expectations does not occur, "museums run the risk of alienating, frustrating, appropriating or dis-empowering through the very media whose rhetorics of democracy, community and inclusion they have found so seductive" (Kidd, 2011, p.73).

2.7 Instagram

Within the realm of social media, this research focuses on Instagram, a social network that has gained considerable attention in different sectors, as its uptake has surpassed other popular social media like Twitter (Statista, 2018a). It has been stated that the strength of Instagram lies in its visual component, which is in line with the rise of visual and screen culture (Pink, 2013; Mioli 2015). Moreover, Rose (2014) also addresses that research using visual materials as a mean of investigation has not paid enough attention to the "audience eye" (Budge, 2017, p.69), suggesting many implications for visual platforms like Instagram. Before looking into what this means for museums, a general overview of Instagram, as well as its use by companies or institutions, is given.

2.7.1 What is Instagram?

Instagram is a social networking mobile application launched in 2010, focused mainly on photo and video editing and sharing. As already mentioned, its popularity has grown vertiginously in the past few years, making it the sixth most popular social media worldwide as of April 2018 (Statista, 2018a). Its core idea is to offer users the opportunity to upload pictures and videos taken with their smartphones, alter them through different editing tools such as cropping, filters, and collages, and share them instantly both on their Instagram profile itself and on other social media. In addition, each post can be accompanied by a descriptive caption, tags (@) that refer to other users (creating a link to their profile), and hashtags (#), which further describe the post and, most importantly, label it and group it with others that might share the same theme (Hu, Manikonda & Kambhampati 2014). Hashtags are also used to describe elements, such as emotions and

opinions, that may not be evident in the post itself, thus triggering a conversation that reads 'between the lines' (Abbott, Donaghey, Hare & Hopkins, 2013). Users can also decide to geotag a post, i.e. adding the location in which the photo was taken. This way, the post is also categorized based on this parameter (Bergström & Bäckman, 2013). Alongside photo-capturing and manipulation, the other main function of Instagram is social connectivity. A user, in fact, can follow any number of other users and be followed in return. Contrary to Facebook, though, the 'follow' does not need to be reciprocal: user X can follow user Y, but Y does not have to follow X.

In 2016, Instagram introduced another feature called 'Instagram Stories'. Similar to Snapchat, 'Stories' allow users to post pictures and video that are deleted after 24 hours. Compared to regular posts, the possibilities of editing and manipulating 'Stories' is enhanced. In fact, a user can insert drawings, text, emojis, animated filters and much more all without leaving the app (Constine, 2016).

Because of all these functions, Instagram can be defined, like other social media, as a *social awareness stream* (Naaman, Boase, & Lai, 2010). According to Naaman, Boase and Lai (2010), social awareness streams are characterized by the following elements: "a) the public (or personal-public) nature of the communication and conversation; b) the brevity of posted content; and, c) a highly connected social space, where most of the information consumption is enabled and driven by articulated online contact networks" (p.189).

2.7.2 The who, what and why of Instagram posting

Instagram is widely considered to be a young platform. In fact, statistics show that, as of January 2018, 31% of users are between 18 and 24 years old, and 30% between 25 and 34. After 34 years old, the number of users steadily decreases, with 17% being between 35 and 44, and only 15% being 45 and older (Statista, 2018b). Along with Snapchat, Instagram is the most used social media by teenagers, and its popularity is expected to grow (Statista, 2017).

Studies show that teenagers use Instagram mainly to express themselves through their profile and photos, sharing details of their daily life, learning new things and reinforcing their social practices online. On the other hand, adults engage in a variety of different topics, as well as more diverse contents, such as art, photos, design, nature, different cities and countries, and various people (Jang, Han, Shih & Lee, 2015). In this sense Hu, Manikonda and Kambhampati (2014) identify eight types of Instagram photos: self-portraits (the so-called selfies, especially popular among teenagers), friends, activities and the places where they occurred, captioned photos (memes for example), food, gadgets (electronic goods, cars...), fashion and pets.

The reasons why users decide to open an account and post these types of content on Instagram can be traced within different behaviors and intentions that influence individuals' decisions. The first one, and most relevant, is personal gratification. Using Instagram is a way to keep track of what we do in our everyday life, but it also allows us to satisfy the desire to display to

others, friends or strangers, who we are and what our activities are. This is also connected to the fact that Instagram works on smartphones, so users have the possibility to snap a photo and then post it almost instantly on the platform (Bradley, 2014; Abbott, Donaghey, Hare & Hopkins, 2013).

Secondly, features usefulness highlights why users may find it useful to use the application. Compared to other social media, in fact, Instagram is superior when it comes to photo sharing and editing, and allows people who do not have advanced photography skills to create enjoyable and engaging content (Abbott, Donaghey, Hare & Hopkins, 2013). As we live in a highly visual culture, which considers images more impactful than text alone (Abbott, Donaghey, Hare & Hopkins, 2013), this might explain the popularity of the social media (Bradley, 2014).

Another fundamental motive behind the use of Instagram is socializing (Ting, Wong, de Run & Lau, 2015). In his survey on motivations for Instagram use, for instance, Bradley (2014) found out that 55% of his respondents used the app to keep in touch with friends, and it was the first choice among the other kinds of gratification that users seek on Instagram. Furthermore, scholars point out that people use Instagram for entertaining purposes. For this reason, they use it very frequently and end up spending a considerable amount of time on it, as they have fun posting photos and browsing the content posted by others (Ting, Wong, de Run & Lau, 2015).

When it comes to the decision to open an account, Ting, Wong, de Run and Lau (2015) report that people are strongly affected by those around them who are already using the application. By talking to relatives, siblings or friends, in fact, people are motivated to start using Instagram to keep up to date with their social circle.

2.7.3 Engaging consumers on Instagram

In marketing terms, Instagram can have a great potential for companies who want to connect and communicate with customers and attract new ones. On Instagram, in fact, companies have the opportunity to show a broader and more interesting perspective on their products or services, for example by posting pictures of people using them in relation to an attractive lifestyle. Moreover, by taking advantage of Instagram's inherent functions, such as likes and comments, a company can gain deeper insights into the expectations of consumers and adapt their content accordingly. On top of this, Instagram is a good tool to depict a different image of a brand, one that might not be suitable to show elsewhere, for example behind the scenes pictures of the preparation of an event. This kind of content would not, normally, reach the public, thus users might feel attracted by the possibility of gaining access to this content. This way, consumers feel closer and more familiar with a company and go on to develop a stronger bond with it, as well as a sense of community (Bergström & Bäckman, 2013).

Despite the vast popularity of Instagram and its numerous tools for interactions, most users are satisfied with only consuming the pictures posted. For this reason, it may not be sufficient for companies to simply upload content on the platform and expect consumers to act based on their

potential interest in it (Bergström & Bäckman, 2013). The material posted should be, in fact, “carefully adapted to the medium and the target group (...) to create active and engaged users” (Bergström & Bäckman, 2013, p.32). One way to trigger a higher rate of engagement is the possibility of inventing company-specific hashtags that people can use to get involved in the creation of content. For example, both Nike and Starbucks use this strategy, asking their followers to use their hashtags when using their products or engaging in activities connected to them (e.g. running or drinking coffee). In addition, Nike also posts some pictures made by people using the hashtag on its profile, thus allowing its followers to play an active part in its Instagram account. In fact, reposting pictures of people using a product or being in a particular context allows companies to create a stronger connection with customers and further develop their brand recognition. In turn, by posting pictures, users can feel more involved in a company’s life, which triggers sensations of prestige and status. This approach to collaborating and co-creating material makes users engage more meaningfully than what they would normally do (Bergström & Bäckman, 2013). This way, the company is “leveraging the web 2.0 interconnectedness (...) sharing control of their marketing” (Fawkes, 2001, as cited in Bergström & Bäckman, 2013, p.20). Users employing company-specific hashtags also increase the word-of-mouth process, as the hashtag can also be seen by the users’ followers, including those who might not follow the company directly. The company can thus spread its message to a potentially very wide network (Bergström & Bäckman, 2013).

Instagram also allows companies to have a more direct communication with their customers. Through comments and likes, users can, in fact, express their opinion and give feedback, thus influencing companies. In turn, companies have an instant response on their actions and gain more knowledge on their followers’ tastes and preferences. Moreover, within their study on the use of Instagram for marketing purposes, Bergström and Bäckman (2013) found out that of the two thousand comments analyzed, 70% of them consisted of positive feedback. Therefore, this positive environment and the number of features that simplify interactions make of Instagram an ideal social media to build brand loyalty.

2.7.4 How consumers interact with a brand’s Instagram profile

The several benefits that Instagram can provide to companies in their marketing efforts make it interesting to analyze the motives behind the interactions with a company or institution, and how the content posted by them is perceived by users. In this sense, investigating likes and comments seems the most suited way to do it, as they represent the main behaviors with which consumers engage on Instagram. In particular, as the platform provides a space for visual storytelling to everyone who wants to express his creativity, it can be argued that one of the main factor influencing consumers’ interaction is hedonism (Casaló, Flavián & Ibáñez-Sánchez, 2017). Hedonism refers to a consumption experience that involves consumers on a multi-sensory level, from visual images to taste or tactile impressions (Hirschman & Holbrook, 1982). In this sense,

hedonism can be associated with a cool and exciting experience that results in enjoyment and playfulness on the consumer's side. This can be considered particularly important when it comes to social media, as they are also seen as a way to escape boredom or pass time. Secondly, satisfaction helps to establish fruitful relationships on social media, as it is the outcome of the overall evaluation of a relationship in all its parts. Clearly, consumers' sense of enjoyment and satisfaction are influenced by the characteristics of the content posted. Thus, originality and quantity of the content have an effect on users' interactions. In particular, originality, compared to content posted by other brands, is the most relevant factor that positively affects consumers' experience. The more unique and inventive the content posted is, the more a user's levels of interest and hedonism will increase. To a lesser extent, quantity is also important to provide followers with an entertaining virtual experience. In fact, the more content is posted, the less a person will feel bored, being often engaged in new experiences. On the other hand, posting too frequently may hinder the originality component, as users get used to the content posted more easily. Therefore, the quality of the posts has to be taken into account to compensate for the quantity of material posted (Casaló, Flavián & Ibáñez-Sánchez, 2017).

Finally, interaction intentions also have to be considered, as they represent a signal of how consumers' will actually behave in the future, determining the number of likes and comments made on a brand's Instagram account (Casaló, Flavián & Ibáñez-Sánchez, 2017). Thus, a combination of content characteristics, along with hedonism, "activates a satisfaction-intention-behavior chain" (Casaló, Flavián & Ibáñez-Sánchez, 2017, p.5) that is an effective way to increase the number of interactions on a company's official Instagram account.

2.7.5 Instagram and museums

Despite Instagram's popularity and the several implications for brands when it comes to creating a bond with their followers, little research has focused on how museums are utilizing the features present on the platform to interact with their audience.

Nonetheless, institutions are indeed using the application to share their collections, behind the scenes pictures of workaday life and to build the museum's image on the internet (Lazaridou, Vrana & Paschaloudis, 2017). By analyzing the Instagram profiles of some of the most visited museums in the world (among others: The Louvre, The British Museum, The National Gallery, The Tate Modern, The Museum of Modern Art New York) Lazaridou, Vrana and Paschaloudis (2017) have shown some of the strategies those institutions employ on Instagram. Firstly, it can be said that art institutions try to connect with their followers by often updating their profile, posting photos, videos, and information. Secondly, a correlation between the number of followers and the number of visitors was found: the more visitors a museum has, the more followers it has on Instagram. Besides, a high number of followers is also associated with a higher level of activity. In addition, museums tend to use the app mainly as a way to post content, without, for example, following back

other users or exploiting the possibility of hashtags to interact with content posted by visitors, which, as it has been argued, carries many potentialities in terms of engagement.

Moreover, Budge (2017) points out that the process of a visitor posting photos from his visit to a museum on Instagram has many implications for institutions in terms of knowledge creation and learning. By deciding how to photograph, frame and edit an image, as well as which caption to write and which hashtags to use, 'Instagrammers' can depict the artworks in a museum with new narratives, becoming "virtual curators" (Weilenmann, Hillman & Jungselius, 2013, p.1851) of digital content. In fact, it can be said that these actions are a way for users to exert power over the material by giving a personal and creative view of the artwork. Hence, this also implies a certain degree of authority in the user, who places the control over what to photograph and how to post it on Instagram into his own hands (Budge & Burness, 2017). In this light, a study on visitors' experience in an Australian art gallery reported that audiences attending exhibitions, who are also Instagram users, tend to use the platform in meaningful ways. In particular:

Participants made observations, interpretations, deep and meaningful connections to the art, and expressed traces of this experience on their Instagram profile. Such traces were well developed and considered, explicitly articulating a textual and visual interpretation (Suess, 2014, p. 62).

One of the reasons why Instagram is particularly fitting for this kind of experience is its liveness. It can be said that this is the main feature that distinguishes it from other photo-sharing websites or social media. In fact, the opportunity for users to share pictures while the event they want to capture is happening allows the Instagram community to comment live on them (Weilenmann, Hillman & Jungselius, 2013). This way, other people who are not physically in the museum can "participate in the live creation of multimedia storytelling from the museum" (Weilenmann, Hillman & Jungselius, 2013, p.1850).

Thus, it can be said that, by posting on Instagram, visitors create a moment of meaning-making that should be more strongly addressed in the discussion of audience engagement (Budge, 2017). Meaning-making refers to the way people understand the environment surrounding them based on their experiences and beliefs (Bransford, Brown & Cocking, 1999). In a museum context, meaning-making "recognises that a work of art can have multiple, layered meanings, some of which can emerge from the interaction of viewers and artworks" (Hubard, 2014, p.104). Interpreting this point in the right way may open many possibilities for cultural institutions concerning curatorial decisions, the design of exhibitions, and the deepening of engagement (Budge, 2017). This, however, implies a shift in the way cultural institutions approach their audience, shifting from "talking to" them, to "talking with" (Budge, 2017, p.82), in line with the new

museology approach. This may create some frictions between museums and an effective, engaging use of Instagram.

2.7.4.1 Issues of Instagram use by museums

Despite the aforementioned benefits that Instagram, or other social media, may have for museums, they may still be seen as an issue from an institutional point of view. Through these new forms of interaction, in fact, social media have challenged the more traditional communication models adopted by museums, which often lack strategies to engage their audience in content creation. In particular, museums may have issues concerning what might happen to their content in terms of authenticity, once it is spread on social media. This viewpoint raises questions about the willingness of museums to put the authority over the information they offer up for discussion (Weilenmann, Hillman & Jungselius, 2013). However, the habit of using smartphones during museum visits is extremely popular (Hughes & Moscardo, 2017), and it is unlikely to change, whether museums decide to embrace it or not. As argued in this section, visitors use Instagram to relate to an exhibition in different and enriching ways, also connecting their experience to the online community. By building strategies around these behaviors, museums have the opportunity to provide visitors with a more engaging experience that goes beyond just passively looking at artworks (Weilenmann, Hillman & Jungselius, 2013). In the context of this thesis, relying on a sequential and embedded research design allows having an accurate and concrete view of the effectiveness of the analyzed museums' Instagram strategies.

3. Method

The research design to answer the two research questions:

- *how do art museums use social media?*

and

- *how does the audience of art museums engage with the content created by them on Instagram?*

can be defined as an embedded and sequential multi-methods design (Creswell, 2014), as the semi-structured interviews used to investigate both art museums and audience were conducted with different aims and procedures. In fact, the two sets of interviews did not take place at the same time, but the outcome of the ones with museums' professionals served as an input for the interviews with the audience that followed, hence the definition of sequential and embedded.

Mixed methods design is an approach to research that usually involves qualitative and quantitative data, which are subsequently integrated to give a deeper understanding of a research problem than one method on its own (Creswell, 2014). In this case, the research design can be considered multi-methods because it consists of the analysis of two distinct populations employed to answer to two distinct, but related research questions.

The premise behind choosing an embedded research design is that one data set is not enough to look into the matter studied, as multiple questions arise that might need different kinds of data (Creswell & Plano Clark, 2007). For this reason, one data set is contingent on another set of data, which constitutes its methodology frame (Caracelli & Greene, 1997). These two data sets are then used to answer different research questions within a study. In order to identify a design as embedded, it is important to establish the role covered by the data. In this sense, considering this question can be of help: "would the results of the secondary data type be useful or meaningful if they were not embedded within the other data set?" (Creswell & Plano Clark, 2007, p.69). In this case, it can be argued that, without having the interviews with museums' professionals as a frame, there would have been a lack of relevant information to formulate accurate and focused questions to that museum's audience. For this reason, the timing of the data collection can be defined as sequential: one set of results is, in fact, used to build into the second phase of data collection analysis (Creswell, 2014).

At the end of the data collection, the two sets of interviews were analyzed with thematic analysis, useful when it comes to effectively interpret qualitative data by tracing differences and similarities (Braun & Clarke, 2006).

3.1 Research method

As mentioned, the method chosen to answer the research questions is semi-structured interviews. A qualitative research approach was selected for its focus on the look for meaning:

The purpose of qualitative research is to describe and understand social phenomena in terms of the meaning people bring to them. (...) The methods produce rich, descriptive data that need to be interpreted through the identification and coding of themes and categories leading to findings that can contribute to theoretical knowledge and practical use (Boeije, 2010, p.11).

In particular, interviews were considered suitable for this research's purpose because they allow gaining insights into the contexts and contents of the social, cultural, economic, or political daily lives of a population (Crang & Cook, 2011).

The interviews conducted in this research can be defined as semi-structured. This type of interviews can be considered the most widely employed format in qualitative research and is defined by the use of open-ended questions determined beforehand, while other questions may arise from the conversation between the two parts. In this sense, the interviewer has to be ready to alter, add or delete questions while his research proceeds. He or she may, in fact, learn more about a certain topic as the data collection goes on, or might notice that a question is not effective in obtaining the necessary information. Moreover, digressions from the interview guide planned should be seen as a productive moment, as they may highlight an interviewee's interests and knowledge (DiCicco-Bloom & Crabtree, 2006).

As said, the two sets of interviews conducted had two different aims and thus required two different approaches. For this reason, their definitions, sampling techniques, and operationalization will be discussed separately. They will then be merged together during the data's thematic analysis.

3.1.1 Interviews with art museum's professionals

The two semi-structured interviews conducted with marketing professionals of art museums can be defined as exploratory, factual interviews. They are defined as exploratory, rather than in-depth, because they have a more 'utilitarian' function, related to formulating effective questions about the interaction of the audience with each museum's Instagram profile in the second part of the study. Moreover, as the purpose of these interviews is to gain insight into the social media marketing strategies used by art museums, they were approached as *factual* (Kvale, 2011). This means that this part of the research cannot be considered an analysis on people's opinions or perspectives, but rather, a way to obtain actual information on the work that has been done by professionals and to trace a pattern of action across art institutions. In this sense, the wording of the questions is especially important when gathering data through factual interviews (Kvale, 2011).

The choice of interviewing professionals is in line with studies on the usefulness of this technique within fields that are considered new, as it is the case for social media use - and

Instagram in particular - by museums. Moreover, they allow getting access to information that might otherwise not be of public domain (Van Audenhove, 2007).

It is also relevant to highlight that, while the people interviewed cannot be considered members of an elite in the strict sense of the word, they still spoke from a position of “power”. In other words, I was the student who interviewed professionals with more knowledge and expertise on the topic and, especially, a deeper understanding of the museum in which they work. For this reason, it was crucial to prepare thoroughly for the interviews, not just by reading previous theory, but also regarding the social media strategies of the museum itself. In fact, as argued by Mikecz (2012), knowledgeability is a key factor when there is an imbalance between interviewer and interviewee.

3.1.2 Interviews with the audience

Contrary to the previously described interviews, the ones with the audience aimed “to gather descriptions of the life-world of the interviewee with respect to interpretation of the meaning of the described phenomena” (Kvale, 1983 as cited in Opdenakker, 2006, p.1). As such, they can be defined as in-depth. Moreover, as argued by Hermanowicz (2002), interviews have the advantage of bringing the researcher closer than other methods to a personal comprehension of an individual and his social world. For this reason, an interviewer has to terminate an interview with the impression of having detected someone’s “essence or inner core—the stuff that makes them tick” (Hermanowicz, 2002, p.481) to display some of the elements that constitute his social world. In this sense, they constituted an effective tool to uncover the processes behind the interviewees’ engagement with the content posted on Instagram by the museums, their general use of the app and their personal background. For this reason, it becomes vital to establish a positive relationship with the interviewee. Rapport entails, in fact, creating a comfortable environment in which the interviewee feels at ease in sharing personal experiences or attitudes, which will then be used to contribute to the meaning of the research (DiCicco-Bloom & Crabtree, 2006).

3.2 Sampling

For both sets of interviews, a purposive sampling approach was used. This sampling technique is fairly common within qualitative research, as it allows to purposefully select units of analysis thanks to which the research question can be answered. Thus, the researcher needs to have established clear criteria on which he or she will decide which units of analysis are relevant to include or exclude (Bryman, 2012).

3.2.1 Sampling of art museums

For the museums, the criteria mentioned by Bryman (2012) were:

- being located in the Netherlands, so that the interview could take place face-to-face;
- being active on Instagram as well as other social media. A mere presence on these platforms, without an active use, was not considered enough to be included, as it signaled a lack of strategy by the museum.

Subsequently, in December 2017 twelve emails were sent out to museums around the country, with a brief explanation of the object of study and the request for a meeting. Of these 12 museums, 9 did not respond or were not interested, while with another museum the data collected were deemed not sufficient to pass on to the next phase of analysis. For these reasons, two were the museum that finally comprised the sample. Given that the choice of these museums was dictated by their willingness to cooperate, it can be said that a convenience sampling method was also applied. While this sampling technique does not allow to generalize the findings, it can be used when “the chance presents itself to gather data from a convenience sample and it represents too good an opportunity to miss” (Bryman, 2012, p.201). In this case, the data can provide a starting point for future research, or allow links with existing findings in a particular field (Bryman, 2012).

3.2.1.1 Boijmans Van Beuningen Museum and Dordrechts Museum

The museums analyzed are Boijmans Van Beuningen Museum in Rotterdam and Dordrechts Museum in Dordrecht. The two interviews lasted 33 and 23 minutes respectively and took place face-to-face at the museum. As argued by Opdenakker (2006), face-to-face interviews give the possibility to create a good ambiance in which the interview can occur. In the case of both museums, the fact that neither of them took place in the interviewee's office made the atmosphere quite informal, despite the mentioned imbalance between interviewer and interviewee (Mikecz, 2012). In addition, two other factors allowed the creation of a rapport: in the case of Boijmans Museum, the fact that interviewer and interviewee were close in age; for Dordrechts Museum, a free tour of the museum given by the interviewee for the interviewer. Further details on the interviewees are given in the ‘Results’ section of this thesis.

