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Approaches to Collecting Social Digital Photography in Museums and Archives

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Preface

THIS ANTHOLOGY, *Connect to Collect*, shares the results of the research project *Collecting Social Photo* (CoSoPho), which has explored the collecting of social digital photography by museums and archives in innovative ways. The anthology discusses how social digital photography collections in the near future may be of considerable value to the core function of museums and archives: as a public arena for knowledge exchange, collaboration and interaction between institutions, partners, contributors and consumers. It also indicates how social digital photography can be an important (re)source for future history and cultural heritage. Based on insights from surveys, empirical case studies and prototype development, combined with theoretical analyses, this anthology aims to inspire future efforts to connect to collect.

The CoSoPho project was carried out by museums and archives in collaboration with academia. Four institutions from the Nordic countries were involved: Nordiska Museet (Sweden), Stockholm County Museum (Stockholms läns museum, Sweden), The Finnish Museum of Photography (Finland) and Aalborg City Archives (Denmark). The institutions have collaborated in various ways in the past decades around issues concerning photography collections, thus bringing years of experience of photographic heritage collections into the project. The Department of Social Anthropology at Stockholm University, Sweden, has been a research partner, contributing with academic expertise on digital visuality, social media practices and visual cultural heritage, along with other researchers. In addition, to combine the expertise of practitioners and researchers, the project has benefited from Nordic cross-collaboration. The museum/archives sectors of these countries have many common features yet provide diversity in perspectives of collecting.

The CoSoPho project was funded by two Swedish foundations, Riksbankens Jubileumsfond (RJ) and Vitterhetsakademien, in the funding initiative *Samlingarna och Forskningen* (Collections and Research) from 2017 to 2020. The project has been administered by Nordiska Museet. A reference group of international academic experts has advised the project throughout its duration.

Connect to Collect: Introduction

Elisabeth Boogh, Kajsa Hartig, Bente Jensen, Anni Wallenius

PHOTOGRAPHS HAVE BEEN collected and acquired in great numbers by museums and archives since the 19ᵗʰ century. Despite their attractiveness as visual media, the role of photography collections in museums and archives has often been that of a knowledge bank of visual evidence, treated as representations of objects and phenomena, or regarded as art, but lacking analytical visibility and critical effect. Anthropologist Elizabeth Edwards has criticised the lack of contextual information in museum collections, which has often positioned photographs in the role of supporting other narratives, rather than being valued in their own right as dynamic objects in museum knowledge systems (Edwards and Morton 2015).

Today photography is changing and so should collecting practices of museums and archives. We find radical shifts in individual photographic practices: much photo sharing now takes place almost exclusively online and a new type of immediate communication is emerging. As the sociologist Nathan Jurgenson points out, the image is only a few taps from being produced and consumed (Jurgenson 2019, 12). As a consequence,

Photograph from the case study *Insta-Suomi: Documenting Finnish Instagram.* Photo: Lotta Sulin, 2018, The Finnish Museum of Photography.

new types of image content have emerged as well as images of low resolution and varying aesthetic quality. However, it is important to emphasise that even though new technology creates new possibilities, it does not dictate image content. At the same time, there is also an emergence of data that could potentially tell new stories about everyday life and important events as well as significant political and societal processes. Parallel to the development of new photographic practices, museums and archives have transformed their work with collections and communities, opening up for participatory practices around heritage collections and archives. These developments are connected to the emergence of social media but are rooted in pre-Internet traditions (Benoit III and Eveleigh 2019, 1–2).

These changes point towards social digital photography, a term used in this anthology to capture photography collections in relation to digital technology and social media. The term is used to emphasise that a new form of photography has evolved in the digital age, with technology and the networked realm of social media. As a consequence of technology, new photographic practices have emerged (Serafinelli 2018). Here it is important to add that even though technology creates new possibilities, it does not dictate the image content. Nathan Jurgenson uses the term social photography to make a distinction between photographs of the past that were centred around the physical object, and social photography which "is something lighter and more immediate," a more "liquid photography" (2019, 22). Computer scientists Frohlich and Sarvas have chosen the concept domestic photography, photography produced for non-professional purposes (2011, 5). Media researcher José van Dijck makes a distinction between amateur and professional photography by using the term personal photography, as photography has always been and is increasingly used for personal identity (2008). However, the scope of the CoSoPho project is wider, as social digital photographs are produced and circulated by both professionals and amateurs in a semi-public arena. Initially the project used the term vernacular photography to cover this wider scope, and therefore it features in a number of the chapters of the anthology. Currently this term is under debate. Previously it was used to describe a kind of ordinary photography, one that was not recognised as art in the established histories of photography. Over time the term has come to encompass many different kinds of photography, and the vernacular has become a collecting category displayed in galleries. Photo historian Geoffrey Batchen (2018) argues for the term to be abandoned, in favour of returning to the more generic term photography, accompanied by a more qualified description.