It can be said that the two museums in analysis are quite different from each other. Boijmans Van Beuningen Museum is the most well-known and established of the two: it can be considered one of the most important museums in the Netherlands and has a collection that spans from medieval to contemporary art, as well as applied arts and design (www.boijmans.nl). It also has a significant following on social media, with more than 28 thousand followers on Instagram as of May 2018. Dordrechts Museum, on the other hand, is a small reality, but one of the oldest museums in the country, having been founded in 1842. Its collection focuses, in particular, on paintings from the Golden Age by Dordrecht-born painters and other Dutch artists. In addition to this, it also shows works by contemporary artists (www.dordrechtsmuseum.nl). Compared to

Boijmans, its following on social media is smaller, with a little more than 2 thousand followers on Instagram as of May 2018.

3.2.2 Sampling of the audience

The criteria selected in the sampling of the audience of the two museums were the following:

- having a public Instagram account, and using it actively;
- following one of the two museums analyzed;
- having engaged with the content posted by the museum with likes and comments at least once.

The method through which possible participants were found was looking at the people who had commented or liked a post by the museum. Afterward, they were contacted with a private message on Instagram using my personal account. As my profile is public, using it allowed the people contacted getting an idea of who I was and what I like to do in my daily life, which may have helped to establish rapport more easily. The message sent to the sample explained the reason for contacting them and had a short summary of the questions that will have been asked. This way, a total of 14 interviews were conducted, 7 for each museum, in April and May 2018. Their timing ranged from a maximum of 42 minutes to a minimum of 23. Contrary to the interviews with the museums' professionals, this set of interviews were not only conducted face-to-face, but also via Skype, and, for one interview, via phone call. These forms of mediated interviews were found necessary because of distance and time constraints. Nevertheless, many studies highlight the power of computer-mediated communication and its potential as an interview setting (Hiltz & Turoff 1978; Davis et al. 2004; Stone 1995, as cited in Kazmer & Bo, 2008). An overview of the respondents is given in the 'Results' section of this thesis.

3.3 Operationalization

As mentioned, a total of sixteen semi-structured interviews were conducted to answer the research questions and sub-questions of this research according to the theoretical framework. Thus, three separate interview guides were prepared as a mean of investigation. One guide refers to the interviews with the museums' professionals, the other two concern the audience of the museums. Having two different guides for each museum's audience was found necessary to look into specific strategies or projects pertaining to the museums' Instagram pages, which were obviously different for Boijmans Van Beuningen Museum and Dordrechts Museum.

3.3.1 Operationalization of the interviews with the museums' professionals

For the interviews with the museums, the same interview guide was used. This guide was divided into three subsequent sections that went from more general topics to specific ones that addressed theoretical concepts and this research's sub-questions. If necessary, the order of the questions was altered to follow the flow of the conversation.

The first section of questions was more generally directed at knowing the interviewee's job role in the museum and the place held by social media in the wider marketing strategy of the museum. Knowing whether social media had a main or secondary role in the strategy of the museum was useful to understand the museum's way of adoption of the many-to-many communication model that characterizes social media (Russo, Watkins, Kelly & Chan, 2008). At this stage, the interviewee was also asked to identify the main goal of the museum's social media presence. This way, the information that followed could be interpreted in light of this goal.

The second section was directed at the concrete use of social media done by the museum. The first two questions were about the preferred platform of the museum and the content posted. Afterward, the topic of the audience was introduced, namely the museum's target in terms of visitors and followers. In particular, the focus was placed on the characteristics of its audience in terms of socio-demographic variables and cultural capital. This question was useful to understand, first, whether the museum was aware of who its audience was on social media and, second, whether the respondents of this research were representative of that target. Moreover, a first question about the interactions with the public was asked, considering the importance that is given to them by the literature on audience engagement on social networks (Russo, Watkins, Kelly & Chan, 2008; Evans, 2010; Holdgaard & Klasttrup, 2014; Kidd, 2011).

The third and final section of the interview guide was focused on Instagram. The first two questions concerned the interviewees' professional opinion on it in comparison to other social media. Since Instagram can be considered a unique platform for its features and the central role given to pictures (Abbott, Donaghey, Hare & Hopkins, 2013; Bergström & Bäckman, 2013; Bradley, 2014), it was relevant to find out whether the interviewees gave the platform a special position within the social media strategy. The following questions were about the content and features used on Instagram to understand how knowledgeable about it the interviewee was, as well as whether there was a strategy behind the content or the featured used. These two elements are, in fact, particularly important in triggering an interaction among the audience (Bergström & Bäckman, 2013; Weilenmann, Hillman & Jungselius, 2013; Casaló, Flavián & Ibáñez-Sánchez, 2017). For this reason, the interviewees were also questioned about the interactions happening on the platform, in order to see how important engaging the audience was for the museum. Finally, a question about the ways in which the interviewees could improve their presence on Instagram was asked. As this question requires a sort of self-criticism or assessment, it was decided to leave it for last.

3.3.2 Operationalization of the interviews with the audience

The transcriptions of the first set of interviews served as the base for the audience's interview guides, as the sequential and embedded research method required. These interview guides were divided into four sections. Of these, the first, second and fourth ones were completely in common for both audiences, while the third one mostly differed for each museum, with the exception of four questions. For this reason, the first, second and fourth sections will be discussed first.

To start the interview, the respondents were asked to introduce themselves by saying their name, age, and nationality. Some of them added other details, such as their job or where they live. This way, the interviewees were made at ease with a very simple, initial question. Afterward, the general use of Instagram by the respondents was investigated: how long he or she has been using it, the kind of content he or she posts, how frequently, what he or she likes about it, which kind of profiles are followed by the respondents, especially museums or cultural institutions. This way, the digital proficiency of the respondents could be assessed, and, in particular, at which level of the digital divide to place them in terms of skills (Blank & Reisdorf, 2012; Van Volkom, Stapley & Amaturro, 2014).

The second part of the guide was focused on the relationship between the respondent and the museum offline. Namely, the respondents were asked whether they had visited the museum in person. In case the answer was affirmative, this allowed the interviewer to have a further idea of the relationship the person had with the museum, as well as its perception of it in real life compared to Instagram. Moreover, knowing whether the interviewee started following the museum before or after his visit allowed finding out how effective the museum's profile might be in promoting the museum and attracting visitors. Otherwise, other questions led to understanding why a person had not visited the museum but followed it on Instagram. After that, some questions related to the Instagram profile of the museum were asked, in order to have a 'bridge' between second and third section: how long the respondent had been following it and what had attracted him of it. In particular, the respondents were asked whether they had used the platform during their visit, whether they had posted pictures of the museum, and whether they had used hashtags or tags to have an interaction with the museum. This was relevant to know, given the attention paid by studies on the meaningful ways museum visitors use Instagram to interact with the art (Weilenmann, Hillman & Jungselius, 2013; Suess, 2014; Budge, 2017; Budge & Burness, 2017), and to know whether they were seeking to establish an interaction with the museum.

In the fourth and last part of the interview, the respondents were asked about their interest in arts and culture and their personal background: their education level, further details about their job, their cultural consumption. This way, the cultural capital of the respondents was made clear, as well as the role culture had in their life. In particular, the questions regarding when and how their interest in arts and culture started and whether the interviewees' parents had a role in it can

be connected to studies about cultural capital. It has been argued, in fact, that the domestic environment in which a person grows up influences his own relationship with cultural taste and consumption throughout his life (Bourdieu, 1986; Willekens, Daenekindt & Lievens, 2014). Given the more personal nature of these questions, it was decided to place them at the end of the interview.

As said, the third section had four questions common among both interview guides. These questions concerned again the interaction occurring between respondents and museums. As the sample selected had engaged with the content posted by the museum, they were asked about this behavior. Afterward, the questions became specific about the profile of the museum. Thus, they focused on specific issues or projects that were highlighted during the first set of interviews, such as reaching a new audience, the image of the museum, or the characteristics of the content posted. In particular, the interviewees were asked to comment on three specific posts of the museum (figure 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6). These posts were chosen because they visually represented a strategy, or an issue, detected during the first set of interviews. Having posts to discuss on, in fact, allowed the interviewees to have concrete grounds upon which to build an argument, and avoided the conversation being too abstract.

For the entire interview guides and the posts commented by the respondents, please consult Appendix A and B.

3.4 Data analysis

The two sets of interviews that arose from the aforementioned interview guides were analyzed following a thematic approach. Given the different phases this research is comprised of, this method is useful when it comes to effectively interpret qualitative data by tracing differences and similarities. Thus, the core tool of this analysis is the 'theme', which is able to capture relevant information among the data set, which are related to the research question (Braun & Clarke, 2006). As said by Braun and Clarke (2006), it "represents some level of patterned response or meaning within the data set" (p.10).

There are different types of thematic analysis, in particular, realist and constructionist. In this context, the latter method was used, as it allows to consider the data - different realities, meanings, experiences - as products of discourses occurring within the society. In this sense, using a constructionist perspective allows focussing not on individuals' psychology, but on theorizing socio-cultural conditions. Thus, a theoretical or deductive way of analysis was employed, driven by the theoretical knowledge basis (Braun & Clarke, 2006).

Like other data analysis methods, thematic analysis implies the application of different stages of analysis. However, these stages do not have to be considered as strict and detached from one another, as analysis often means "moving back and forward between the entire data set,

the coded extracts of data that you are analysing, and the analysis of the data that you are producing” (Braun & Clarke, 2006, p.15). Anyway, these steps are defined by identifying different codes, named open, axial and, finally, selective (Boeije, 2010).

In the first phase, open codes are identified. This implied breaking down the interviews into fragments, which were then compared and categorized between one another and then labeled with a code. A code is “a summarizing phrase for a piece of text which expresses the meaning of the fragment” (Boeije, 2010, p.96). As a fragment might be relevant for more than one topic, multiple codes can be assigned. This initial stage is usually quite data-driven, as at this point is still difficult to predict whether a fragment will be valuable or not. However, an organization of the data is already taking place thanks to the codes (Boeije, 2010).

The second stage of analysis is axial coding. Compared to the first phase, axial coding requires a further level of abstraction. The analysis starts, in fact, from the codes, and not from the data, even though it is important to make sure that the codes created cover the entire data and, in case not, assign new ones. The purpose of this phase is to decide which elements are the most important ones, along with reducing the amount of data. Similar codes are, in fact, merged, redundant ones are removed, and new, ‘broader’ codes are created. Usually, it is in this phase that patterns across the data start to emerge (Boeije, 2010).

Finally, selective codes are retrieved. Selective coding consists of “looking for connections between the categories in order to make sense of what is happening in the field” (Boeije, 2010, p.114). This implies finding core concepts among the codes and group together those who are related within recurring themes. These themes are identified and labeled based on the concepts highlighted in the theoretical framework, following the deductive approach of looking for relevant material in the data that will help to answer the research question. These core concepts will then provide the base on which the findings are interpreted and positioned within existing literature (Boeije 2010).

4. Results

This chapter is divided into four main sections. The first two sections concern the results of research conducted on Boijmans Van Beuningen Museum and Dordrechts Museum. First, the results about the social media strategy of each museum are discussed, in particular regarding Instagram. In the last two sections, the audience of each museum is analyzed. Specifically, their profile in terms of cultural capital and social media use, their relationship with Instagram in interacting with the museum's profile, and, finally, their expectations and opinions towards the museum on Instagram.

4.1 Boijmans Van Beuningen Museum

My interviewee for Boijmans Van Beuningen Museum is Mila, responsible for online and social media marketing. Mila is twenty-eight years old and started working at Boijmans in September 2017. Within the marketing and communication team, she is the only one in charge of social media, mainly dealing with updating the museum's social media channels (Facebook, Twitter, Instagram) and promoting exhibitions.

According to Mila, leveraging social media as a marketing tool is a recent development for Boijmans, which still heavily relies on offline means of promotion. In particular, a big percentage of the marketing budget goes to advertisements in newspapers, banners, and external partnerships. However, Mila addressed that this tendency is changing. For instance, she now works four days a week only with social media, while the person employed before her only worked for three days a week. Moreover, because of the novelty represented by social media for Boijmans, Mila stated that she has a lot of freedom in her work:

Social media isn't really part of the main strategy for marketing and communication so I have a lot of freedom, so I can really develop my own concept, and work with people I think, okay these are the people who are really interesting to convey this message or this visual language.

Thus, she was able to develop a marketing strategy that is focused entirely on social media.

4.1.1 Social media strategy of Boijmans Van Beuningen

This decision to invest more in social media is in line with the 'new museology' paradigm, through which museums are reaching out beyond their walls to gain a deeper contact with their community (Ross, 2004). As mentioned, in fact, Boijmans Van Beuningen Museum is present on three social media platforms: Facebook, Instagram, and Twitter. Of these three, Facebook and Instagram are the ones employed the most. In particular, Mila considers Facebook to be the most

relevant one, as it gives her the chance to post a variety of content, contrary to Instagram, which might have more restrictions in that sense. For instance, Facebook allows posting longer video clips, along with a stronger focus on the message of the content compared to Instagram, which Mila sees as more picture-centered.

Most of the content posted on these platforms consists of promotion of exhibitions, events, and projects developed by the museum to stimulate real-life visits and trigger brand loyalty. This is in line with Padilla-Mélendez and del Águila-Obra's (2013) analysis on the use of social media by popular art museums. Overall, it can be said that Boijmans is making an effective use of social media as a marketing tool, focusing on quality over quantity and mostly avoiding posting content that is too overtly promotional (Fletcher & Lee, 2012). This shows a good understanding of the platform that might make it more inviting for users (Richardson, 2009; Kidd, 2011). However, as it will be argued, Boijmans could take further advantage of the 'rules' of engagement present on social media to reach frame alignment with its audience in terms of inclusion and collaboration (Kidd, 2011).

The goal that Mila set for Boijmans' presence on social media is twofold: on one hand, she wants to reach a younger and more ethnically-diverse audience through social media, triggering their interest in visiting the museum. On the other hand, Mila addressed her decision to depict a different image of the museum on social media, in order to be appealing to the new audience she wants to engage. Within this objective, Instagram plays a relevant role thanks to its characteristics and its young community.

4.1.2 The role of Instagram within Boijmans' social media strategy

In her effort to convey an image of Boijmans that would attract a younger audience, Mila employs Instagram to give to the museum a recognizable identity, which, according to her, is something that often lacks on the profiles of other museums:

Before starting at the museum I really analyzed the Instagram of different museums and what struck my attention was that if you look at different Instagram pages of museums you cannot really see an identity, so if you sweep the name of the museum and, I think, if you maybe put five different of those in front of a person, he or she couldn't tell "oh this is that museum, this is that..." all kind of looked the same, and I also think that a museum is really visual but if you look at the Instagram pages they don't look visual at all (...) and that's my goal for Instagram, that you can look at it and think "oh, that's a nice museum, they know how to use Instagram!"

As it is clear from the quote above, the main way through which Mila wants to pass on an identity of the museums on Instagram is through the visual language that characterizes it. In particular, she

pays a lot of attention to the aesthetic of the profile, trying to post pictures in which the colors match together when it comes to both artworks and the pictures taken inside the museum. Her first aim, thus, is that the profile “looks nice”.

4.1.3 Reaching a new audience through social media

In terms of visitors, Mila acknowledged that the average visitor of Boijmans is fifty years old or older and usually white. One of the main goals for Mila in her social media strategy is to change this tendency:

[social media are] the first line to interact with younger people who aren't in the museum, so you can interest them somehow on social media, so you can also, the next step is how to get them involved in the museum, how do you get them to visit the museum.

However, even on social media, where the reach of an organization can be broader, especially in terms of demographics, Mila pointed out that there is a discrepancy between the followers of the museums and those who actively engage:

On Facebook, for example, we are followed by the biggest group between twenty-five and thirty-four, but the group who interacts mostly, compared to the followers, is the fifty plus group. So, they are more active on our page.

One way Mila is trying to convey an image of the museum that would appeal to the youth is by featuring as many young people as possible in the pictures posted on social media. For example, she recalled how she decided to manage the pictures taken during the opening of an exhibition at Boijmans:

(...) there were a lot of young people at the opening, and also of course old people because they are there, but on Facebook I try to post pictures with only young people in them, so young people recognize themselves and maybe they want to come, and some people say that young people don't want to go somewhere where there are old people, cause they don't feel like it, but older people think "oh nice, young people!" and they still wanna come.

However, Mila was still unsure whether social media are actually effective in reaching a younger audience. In fact, the aforementioned exhibition opening was by invitation only, so it cannot be considered representative of the museum's outreach to younger generations. Even when it comes to museum's visits, Mila was still unsure of the role played by SNS. As argued by Hausmann

(2012) and Holdgaard and Klasttrup (2014), in fact, it is hard to predict whether the social media strategy of a museum will attract visitors, or whether it will attain the most effective target.

Another aspect of the museum's target audience that Mila is trying to change through social networks is the lack of diversity in the visitors in terms of ethnicity. In this sense, she started a collaboration with a Rotterdam-based creative collective called 'Chips'. The project consisted of a video series in which different creatives gave their impression on one of the artworks of the museum collection. The concept behind these videos was to invite people to look at art longer, in contrast with the quickness that characterizes social media. Moreover, the young people featured in the videos stood out for their eccentric styles and the diversity of ethnicities, which made them different from the usual people seen in the museum. The videos were posted on the Facebook and Instagram pages of Boijmans. When the interview took place, the campaign was still in its early stages (only the trailer was shot and it had not been promoted on social media yet), which makes it difficult to establish whether the project was successful in reaching a new audience. However, the reactions from the audience respondents of this research might be useful to understand the public's perception of it.

4.1.4 Limitations in the use of Instagram

During the interview, Mila also mentioned some limits that she finds relevant when using Instagram. First of all, the attention she gives to the visual part makes it more time consuming to use Instagram compared to other social media. Given that Mila is the only one in charge of them and that she follows different projects, it might be hard for her to put a lot of energy into other aspects of the platform, for example, posting daily. As argued by Fletcher and Lee (2012) and Hausmann (2012), an effective social media strategy asks for time investment and human resources. Moreover, the limitation of social networks in regard to conveying knowledge is, according to Mila, present also on Instagram. In fact, educating people about art may be difficult to adapt to the immediacy that characterizes the platform (Holdgaard & Klasttrup, 2014). Thus, adjusting the museum's content so that it is fitting to the rules and modalities regulating the medium used seems to be the most effective approach (Richardson, 2009; Kidd, 2011). In some cases, this might mean losing some of the content's core meaning. In Mila's words:

(...) stories, they're just quick, and maybe one hashtag, maybe one title, which is, of course, opposing to the knowledge, which is in the museum, but, for me, the use of Instagram is leading in what I do. Cause here, it would be, of course, presenting as much knowledge about art as you can, but for me that doesn't work on Instagram.

Lastly, Mila has noticed that followers tend to interact more on Facebook rather than on Instagram. However, this does not seem to be the main concern for her when it comes to social media and Instagram in particular, as she prioritized the aesthetic aspect over interacting with followers.

4.1.5 A new image for Boijmans

The video series with 'Chips' and the other efforts to reach a younger, more diverse audience are strictly connected to Mila's plan to convey a different image of Boijmans Van Beuningen Museum on social media, one that would appeal to the new target audience. In this sense, Mila addressed that the necessity of a new image was functional in triggering the interest of the aforementioned target: "I want to engage other people, so what image of the museum do I have to present to maybe engage those people?". Thus, in order to engage a specific public, a new identity that matched the interests and inclinations of this audience's segment was created (Kotler & Kotler, 2000). The obstacle that Mila encountered in this endeavor was the institutional, more traditional side of Boijmans, which made the community perceive it as less accessible (Russo, Watkins, Kelly & Chan, 2008). To overcome this, Mila stated that she was trying to "show a different kind of museum". For instance, during the event 'Museumnacht010', in which several of Rotterdam's museums and cultural institutions were open at night, Mila used Instagram Stories to communicate this new identity:

I really try how can I convey the atmosphere of the museum, so there were a lot of younger people, and I tried to make it look like not a museum, cause we can be very institutional and also the walls, the art, and the building, so I try to really capture the atmosphere of the night. (...) So this is how you enter the museum [shows Instagram story] and, for me, it looks like really flashy and then the people, these aren't the kind of guys that visit the museum that often so I find it interesting to picture them.

While it can be argued that this strategy is suitable to reach the younger population, who might be more at ease with pictures of an event rather than of art, Kotler and Kotler (2000) highlight how important it is for museums not to lose focus of their role as institutions conveyors of knowledge in the attempt to gain popularity among the public. In fact, it has been proved that people do appreciate museums because they provide the public with opportunities for personal growth and development (Falk, 2006). Thus, maintaining a balance between adapting to the short and funny language of social media (Holdgaard & Kjastrup, 2014), and the museum's aim to educate and convey knowledge (Kotler & Kotler, 2000) is critical if an institution wants to maintain integrity, rather than authority, in the eyes of the public. This issue was also addressed by Mila: "Social media can be really superficial, whereas the museum isn't superficial, so you can somehow lose your message so you have to really be careful about how you translate it".

4.1.6 Inclusion and collaboration of Boijmans Van Beuningen Museum on social media

When it comes to the use of Instagram to engage the audience, it can be said that Boijmans does not take advantage of all the features present on the platform. For example, while Mila uses Stories and hashtags, she does not exploit the possibility of following other users. This is in line with the findings by Lazaridou, Vrana and Paschaloudis (2017), who argue that museums mainly use Instagram to post content, but do not follow other users or utilize hashtags to interact with them and their content.

Concerning hashtags, Mila has created a hashtag called 'Slow Art Sunday', connected to the concept of looking longer at art, which was also behind the collaboration with 'Chips'. The hashtag was employed in the following way (explained off the record): every Sunday, a picture of a painting that belongs to Boijmans' collection was posted along with a caption that gave a brief explanation and contextualization of the painting itself. The hashtag '#slowartsunday' was placed at the top of the caption, to make it more visible to users. You can see how these posts look like in Appendix B (figure 1, 2, 3). As it can be noted, the caption does not address the intent of the museum to make users look at art longer, and leaves it to them to understand the concept behind the hashtag. However, less than a month after, the caption of the 'Slow Art Sunday' series was changed to the following:

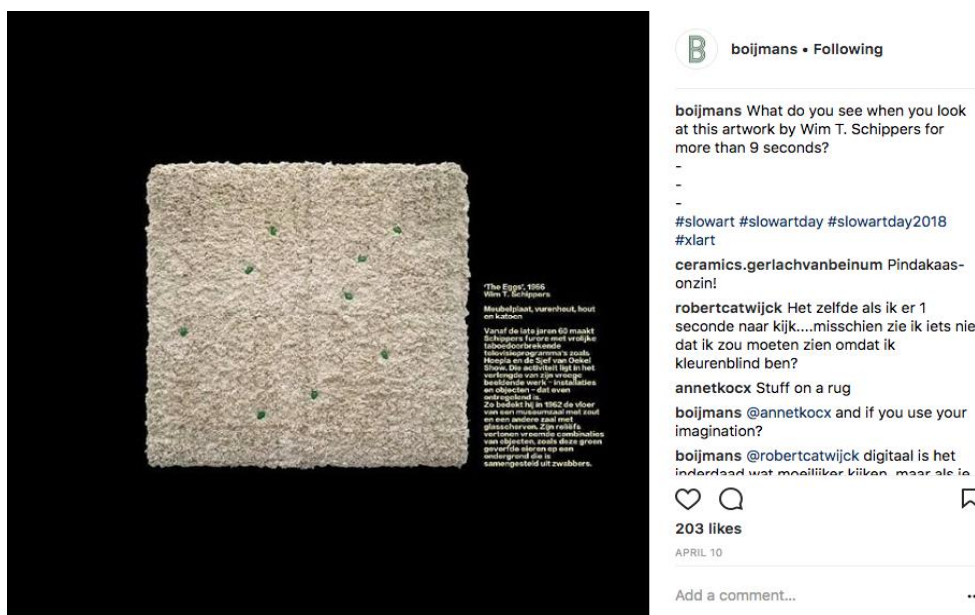


Figure 7. Instagram post by Boijmans Van Beuningen Museum, 10 April 2018. Retrieved from: <https://www.instagram.com/p/BhZyrXXhjv/>

As it can be seen, the concept of looking at art longer than nine seconds was made explicit through a question that directly addresses the followers. In turn, the part related to the knowledge, i.e. the description of the artwork and artist, was omitted. As this changing in the use of the hashtag occurred after the interview took place, it is not possible to fully assess the reasons behind it. However, it can be argued that the latter use of the 'slow art' concept is more in line with the

necessity of museums to be more transparent when it comes to telling the audience what they hope to achieve with their strategies (Kidd, 2011). In fact, as it can be seen from the post (figure 7), addressing the concept more straightforwardly triggered a discussion between the museum and its followers.

On the other hand, it can be argued that Boijmans, like many other museums, does not leverage the possibility of using hashtags to interact with user-generated content (Lazaridou, Vrana & Paschaloudis, 2017). As pointed out by Bergström and Bäckman (2013), letting audience members use a company's hashtag to label their own posts, as well as reposting them, is an effective tool to narrow the distance between a company and its followers by making them feel more involved.

Nevertheless, Mila does take some time to answer or react to comments and to like posts made by visitors who tagged the museum in their Instagram Stories or pictures. For this reason, it can be argued that, referring back to the frames theorized by Kidd (2011), Boijmans Van Beuningen Museum can be placed within the inclusivity frame. In this context, in fact, users are curators of digital content, engaging mainly through likes, comments, and tags (Evans, 2010). However, this kind of interaction can be considered insufficient to generate a more active participation, especially if the museum does not provide its followers with guidelines to make their contribution more relevant (Evans, 2010).

Thus, the collaborative frame (Kidd, 2011) does not seem to be part of Boijmans' social media strategy as of now, given the lack of projects that directly involve the audience in co-creation processes. This might be a step that the museum will decide to take in the future, as addressed by Mila: "I'm now really focusing on conveying the right message and image, and next step would be how to engage... try to engage people". In conclusion, it can be said that Boijmans Van Beuningen Museum is currently employing social media to create a recognizable brand in the online environment, rather than engaging in conversations with its followers (Fletcher & Lee, 2012).

4.2 Dordrechts Museum

For Dordrechts Museum, I interviewed Heleen, who is in charge of the online marketing activities within the PR and marketing department. In this sense, she manages the museum's website, social media (Facebook, Instagram, and Twitter) and newsletter, along with those of the House Van Gijn Museum, The Court of the Netherlands, and the Regional Archives of Dordrecht. Much like Boijmans Van Beuningen Museum, Dordrechts Museum still heavily relies on offline means of promotion such as outdoors campaigns and printed advertisements. However, according to Heleen, the position of social media within the marketing strategy is growing, albeit only a small part of the budget goes to online activities. Heleen has been working at the museum for three years and is the only one in charge of social media on a full-time basis. For Heleen, being the only

one dealing with online marketing is seen as an advantage, as she is able to have full control of the platforms to convey the message she chooses.

4.2.1 Social media strategy of Dordrechts Museum

The main goal of the use of social media by Dordrechts Museum is to make it more known by showcasing its rich collection. The museum is, in fact, quite small, which is why social media could play a relevant role in reaching a wider target. The final purpose is, of course, to trigger people's interest in paying a visit to the museum. Overall, it can be argued that Dordrechts Museum is using social media in line with other museums, namely the ones analyzed by Padilla-Mélendez and del Águila-Obra (2013). Notably, however, the museums interviewed by Fletcher and Lee (2012) underlined the importance of the content in terms of quality, triggering discussions and opinions while, at the same time, being light-hearted and funny. This tension between their educational role and the attempt to be competitive as sources of entertainment (Kotler & Kotler, 2000) seems to be present in both the museums analyzed. In this sense, it will be illustrated that Dordrechts Museum has to put more effort in implementing its content, especially in regard to the aim of creating that sense of attachment that is responsible for engagement (Hartley & Harrison, 2007).

Since Heleen's aim is to "make people aware of the treasures of arts" present in the museum, social media are considered by her a useful tool for their focus on images. As argued by Hausmann (2012), in fact, social media can be very powerful in materializing artistic works that may generate curiosity in the viewer to see the work in real life. However, despite Instagram being acknowledged as the most visual-centered among SNS (Bradley, 2014), Heleen stated that Facebook still results more effective in reaching her goals. In fact, Heleen highlighted how she perceives Facebook as barrier-free compared to Instagram, allowing her to engage more, both in terms of content and interactions. Regarding content, Heleen stressed Facebook's effectiveness when it comes to storytelling:

I think we use Facebook most because we use it for all of our activities, to show our collection, to have interaction with people and Facebook, how do you say, it's very easy, it does not have. like, a barrier. (...) Personally, I like Instagram a lot, but I think for our activities, the things that we have, I think Facebook is more suitable, like a story, we tell stories on Facebook, we go through the storyline of an exposition, and I think Facebook is very easy to tell a story.

For instance, one of the latest exhibitions at the museum was of the works of Dutch Impressionist painter Johan Jongkind. In order to promote the exhibition on social media, Heleen posted pictures of the paintings featured in the exhibition on social media, along with content related both to the

paintings and the artist. In this sense, she pays careful attention to which kind of content the followers might like best:

(...) For example the exhibition that we have now, Jongkind, a Dutch painter, I go through all of the exposition on social media, so I see that videos are appreciated, but people like an image of the picture more, with little bit of an explanation, and so I just look at what people react on most, and what it is viewed most, and I post more of that content and less of the other one, but I try to keep a balance.

Given this focus on the museum's collection, it can be said that Dordrechts Museum's role of an institution responsible of conveying knowledge and education is not put up for discussion, but rather, the museum is trying to expand its reach to a wider community. This way, people can still rely on the museum's social media platform for educational purposes (Kotler & Kotler, 2000), as well as having a glimpse of what to expect if they decide to visit the museum (Hausmann, 2012). However, the museum has to take into account that one of the main factors behind interactions on social media is hedonism (Casaló, Flavián & Ibáñez-Sánchez, 2017). Thus, posting content that is too 'institutional' or educational may disaffect the many users who see social media as a source of entertainment (Bradley, 2014).

In order to measure the impact of social media, Heleen finds the tools provided by Facebook effective both to promote the museum through ads and to measure the success of a strategy. She mentioned, in fact, the practicality of Facebook's statistics and, in particular, of Facebook Pixel. Facebook Pixel is a marketing tool that allows companies to track conversions generated by ads, as well as improve them based on data and retarget them to reach a new audience (Newberry, 2017). This finding is in contrast with the arguments on the difficulty of measuring the success of a social media strategy (Hausmann, 2012). This might be due to the development of analytics tools over the years, which have become more advanced and precise.

4.2.2 The role of Instagram within Dordrechts Museum's social media strategy

The decision to open an Instagram account for Dordrechts Museum lies in its focus on images. For this reason, Heleen considers it "the channel to be on as a museum". The museum, in fact, uses the platform to post mainly pictures of artworks, along with a brief explanatory caption, and pictures taken inside of the museum of visitors looking at the paintings on display. While featuring visitors in Instagram posts cannot be compared to, for example, posting user-generated content, it can be argued that it is a first step towards shifting the attention from the institution in its educational role to the audience and its relationship with art (Falk, 2006). In addition, sometimes behind the scenes pictures are posted, in particular of the restoration team working on paintings from the museum's collection, but also of projects and events happening at the museum. As

argued by Bergström and Bäckman (2013), this can be considered a good strategy to grab the attention of the public, as 'backstage' pictures convey a more informal and recognizable face of a company. This advantage of behind the scenes posts was also addressed by Heleen: "because I think people like that, I think people like to have a look behind the scenes, what happens behind the walls that we cannot see".

In terms of Instagram features, Dordrechts Museum uses hashtags as a tool to label its posts, so that users may find the content belonging to the museum more easily around the platform. However, the museum does not use personalized hashtags, rather, the ones utilized are sometimes quite general (e.g. #art, #dailyart, #impressionism). Nevertheless, as we will see, hashtags are used, albeit not as a project that involves user-generated content (Lazaridou, Vrana & Paschaloudis, 2017), as a way for the museum to interact with posts of users. On the other hand, contrary to the findings of Lazaridou, Vrana and Paschaloudis (2017), the museum does follow other users on Instagram, even more than the number of people who follow the museum itself. However, the way in which the decision of following other users was made highlights that this was done without a specific strategy in mind (or to engage with the audience), but just in the hope to gain a bigger following:

I looked up like curators, or museums and follow all of them, but recently unfollowed many people that did not follow me back so... because I saw an enormous growth when I started to follow just randomly, but then I was doubting a little bit, if that's what I want, because I want people to really follow us not just because I follow them, you know what I mean.

This approach, along with other factors - for instance, the fact that Heleen was not aware of the presence of analytics tools similar to Facebook's on Instagram (business.instagram.com) - proves how Dordrechts Museum still does not have a clear Instagram strategy. According to Heleen, this might have to do with a lack of time to invest fully on this social network: "I think you could set up a whole strategy only for Instagram, like for an exposition we could have an Instagram strategy and a Facebook strategy, but I don't think there is time for it now". Thus, it can be said that the museum still considers Instagram as complementary to Facebook, even when it comes to the frequency of the posts and their content:

I try to keep pace with our Facebook posts, and for large expositions, we post three times a week, and then I will just stay in the same base with Instagram. I can't always use the same content, of course, so sometimes it is less on Instagram, Facebook is the main, and Instagram I just post whenever I can use the same content, but I will change the writing a little bit.

This contiguity between the content posted on Facebook and Instagram results in the overlook of some of the main characteristics of the latter, such as the attention paid to visuals in terms of originality and creativity (Fletcher & Lee, 2012; Casalo, Flavián & Ibáñez-Sánchez, 2017; Abbott, Donaghey, Hare & Hopkins, 2013) or the use of Instagram Stories. In turn, however, the museum does seem to reach out to its followers on Instagram, albeit only to a certain extent.

4.2.3 Dordrechts Museum's target audience and 'cold visitors'

Overall, the museum's visitors are older than fifty-five. As Heleen pointed out, this segment of the population can be found more easily on Facebook rather than on Instagram, which is more popular among young people (Sweeney, 2018; Statista, 2018b). Statistics show, in fact, that Facebook users between fifty-five and sixty-five years old will reach the number of 6.4 million in 2018 (Sweeney, 2018). Thus, the content posted by Dordrechts on Facebook is usually targeted at this population, and, apparently, successfully so. Heleen stated, in fact, that the number of followers has been increasing.

However, given that social media use is generally associated with the younger generations, who still comprise the majority of users (Statista, 2017b), Heleen acknowledged the aim to promote the museum among the youth as well, which she defines as 'cold visitors':

What we want is the people who are not here physically, like the younger target, we want them to know what we have here, so I do target on them as well, we call them the 'cold' visitors, so they haven't come, we warm them up.

Yet, Heleen pointed out that engaging the younger population is a difficult task:

We have lots of high school students or secondary school students coming here, but, we invite them always to take pictures and to share them, if you have like a day of students, maybe one or two will actually post a picture of them being at the museum, it is very, very small... that's quite difficult, I think.

In this sense, Heleen shared her plan to invite Influencers to the press meeting that takes place before the opening of a new exhibition, and subsequently organize an 'Insta-meet' at the museum to allow Influencers to take pictures and then post them on their Instagram profiles. This way, Heleen hopes to reach a new audience. In the museum context, in fact, Influencers have already been used by institutions to get in contact with the younger public (Angelica, 2015).

However, it can be argued that the museum has still not put into action a strategy to engage this 'cold' segment of the population and attract them in visiting the museum. For this

reason, it can be said that reaching a new audience is considered a secondary goal by Dordrechts Museum, while the main one remains to promote the museum and attract visitors.

4.2.4 Inclusion and collaboration of Dordrechts Museum on social media

It can be said that Heleen interacts with the museum's audience both on Facebook and Instagram, even though in slightly different ways:

I like the comments, on Instagram, I usually only like the comments or I reply. If they make a very nice picture, I reply or ask if I can share their picture, or I just comment "oh, you made a very nice picture, thank you very much", something like that, because I think it is important for our ranking as well to have the interactions. And on Facebook I like or I'll comment as well, if people have made a nice comment, like visitors are enthusiastic about the exposition, then I will just comment on that and encourage to come, or I will make them aware of the fact that we are actually three museums, and so they can go and visit the other ones as well, something like that.

As it can be noted, the interactions left by audience members on Facebook are leveraged as an opportunity to further promote the museum and to encourage visits. On the other hand, reactions on Instagram are more focused on the content of the post itself. In this sense, Heleen has taken advantage of the possibility offered by Instagram to have access to other users' content (which does not happen on Facebook unless two users are 'friends') to engage with their pictures, even reposting some of them on the museum's profile. Most of the 'regrammed' pictures depict visitors inside the museum engaging with the artworks. This more meaningful way of interacting on Instagram than on Facebook highlights the potential of the SNS in terms of audience engagement (Budge, 2017). In particular, one of the pictures reposted by Dordrechts Museum generated more likes than usual on the profile:



Figure 8. Instagram post by Dordrechts Museum, 3 March 2018. Retrieved from: <https://www.instagram.com/p/Bf4MBiJAb7s/>

I am amazed because we have the exposition now, about Jongkind. He painted lots of moonlights and we have almost always between 50 and 100 likes now on a post. A lady posted a picture, just a pictures of Dordrecht with a moonlight which was very similar to one of our paintings, and I think I had 200 likes all of a sudden, and I thought why, because I mean I liked it, a lot, I reposted it, but there you just see that you just don't know, because people obviously like it a lot as well, like a nowadays pictures of something which is similar in the museum, sometimes you just, all of a sudden, are surprised by content that you post and people like it a lot.

The surprise expressed by Heleen in front of the reaction to this post is another sign that unpredictability is an inherent characteristic of social media when it comes to audience engagement (Holdgaard & Klastруп, 2014).

In conclusion, it can be argued that Dordrechts Museum does acknowledge social media as a social networking platform where to trigger interactions, rather than just a promotional tool (Kidd, 2011). In particular, employing user-generated content, albeit occasional, is the first step towards a more attentive use that sees the public as, first, curators and, afterward, collaborators in the creation of content (Evans, 2010). However, for this advancement to occur, the museum has to further develop its strategy towards content that is visually more original and creative. Moreover, in terms of engagement, it should transparently address its aims to its audience (Kidd, 2011), while providing it with guidelines to make their collaboration more valuable (Evans, 2010). In this sense, for example, 'reposting' pictures of users can become a weekly appointment, using personalized hashtags that people can use in their pictures. These hashtags can even have a theme, which can change on a weekly basis. As it can be seen, Instagram offers many possibilities to ensure an active participation among the audience.

4.3 The audience

In this section, I will delineate the results of the interviews conducted with the audience of the two museums analyzed. First, an overview of the respondents will be given, with a particular focus on their personal background and the ways they use Instagram. For clarity, these data will be illustrated through tables. After that, the main analysis will move on to their relationship with the museum in question, both offline and on Instagram. In particular, the analysis will focus on how they perceive the museum's use of the platform when it comes to interactions with the audience, and what their expectations are in that sense.

4.3.1 The respondents' personal background

As mentioned, a total of fourteen interviews were conducted, seven for each museum. The age of the respondents was between 25 and 63 years old. While for Boijmans Van Beuningen

Museum the respondents were closer in age (between 25 and 37), for Dordrechts Museum they were more heterogeneous, with 3 respondents below 35 years old, 1 between 35 and 40, 1 between 40 and 50, and 2 above 50. Given that the average visitor of Dordrechts Museum is older than 55, it can be said that this sample is representative of that target only partially, while for Boijmans Van Beuningen Museum the sample and the target aligned. The women interviewed were 11, while the men 3. Most of them had a Dutch nationality, with the exception of 4 people. In particular, Boijmans Van Beuningen Museum's audience was more diverse in this sense.

Table 1. Respondents' personal characteristics

	Gender, age, nationality	Profession/field of work, education level	Interest in arts and culture
R1 (Boijmans Van Beuningen Museum)	F, 35, German	Teacher, Bachelor's degree	Classical art, classical music, concerts
R2 (Boijmans Van Beuningen Museum)	F, 27, Dutch	Digital strategist, Master's degree	Art, design, applied sciences, creative talks, theater, concerts
R3 (Boijmans Van Beuningen Museum)	M, 37, Dutch	Process operator, Bachelor's degree	Art, festivals, concerts
R4 (Boijmans Van Beuningen Museum)	F, 30, Turkish	Art student, Bachelor's degree	Art, architecture, performance arts
R5 (Boijmans Van Beuningen Museum)	F, 26, Dutch	Filmmaking student, Bachelor's degree	Modern art, digital art, photography, cinema
R6 (Boijmans Van Beuningen Museum)	F, 25, Romanian	Tourism student, Master's degree	Visiting museums, concerts, theater
R7 (Boijmans Van Beuningen Museum)	F, 30, Dutch	Designer, Master's degree	Art, design, fashion shows
R8 (Dordrechts Museum)	F, 63, Dutch	Teacher, HBO degree	Art museums, reading
R9 (Dordrechts Museum)	M, 33, Dutch	Engineering consultant, Master's degree	Rarely visits museums or other cultural institutions
R10 (Dordrechts Museum)	F, 37, Dutch	Artist, Bachelor's degree	Modern art; cinema, reading
R11 (Dordrechts Museum)	F, 55, Dutch	Housewife, HBO degree	Art, history, theater

R12 (Dordrechts Museum)	M, 49, Dutch	Hospitality, HBO degree	Art, design, war history, photography
R13 (Dordrechts Museum)	F, 30, Dutch	Social worker, Bachelor's degree	Film festivals, concerts, art
R14 (Dordrechts Museum)	F, 29, Indonesian	Advertising agency, Master's degree	Art, traditional dance

As it can be seen, all the respondents showed a high level of cultural capital. They all have a university degree, even though in the Netherlands a HBO degree (university of applied sciences) is considered inferior to a Bachelor or Master's degree. Moreover, 9 out of 14 are employed or are studying in the artistic or cultural field. They reported being interested in arts and culture, 10 since an early age, 4 since their adolescence. In their daily lives, all the respondents claimed engaging in various cultural activities: concerts, theatre, cinema, performance art, festivals, creative talks, fashion shows and so on. The variety of these activities showed their omnivorous approach to cultural consumption (Peterson, 2005; Tambupolon, 2010). The only exception is R9, who engages in cultural activities rarely, and prefers focusing on other things, like nature or sport.

In addition, the questions regarding their personal background revealed who introduced them to arts and culture. Half of the respondents indicated one of the parents as the person who triggered their interest in the field. This is in line with Bourdieu's (1966; 1984) theory about the influence of the parents' cultural capital on their children. Concerning the role of each parent, it can be said that the findings are quite even, with 4 respondents mentioning their mother, and 3 their father. It is also important to note that 1 of the 4 mothers mentioned studied a subject in the cultural field. On the other hand, 2 of the fathers mentioned worked within this field. Interestingly, 3 out of 14 respondents identified their sibling as the person who sparked their interest. It can be argued, however, that if they both grew up in the same household, the influence of the parents can be implied.

4.3.2 The respondents and their use of Instagram

Table 2. The respondents' personal use of Instagram

	Time using Instagram	Reasons for using	Content posted	Profiles followed
R1 (Boijmans Van Beuningen Museum)	Longer than 5 years	Self-expression, variety of content, keeping in touch with friends	Cultural activities, daily life	Lifestyle, travels, friends, art museums, galleries
R2 (Boijmans Van Beuningen)	Longer than 5 years	Getting inspired, being updated, glimpse of	Design details, daily life, cultural	Modern and contemporary art

Museum)		people's lives	activities	museums
R3 (Boijmans Van Beuningen Museum)	Less than 1 year	Self-expression, sense of community	Architecture, museums, art, daily activities	Architecture, art, photography, art museums
R4 (Boijmans Van Beuningen Museum)	Longer than 5 years	Centrality of pictures, online journal, getting inspired, self-expression	Art, family, daily activities	Venues, friends, museums, art galleries, food
R5 (Boijmans Van Beuningen Museum)	Between 1 and 5 years on and off	Getting inspired, curiosity	Art, photography, architecture	Photographers, cultural institutions
R6 (Boijmans Van Beuningen Museum)	Between 1 and 5 years	Centrality of pictures, curiosity	Museums, nature	Museums, nature, friends, celebrities
R7 (Boijmans Van Beuningen Museum)	Less than 1 year	Getting inspired, variety of content, self-promotion	Personal work, daily activities	Architecture, hashtags, museums, galleries, magazines
R8 (Dordrechts Museum)	Less than 1 year	Self-expression, sense of community	Daily activities	Spiritual profiles, women's circles
R9 (Dordrechts Museum)	Longer than 5 years	Centrality of pictures, variety of content; getting inspired	Personal memories and activities	Nature, sport, photography, museums
R10 (Dordrechts Museum)	Longer than 5 years	Self-promotion, getting inspired, sense of community	Personal work	Friends, inspirational profiles, museums
R11 (Dordrechts Museum)	Less than 1 year	Curiosity	Family, hobbies	Museums, events, celebrities
R12 (Dordrechts Museum)	Between 1 and 5 years	Self-promotion, having a window on the world, getting inspired	Photography	Photographers, museums
R13 (Dordrechts Museum)	Longer than 5 years	Centrality of pictures, curiosity	Travels, friends	Musicians, film festivals, interiors, magazines, friends
R14 (Dordrechts Museum)	Longer than 5 years	Self-expression, online journal, keeping in touch with friends, centrality of pictures, being updated	Daily activities, travels, personal memories	Travels, celebrities, news, lifestyle, cultural events

Overall, half of the respondents have been using Instagram for longer than five years, 3 between one and two years and 4 for only a few months. However, it can be said that, independently of this finding, all the respondents showed a good knowledge of the social network

and its features, also independently of their age. This finding highlights the impact of skills on both the use of technology and, especially, on content creation (Hargittai & Walejko, 2008; Van Volkom, Stapley & Amaturio, 2014). If these data are connected to the respondents' social background, they prove the veracity of the participation divide: people whose parents have a high level of cultural capital will engage in content creation more than others (Hargittai & Walejko, 2008).

Respondents reported opening Instagram every day, mainly to check other people's posts or Stories. When it comes to posting on their own profile, however, 12 out of 14 respondents stated doing it much less than their daily use. Posting pictures and videos on their feed is seen, in fact, as a process that requires further thought and attention. The interviewees pointed out how they consider different aspects when it comes to their pictures, for example, the colors and how they fit together with the rest of their profile: "it depends on the picture I shared before that one, because I like my color scheme to go in a really nice way" (R2, female, 27, follower of Boijmans Van Beuningen Museum). The attention paid when it comes to posting is one of the reasons Stories are so popular, as highlighted by a respondent:

Sometimes I just like to show where I am or if I see something inspirational or nice, then I find it easier to post it on Stories, instead of making it nice and then there is too much pressure. Maybe it's because the picture really has to be perfect when I post it on my Instagram feed (R13, female, 30, follower of Dordrechts Museum).

Instagram Stories and hashtags were, in fact, the most popular features mentioned by the respondents. This data is interesting especially when it comes to Stories, which are still not an object of research. The reasons for their popularity are immediacy, interactivity and the fact that they are temporary.

Concerning their decision to open an Instagram account, it can be said that their replies highlighted the influence of friends and family theorized by Ting, Wong, de Run and Lau (2015). Within the motives that made them keep on using the app, it is relevant to note that the reasons mentioned the most were in line with motives of personal gratification (self-expression and getting inspired) and feature usefulness (centrality of pictures over other kinds of media) (Ting, Wong, de Run & Lau, 2015). On the other hand, motives related to socialization (keeping in touch with friends and sense of community), were only mentioned 2 and 3 times respectively, making socializing less relevant than what argued by Ting, Wong, de Run and Lau (2015) and Bradley (2014).

This tendency can also be found in the content posted by the respondents. Only 2 respondents in fact, explicitly mentioned posting about friends and family, even though it can be argued that some of the daily or personal activities listed (mentioned 9 times) might have included them. Regarding the other kinds of content posted, it can be said that the ones named the most

(11 times) all had to do with arts and culture. Furthermore, the variety of content posted is in line with the use of Instagram by adults theorized by Jang, Han, Shih and Lee (2015), who stated that adults post about more varied topics compared to teenagers.

A similar situation can be found when it comes to the profiles followed. While friends were mentioned more than before (5 times), the focus was still on varied activities. In particular, different cultural profiles, such as museums, galleries, festivals, photography etc. were mentioned by 13 out of 14 respondents. With the exception of one respondent (R8, female, 63) - who reported following just Dordrechts Museum - the remaining respondents showed an interest in engaging with arts and culture online that goes beyond the museum analyzed.

For the aforementioned reasons, it can be said that the respondents showed an omnivorous approach to cultural consumption. In fact, they manifested an interest in a wide range of cultural and artistic activities, both in their offline and online lives. As argued by studies on omnivorousness and cultural participation, this consumption attitude proves a high level of cultural capital (Peterson, 1992, 2005; Peterson & Simkus, 1992; Peterson & Kern, 1996; Tampubolon, 2010; Taheri, Jafari & O'Gorman, 2014). This finding, along with their proficient use of the social network, underlines the connection between a meaningful use of technology and cultural capital (Tondeur, Sinnaeve, van Houtte & van Braak, 2011).

4.4 The audience of Boijmans Van Beuningen Museum

4.4.1 The interviewees and Boijmans Van Beuningen Museum offline

Six out of the 7 interviewees stated having visited the museum before started following it on Instagram. Only R6 (female, 25) follows the museum but has not visited it in person. However, she stated that she would like to visit it in person, partly because of the interesting content she sees on the profile and the fact that it is updated on a daily basis. Posting frequently, in fact, has been considered by Casaló, Flavián & Ibáñez-Sánchez (2017) as having a fairly positive impact on engagement, as it makes a user's experience less monotonous and more exciting. The other respondents had a closer connection with the museum, either for personal attachment, or because they appreciated the variety of the permanent collection and temporary exhibitions. For this reason, R1 (female, 35) highlighted how she perceived the museum as having two very different identities, one related to the more classical part of the collection, and the other one related to their contemporary art pieces, which she described as "freaky" and "crazy". Moreover, this combination of classical and contemporary was connected by R5 (female, 26) with a more accessible perception of the museum:

I think they really did a good job to make it, how do you say, like the threshold to go there, it is really low, because it is really accessible to go there, you don't feel like, I mean, for example, if you go to the Rijksmuseum in Amsterdam, it's like really, because it's only

classical art, it feels like oh very serious atmosphere, here it is like you can much more easily go there and feel comfortable.

However, this was not the case for R7 (female, 30), who, even though she acknowledged Boijmans not being the most “controlled” museum, she still perceived its institutional character, stating that “you still need to keep your distance”.

Studies point out the connection between the use of Instagram or smartphones during a museum’s visit in terms of interaction with the art on display (Weilenmann, Hillman & Jungselius, 2013; Abbott, Donaghey, Hare & Hopkins, 2013; Bradley, 2014; Hughes & Moscardo, 2017). This tendency can also be found among the interviewees. R1 (female, 35), for instance, shared how she did not make a regular post from her visit, but she posted an Instagram Stories and made a video of her walking around the museum. As it can be noted, the interaction between visitor and museum occurring through technology does not stop at only taking pictures of the artworks. Respondents, in fact, were also interested in the building in which the museum is located, as well as an exhibition’s design and curation. Thus, it can be said that, for visitors, going to a museum is considered an experience in its own right. In this context, Instagram provides additional tools to make it more personal and interactive.

4.4.2 The interviewees and Boijmans Van Beuningen Museum’s Instagram profile

When asked the reason why they decided to follow the museum on Instagram, it can be said that the motives mentioned can all be linked to the respondents’ desire to carry on the connection established when they were in the museum. In this sense, R3 (male, 37) pointed out: “I was going to the museum itself, so then I just followed their Instagram afterward. It was like making friends and then following their Instagram”. This close relationship that can be established with a brand aligns with Instagram’s characteristic of developing a more familiar and friendly bond with a company (Bergström & Bäckman, 2013). Further, relating to the profile also seemed important, either because the artworks posted on the profile were recognized by the respondents from their own knowledge of art or during their visit. For R2 (female, 27), the reason behind her decision to follow the museum lied in the way Boijmans frames the content posted in terms of storytelling:

I like the way the museums were framing it, so they were telling more the stories behind paintings, instead of just sharing the nice image of the painting, so for me, the combination of the caption and the image itself was really important.

For R5 (female, 26) and R7 (female, 30), however, the decision to connect with Boijmans online was related to more practical reasons, i.e. they were looking for nearby museums to follow and Instagram showed Boijmans as one of the suggested options. Lastly, R6 (female, 25) affirmed she

followed the museum also because they sometimes post artworks that are somehow 'controversial' and that would not be posted on social media by museums in Brussels, where she lives. This opinion can be linked to what said by R1 (female, 35) regarding the "freaky" and "crazy" image of the museum. In this sense, it can be said that, for the respondents, the museum already has a recognizable identity.

4.4.3 Interacting with Boijmans Van Beuningen museum on Instagram

The interviewees' desire to keep in contact with the museum can also be found in the fact that all of them commented or liked one or more posts of the museum. They interacted with it because they liked the content, or it evoked some thoughts and triggered their imagination. Hence, it can be said that they provoked a sense of enjoyment and satisfaction (Casaló, Flavián & Ibáñez-Sánchez, 2017). However, in the case of comments, it does not seem like the purpose of them was getting a reaction from the museum, rather, they were seen as a tool to express their opinion. Therefore, the respondents who commented did not seem to care if their comment did not receive a reaction from the museum. This might have to do with the fact that these comments were mostly pretty short, sometimes just an emoji or an exclamation, which were considered too little to create a conversation.

This slightly changes when the interaction revolves around a picture posted by the interviewee himself, and not by the museum. In fact, those who posted a picture from their visit to Boijmans on their profile reported searching for some kind of interaction with the museum by tagging it or using related hashtags. In the case of R2 (female, 27), the museum reacted to her post, and she described the experience as follows:

They liked my picture and I remember the first time when they engaged with my pictures and I "oh, this is amazing, they saw it!" and I felt so special for a moment because it felt like such a great achievement somehow.

On the other hand, despite her tagging the museum in her pictures, the museum has never engaged with the content posted by R4 (female, 30). According to her, the fact that the museum did not try to interact with her is a shortcoming of Boijmans. Therefore, the difference in expectations between interactions happening around content posted by the museum and the one posted by the audience underlines the importance of user-generated content, and, subsequently, of co-creation. This is in line with studies on the power of co-creation processes that allow for a collaborative effort between audience and institution that eventually brings the two closer together (Russo, Watkins, Kelly & Chan, 2008; Evans, 2010; Holdgaard & Klasttrup, 2014; Kidd, 2011). As argued by Bergström and Bäckman (2013), in fact, these projects favor both parties: on one hand,

they help in developing brand recognition and bonding; on the other hand, users feel more involved and perceive a sense of importance by having their content shared.

4.4.4 The use of Instagram by the museum

4.4.4.1 The content posted

In terms of the content posted by Boijmans and the interviewees' impressions of it, it can be said that they focused especially on these aspects:

- the visual, aesthetic aspect of the pictures;
- the use of the text in the captions;
- the use of people in some of the pictures;
- the promotional content.

Regarding the visuals, it can be said that all the respondents paid close attention to the way the museum used colors and how the artworks were photographed. The importance given to the aesthetic part of the profile can be connected to the curation of the interviewees' own profile. In this sense, it can be argued that Mila's decision to pay attention to this aspect is fitting with the audience's expectations. For instance, R7 (female, 30) said: "I have the feeling that someone who is doing it is also trying to get a nice overall picture of it". As the museum itself was described as colorful, R5 (female, 26) found this correspondence with the Instagram page, identifying it as one of the main characteristics of Boijmans.

However, not everyone was of the same opinion. In particular, R6 (female, 25) did not find the photos of the artworks particularly attractive. She stated how some of the pictures were not "interactive" enough, because they depicted the artwork itself and not much else. Referring to the picture of the statue by Man Ray (figure 2), for instance, she said that the picture should have had some other details in it: "Not just the statue. The statue I can see it on Google as an image or something like that". In this sense, she preferred seeing pictures with visitors of the museum engaging with the art. On the other hand, R4 (female, 30) did not find the visual aspect of the profile appealing, but for different reasons. First, she did not perceive a strategy behind it. Namely, she thought that the colors and the overall aesthetic of the profile should be even more curated, not just for each post, but for the profile in its entirety. Moreover, she also added how she would like Boijmans to post more pictures of the space of the museum itself, rather than just the art it contains, as she finds the building of the museum special.

Related to the visual aspect of the profile is the use of text. Overall, it can be said that 2 respondents acknowledged that finding a balance between the amount of text and the message that a profile wants to spread can be problematic. This can be linked to what argued by Kidd (2011) regarding conveying knowledge on social media while adapting to the used medium. One of the main goals for museums is, in fact, educating and informing its audience about art and the society (Russo, Watkins, Kelly & Chan, 2008). Social media, on the other hand, are characterized

by a communication that is usually short and light-hearted (Fletcher & Lee, 2012; Holdgaard & Klastrop, 2014). Thus, conciliating the museum's aim with the language of social media is a critical point that should be faced by carefully considering the content posted in light of the medium that is being employed (Bergström & Bäckman, 2013). For Instagram, the 2 interviewees pointed out that the text should never be too long, as the focus should be on the picture. However, the text can also be important as it can provide information and trigger people to visit the museum. The problem with the captions of posts on Instagram is that, when confronted with too much text, this would discourage the users from reading it at all. This way, the more informative part of the content, related to the knowledge that one can derive from the Instagram account of a museum, might be lost. According to Mila, this is a limitation that has to be acknowledged by museums when using social media. In her opinion, the medium used, Instagram, instead of the message of the content, should be "leading" in the marketing strategy. For example, R1 (female, 35) suggested making videos to replace the long captions, and to post them either on the profile or on the Instagram Stories.

Another aspect that the interviewees paid attention to is the presence of people in the museum's pictures. The opinions on this element were quite opposite. R3 (male, 37), for example, was quite enthusiastic about seeing people interacting with the art. This way, he stated, he felt more involved with what was happening in the museum, as these pictures defined the "cultural mood" of it. Yet, other respondents preferred when the account was focused more on the art. Thus, a balance between showing the people who visit the museum or who are part of a project and pictures solely of artworks can be considered a good strategy to take into consideration. As highlighted by R1 (female, 35), an art museum should have a combination of the two:

Basically, I would say that most of the stuff is in line with the art museum because I see that they show a lot of art. And they also show the projects that they do and the people behind it.

Moreover, R2 (female, 27) underlined how Boijmans should avoid posting any kind of promotional content. It should be noted that Boijmans, overall, keeps the promotion of exhibitions or other events to a minimum. Yet, R2 complained about the presence of two posts advertising the opening of an exhibition and a museum's open day. In particular, she stated that focusing on content that is plainly promotional goes against the reason why she is on Instagram, i.e. to get inspired. This use of the content may also go against the desire for an enjoying and satisfying experience on Instagram (Casaló, Flavián & Ibáñez-Sánchez, 2017). In this case, misinterpreting the motives behind the Instagram use of the audience is counter-productive in the alignment of frames theorized by Kidd (2011). Thus, R2 would only post promotional content as paid advertisements or on Instagram Stories, as they interfere less with the content she sees on her feed. Finally, posting

less promotional content allows the museum, and the audience, to have a more engaging experience that is focused on the art itself. Compared to other museums, this is considered by her one of the strengths of Boijmans:

They're [Boijmans] more worried about sharing, engaging in how people should look at art mostly, so they want people to look at art longer, and that's how they use their caption and their images that they use, while... you can still perceive that if you just scroll past them, and they'll still be nice images to see, and if you compare that to for example Stedelijk museum, which is more about the events they are hosting, and also the exhibitions they host.

4.4.4.2 The use of Instagram's features: Stories and #slowartsunday

Concerning the features present on Instagram, the opinions given by the interviewees highlighted how the use of them was strictly related to the kind of content that is posted and its purpose.

For Instagram Stories, we have already seen how R2 (female, 27) would use them for the promotional content. On the other hand, R1 (female, 35) would not confine Stories to marketing purposes, but would use them as a tool to convey the knowledge that is perceived as too 'heavy' to be used as a caption:

They should put more Instagram Stories and just record the moment where they put the piece of art out there and explain how you could interpret this. Because sometimes people just walk through it and sometimes they just don't want to read every kind of description out there. They just want to understand it right away.

This way, clips that are only a few seconds long allow users to have a glimpse of what is happening in the museum, without disaffecting them with descriptions that are too long or elaborate. Therefore, the immediacy that characterizes social media is seen as an advantage instead of a limitation to knowledge-creation, contrary to what argued by studies on the use of social media in the cultural field (Fletcher & Lee; Holdgaard & Klasttrup, 2014).

In regard to the use of hashtags done by the museum, the respondents were asked to comment on three images that were posted using the hashtag 'Slow Art Sunday' (figure 1, 2, 3). The comments that arose were related mainly to these themes:

- a lack of clarity regarding its purpose;
- the possibility to show different artworks that can be appealing to different tastes;
- their educational aim related to visiting the museum in person.

Concerning clarity, for R1 (female, 35) the hashtag did not convey a specific idea and would have needed more explanation to understand it. This need for more clarity in the choice of the hashtag can be connected to what argued by Kidd (2011) about the use of transparent strategies to foster interactions.

Two other respondents pointed out how the hashtag could be used to make people who have different tastes in art engage with various artworks, which might have an interesting story behind. However, R4 (female, 30) underlined that connecting a post to a particular time frame (Sunday, in this case) might not be the best idea on Instagram, as a follower might see it on a different day because of Instagram's non-chronological algorithm. Thus, it can be said that the non-chronological way in which the content is shown is a limitation within the functionality of the app that has to be taken into account.

Lastly, R6 and R7 (females, 25 and 30) were asked about the new use of the hashtag (figure 7). According to them, this new way is perceived as more interactive, because followers are asked directly to comment their impression of the artwork ("What do you see when you look at this artwork by Wim T. Schippers for more than 9 seconds?"). This is in line with the tendency found on social media of sharing personal thoughts and opinions (Kelly, 2006, as cited in Russo, Watkins, Kelly & Chan, 2008), which can be more easily triggered if addressed straight-forwardly. While this might be an effective way to get more interactions, by using longer captions (figure 1, 2, 3) the museum acts more as a curator of the discussion that may arise. In this case, the museum retains its institutional role of educating and curating materials with which it is traditionally associated (Kotler & Kotler, 2000; Ross, 2004; Russo, Watkins, Kelly & Chan, 2008).

Therefore, it can be said that using hashtags as a way to convey a certain concept and interact with the audience needs to be considered carefully. In particular, in case the museum wants to have a more curated and guided discussion, the need for a clear frame within which the audience can have that discussion seems to be important (Kidd, 2011).

4.4.5 Reaching a new audience and 'Slow Art' video series

As mentioned, one of the main goals of Mila's social media strategy for Boijmans is reaching a younger, more ethnically diverse audience. The videos she realized with the creative collective 'Chips', featuring young creatives with different ethnicities and personal styles, had this idea in mind.

It can be said that the respondents were aware of the lack of diversity in terms of age and ethnic background among the usual visitors of museums. R5 (female, 26), for instance, mentioned feeling uncomfortable because they are usually white, and belong to an "elite" of individuals with a high level of cultural capital and socio-economic status. However, when mentioning age, R6 (female, 25) was not bothered by the presence of older people when she visits museums, while on

Instagram, she feels more attracted by a profile that features younger people. It can be said that this is in line with Mila's strategy of triggering interest in the youth by depicting their peers.

When asked their opinion regarding the video series posted on Instagram, and whether it would help to attract a younger and more diverse audience, R2 (female, 27), R6 (female, 25) and R7 (female, 30) praised the concept behind them. Namely, how the issue of lack of diversity was framed was appreciated, as they felt like they could identify with them for their age, or felt compelled to imitate them and thus visit the museum.

On the other hand, 2 respondents, while they agreed with the need to attract a younger audience to museums, questioned the effectiveness of the videos in this sense. R1 (female, 35) did not understand the reason for choosing those specific people to be in the videos, calling them "random people", and suggested organizing events to bring young people together. In the same way, R5 (female, 26) was also confused about who the people in the videos were and why they were chosen. When she first saw them, in fact, she thought that they might have been part of the staff of the museum, or curators of the exhibition, and did not focus especially on their age or ethnicity. This confusion on the identity of the protagonists can be considered counterproductive for the purpose of the videos, as it may distract the audience from the message they want to convey. In addition, the videos featured on the profile were judged as too many and too long for R5 to have the patience to watch them. Because of this, she would have placed them in a different context:

I don't know if they are active on YouTube but I would say these are like more sort of small documentaries for some background information, so I think they should put them on, maybe, on YouTube or Twitter, because it is more like about the content of the video than just about the image, so then maybe put like a short version of it in their story to show like: "hey click here if you want to see the whole story," something like that.

Thus, it can be said that, in the case of this sample, the message that the videos wanted to convey reached the audience only partially. In particular, the issue of clarity arose again (Kidd, 2011), along with adapting the content to the medium in a way that respects the norms of the channel itself (Richardson, 2009; Kidd, 2011). Most likely, having explained why those people were chosen over others might have made the concept behind the videos clearer. In fact, none of the respondents acknowledged the topics that were discussed in the videos but focused more on the visual aspect. Perhaps, if the person talking was identified more clearly, the audience would have been more willing to listen. This could be something to take into consideration for future projects.

In conclusion, it can be said that, overall, the respondents saw the museum as having a recognizable identity that lied in its interesting building and the contrast between more traditional art and "crazy", sometimes controversial contemporary art. This distinctiveness was also perceived

on the Instagram profile, thanks to its colorfulness and the attention paid to its collection. In this sense, Mila's curation of the profile in its aesthetic and visual connotation aligned with the expectations of the respondents. For this reason, Mila's goal to create a nice, recognizable image of Boijmans Van Beuningen Museum on Instagram can be considered achieved. This could mean that the museum could start focusing more on engaging the audience, especially through user-generated content. As proved by the respondents' positive reactions to interactions surrounding their own content, this can be effective in reaching those high level of engagement argued by studies on co-creation projects (Russo, Watkins, Kelly & Chan, 2008; Evans, 2010; Bergström and Bäckman, 2013; Holdgaard & Klasttrup, 2014; Kidd, 2011).

More problematic is the frame alignment when it comes to the content posted by the museum. In this case, balance seems to be the most effective strategy, in particular when it comes to the captions and the people featured in the pictures. Having captions with too much text, or too many people whose identity is not explained in the posts may interfere with the frame alignment process. In this sense, two seems to be the most effective solution: being transparent about the message that a project or post wants to convey, and adapting the content according to the "norms and forms of etiquette" (Kidd, 2011, p.68) existing on the platform. These two points are particularly important when the content posted or the projects initiated by the museum have a social goal, such as attracting a more diverse audience.

4.5 The audience of Dordrechts Museum

4.5.1 The interviewees and Dordrechts Museum offline

Five of the 7 respondents started following the museum after having visited it. Of the other two, R9 (male, 33) had never visited the museum but says that after having followed it on Instagram, he would have liked to do so. Through Instagram, in fact, he was able to get access to what was happening inside the museum. On the other hand, R14 (female, 29) had visited the museum but started following it beforehand. She was, in fact, looking for local museums to visit. Of those who visited the museum, only R8 (female, 63) and R12 (male, 49) reported posting pictures of their visit on Instagram. R10 (female, 37) and R14 (female, 29) said that they posted only Instagram Stories. In particular, R14 opted to use Stories instead of regular posts because she usually does not upload art-related content on her profile, and, thus, it would not have fitted with her profile overall.

The respondents who did not post a picture from their visit did not provide a sound explanation behind their decision, thus, it is difficult to establish a specific reason. As mentioned, the attention they put into the general look of their profile may have been one factor that influenced their decision, in case they did not consider the museum or its atmosphere as 'Instagram friendly'. This may be connected to the perception of the museum they had during their visit.

R8 (female, 63), in fact, stated that, when she visited the museum, she had the impression of it being isolated and targeted towards an elite:

I liked the museum because how it looked inside was also nice, it was taken care of but yes, it is an elitist museum, yes. Maybe also because it is located in an ancient building, if I remember well, and it's also hidden away in some part of the city.

She also added that she had the impression that the museum was “inward”, without an outreach in the community. This underlines the vision of the museum in the more traditional sense, as an exclusive institution accessible to an elite possessing the right level of cultural capital to understand its intellectual message, rather than the more inclusive atmosphere theorized by the new museology (Ross, 2004). This is in contrast with the perception of the respondents of Boijmans Van Beuningen Museum, who saw the museum as having a welcoming and accessible atmosphere. However, the visitors had an overall good opinion of the museum, praising the nice context in which it is placed (a historical building), and the quality of the collection. Namely, the variety of the collection was especially appreciated. While the museum focuses more on classical art, in fact, it has a room dedicated to exhibitions of contemporary artists.

4.5.2 The interviewees and Dordrechts Museum’s Instagram profile

It can be said that the respondents had particular reasons to follow the museum on Instagram. These main reasons are the following:

- being updated about the projects happening in the museum: as an artist, R10 (female, 37) wanted to be kept up to date with projects that might have interested her.
- the desire to discover other, more local museums in the Netherlands;
- personal attachment to the museum or the city of Dordrecht;
- living close to the museum;
- having enjoyed the visit and wanting to remain in contact with the museum;
- the pictures of the paintings posted by the museum.

As it can be noted, only one respondent, R13 (female, 30) mentioned the actual content of the profile as a motive behind the decision to follow the museum. For this reason, it can be argued that the content might be lacking in some characteristics that Instagram users may find appealing. Studies, in fact, underline how the content posted should be attentively chosen and conformed to the social medium (Bergström & Bäckman, 2013; Kidd, 2011). In particular, not only the originality and creativity of the content have the power to attract users, but also the frequency of posting and the overall quality of the profile should be considered (Fletcher & Lee, 2012; Casaló, Flavián & Ibáñez-Sánchez, 2017).

4.5.3 Interacting with Dordrechts Museum on Instagram

In terms of interactions with the museum, 2 of the respondents liked posts by the museum, 4 were followers but did not interact with the page, and only 1 had commented on one of the posts by the museum. The respondent in question (R8, female, 63) decided to leave a comment because the painting featured in the post was her favorite from the Jongkind exhibition. In line with the attention that Dordrechts Museum pays to interactions, her comment received a reaction from the museum, which she appreciated. R10 (female, 37) did not comment on the profile, but during the interview, she recalled that the museum had reposted one of her pictures. As an artist, she was, in fact, taking part in an event sponsored by the museum, so she tagged the museum in a post that depicted some of her works. The decision of the museum to repost her picture caught her by surprise:

Actually, I was a little bit shocked that they did that because it's a museum and they liked it. I was shocked in a positive way. I was like, wow they took my picture. That was nice, I didn't expect them to do that. I just tagged them so other people know that they are organizing it and that you can get your information over there.

Her positive reaction can be considered a proof of the power that user-generated content, and specifically reposting, can have in creating a bond with the audience (Bergström & Bäckman, 2013). For this reason, this strategy of Dordrechts Museum can be considered aligned with the audience's expectations and could be carried on more consistently in the future. Another respondent (R12, male, 49), who is a blogger and has a consistent following on Instagram, feels more connected to the museum because he is followed by it, and, in particular, the museum interacts with his content:

Even more, they don't just follow me, they like my pictures, so they are active with me, and it's one of the core strategies of the museum. And because of that, I feel a bit like an ambassador of the museum, I feel really related to them.

This is in line with the findings regarding Boijmans Van Beuningen Museum: when both the museums interact with their followers' posts, in fact, the followers feel more captivated and connected to the museum. Moreover, considering what argued by Lazaridou, Vrana and Paschaloudis (2017), this shows how following other users may be a good strategy to develop an interaction and a connection with users. However, the efficacy of this strategy seems to be dependent on the fact that this following is active, and that once the museum starts following another user, it should also engage with his content. This way, a deeper relationship can occur.

Moreover, it was highlighted how the action of following other users should be used by the museum more carefully if it wants to align with the way users understand 'following' on Instagram. Overall, receiving an interaction like a comment was seen by the audience as satisfactory enough, which made the 'following' pointless. The museum was, in fact, seen as an organization that should be followed by many people, instead of the other way around. In this sense, the role of the museum on Instagram was still considered as institutional, rather than similar to a friend. This is in contrast with what argued by Boijmans Van Beuningen's respondents, who valued having a more familiar relationship with the museum.

4.5.4 The use of Instagram by the museum

4.5.4.1 The content posted

As mentioned, the majority of the respondents did not have a high level of interaction with the museum's content on Instagram. Similarly to the reactions received by Boijmans' audience, the main discussion about the content of the profile revolved around the visuals and the use of text. In particular, 6 of the 7 respondents made negative comments concerning the visual aspect of the profile, such as the low quality of some of the pictures and videos posted, or the lack of professionalism compared to profiles of other museums. This is in line with the results arisen from the interview with Heleen, in which the visuals were not named as a relevant aspect to focus on. The one respondent (R9, male, 33) who did not pay special attention to this aspect, stated that he was more focused on other elements of the posts, i.e. the caption. In fact, the text allows him to understand the picture better. However, this text should not be a mere description but should be educational and help followers give an interpretation of the painting. In this sense, it can be said that the museum would retain its educational purposes as an institution (Kotler & Kotler, 2000).

Yet, as pointed out by Casaló, Flavián and Ibáñez-Sánchez (2017), and Bradley (2014), hedonism and entertainment are important motives behind the use of Instagram. In this light, in fact, 3 respondents highlighted how the captions of some of the posts were too long. As it was the case for the audience of Boijmans Van Beuningen Museum, they would thus decide not to read them at all and just move on to another post in their feed. Without reading the caption, some of the posts were judged as not clear, as the respondents could not understand who the people featured were and what the posts were generally about. In turn, this led the respondents to describe the profile of the museum as follows: "messy" (R10, female, 37), "not cohesive", "random" (R11, female, 55), "general" (R13, female, 30), "all over the place" (R14, female, 29) and "a bit about everything" (R8, female, 63). Thus, it can be said that the respondents perceived a lack of strategy in the way in which the profile is managed, especially regarding the focus that the profile wants to have. As underlined by one respondent (R12, male, 49):

Instagram is powerful because it's working with images and you have to think hard about your message, it must be a catchy message because you have limited time, limited words, because otherwise, people will lose interest, will lose their concentration.

In this sense, 5 of the respondents preferred seeing pictures of paintings on their feed, rather than people, as they fit better with the visual platform that is Instagram and can give a more immediate impression to the users. This is in line with the quickness and catchiness that characterizes communication on social media (Holdgaard & Klastrup, 2014). This differs from the finding regarding Boijmans Van Beuningen Museum, whose audience had fairly opposite opinions on this matter.

4.5.4.2 Behind the scenes pictures and “Jongkind inspired”

An exception to the argument above seems to be when the people featured are placed within the context of behind the scenes pictures of the museum, in particular, when it comes to restoration works done to the art (figure 6). In fact, 5 of the respondents said to appreciate this kind of content because, as Heleen pointed out, it allows them to get access to information that is normally not available at the museum. Moreover, R12 (male, 49), stated that having this kind of pictures gives the profile a more dynamic and “alive” feeling, than just posting pictures of paintings. Through behind the scenes photos, thus, a stronger bond can be created (Bergström & Bäckman, 2013), and the image of the museum can be lightened up (Fletcher & Lee, 2012). Furthermore, these behind the scenes pictures could become a video series to be posted in the Instagram Stories of the museum, which would make this kind of content even more interesting and engaging, as suggested by R13 (female, 30). It can be said, in fact, that Stories are a popular tool not just to post content, but also to relate to what posted by others. The importance of Stories as a tool was also retrieved in the interviews with the audience of Boijmans Van Beuningen Museum, making it a relevant object for different marketing strategies.

During the interview with Dordrechts Museum, Heleen expressed her surprise by the number of likes received by a photo of the city of Dordrecht that resembles a scenery painted by Jongkind (figure 8). For this reason, the respondents were asked to comment on this picture, to understand why it was so popular among the audience. The reasons that came out are the following:

- people understood the connection with Jongkind;
- it is a photograph, but it attracted people because it is so well-done that it actually looks like a painting;
- it allows people to make a connection between past and present;
- easier to understand than a painting;

- the people who liked the post are attached to Dordrecht, and thus found a connection with the photo.

In particular, it is interesting to note that for 2 respondents the connection was not clear at first, and felt like they needed more explanation to fully understand the picture. Another important point is that 2 respondents thought the audience might find the picture appealing because it depicts an image from the city in which the museum is located. This connection between the museum and its surrounding context is in line with the influence that cultural institutions or iconic buildings have on city branding (Riza, Doratli & Fasli, 2012). This was also highlighted by the fact that respondents mentioned following Dordrecht Museum because of their attachment to the city. Moreover, it was suggested that the museum could post more pictures of the surrounding of the museum, of their garden, for example, especially if they resemble the art conserved in the museum. In order to do this, Stories can also be used to show a different perspective of the museum. This way, the museum can make the shift theorized by the new museology (Ross, 2004): from an isolated, exclusive institution to an organization looking out to its community, focused on creating a participatory cultural experience for a diverse audience (Kotler & Kotler, 2000; Ross, 2004; Falk, 2006; Russo, Watkins, Kelly & Chan, 2008).

4.5.5 Reaching a new audience and Influencers

As mentioned by Heleen, the target audience of the visitors of the museum is 55 and older. This tendency was also highlighted by the respondents. Two, in particular, had a negative perception on this issue. One said: “when I visited the museum for the first time, I did notice how many, terrible! How many people with grey hair there were” (R8, female, 63). Moreover, she described museums in general as “old-fashioned”. Another respondent (R12, male, 49) also noticed the lack of young people in the museum, and connected this to the wider issue that museums, in general, are facing:

I see it often, that there is a gap between the museums and the younger generations. Museums are very old school: you look at a picture and you read the text on the side next to it, and then you go to the next picture, that is the way you have to look at a painting I know, but I miss young people in museums.

What is interesting to note is that those saying this are not the youngest among the respondents, but, on the contrary, they belong to the target audience of Dordrechts Museum. It is also relevant to connect this finding with a statement made by Mila of Boijmans Van Beuningen Museum: seeing younger people visiting a museum or present on its social media channels is met favorably by older people and increases their enjoyment of the museum overall. On the other hand, the younger generations feel more compelled to go to a museum or to interact with it on social media when

they can see that is already popular among their peers, and can thus identify themselves with the target audience. This argument is also confirmed by the impressions regarding the older target audience of the museum given by the youngest of the respondents. R13 (female, 30), in fact, felt “out of place” seeing pictures of older people, children or families on the Instagram profile, and stated that this might hinder younger people from visiting the museum. Another young respondent (R14, female, 29) stated that she noticed that the profile was more directed to older people because of the lack of quality of the pictures. Moreover, she suggested posting more of the contemporary art present in the museum to attract the younger generations, who are more interested in this kind of art than the classical one (figure 4, 5). This was also suggested by R11 (female, 55). Even more, she stated that targeting an older audience on Instagram should not be done at all, given that the platform is used mostly by youngsters. As she belongs to the current audience of the museum, it can be said that posting more pictures of modern artworks or targeting the profile to younger people might not alienate the older segments of the audience, while appealing to a new one.

Another suggestion given by R9 (male, 33) to attract a new audience is to give the museum a more international profile, by, for instance, using English instead of Dutch on Instagram. This way, they could attract non-Dutch speaking people as well, who can also spread the word among their international friends. Given the high number of international students in the Netherlands, this can also be considered a good way to attract a younger audience. Besides, as many Dutch people are fluent in English and as the followers of the museum are generally well educated, this should not constitute a problem with the current audience.

During the interview, Heleen mentioned her idea to invite Influencers to the museum to attract younger people. The 2 youngest respondents (R13, R14, females, 30 and 29), in particular, had relevant opinions on this project. R13 considered it a good idea because “people like to be influenced”. In this sense, she also underlined how being influenced by word-of-mouth on social media, also referred to as word-of-mouth (Hausmann, 2012), could be a good strategy to widen an organization’s audience. R14 highlighted how such an initiative would work only if the Influencers are matched with the audience the museum would like to engage. For instance, she thought that using young Influencers while continuing targeting older people would not work because of the generational gap. On the other hand, she suggested taking advantage of the presence of contemporary art in the museum by connecting it to Influencers and, finally, reach younger people.

It can be argued that the variety of opinions and suggestions on Dordrechts Museum audience highlights that this matter is considered relevant by the respondents, and should thus be a priority for the social media strategy of the museum.

In conclusion, it can be said that the audience of Dordrechts Museum sees Instagram as a rich and creative platform in which it is possible to reach a wide audience and even attract a new

one. In this sense, it is not perceived as lacking compared to Facebook when it comes to storytelling like Heleen has stated. However, it should be used in a different way, as they indeed have different features. Facebook, for instance, has the possibility to create events, give information on them and promote it among the followers (R9, male, 33). For pure marketing purposes, hence, it may be considered more effective. As Kidd (2011) pointed out, though, using social media only for these purposes can be considered reductive and not adequate.

In terms of frame alignment with the strategy created by Heleen, it can be said that the results are more fragmented compared to Boijmans Van Beuningen Museum. Overall, the Instagram strategy of Dordrechts Museum meets the expectations of the audience when it comes to interactions around user-generated content. As previously argued, however, more can be done on this matter, in particular by providing curatorial guidelines on how to approach and contribute to these projects (Kidd, 2011). On the other hand, the posts, with the exception of behind the scenes pictures, were perceived as lacking in regard to visual and content elements, which, in turn, seemed to hinder the audience's levels of enjoyment and satisfaction (Casaló, Flavián & Ibáñez-Sánchez, 2017). For this reason, frame alignment cannot occur. In this sense, within the goal of making the museum and its collection more well-known, identifying a specific target audience might allow the museum to improve its content more effectively. Therefore, given the meaningful way in which the respondents use Instagram, it seems worthy to set up an Instagram strategy to leverage on a platform that offers so many starting points for interaction.

5. Conclusion

Analyzing the relationship happening on Instagram between the two main subjects of this thesis, museums and their audience, with a sequential and embedded design has allowed answering to the two research questions that are the foundations of this thesis.

5.1. How do art museums use social media?

Regarding the first research question, i.e. *how do art museums use social media?*, the use of frames has allowed contextualizing social media strategies of museums and better identifying their pitfalls. In particular, it can be said that museums use social networking applications mainly within two of the frames examined by Kidd (2011): the marketing and inclusivity frames. The marketing frame is employed to promote the museum and its projects online. Namely, the strategy may be focused on reaching specific goals, such as creating a brand image that may be appealing to a new segment of the public (Kotler & Kotler, 2000), or, more simply, to promote the collection and triggering the interest of a wider audience (Padilla-Mélendez & del Águila-Obra, 2013). In this sense, a platform like Instagram provides a variety of contents and tools, like pictures, videos, Stories, and hashtags, which allow creatively presenting the material posted. Moreover, other actions such as likes, tags, and comments give a more direct channel of communication with the audience (Bergström & Bäckman, 2013; Casaló, Flavián & Ibáñez-Sánchez, 2017). However, the analysis of Boijmans Van Beuningen Museum and Dordrechts Museum highlighted that limitations can be found in the originality and quality of the content posted by art institutions, two important aspects when it comes to engaging users on social media (Fletcher & Lee; 2012; Casaló, Flavián & Ibáñez-Sánchez, 2017). Specifically, the problem of adapting the content to the characteristics of the social media platform (Kidd, 2011, Richardson, 2009; Holdgaard & Klasttrup, 2014) arose several times, for example regarding the use of videos or captions. In case they are not aligned with the general criteria existing on the social network, in fact, a loss of interest by the followers might be provoked.

As argued by Kidd (2011), another problem in the marketing strategy might concern the lack of attention to the audience's perspective, i.e. how museums operate within the inclusivity frame. In fact, museums mainly include their audience in their activities through answering back to comments and liking pictures of users who tagged them in their own pictures or used related hashtags. This way of involving the audience, however, cannot be considered as a leading one in the social media strategy of museums. In particular, if the main goal is repositioning the museum as a leisure organization with a fresh image (Kotler & Kotler, 2000), engaging the audience becomes secondary. This was the case for Boijmans Van Beuningen Museum, which prioritized the image it conveyed on Instagram over interactions with the followers. This aspect becomes more important when a museum uses social media to encourage users to visit the museum, independently of their age or whether they belong to the chosen target. However, not having a

specific target on social media may hinder their efficacy as a promotional tool, as it translates into a poor use of SNS that might alienate the audience (Richardson, 2009; Kidd, 2011). As it occurred with Dordrechts Museum on Instagram, in fact, it may result in a selection of content to post that the audience judges as confusing and that does not align with its expectations. In this context, the main problems concern issues of transparency, which may result in frame dis-alignment (Kidd, 2011). Often times, in fact, the communication between museums and followers is too implicit. Thus, audience members have troubles understanding the use of a hashtag, as in #slowartsunday, or the reason for posting a particular picture, as in the case of the 'Jongkind inspired' photo.

These issues may be critical also in the development of the third frame theorized by Kid (2011), the collaborative one. While some collaborative efforts were retrieved, such as reposting pictures of users, they were nor regular projects, nor part of a broader strategy to engage the audience. In this sense, the positive reaction of the audience and the potential of user-generated content underlined by scholars (Russo, Watkins, Kelly & Chan, 2008; Simon, 2010; Bergström & Bäckman, 2013; Holdgaard & Klasttrup, 2014; Kidd, 2011) make of co-creation an effective strategy that should be taken into further account by museums. Overall, the lack of defined modalities through which apply these projects in the cultural field is in line with the limitation highlighted by Holdgaard and Klasttrup (2014) and Kidd (2011). Co-creation, in fact, implies sharing the authority on the projects between both the actors involved (Simon, 2010). Given the weak use of collaborative initiatives by museums, however, the authoritative voice that pertains to museums in the society is still seen as problematic by the institutions themselves (Kotler & Kotler, 2000; Russo, Watkins, Kelly & Chan, 2008). It can be argued, in fact, that they still do not have a clear idea of how much freedom to leave to their audience. Thus, if frame alignment wants to be achieved, a negotiation between what the audience expects, and how much the museum is willing and capable of giving to embrace and sustain participation should take place (Russo & Peacock, 2009).

5.2 How does the audience of art museums engage with the content created by them on Instagram?

When connecting the findings of engaging the audience through Instagram with the study by Taheri, Jafari and O'Gorman (2014) on museums visitors' levels of engagement, it can be argued that prior knowledge, recreational motivation, and cultural capital still persist on social media. This correspondence allows answering to the second research question: *how does the audience of art museums engage with the content created by them on Instagram?*

Concerning prior knowledge, it can be said that followers of museums on Instagram are familiar with museums and their collections offline, which allows engaging meaningfully and to participate in the 'making of meaning' (Russo, Watkins, Kelly & Chan, 2008) on social media. This was mostly due to them having visited the museum or having enough knowledge of art to

understand the content posted and its message. Recreational motivation can be found in the desire of the audience to be entertained with content that is visually curated, interesting and creative (Fletcher & Lee; 2012; Casaló, Flavián & Ibáñez-Sánchez, 2017). This is also in line with their personal use of Instagram in terms of personal gratification and entertainment (Ting, Wong, de Run & Lau, 2015). However, followers of art museums on Instagram – much like visitors (Falk, 2006) – indeed want to be educated and informed on a particular painting or movement. This means that, even on social media, they still value museums in their more traditional role of institutions with aims of educating and preserving relevant artifacts (Russo, Watkins, Kelly & Chan, 2008). In this sense, the balance between providing an informative and enriching experience while satisfying users' desire for enjoyment needs to be considered carefully (Kotler & Kotler, 2000). In this context, the argument of adjusting to the norms in force on the medium is again relevant (Kidd, 2011, Richardson, 2009; Holdgaard & Klastrup, 2014). This is the case, for instance, with the captions of posts. According to the audience, in fact, these should be explanatory and interesting as a museum's visit can be, while being short and catchy as the text usually found on Instagram (Fletcher & Lee, 2012; Holdgaard & Klastrup, 2014). Therefore, focusing more on one aspect than on the other may disaffect the audience and prevent frame alignment.

Finally, cultural capital seems to play the most relevant role in the ways in which individuals interact with museums on Instagram. In connection to prior knowledge, in fact, followers of arts institutions on Instagram showed a good knowledge of the arts and culture that allows them to meaningfully interact on the platform. It can be argued that this behavior is caused by a high level of cultural capital, given by a university-level education and a family environment that fostered their interest in the cultural field (Bourdieu, 1966, 1986, 2001; Bourdieu & Passeron, 1990). In particular, in the case of the sample of this research, it is true that museums still reach a limited segment of the society on SNS (Kidd, 2011), those with an omnivorous cultural consumption (Peterson, 1992, 2005; Peterson & Simkus, 1992; Peterson & Kern, 1996). Ultimately, having an omnivorous cultural taste allows audience members to feel at ease when engaging with art both offline and online.

Included within the theory of cultural capital, digital proficiency (Tondeur, Sinnaeve, van Houtte & van Braak, 2011) is also important when discussing engagement on online media. Again, followers of museums on Instagram represent a niche population, those who are at the top of the digital divide. This was shown in their ability to use Instagram and their knowledge of the norms existing on Web 2.0, which makes the argument of operating according to those norms so important for museums. Even more, they engaged with the museum on Instagram by liking and commenting, which means that they belong to that 1% of users who contribute with an active participation (Nielsen, 2006; Russo & Peacock, 2009). We can thus talk about a participation divide that affects content creation and sharing, especially when it comes to skills (Hargittai & Walejko, 2008). This element should be considered by museums if they decide to engage in co-creation processes, as they might end up reaching an audience that is, once again, limited.

Given its high levels of cultural capital and proficient use of ICT, it does not come as a surprise that the audience of museums uses Instagram in meaningful and nuanced ways (Suess, 2014; Budge, 2017). In fact, they act as 'virtual curators' (Weilenmann, Hillman & Jungselius, 2013) of their Instagram profile, caring about the quality of a picture while trying to post compelling and inspiring content. For this reason, they expect a museum to put the same effort into its Instagram profile. When museums start paying further attention to the aesthetic component of their posts, to the use of captivating text, to a competent use of hashtags and Stories, and to the general quality of the content, frame alignment is more likely to happen. Besides, Instagram is used by the audience to interact with museums in different ways: during their visit, mostly thanks to the liveness of Instagram, and on the platform itself, by giving their own viewpoint on the museum and its collection through their posts and comments (Budge & Burness, 2017). For this reason, it can be said that a loosening of museums' authority is already occurring on social media. Given their capable and creative ways of engaging with content posted by museums, the audience seems ready to embrace the collaborative process that is considered so effective in generating a strong and lasting participation. Even more, they seem ready for that negotiation of their expectations, in relation to what institutions have to offer, that is still seen as problematic by museums (Russo & Peacock, 2009). Therefore, in order for frame alignment to occur, museums should provide audience members with tools and guidelines (Evans, 2010) to efficiently collaborate in accordance with their own, skilled, use of social media.

5.3 Limitations and future research

Due to the different actors involved in this research and the various elements that influence their communication, some limitations can be traced within this thesis. As said, the audience sample has a high level of cultural capital and is at the top of the digital divide, which makes them part of an elite among the users of Instagram. These factors influence not only the way they use Instagram but also the perception they have of it in terms of interactions and engagement. Concerning the offline environment, they affect how the audience experiences a museum's visit. Altogether, these elements have an impact on people's expectations when it comes to the social media use by museums, which play an important role to assess frame alignment. For this reason, it would be interesting to widen the population and use a sampling method that would make participants more diverse, based on their profession, age, and education level. In this sense, using a survey as the research method seems appropriate. Another aspect that would make this research more diversified would be increasing the number of museums analyzed. This way, the outcomes of this thesis would be valuable to a wider group of institutions. However, the two museums analyzed are quite different from each other: Boijmans Van Beuningen Museum is a big, renowned institution with a diverse collection that can count on a strong audience-base, and is followed by a significant number of young people on social media. On the other hand, Dordrechts Museum is a

smaller, less known institution, albeit with its own reputation related to its collection of classical art. Given its size, its outreach towards the community is limited, and it is, for the most part, visited or followed by the older generations. Because of these differences, it can be said that this research still provides a solid basis for future research.

Future research could focus on the implications of Instagram Stories for marketing and engagement purposes. Throughout the results section, in fact, they have proved to be very popular among the respondents, but they are still not considered by academia. Furthermore, it is possible to detect an inclination to compare Facebook and Instagram as platforms on which to foster engagement among followers. For this reason, it would be interesting to analyze their differences and similarities through a comparative research. Finally, it has been stressed that Instagram can be considered a unique social media for its focus on images. In line with this argument, future research could investigate Instagram profiles of museums by using visual analysis. Given the power of images when it comes to what individuals experience, learn, and communicate, they may be an effective tool to trigger conversations (Pink, 2013). In this sense, visual research methods may be useful in providing evidence that other methods, like interviews, cannot (Rose, 2014). For these reasons, analyzing Instagram profiles in their visual aspects may generate additional elements to look into frame alignment between organizations and their audiences.

In conclusion, this thesis aimed to give an overview of the communication between art museums and their audience by problematizing the concept of engagement on social media. Thanks to the use of a sequential and embedded multi-methods research design in the form of semi-structured interviews, it was possible to gain insight into the marketing strategies that are actually put into practice by the museums analyzed. These findings then served as a solid basis on which to understand the expectations of their audience and to plan actions to further develop their participation. In addition, the use of the cultural capital and digital divide theories allowed to shed light on the obstacles that may be encountered in the engagement process with difficult brands, as well as on the profile of museums' followers in terms of cultural consumption and use of Web 2.0. The focus on Instagram as a platform for interactions brought academic attention to an under-researched social network that carries many potentialities in terms of brand-bonding, inclusion, and collaboration.

Word count: 32.852

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Appendix A

Interview guide for Boijmans Van Beuningen Museum and Dordrechts Museum

1. General questions on the interviewee's job and the role of social media for museums.

- Could you tell me what does your job at (name of museum) consist of?
- What is the position of social media within the marketing strategies of the museum, also compared to other means of promotion? What is their relevance?
- What do you hope to achieve thanks to them?
- Which are the possible advantages and disadvantages of using social media for a museum or a cultural institution?

2. Use of social media.

- Which social media do you use the most? Why?
- What kind of content do you usually post on your social media? How was this decision made?
- Do you have a specific target audience? Do you think you are managing to reach it?
- Which type of people, in terms of education, age, socioeconomic status do you think is most inclined to follow you on social media, and also interact with your page (liking, commenting...)?
- Do you try to interact with your followers? In what way?
- Do you think social media can increase visitors' numbers? How? Do you have specific strategies to achieve this goal?

3. Instagram

- What do you think of Instagram compared to Facebook, Twitter...?
- Compared to other social media, do you perceive it as more effective to interact with your audience? How? Why?
- For what reasons did you decide to open an Instagram account?
- What kind of content do you usually post?
- Which features of Instagram do you use the most?
- Is your account always up to date?
- Do you have specific strategies to make people follow your profile, put likes and comments on Instagram?
- Do you ever interact with the pictures that visitors might post on Instagram after their visit to the museum? If yes, in what way?
- Are there any limits in the use of Instagram by art museums?
- Do you think you could improve your use of Instagram in some ways?

Interview guide for the audience of Boijmans Van Beuningen Museum

To start, I wanted to ask you to introduce yourself, so your name, age, nationality and what you do.

1. General use of Instagram:

- How long have you been using Instagram?
- Why did you decide to open an account?
- What's the thing you like the most about Instagram?
- What kind of content do you usually post?
- Do you use it regularly?
- What kind of profiles do you follow? Why?
- Do you follow other museums or cultural institutions on Instagram? How do you decide which ones to follow?

2. Relationship with the museum offline

- Have you visited the museum in person?
- If yes, did you start following it on Instagram after your visit, or were you already following it before that?
- If you were following it before your visit, do you think following it influenced your decision to go in person?
- If no, are you planning to visit it in the future?
- Have you been following the museum for a long time?
- Did something in particular about the profile attract you? What? In what way?
- Did you post a picture of your visit on Instagram afterwards? How did you decide which picture to post? Did you use any filters? Did you tag the museum so they can see your post?

3. Relationship with the museum online

- Do you think Boijmans' profile distinguishes itself from profiles of other museums on Instagram? How?
- What made you comment/like that post on the Instagram profile? What did you find interesting about it?
- Has the museum responded to your comment? Is it something that you cared about?
- Do you often comment posts of museums on Instagram? What brings you to do it?
- Boijmans has created its own hashtag, '#slowartsunday', used every Sunday to present an artwork with some explanation, to invite visitors to look at it longer than usual. Let's have a look at some of these posts. In particular, the ones of the 25/03, 18/02 and 21/01. What are your impressions? Why do you think these artworks were chosen?
- How important is it for you the visual and aesthetic of the profile in general?

- In terms of variety, the people featured in the pictures are more diverse (young, different ethnicities) than the usual visitors of a museum (older and white). Do you notice this? Is it something valuable for you?
- Were you ever surprised about something that was posted on the profile? Something that you perceived as new or different?
- Looking at the profile, are there some pictures you think are not in line with the idea you have of an art museum? Which ones? What is it that you don't like?
- How would you describe the museum? Do you think it has a specific image? How would you describe it?
- Do you think this image is present in their Instagram profile?
- Does this image appeal to you? Why?

4. General questions and approach to culture

- What is your education level?
- When and how did you start being interested in art?
- Do you often visit museums? Which kind?
- Do you attend other cultural events?
- What about your parents (job, education)? Did you also attend cultural events/museums with them?

Interview guide for the audience of Dordrechts Museum

To start, I wanted to ask you to introduce yourself, so your name, age, nationality and what you do.

1. General use of Instagram:

- How long have you been using Instagram?
- Why did you decide to open an account?
- What's the thing you like the most about Instagram?
- What kind of content do you usually post?
- Do you use it regularly?
- What kind of profiles do you follow? Why?
- Do you follow other museums or cultural institutions on Instagram? How do you decide which ones to follow?

2. Relationship with the museum offline

- Have you visited the museum in person?
- If yes, did you start following it on Instagram after your visit, or were you already following it before that?
- If you were following it before your visit, do you think following it influenced your decision to go in person?
- If no, are you planning to visit it in the future?

- Have you been following the museum for a long time?
- Did something in particular about the profile attract you? What? In what way?
- Did you post a picture of your visit on Instagram afterwards? How did you decide which picture to post? Did you use any filters? Did you tag the museum so they can see your post?

3. Relationship with the museum on Instagram

- Do you think Dordrechts Museum profile distinguishes itself from profiles of other museums on Instagram? How?
- What made you comment/like that post on the Instagram profile? What did you find interesting about it?
- Has the museum responded to your comment? Is it something that you cared about?
- Do you often comment posts of museums on Instagram? What brings you to do it?
- Let's look at a few posts on the profile of the museum (25/03, 20/02, 12/10). How would you describe them?
- Sometimes, behind the scenes pictures are also posted. Is it something that you are interested in? Why?
- Are there other kinds of content that you would like to see?
- The target of the museum is people who are 55 years old or more. Do you perceive this by looking at the profile? In what way?
- Do you think they should try to expand their target to reach a wider audience? How?
- One of the most liked pictures on the museum's account is this photograph taken in Dordrecht that resembles a painting made by Jongkind. Do you like it? Why do you think it was so popular?
- How would you describe the visual of the profile? Do you perceive a strategy behind it? If no, do you think this should be changed?
- For the museum, Facebook is still considered more important and effective than Instagram to tell a story of how an exhibition comes to life. Do you agree with this? If no, how could they do the same on Instagram?
- Compared to other museums, Dordrechts does not have a lot of followers on Instagram (less than 2000). Do you have any idea on how they could gain more followers?
- On the other hand, compared to other museums or institutions, they follow quite a lot of people, between 'normal' users and other museums (more than 2000). Do you consider this a positive thing?

4. General questions and approach to culture

- What is your education level?
- When and how did you start being interested in art?
- Do you often visit museums? Which kind?

- Do you attend other cultural events?
- What about your parents (job, education)? Did you also attend cultural events/museums with them?

Appendix B

Boijmans Van Beuningen Museum's Instagram posts



Figure 1. Instagram post by Boijmans Van Beuningen Museum, 25 March 2018. Retrieved from: <https://www.instagram.com/p/BgwZ7XlhNNW/>



Figure 2. Instagram post by Boijmans Van Beuningen Museum, 18 February 2018. Retrieved from: <https://www.instagram.com/p/BfWeDD1hl-Z/>



boijmans • Following

boijmans #SlowWatchSunday
The Japanese American artist Shinkichi Tajiri fought to liberate Europe as a soldier in the Second World War. In 1948 he moved from Chicago to Paris, where he came into contact with the Cobra artists. He settled in the Netherlands in the mid-1950s. His early metal sculptures exhibit amorphous, aggressive forms. In the 1960s he took inspiration from the streamlined design of cars and aeroplanes, but the works of this period also have an aggressive edge. - Shinkichi Tajiri, 'Number 8', 1968.



175 likes

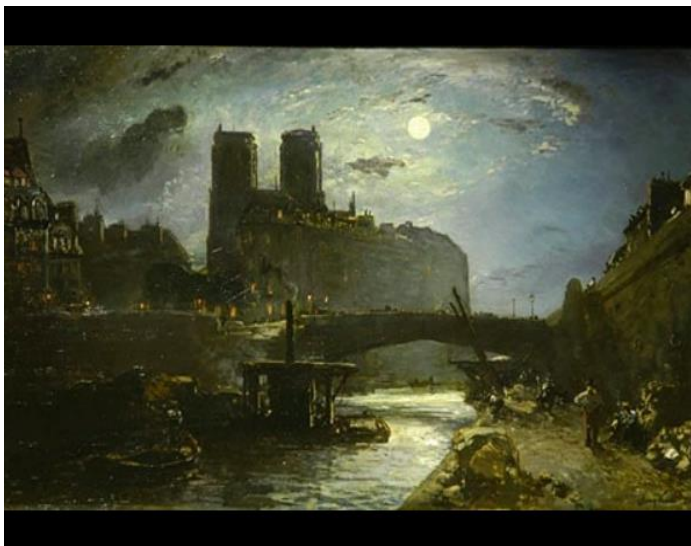
JANUARY 21

Add a comment...



Figure 3. Instagram post by Boijmans Van Beuningen Museum, 21 January 2018. Retrieved from: <https://www.instagram.com/p/BeNY45xBFqw/>

Dordrechts Museum's Instagram posts



dordrechtmuseum • Following
Dordrechts Museum

dordrechtmuseum 'Die ware liefde voor het moderne Parijs, die heb ik aangetroffen bij Jongkind en ik kan niet zeggen met hoeveel plezier. Hij heeft begrepen dat Parijs schilderachtig is tot in de afbraakbuurten.' Emile Zola, La Cloche, 23 januari 1872

Johan Barthold Jongkind - 1864 - Notre-Dame de Paris, Musées des Beaux-Arts, Reims



80 likes

MARCH 25

Add a comment...



Figure 4. Instagram post by Dordrechts Museum, 25 March 2018. Retrieved from: https://www.instagram.com/p/BgvTwzmA_AP/



Figure 5. Instagram post by Dordrechts Museum, 20 February 2018. Retrieved from: <https://www.instagram.com/p/BfazwqoAWh1/>



Figure 6. Instagram post by Dordrechts Museum, 12 October 2017. Retrieved from: <https://www.instagram.com/p/Bal8KUyAt3K/>

Appendix C

Data analysis

Table 3. Boijmans Van Beuningen Museum

Selective codes/themes	Axial codes	Open codes	Relevant quotes
The marketing frame	Social media marketing	Growth of social media; setting goals; word of mouth	<i>When a friend talks to you about an exhibition "oh you really should go", yeah, most of the time if you get enthusiastic you go, but maybe you also saw unconsciously a social media post that attracted your attention on more an unconscious level, but then it can also trigger you.</i>
	Offline marketing	offline media of promotion	<i>It's quite new for the museum to make like a real strategy and think that way, and also that big budget still goes to offline, which I think it's interesting, because, yeah, we live in a different media landscape nowadays, but hasn't really shifted in marketing and communication perspective.</i> <i>Newspapers, still quite big, and of course the city dressing, so the outside bannering and the partnerships, also really important.</i>
	Advantages of social media	Freedom; visual aspect	<i>Social media isn't really part of the main strategy for marketing and communication so I have a lot of freedom, so I can really develop my own concept, and work with people I think, okay these are the people who are really interesting to convey this message or this visual language.</i>
	Use of Facebook and Twitter	Adaptability of content; variety of content; popularity; story-telling	<i>I think I use Facebook the most because it's really easy to post something, and also you can show longer videos, because we tend to make longer videos, not only videos that are one minute, so I can't post them on Instagram, and yeah we do have the most followers on Twitter, but I think a lot of them are kind of dead.</i>
	Pitfalls of social media	Conveying knowledge; superficiality; quickness; easiness to comment	<i>Exhibitions are quite intellectual, but social media isn't always quite intellectual, but you don't want to miss the intellectual message, but you also want to post it on social media, so I really think how I can balance those things.</i> <i>Social media can be really superficial, whereas the museum isn't superficial, so you can somehow lose your message so you have to really be careful about how you translate it.</i>
	Analytics and advertising on social media	Statistics; ads	<i>I find it hard cause I can see in the statistics that we, on Facebook for example we are followed by the biggest group is between twenty-five and thirty-four.</i>

The target audience	Reaching a new target	Young people; diversity; reaching new visitors through social media; engaging the audience	<p>[social media are] the first line to interact with younger people which aren't in the museum, so you can interest them somehow on social media, so you can also, the next step how to get them involved in the museum, how do you get them to visit the museum.</p> <p>I don't know yet if younger people are really coming through social... I cannot say yet.</p> <p>I really try how can I convey the atmosphere of the museum, so there were a lot of younger people, and I tried to make it look like not a museum... cause we can be very institutional and also the walls, the art and the building, so I try to really capture the atmosphere of the night.</p> <p>But I want to engage other people, so what image of the museum do I have to present to maybe engage those people? That's, I think, what I wanna do.</p> <p>Then the people, these aren't the kind of guys that visit the museum that often so I find it interesting to picture them</p> <p>On Facebook, I try to post pictures with only young people in them, so young people recognize themselves and maybe they want to come, so and some people say that young people don't want to go somewhere where there are old people, cause they don't feel like it, but older people think "oh nice, young people!" and they still wanna come.</p> <p>On Facebook for example we are followed by the biggest group is between twenty-five and thirty-four, but the group who interacts mostly, compared to the followers, is like the fifty plus group. So they are more active on our page.</p> <p>If you look at the visitors, they are still kind of white and fifty plus.</p>
	The current audience	Visitors; demographics of followers; young and old people	
Authority and reputation	Reputation	Established institution; traditionalism	<p>We are really traditional.</p> <p>I: So, in this sense, do you think that the reputation of Boijmans helps?</p> <p>M: Yeah, that's true.</p>
	Image on social media	Ambivalence towards traditionalism; branding; different perspective; promotion	<p>For me it's really about creating an image, so in text and visuals and that's for me, the importance is that you link Boijmans with that image and that kind of language.</p> <p>I tried to make it look like not a museum... cause we can be very institutional and also the walls, the art and the building.</p> <p>I really try to show a different perspective of the museum on social media....</p>
	New identity	Functional to the new target; fresh image; recognizable identity; placement in the cultural field	<p>I was thinking about it, "should I do it?", because it doesn't relate to the identity of the museum at all.</p> <p>I want to engage other people, so what image of the museum do I have to present to maybe engage those people?</p> <p>To really show a different kind of museum somehow.</p> <p>Before starting at the museum, I really analyzed the Instagram of</p>

			<p>different museums and what struck my attention was that if you look at different Instagram pages of museums you cannot really see an identity, so if you sweep the name of the museum and, I think, if you maybe put five different roles in front of a person, he or she couldn't tell "oh this is that museum, this is that..." all kind of looked the same</p>
The inclusivity frame	Interactions with followers	Likes; comments; reposts; tagging; time-consuming; engaging on Instagram;	<p>I always try to like everything people are posting about Boijmans, or if they are commenting, but I'm not really... Sometimes on a story I also give a quick reaction or if someone has a really nice post I post something... a comment and... but I don't really have the time to like really really engage.</p> <p>For me the image is also leading so... but that's also a struggle, because I really don't care about comments [laughter]</p>
Instagram strategy	<p>Basic use</p> <p>Content posted</p> <p>New Projects</p> <p>Setting goals</p>	<p>frequency of use; followers and following; Instagram features (hashtags, filters, stories...)</p> <p>visual aspect; pictures and videos; selection of content; behind the scenes pictures; connection with real life;</p> <p>External collaborations; insta-meets; influencers</p> <p>Attractive image; expertise; more active use; making the museum more known</p>	<p>We created our own hashtag, or I did, the #slowartsunday, which refers to the slow watching.</p> <p>Every Sunday, for sure... but lately I've been, I have not been that active, but my goal is one post every day, but it doesn't turn out like that.</p> <p>No, as you can see we almost don't follow any people, but now with the campaign, those people are really interesting and they have a lot of followers.</p> <p>I was really triggered by the concept of looking longer at art, also in comparison to social media cause it's so quick and maybe you on Instagram I think you don't even look for nine seconds, maybe, so... and then also the comparison between being in the museum and looking at visuals on social media</p> <p>My first aim is that it looks nice.</p> <p>These are all taken in the museum [shows pictures on Instagram], so, but then I think "okay, it's grey so I can post it"</p> <p>I came in contact with this really creative group of Rotterdam... they are creatives, they make music and fashion, they do everything (...) and now we're making a campaign, (...) they are really interested in the museum but also, they also say, yeah, our community doesn't visit the museum cause it can be a bit boring.</p> <p>Chips' social people, (...) you can already see that they're not typical crew that works in a museum, I think. Which for me, I don't know, that's really interesting.</p> <p>That's my goal for Instagram, that you can look at it and think "oh, that's a nice museum, they know how to use Instagram!".</p> <p>I want to post more, to make sure that I can post every day, I think that could also be important</p>

	Limits	Unpredictability; time investment; conveying knowledge; having insight	<p><i>I think that the limit is that the knowledge part, how do you convey, or how, for example, in a story, to me it always looks kind of boring, and also you see only people talking and then you see also the, like, big block of text.</i></p> <p><i>Cause here, it would be, of course, presenting as much knowledge about art as you can, but for me that doesn't work on Instagram.</i></p> <p><i>So that's why is a lot of more time to Instagram than Facebook.</i></p> <p><i>I: More time because you really think about "oh, this image could go well here..."</i></p> <p><i>M: Yeah, yeah.</i></p>
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Table 4. Dordrechts Museum

Selective codes/themes	Axial codes	Open codes	Relevant quotes
The marketing frame	Social media marketing	Growth of social media; setting goals; word of mouth; importance of the collection	<p><i>Our main focus is to make people aware of the treasures of arts that we have here.</i></p>
	Offline marketing	Offline media of promotion	<p><i>We use of course all the prints, the offline, we use outdoor campaigns and I think the position of social media is becoming more and more important, because I started here three years ago and I think from that moment on, because I am a full time only for online, it's grown, but if you look at like a budget of an exhibition, then it is only a very, very small part for online.</i></p>
	Advantages of social media	Freedom; visual aspect	<p><i>I think the advantages are that of course it's all about images.</i></p> <p><i>I think the big advantage of me being the only one on social media is that I know what is happening, so I know that I want to tell certain stories.</i></p>
	Use of Facebook and Twitter	Adaptability of content; variety of content; popularity; story-telling	<p><i>I think we use Facebook most because it's... we use it for all of our activities, to show our collection, to have interaction with people and Facebook, how do you say, it's very easy, it does not have, like, a barrier, there are so many people on Facebook.</i></p> <p><i>I think Facebook is more suitable, like a story, we tell stories on Facebook, we go through the storyline of an exposition, and I think Facebook is very easy to tell a story.</i></p> <p><i>Twitter we use only for announcements and activities.</i></p>
	Pitfalls of social media	Conveying knowledge; superficiality; quickness; easiness to comment	<p><i>It's easy for people to comment and I see not really with art museum. but maybe with the archives, that people are easy to comment and maybe start a discussion you don't really want to have on social media</i></p>
	Analytics and advertising on social media	Statistics; ads	<p><i>I use all my Facebook ads when it is possible on Instagram but I haven't used only Instagram ads.</i></p> <p><i>I think Facebook for me is more, is easier, you can measure, you have all the statistics, it's easier to see what it is really happening with your ads.</i></p>

The target audience	Reaching a new target	Young people; diversity; reaching new visitors through social media	<p>What we want is the people who are not here physically, like the younger target, we want them to know what we have here, so I do target on them as well, we call it the 'cold' visitors, so they haven't come, we warm them up.</p> <p>We have lots of, like, high school students or secondary school students coming here, but, we invite them always to make pictures and to share them, if you have like a day of students, maybe one or two will actually post a picture of them being at the museum, it is very, very small... that's quite difficult, I think.</p> <p>I: Your perception, because obviously one cannot know if the visitors have actually come because of Facebook, but your perception is that this is working? H: yes, because we see the numbers increasing, people following through numbers yeah.</p>
	The current audience	Visitors; demographics of followers; young and old people;	<p>We do have a specific target which is the target of the 55 plus visitors.</p> <p>Our average follower is 65 plus, female, with high education.</p>
Authority and reputation	Reputation	Established institution; traditionalism	<p>It's not a big museum so many people don't even know what kind of collection we have here, so we want to share the collection online, and of course through that make people curious, and make them to come here to have a look at the actual works themselves.</p>
	Image on social media	Authority up to discussion; branding; different perspective; promotion	
	New identity	Functional to the new target; fresh image; recognizable identity	
	Interactions with followers	Likes; comments; reposts; tagging; time-consuming; engaging on Instagram;	<p>I like the comments, on Instagram I usually only like the comments or I reply. If they make a very nice picture, I reply or ask if I can share their picture, or I just comment "oh, you made a very nice picture, thank you very much", something like that, because I think it is important for our ranking as well to have the interactions. And on Facebook I like or I'll comment as well, if people have made a nice comment, like visitors are enthusiastic about the exposition, then I will just comment on that and encourage to come, or I will make them aware of the fact that we are actually three museums, and so they can go and visit the other ones as well, something like that.</p> <p>I tag people of course in the pictures which are relevant to the pictures so they can share as well.</p>

Instagram strategy	Basic use	frequency of use; followers and following; Instagram features (hashtags, filters, stories...)	<p><i>I try to post about three times a week. (...) I can't always use the same content of course, so sometimes it is less on Instagram, Facebook is the main, and Instagram I just post whenever I can use the same content, but I will change the writing a little bit.</i></p> <p><i>I recently unfollowed many people that did not follow me back so... because I saw an enormous growth when I started to follow just randomly, but then I was doubting a little bit, just if that's what I want, because I want people to really follow us not just because I follow them, you know what I mean.</i></p> <p><i>I try to work out which hashtags are the best to use for every post, I don't know always have time for it, so sometimes I just do it, you know, the regular ones or I will use a hashtag to find me, you know, in the website you can hashtag, you can fill in the hashtag you can see which connection it has.</i></p>
	Content posted	visual aspect; pictures and videos; selection of content; behind the scenes pictures; connection with real life;	<p><i>Because of the visual images that we can just show I think it is the channel to be on, as a museum.</i></p> <p><i>I see that videos are appreciated, but people like an image of the picture more, with little bit of an explanation, and so I just look at what people react on most, and what it is viewed most, and I post more of that content and less of the other one.</i></p> <p><i>I use Instagram purely for the artwork. Actually, I want to use Instagram purely for artwork, sometimes we have a nice news facts that I'll post on Instagram. I think people like to have a look behind the scenes, what happens behind the walls that we cannot see.</i></p> <p><i>A lady posted a picture, just a picture of Dordrecht with a moonlight which was very similar to one of our paintings, and I reposted it and think I had 200 likes all of a sudden.</i></p>
	New Projects	Co-creation; external collaborations; Insta- meets; influencers	<p><i>I want to talk with them about having an 'Insta-meet' about inviting influencers on a press meeting, which is before the exposition opens, so that we can have a new target audience through this.</i></p>
	Setting goals	Attractive image; expertise; more active use; making the museum more known	<p><i>Instagram for example is great for using images to show, so I think it's a perfect way to show people what we have.</i></p>
	Limits	Unpredictability; time investment; conveying knowledge; having insight	<p><i>Sometimes you just, all of a sudden, are surprised by content that you post and people like it a lot.</i></p> <p><i>For Instagram, I find it a bit more difficult to really know who is following me and what the result is.</i></p> <p><i>I think you could set up a whole strategy only for Instagram, like for an exposition we could have an Instagram strategy and a Facebook strategy, but I don't think there is time for it now.</i></p>

Table 5. Audience of Boijmans Van Beuningen Museum

Selective codes/themes	Axial codes	Open codes	Relevant quotes
General use of Instagram	Timeline of Instagram use	When the account was opened; frequency of use	<p><i>I think when it started, I was one of the first users when it came up. I just thought it was something for me. (R1)</i></p> <p><i>Posting is way less. It's not so much, but using and watching it is something I'm doing every day. (R1)</i></p> <p><i>I try to post daily, mostly when I have really something nice to share. (R2)</i></p> <p><i>For a quite short time. Like I think for about three to four months. (R3)</i></p> <p><i>For two months now. Really recent. (R7)</i></p> <p><i>I: have you been posting regularly?</i> <i>E: Yes, I try to post something every day. (R7)</i></p> <p><i>I think two years. (R6)</i></p>
	Motivations behind the use of Instagram	<p>Getting inspired; self-expression; variety of content; keeping in touch with friends; sense of community; centrality of pictures; being updated; online journal; glimpse of people's lives; curiosity; self-promotion</p>	<p><i>I think it's kind of inspiring, and it's also an obsession, just checking. (R5)</i></p> <p><i>I saw that it had fashion bloggers or specific topics that you can see a lot of pictures of. So, for example crafting, baking and clothing, different advice on how to style your hair. [...] And also, I'm adding all of my friends, all of their profiles just to be up to date. (R1)</i></p> <p><i>The thing I like the most about it is that you can share your view on the world. That's fantastic. I mean, you can show someone else what you love or like. (R3)</i></p> <p><i>For example, [...] I need to go back, like what I have done, I need to check some stuff, and it really shows me that, okay it was my way to here, because I'm using it when I'm traveling, I'm using it when I'm studying, if I find something really important or impressive or inspiring for me. (R4)</i></p> <p><i>I can post all the photos I want. I can follow a lot of things, it's easy to use also. (R6)</i></p> <p><i>I like the fact that there is a lot of material coming by, so you see a lot of interesting work, that I like a lot. (R7)</i></p>
	Content posted	cultural activities; art; design; architecture; daily activities; nature; personal work; family	<p><i>Mostly I post when I go out somewhere for dinner or when I go to an exhibition. More me and cultural stuff. (R1)</i></p> <p><i>I mostly share design details I think, so what grasps my eye, so if I'm walking down the street and I see a really nice door knob, that's something I would snap and then put on Instagram later, or then at coffee places I go to, or the nice exhibitions I have recently visited, or just whatever things that catches my eye. (R2)</i></p> <p><i>I think architecture, museums, art and simple things like walls, doors, plants. (R3)</i></p> <p><i>Very different kind of content I think, when I visit, for example, I visited Venice Biennale this year (...) or yeah when I visit my family, my niece, my grandma, I don't know like... I think it's in every part of my life. (Tuba)</i></p> <p><i>I use it to post museums. I go to</i></p>

	<p>Profiles followed</p> <p>Behaviors on Instagram</p>	<p>photographers; places to visit; architecture; art; friends; food; design; museums; celebrities; nature; lifestyle; museums; galleries; travels</p> <p>Curation of the profile; use of Instagram features (stories, hashtags, location, filters); editing pictures</p>	<p>museums once a week, so I like to share with people what kind of exhibitions I go to. And also, nature. (R6)</p> <p>I post work that I am making or that I did. Project that I am working on. But what I am trying to do is post sometimes for instance in the weekend, (...) something that I personally find beautiful or interesting. (R7)</p> <p>I think mostly photographers, like both amateur photographers a lot but also professional ones, like cultural things. (R5)</p> <p>I also really like to be kept up to date with new places to go, or new things to visit. (R2)</p> <p>The same actually, buildings, art, people that like to make pictures of simple roads or dogs. Especially the buildings are the ones I love. (R3)</p> <p>I think all kind of accounts and now I'm doing my project on... food, cooking, culture, and I started following lots of chefs, also, it's growing, also like graphic design, or the kind of design accounts. I follow like, very limited bloggers, like... but not so much, I really want to see real things on my feed. (R4)</p> <p>I follow museums pages, nature, my friends also and stars like Beyonce and Rihanna. (R6)</p> <p>I like to follow the architectural profiles, structures. (R7)</p> <p>I really like the stories part of Instagram now, where you can really share like temporary things, and a lot of times there are a lot of nice things to share which you don't really want to put on the wall, which is more curated than my stories are. (R2)</p> <p>The angle, I make like two hundred pictures and from those two hundred, I place like ten of them on Instagram and the rest not. (R3)</p> <p>I put hashtags to my photos, but I don't do it on stories. But for example, I always put the location, because then when I go back I can find the place. (R4)</p> <p>I make a lot of pictures and I have to take one or two weeks change the pictures and make the colors better with an app called "VSCO". (R3)</p> <p>I like to follow the hashtags best. That's what I like to follow actually. (...) when you follow the hashtags, there are different unexpected things also that come along, and I like that. (R7)</p>
Relationship with the museum offline	<p>Visiting the museum</p> <p>Perceptions of the museum</p>	<p>Relation between visit and following the museum on Instagram; using Instagram during the visit; posting pictures from the visit on Instagram;</p> <p>Liveliness; beyond the art; variety of</p>	<p>No, I guess just stories, Instagram stories, because I do it only if it's something I really, really like [...] But I remember that I did a recording that I walked through the Boijmans and you can see some sculptures and then I walked through the room. (R1)</p> <p>I think that exhibition design itself, so how the route was provoked and how is the story was build up is something that is really nice to share on its own. (R2)</p> <p>I think it is really diverse to have a lot of different exhibitions always, also their permanent collection is also</p>

		<p>exhibitions; unique identity; accessibility; profile of visitor; personal attachment; institutional</p>	<p><i>always interesting to go to, and [...] it is really accessible to go there, you don't feel like, I mean, for example, if you go to the Rijksmuseum Museum in Amsterdam, it's like really, because only classical art, it feels like oh very serious atmosphere, here it is like you can much more easily go there and feel comfortable. (R5)</i></p> <p><i>I think it's really different from any museum, for like the hanger part, first of all, you are being part of an art piece while you're hanging your coat, and also, I really like the different kinds of exhibitions at the same time. (R4)</i></p> <p><i>I think the museum itself is less isolated, like there's much more happening in your eyesight than the curated images that they're using on Instagram [...] the museum itself as so much more bright colors. (R2)</i></p> <p><i>For me it is kind of divided into sections. One section where you see the classical paintings from the Dutch art [...] Then they have another section where they really try out some new stuff, maybe freaky and crazy. (R1)</i></p> <p><i>The people who are in the museum of course they also differ from the people who were chosen to be on the pictures, so I don't see that many young people walking around, mostly grey haired, older people who are walking there or children. (R2)</i></p> <p><i>I mean what I find sometimes really stupid when I go to the museum is that it's like 80 % of the people who come there are like white people and I always feel like a bit guilty when I'm also there, I feel we are like the white elite people. (R5)</i></p> <p><i>It was so fascinating for me that I'm living four hundred meters away from this [art], and it wasn't possible for me before. I think that's why I have a really emotional connection with Boijmans. (R4)</i></p> <p><i>It's not the most controlled museum there is, but you still need to keep your distance and there are people that are still watching. (R7)</i></p> <p><i>I really feel that we are more focused on the white people. (R7)</i></p>
Engaging with the museum's Instagram profile	Motivations behind following the museum on Instagram	<p>Relating to the content; storytelling; learning; personal connection; entertaining; proximity</p>	<p><i>I found that picture interesting because it is really colorful and I saw it in reality, so when I saw it on Instagram, I could relate to it, because I have the same picture. (R1)</i></p> <p><i>I like the way the museums were framing it, so they were telling more the stories behind paintings, instead of just sharing the nice image of the painting, so for me the combination of the caption and the image itself was really important, and I know that Boijmans back then was already doing it, really sharing the educational stuff. (R2)</i></p> <p><i>I was going to the museum itself, so then I just followed their Instagram afterwards. It was like making friends and then following their Instagram. (R3)</i></p> <p><i>I like it, because they post every day I think and it's not boring. (R6)</i></p> <p><i>When I've started following them, I think, maybe also I've just started to follow all these different museums in the neighborhood and then you just</i></p>

	Interacting with the museum on Instagram	<p>Tagging the museum; using hashtags; commenting; getting a reaction from the museum; importance of artworks</p>	<p>get the suggestion. (R5)</p> <p><i>They liked my picture and I remember the first time when they engaged with my pictures and I "oh, this is amazing, they saw it!" and I felt so special for a moment, because it felt like such a great achievement somehow. (R2)</i></p> <p><i>Just tagging the Boijmans account, that's it. [...]</i> <i>I: Did they interact in any way with your post?</i> <i>T: no, Boijmans never. (R4)</i></p> <p><i>When I really like something and you see a person who is really passionate about something and they tell something about the picture itself, then I have to comment on it. (R3)</i></p> <p><i>I took some pictures and then I did like hashtag Boijmans, something like that. (R5)</i></p> <p><i>If I like the image so much for the story then I would put an emoji or like a nice exclamation there. But I don't expect them to react to me. (R2)</i></p> <p><i>So, it's an interesting building and then you build on to it. I think about that girl emoji, because she turns around. (R7)</i></p>
Instagram strategy of the museum	<p>Reaching a new audience</p> <p>Use of Instagram features</p>	<p>Young people; diversity</p> <p>Instagram Stories; use of hashtag #slowartsunday</p>	<p><i>Instagram is also something for younger people, so maybe it makes more sense to show the more modern art and the craziness, instead of really the national gallery stuff. (R1)</i></p> <p><i>Personally, that makes me want to go to the museum actually, so to see more like young people, people who I can relate to... who are really hip also, like I want to, not that I want to be them, but I want to do the same stuff as they do. (R2)</i></p> <p><i>I: Do you think that posting picture with this kind of people would make young people go more often, visit more?</i> <i>T: I don't think so. (R4)</i></p> <p><i>It should be more diverse and also people with different ethnicity and whatever should go there and should feel comfortable also, but I don't know what's like the motivation behind them to go or to not go. (R5)</i></p> <p><i>When I saw the pictures, I feel attracted, but when I go to the museum, it would not disturb me if there are old people. For me they are two different things. (R6)</i></p> <p><i>They should put more Instagram stories and just record the moment where they put the piece of art out there and explain how you could interpret this. Because sometimes people just walk through it and sometimes they just don't want to read every kind of description out there. They just want to understand it right away. (R1)</i></p> <p><i>There are this really nice behind the scenes or backstage images which really surprise me sometimes, to see how artworks are transported for example, or how other people react to a painting in another country, so that surprises me within the Instagram stories mostly. (R2)</i></p> <p><i>I would use the Stories function or the advertisement function, I wouldn't be bothered by seeing advertisements there, or more promotional images, but mostly yeah, if it's like the</i></p>

	Content posted	Visual aspect; colorful; use of text; promotional content; pictures of people	<p>temporary thing again, so not the lasting one, that doesn't really interfere with my feed, then it would be okay. (R2)</p> <p>I mean, they should just include events like the museum night, they should just put that in their stories, because it is just more like a thing happening. (R5)</p> <p>I don't know what they want to get from this hashtag. maybe they want the person to be curious and be like, what is our hashtag about and make more research on it. I don't think this is gonna make it successful. (R1)</p> <p>The hashtag is #slowwatchsunday right, so I think they'll probably... if you take time, there's probably more to see in the image than you would normally see in the museum as well so... mmmh I think they were chosen because they have a really nice story to tell that's my idea. (R2)</p> <p>You're posting it Sunday but if you're not on the top of the user who follows you, if you're not on top of the list then they don't see you on Sunday, they see you on Tuesday, and I think it doesn't make any sense. (R4)</p> <p>I think they search for an interaction, because here they ask something and you can see they are commenting. So, I think it works. (R6)</p> <p>People love it when you ask them what do you see. One the other hand I think it's also interesting that with the longer posts, they museum tries to curate the discussion a little bit, (...) but I think the second one is smarter to get more likes. (R7)</p> <p>I think it is very important to see people in pictures and seeing them watching the art. I love this from Boijmans. (R3)</p> <p>I mostly use Instagram to see something. It's more really for visual. Not really for reading. (R1)</p> <p>I: looking at the profile again, do you think that there's something that shouldn't be there, like it shouldn't be part of the profile? T: yeah these black holes. (R4)</p> <p>I think I'm really attracted to the colors. (R5)</p> <p>The text is actually important though. But the text should not be too long, because you want to go to the museum to know about it also, so they should not reveal too much of it. Now that I'm looking at it, they have a lot of text, which normally on Instagram I would say you don't put so much text out there. (R1)</p> <p>I think it is good if they put an explanation underneath it, because some people might not know it or yeah, I think that it can be helpful, informative, but it's too much text then but you don't have to read the text you can also just look at the picture and just like it, because you see the picture and so. (R5)</p> <p>I'm not in Instagram to be updated, I'm on Instagram to get inspired so putting a promotional image up, that makes me want to unfollow the account. (R2)</p> <p>The photos are not really that attractive. (R6)</p>
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	New projects	Videos collaborations	<p><i>But maybe they should also organize something that gets those young people together. Not just choose random people and then make those videos. (R1)</i></p> <p><i>All these videos, it seems, like, I don't have the patience to watch them, so it doesn't really seem that attractive and when I scroll down, it's like, oh this is so far from Dali and all these things. (R5)</i></p> <p><i>I don't know if they are active on YouTube but I would say these are like more sort of small documentaries for some background information, so I think they should put them on, maybe, on YouTube or Twitter. [...] These videos would be too, like, too heavy for Instagram. (R5)</i></p> <p><i>Because they are the same as me, so I can identify myself with them. (R6)</i></p> <p><i>I haven't noticed it, but I do really think is a good effort to get more different groups in the museum. Especially also more different background groups, so ethnic groups. (R7)</i></p>
	Perception of the museum on Instagram	Role of art; conveying knowledge; originality; backstage content; lack of strategy; visual aspect; presence of a strategy	<p><i>Basically, I would say that most of the stuff is in line with the art museum, because I see that they show a lot of art. And they also show the projects that they do and the people behind it. (R1)</i></p> <p><i>They're more worried about sharing, engaging in how people should look at art mostly, so they want people to look at art longer, and that's how they use their caption and their images that they use [...] and they'll still be nice images to see. Their account is more timeless, I don't have the feeling that I need to rush to the museum to see a particular art piece. (R2)</i></p> <p><i>The pictures you saw on Boijmans are like so weird. I mean, you see this futuristic chewing-gum enormous picture and if you see something like that, it inspires me to go there and take a picture of it and share it. (R3)</i></p> <p><i>I think that comparing this to other museum they put so much more effort to show you what is behind the curtain. And that is something that I really like, the cultural mood of Boijmans. (R3)</i></p> <p><i>Boijmans account is not... I don't think they think about how it is going to be, on your feed, they don't think about it, and then I don't think it's something special. (R4)</i></p> <p><i>I think they represent better, I like the colors and I feel like the Boijmans museum really has this colorful thing, this atmosphere, that represents it. (R5)</i></p> <p><i>There is a lot of contemporary art and when I see just the first ten posts, it's really interactive and aims to attract young people. When you scroll down, I see just some pictures of the paintings, so kind of boring. (R6)</i></p> <p><i>I have the feeling that someone who is doing it is also trying to get a nice overall picture of it. (R7)</i></p>
	Expectations	Creation of a community; brand bonding; interactivity;	<p><i>I feel like it's more about allocating people outside of the museum, so not really to use it to increase the number of visitors, but engage them, create a community and when you create a</i></p>

		<p>use of the museum's space; focus on the art; more attractive pictures</p>	<p>community of people who really love the things you're telling then they'll come eventually anyway, so it creates a deeper relationship between like a follower and the museum itself. (R2)</p> <p>It needs to be more interactive I think. (R4)</p> <p>Because they never use their space, but the beauty, those staircases everywhere, and the entrances connected in one hall, that is really special for Boijmans, I think they should use it more, they should show their real place more I think. (R4)</p> <p>I think right now it doesn't really attract me because of all of this people and not like you don't see a lot of work. (R5)</p> <p>In a different way that attracts the eye more. (...) Not just the statue. The statue I can see it on Google as an image or something like that. (R6)</p> <p>More people who interact with the art in the museum, for me. (R6)</p> <p>The problem of Instagram is if you follow a lot of things, you don't see everything. That's why those movies are not familiar to me right now. (R1)</p> <p>Well that was not clear for me. Like something maybe is not clear at the first moment you see them what it is that you don't know exactly if it is a piece of art or if it is an event. (R1)</p> <p>I think it is not appealing to my taste. Sometimes it's nice to see what other people think and to see what is out there, but I know that I also like very classic art that defines art for me. (R1)</p> <p>My first impression is that there... I have no clue what I'm looking at [laughter]. So, they are like... you don't see the museum perspective, and so it's really about the art piece, it's really central in the image as well, and I have no clue what I'm looking at. (R2)</p> <p>Man Ray one would intrigue me, but it depends on my mood, so if I was in the train and I have like an hour to pass, I would probably read the caption, but otherwise I would skip it as well, so it really is my personal taste I think, which would make me want to engage with the picture. (R2)</p> <p>Because the timeline is so different, sometimes I see things on Instagram when I open it, and it already was happening like two days before. (R2)</p> <p>In my opinion, a piece of art can have a really different impression on you if you see it in real life and I think that it's a good strategy but I don't think it's like a replacement of going to the museums. (R5)</p>
	<p>Limitations of using Instagram</p>	<p>Timeline; clarity; taste; conveying knowledge</p>	

Cultural capital	Relationship with arts and culture	Interest in museums; interest in cultural activities	<p><i>If I am somewhere and I know there is this museum that has this specific painting or movement that I should see, then I go there. (R1)</i></p> <p><i>I always went to the museums when I was little, as well, then I really hated it. I really liked applied arts and sciences, more than arts, I think that didn't change that much. [...] I think when I was around eighteen, sixteen already, I got more engaged with art, fashion and design. So that's when I started going to museums. (R2)</i></p> <p><i>I was in high school... the Istanbul Contemporary Museum opened, I think for me going to a museum by myself, not with school, or parents bringing you, but just "yeah, I want to go and I want to see that", it was, I think it was the beginning for me. (R4)</i></p> <p><i>I think when I was little. And I was alone in my family, so I have no siblings. So, I used to go with school but now I go alone to the museum, and that is fine by me. I like going alone to the museum. (R6)</i></p> <p><i>They tried, I think they were not really interested, as a kid you go to different kind of museums, we always went to more museums about history or about water or about really particular topics, not really about art. (R5)</i></p> <p><i>I don't have a father, I have a mother, and... I remember we were going to theatre, but I don't remember if she ever brought us to museums, but my older sister also studied art, then I think she influenced me a lot with going with this flow, yeah... exhibition openings, then I went to them more I think. (R4)</i></p> <p><i>I think it is something self-made, because it always liked art from when I was six or seven years old.</i> <i>I: Did your parents also like art?</i> <i>R: No not really. My father a really metal working, hard working seven days a week stuff like that. And my mom was like a typical mother. (R3)</i></p> <p><i>I can imagine yes, because I know that my father always encouraged me to paint. [...] I think they wanted me to have this part of education, just to be an adult that knows different things. (R1)</i></p> <p><i>They're both physical therapists, my mother is really into design so she took me to flea market and got me really into craftsmanship, [...] They were both less educated but always really interested in more like dance or ballet or theatre than art. (R2)</i></p> <p><i>Well my grandfather was an art collector and we did go to museums. My father is a craftsman, so he was always making things and doing things for his company. (R7)</i></p> <p><i>I studied art and design yes, bachelor and masters. (R7)</i></p> <p><i>First when I went with school it was boring, but then I was really interested in it after that. Years after that. (R6)</i></p>
	Personal background	Education; role of parents; parents' education; role of siblings; school	

Table 6. Audience of Dordrechts Museum

Selective codes/themes	Axial codes	Open codes	Relevant quotes
General use of Instagram	Timeline of Instagram use	When the account was opened; frequency of use	<p><i>Less than a year. (R8)</i></p> <p><i>I use it every day just to have a look, and to like other people's posts, but for active posting only when it's appropriate or necessary, but that's not every day. (R8)</i></p> <p><i>I think, for about six years now, maybe seven years, first started with Facebook slowly moved to Instagram. (R9)</i></p> <p><i>I: Do you use it regularly? (...)</i> <i>L: yeah I do, so during my break at work I check it and then after work and before I go to sleep.</i> <i>I: But so, you don't post that much?</i> <i>L: No, I just don't have that many special moments, it depends on what I do. (R9)</i></p> <p><i>Yes, posting at the moment every second day, just because of the pressure to myself. I cannot draw that fast. (R10)</i></p> <p><i>J: No in the past months I only posted 10 pictures maybe.</i> <i>I: Do you use it regularly the like things other people post or check what's on their profile?</i> <i>J: I would say every day in the morning, but not multiple times a day. (R11)</i></p> <p><i>I think I post regularly, because I use Instagram stories, so I don't know if that also counts as posting something, but I'm using that more often. I think at least one or twice a week. And then posting pictures, maybe once a month at least. (R13)</i></p> <p><i>I can understand that you use it quite a lot, would you say every day?</i> <i>T: Yes, every day.</i> <i>I: But do you also post every day?</i> <i>T: No, I think occasionally, because you don't post everything that's going through your life. (R14)</i></p>
	Motivations behind the use of Instagram	Getting inspired; keeping in touch with friends; sense of community; centrality of pictures; online journal; self-promotion; being updated; window on the world; self-expression; curiosity	<p><i>Because there are so many creative people on it and you can just look for the things you like. (R10)</i></p> <p><i>It's nice to share what I find beautiful, and what are my emotions in that moment. I have now some followers, and they react by liking so... it's the sharing that is the value. (R8)</i></p> <p><i>The fun part of Instagram is... it's a window, it's a window to the world without much boundaries, you know, you look at a picture, and it gives you an impression and that's more than enough. (R12)</i></p> <p><i>At first it was more just for my close friends, so I want to share stuff with my close friends, but afterwards I got to the point that you kinda want to have like photo journey of your life. (R14)</i></p> <p><i>And if you go to restaurants or like museum or something like that, you can see how it is before you go there. Also travel destinations, you can just see where the place is where people often go. So basically, you can easily get insiders information of a place or thing. (R14)</i></p> <p><i>I: Why did you decide to open an account?</i> <i>C: For my work, to show it yeah. That</i></p>

	<p>Content posted</p> <p>Profiles followed</p> <p>Behaviors on Instagram</p>	<p>Memories; personal work; pictures of family and friends; hobbies; photography; travel pictures</p> <p>Lifestyle profiles; celebrities; news; influencers; friends; artists; photographers; inspirational profiles; sport; nature; spiritual profiles; interior design; film festivals; magazines; news</p> <p>Curation of the profile; use of Instagram features (stories, hashtags, tags, filters); editing pictures</p>	<p>was it. (R10)</p> <p><i>My friends used it before and I liked it, that you can just only focus on pictures (R9)</i></p> <p><i>It has nice visuals, so you can follow the things that you really like. Most of the time the interesting stuff they post. (R11)</i></p> <p><i>More personal things, so if been somewhere where I have a good memory of, like a good time, I just post that. (R9)</i></p> <p><i>I: So you mostly post your own work? C: Yes I waited a long time to show my face. (R10)</i></p> <p><i>Pictures of my children and when I'm knitting a blanket [laughter] I post a picture of it. (R11)</i></p> <p><i>My posts are everything I see walking that catches my eye and I think "oh, that's nice to share". That can be architecture, it can be a flower, it can be people. (R12)</i></p> <p><i>Most of the time travel pictures or pictures from friends. (R13)</i></p> <p><i>So, travel influencers, restaurants for food to get the food insides and then also hotels (...) Also, I like to follow just normal actors, news profiles just to inform myself a little bit about what is going on with the world. (R14)</i></p> <p><i>I like profiles of artists, so most of the time music profile. (R13)</i></p> <p><i>I like profiles of people who take effort in taking a picture (...) most of the time they are not professional photographers, but amateurs, people who have an eye for details. Those who see the beauty in ordinary things, that's what I like the most. (R12)</i></p> <p><i>I follow sports, nature, because I love it (...) But not necessarily my friends, but more like, inspirational things you know. To get more creative thoughts. And to get inspired. (R9)</i></p> <p><i>For me I just post something that is kind of related to and fits with my feed, so not just random blueberry pancakes. (R14)</i></p> <p><i>I use 'VSCO' for the filters because I think the filters on Instagram aren't that good, so I stick to one filter. I also use Instagram stories, tagging, locations and all that stuff, but hashtags not that much. (R14)</i></p> <p><i>Maybe it's because the picture really has to be perfect when I post it on my Instagram feed. And for some sort of reason I find Instagram stories more interactive. (R13)</i></p> <p><i>For example, today I was walking around my village, and the tree were blossoming, and the blue sky, with the wall of the church with the roses, so it is nice to put it on Instagram instantly, and to put some hashtags on it. (R8)</i></p>
Relationship with the museum offline	Visiting the museum	Relationship between visiting and following the museum on Instagram; using Instagram during the visit; posting pictures from the visit on	<p><i>I just follow Dordrechts Museum because I have visited it. (R8)</i></p> <p><i>I visited the museum and took pictures. (R8)</i></p> <p><i>I: Did you visit the museum in person when you were living there? L: No never. (R9)</i></p>

		Instagram;	<p><i>I: Do you think that now you are following the museum on Instagram, that it's making you want to go more?</i> <i>L: Yes, because I know what's going on there, before it was kind of a black box for me. (R9)</i></p> <p><i>I: Did you follow it before visiting it or after?</i> <i>C: I think afterwards. Yes I think so. (R10)</i></p> <p><i>When you visited it the first time, did you post some pictures of it on your Instagram?</i> <i>C: No I don't think so. Maybe in my stories. (R10)</i></p> <p><i>I visited Dordrechts museum maybe every month and the second month I thought that I should follow it since I have that now. (R11)</i></p> <p><i>I: So if you would have visited now, would you do that [post pictures of the visit]?</i> <i>J: Yes maybe. I wouldn't even have known if it was allowed to take a picture that I could put on Instagram. But if it is allowed that I guess yes. (R11)</i></p> <p><i>I have been there once and then I started following them. (R13)</i></p> <p><i>I: When you visited the museum, did you also post some pictures of your visit?</i> <i>Iv: No, but maybe if there were Instagram stories I maybe would have posted something on Instagram. (R13)</i></p> <p><i>I started following it before my visit, because I just want to see how it is with the exhibitions (R14)</i></p> <p><i>I didn't post it on Instagram, but I did post it in my stories, because I'm not really interested in posting artsy kind of photos. (R14)</i></p> <p><i>When I went I saw the beautiful trees outside and I thought they were so beautiful, (...) and then I saw the exhibition of Jongkind, and I saw the paintings of his full moons, and I thought they were great (R8).</i></p> <p><i>I liked the museum because how it looked inside was also nice, it was taken care of but yes, it is an elitist museum, yes. Maybe also because it is located in an ancient building, if I remember well, and it's also hidden away in some part of the city. (R8)</i></p> <p><i>I can imagine that they're very inward... they don't really have a view on the outside but more staying within themselves. (R8)</i></p> <p><i>The first time I visited it was an exhibition about artists who work with gloves, with contemporary artists. But they made it perfectly fit in their rooms with all the classic art, so I really like that contrast. Because I think they have a room with modern painting, so I like the combination. (R10)</i></p> <p><i>I visited now for several times, and I adore this museum, because it's a small museum, it's one of the smallest museums in the Netherlands, and they have such a beautiful diversity of collection, and for such a small museum, they do a nice job, and the way it's presented is really smart I think, also with the limited means they have. (R12)</i></p>
	Perceptions of the museum	Quality of the exhibition; nice museum's space; elitist; isolated; combination of classic and contemporary art; diversity of the collection; local art	

			<i>Dordrecht also has really good Dutch art, so that why I was interested. (R14)</i>
Engaging with the museum's Instagram profile	Motivations behind following the museum on Instagram	Being updated about projects; discovering other museums in the Netherlands; personal attachment; proximity; pictures of painting; visit itself	<p><i>I wanted to be kept updated about what they are doing. Sometimes they post things for the museum, but for young artists or lectures or something like that so that's why I follow. Maybe I would not follow them if I wasn't living there. (R10)</i></p> <p><i>I live close to Dordrecht, so it's easy for me to visit and to follow. (R11)</i></p> <p><i>There is a very personal reason. When I was a young boy I lived in Dordrecht, and at the age of 11 or 12 I already loved that museum. (R12)</i></p> <p><i>I was just trying to find something that is not really in Rotterdam or Amsterdam because it's kind of boring, so I was looking for a more local museum, so then I found Dordrechts museum on Instagram. (R14)</i></p> <p><i>So, when I moved to Rotterdam, I got more in touch with museums, and then I thought I would also be nice to follow it. Because I used to live there, so I still I have a connection there. (R9)</i></p> <p><i>I like that the post pictures of painting which are in their collection. (R13)</i></p> <p><i>They posted a painting of Jongkind, about his sun and moon painting, and then I reacted because it was exactly that painting that I liked the most, and they reacted with "yeah, so do we". (R8)</i></p> <p><i>If you want to know why I reacted to it, it's about the full moon, for me it's important to pay attention to something like the full moon. (R6)</i></p> <p><i>It depends on the moment and mood I'm in, (...) sometimes I like to see people being happy while watching art. So if I see a picture where someone tells how they experienced what they did, I just liked that one. (R9)</i></p> <p><i>I: What was the subject of the picture [you posted]? C: My work, my boyfriend actually putting the work up on the wall. And I tagged them because they were organizing it and then they reposted it. (R10)</i></p> <p><i>Actually I was a little bit shocked that they did that, because it's a museum and they liked it. I was shocked in a positive way. I was like, wow they took my picture. That was nice, I didn't expect them to do that. (R10)</i></p> <p><i>So I have my own story and I was looking at it and thought, what is it doing and then I saw what it actually was. So I liked it because it intrigued me. (R10)</i></p> <p><i>Dordrechts Museum follows me, (...) they don't just follow me, they like my pictures, so they are active with me, (...) And because of that I feel a bit like an ambassador of the museum, I feel really related to them. (R12)</i></p>
Interacting with the museum on Instagram	Tagging the museum; commenting; getting a reaction from the museum; importance of artworks; liking; interaction between art and people; catchiness; being followed		
Instagram strategy of the museum	Reaching a new audience	Young people; younger and older people; attracting families; reaching a wider audience	<p><i>When I visited the museum for the first time, I did notice how many, terribly, how many people with grey hair there were. (R8)</i></p> <p><i>It's an interesting museum so it should also attract younger people, I'm not saying children, but if you say that it's for 55 and older, no! I don't</i></p>

			<p>know why that is, but if I was the director of the museum, I would not like that. (R8)</p> <p>It is a fact that social media play a very important role nowadays in contacting people and letting the audience know who you are and that is why what you are posting on Instagram and how you put it is important. (R8)</p> <p>I: (...) if you think about people younger than 55, their posts could still be attractive for them? C: Yes if you really like art. Otherwise I don't think so no. I: Do you think they could do more to attract younger audiences? C: Maybe they try with the stuff they do for children or mothers and their children, they have done things like that you can visit the museum with your baby, a special event. (R10)</p> <p>Instagram is for younger people mostly. You could always target older people, but I don't think that's the method to go on Instagram and target older people. It should be more physical like with brochures and stuff. (R11)</p> <p>I miss young people in museums (...) I think social media can be a trigger, but then you have to use social media in a way that it triggers younger generations. (R12)</p> <p>They have to find a module that is still relates to people my age, but also in a way that younger generations can relate to it, (...) I can answer if this account as they have it now, answers to young people and the answer is no. (R12)</p> <p>Not only their Instagram, but like their collection and everything that was built upon the target group, which is older people and not necessarily for young people. (R13)</p> <p>If I see a lot of older people in a picture or at the museum, I would feel a bit more out of place, and I think if you scroll to their Instagram and you see only families, children and elderly people, this could also make you feel out of place. (R13)</p> <p>If they want to reach more broader audience it would be nice for this museum to also have more contemporary art, because in the Netherlands itself, there are more youngsters that are now, especially in Amsterdam and Rotterdam, they are more interested in art. (R14)</p> <p>I think that's a good tool [Instagram Stories], because for the museum for example you could just walk around or just show things that are not only pretty like the painting or a different angle or the visitors in the museums. (R10)</p> <p>Maybe use Instagram stories to make it more interactive with their followers. (R13)</p> <p>I don't know if they work on their posts with hashtags and the '@' sign, because they are also ways of enlarging your follow. (R8)</p> <p>So for instance with this post. It gives the names, like #PhilipAkkerman, #FrankAmmerlaan. It's okay, but when I press on them, I get to a whole new page and I get so many information. I'm not sure if I want that.</p>
	Use of Instagram features	Instagram Stories; use of hashtags; tags; following	

	Content posted	Visual aspect; use of text; promotional content; pictures of people; behind the scenes pictures; pictures of events; pictures of artworks; connecting art and real life	<p>(...) There are too many hashtags, like where do I start. (R9)</p> <p>Well hashtags don't bother me that much and I think it is also useful if people are looking for work of a certain painter or a certain person, so I think that is fine. (R11)</p> <p>Personally I think hashtags are a good way to find your direction but it's also overestimated. (R12)</p> <p>I see some profiles and I think, why should a museum follow them? Like this bakery for example... so actually, I think a museum should have a lot of followers, and not follow lot of these people. (R8)</p> <p>I think that's not the thing they should focus on, because you should focus more on being a museum and not being like a friend who follows what someone does in their personal life. (R9)</p> <p>I think it is already a big deal if a museum or an account with a lot of followers takes the time to answer you if you have a question or just get a reaction back. I think you shouldn't particularly follow them. (R10)</p> <p>I don't focus on those kind of things, but I think the pictures are good and they cut it out at the perfect angle. I haven't looked at it in that way actually. (R9)</p> <p>I can imagine that this is some sort of opening of an exhibition or like a present for someone. But then I don't really find this really interesting, because I really have no idea who they are and what this present is about. Obviously, they say it underneath the picture, but if it's like this amount of text then I'm already like, whatever. (R13)</p> <p>But I really like these paintings. This one is about Rotterdam, so the port of Rotterdam in general. I really like the way this is painted and the colors. (R13)</p> <p>I think that the picture is important, but I think it's also the text that makes it a strong post, to better understand the artwork. (...) Instead of just describing, it makes you think about what it means or what you think about it. I really liked that. (R9)</p> <p>I think the promotion is part of it, because you want to make it like more interesting for everyone. But for me (...) that's not the main reason why I would go to the exhibition. (R9)</p> <p>I'm very much about the image and not about the reading and the text. (R10)</p> <p>I would rather have a professional video than here filming herself. Because that would be more interesting. (R11)</p> <p>The power of Instagram is that it forces you to really think about the text you are going to use, it must be quick and sassy, and if you want to look at people, if you try to invite them to come to you, and not to read your content and forget about it afterwards. (R12)</p> <p>Yes especially just by looking at the quality of the pictures. I think most of these pictures are just randomly taken. (R14)</p>
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	New projects	Influencers	
	Perception of the museum on Instagram	Role of art; lack of strategy; personal; not special; variety of content; classical art; education; confusion; combination of classic and contemporary art; lively; neglecting the visuals; local museum	

			<p>static place where you can only see paintings. (R12)</p> <p>So I really like those and I think, I'm not sure if they did this already when I started following them, but that's what I really like about their page that they have nice paintings. In between like general stuff, which I actually don't really understand. (R13)</p> <p>Because now it feels like they put up things they find important to show, but then they didn't think about how it would look overall. (R13)</p> <p>So if I would have looked at it in a glance, I would not be that interested that much, because it was just all over the place, so the content stuff. It was not really clear if it was showing arts or if its showing people or events and that kind of stuff. (R14)</p> <p>The description is also in Dutch, so maybe they target Dutch people, so not really international people. (R14)</p> <p>I think it nice that they are showing that they have two different sides, (...) Maybe in this case they probably want to reach both younger and older, that's why they make two different sides of the museum. (R14)</p> <p>If they have Facebook, and they are telling more stories there, and show more of themselves, they should continue that line on Instagram, to make it livelier. (R8)</p> <p>I'm more interested in the paintings itself, I'm not necessarily interested in the fact that there is an exhibition on the 26th of May, (...) Instead of promoting it (...) for me it's just better to post art itself. (R9)</p> <p>Just to spread out, or increase the network to make it more international. (R9)</p> <p>It's a nice surrounding, they have a really nice garden. So I think that maybe would be helpful. Especially when they have an exhibition where you find similarities in your surroundings and the paintings you are showing. (R10)</p> <p>It could me more interesting, so the caption, but also the pictures could be more engaging and maybe they should have more contests, so something to engage the Instagram followers. (R11)</p> <p>What I also find very important is that I think on Instagram the feed and the colors, etc are also a very important part. (R13)</p> <p>I think that if they want to engage with more people, they have to make it more interesting. Not only from the photo aspect but also like what kind of theme they want to have for each week. To be much clearer for people to see. So they have contemporary stuff and other stuff you know. (R14)</p> <p>I: (...) So maybe should have been clearer about it right? L: yes (R8).</p> <p>Because I didn't know who Jongkind is. So it would need more explanation, or maybe I would have to go to the page of 'elsekramer', because it says it's a 'regrann' of her, look at her post and then see what it means. (R9)</p>
	Expectations	Engaging followers; use of the museum's space and surroundings; focus on the art; storytelling; more international; develop a strategy; more attention to visuals; more explanatory; use of themes	
	Limitations of using Instagram	Clarity; taste; lack of information about events; more limits compared to Facebook	

			<p><i>What I like about Facebook is that if you look at a certain event, you can see who liked the post, who is going, who is interested, how many people are interested. So then it's a good way for yourself to see how the event is going to be. And on Instagram you don't have that. (R9)</i></p> <p><i>Sometimes I find it difficult because if they post a lot of different pictures, so in general it can look a bit messy, but I understand what they are doing, so that makes it a bit difficult, because it is a lot about taste. (R10)</i></p> <p><i>There are more old people on Facebook. If you really want to then you can show how a painting comes to life or comes to a building. You can put that on Instagram. (R11)</i></p> <p><i>Instagram is powerful because it's working with images and you have to think hard about your message, it must be a catchy message because you have limited time, limited words, because otherwise people will lose interest, will lose their concentration. (R12)</i></p>
Cultural capital	Relationship with arts and culture	Interest in museums; interest in cultural activities	<p><i>I myself was interested in literature, very much, read a lot, also about writers and of course then you also enter the art's world. (R8)</i></p> <p><i>I do not often visit museums as much as I want. (...) And I often have the experience of museums being not attached to the outer world, they are old fashioned. (...) It seems to me as if new ways of looking at that particular theme does not reach the museum. (R8)</i></p> <p><i>The last time was a half year ago. I went to Kunsthall. But I don't have the time, and it's not my main focus, so when I have free time I prefer doing other things. And when I have free time on top of that, I go to the museum. (R9)</i></p> <p><i>Do you often go to museums?</i> <i>C: Yes, but not that often actually.</i> <i>I: How come?</i> <i>C: Time and I really have to like it. I just don't go to museums just to check it out only. (R10)</i></p> <p><i>I was always interested in arts and culture because I worked in media for so long and that's also part of culture of course. A long time ago I was brought up with art as a way to educate yourself. So if you knew a lot about art or painters it an extension for your knowledge. (R11)</i></p> <p><i>I didn't study it, but I read a lot about it, I bought book about painters. It was not a study, it was a hobby. (R12)</i></p> <p><i>Most of the time more to cultural activities and events like film festivals or music events. I do go to museums but then I feel like you have to have a good exhibition to go to a museum. But when I'm on a city trip I would go more easily I think. (R13)</i></p>
	Personal background	Education; role of parents; parents' education; role of siblings or other family members; school	<p><i>I think it started when I was small and I went to that kind of things with my aunt and my uncle, because they were really interested in it. (R9)</i></p> <p><i>She studied at a University, or maybe HBO, so that is applied science. (...) My uncle wasn't. He was working in the harbour in Rotterdam.</i> <i>I: What about your parents?</i> <i>L: My parents do not have a higher education. (R9)</i></p>

			<p><i>I studied History for 5 years in Leiden and Amsterdam, but did not graduate. I have 2 HBO diplomas, Social Worker (years ago) and recently Teacher of philosophy and religion (2e grade). (R8)</i></p> <p><i>I was raised in a simple family, a worker's environment, social class, so I was not raised with art and the only thing that I remember was that my father mentioned Tosca and Carmen (...) I remember being literally in front of the TV to watch them, and I've never forgot that. (R8)</i></p> <p><i>I studied construction engineering in Rotterdam, at the university of applied science. And then I did my masters in Utrecht, it was called Sustainable Development. (R9)</i></p> <p><i>My dad is a graphic designer and a painter, so I grew up between art and things and we always went to the museum and then I started studying art myself when I was 17. (R10)</i></p> <p><i>My mother was a painter, so I always liked that and when me and my sister were bored we were asked if we would like to model or paint yourself or make a mosaic or something. (R11)</i></p> <p><i>My mother had an antique store, so she was in art, but as a dealer, of antique art. My father was the director of the largest music school in Europe, so he was always with music, not that much with paintings or sculptures etc. (R12)</i></p> <p><i>I think because of my mother, because she always went to museums with me and my sister, so I guess it started with her and then of course when I started my bachelor's media and culture, I mostly had classes about art and culture, but also film. (R13)</i></p> <p><i>She [her mother] studied architecture, so I think she really likes classical images where you can see certain styles where you also see some architecture back. (R13)</i></p> <p><i>I think it as my mom who took me to museums when I was small. my mom actually took me the first time to van Gogh museum. I got very interested in it and then I thought about it. (R14)</i></p>
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