One could argue, as the art historian Anna Dahlgren points out in this anthology, that photography has always been social. However, she adds that it is undeniable that some completely new social practices have emerged with social digital photographs. Dahlgren uses the term social analogue photography as a contrast to its digital counterpart (Chapter 1). Similarly, focusing on social media photography, social anthropologist Paula Uimonen argues that these images are born-digital and born social (Chapter 3). For the CoSoPho project, the use of both social and digital emphasises the specific features of contemporary photography and the impact it has on collecting practices for museums and archives.

From the early 2000s, especially since the emer-

gence of the smartphone and social media, photographs have become fluid and ubiquitous. Millions of photos are shared every day, around the globe, and as Nathan Jurgenson claims: "As a visual discourse, social photos are a means to express feelings, ideas, and experiences in the moment, a means sometimes more important than the specific ends of a particular image" (2019, 18). This flood of visual expression and ongoing communication creates new opportunities for museums and archives to re-evaluate photographic collections. Social digital photography is impacting the roles of curators and archivists as well as institutions, demanding collaboration with contributors and partners, exposure to new photographic practices, new working methods, and everything that drives the process of archiving outside the walls of the institution (Flinn and Sexton 2019, 173).

The starting point for the CoSoPho project has been to investigate the future of photography collections, as photography is changing character. With the changes in photographic practices, museums and archives are facing a decline in spontaneous donations of analogue photographs. Soon it will no longer be possible to acquire a shoebox of old photographic prints, negatives or photo albums, found in the attic or handed down by older generations.

Today's social digital photos exist in vast numbers and are often treated as disposable by the creators of the photographs, and are therefore at actual risk of vanishing due to technological failures and password-protected social media and personal cloud service accounts. In addition, the affordances of commercial social media services do not allow easy export of single postings and they prohibit large scale scraping of posts. There are legal issues to consider as well, such as Intellectual Property Rights (IPR) and the General Data Protection Regulation (GDPR).

Affecting collecting is the ephemeral nature of the social digital photograph, with the implication that collecting needs to be done with meaningful outreach to engage audiences to contribute, and there needs to be adequate infrastructure in place to support the actual collecting and integration into digital collections management systems. Another consequence of collecting from many different individuals is that each will have their own approach to labelling, hierarchical arrangements, file-naming conventions and file formats (Besser, 2016).

With these challenges in mind: How can museums and archives continue to collect photography at a time when photographs are being produced in larger numbers than ever and distributed across networks online? How can museums and archives select from this vast number of photographs, which in many ways are more inaccessible to collect than analogue photography has been?

Preparing for the future: What to collect and how?

From the perspective of collecting social digital photography, a core issue for the CoSoPho project has been to examine *what content to collect* and *which methods to use*. Before the project started, there had been little research and very few practical attempts by museums and archives to regard social digital photography as cultural heritage and archives to preserve for the future.

To address these issues, the project has performed a

number of empirical case studies to examine how the collecting of social digital photography can be done. All case studies focused on social media photography, since this is where the major shift has taken place, towards publicly or privately shared images on commercial online services, such as Facebook and Instagram. However, a grand paradox that the project team was compelled to take into account was that collecting straight from social media is not currently possible due to IPR and the affordances of social media services. This barrier was overcome by using collecting services set up by museums and archives, so that users can upload from their own devices, rather than from their social media accounts. This also meant that the actual

Life by the Limfjord in Aalborg, Denmark. The photograph is from the case study *#Weloveaalborg: Hashtagged Sentiments about a City on Instagram.* Photo: Stefan Hornbøl.

collecting by museums and archives opened up for photographs that were never shared on social media. Hence the use of the broader term social digital photography.

Despite such challenges for collecting, everyday photographs of our time offer valuable insights into cultural processes and personal experiences that have never before been captured in such detail. They provide insights into everyday life, personal narratives, social and political processes, as well as new aesthetic expressions, in a way that is missing in most historical records. This is confirmed by Elisa Serafinelli, who claims that social digital photography can be regarded as a visual representation of identity, the self in relation to memory and events of the past (2018, 157, 160).

Previous research

A pilot study in 2016, which led to the CoSoPho project, confirmed that few scholars have investigated the memory aspect of social media that is specifically connected to photography as well as archival and museum practices (Jensen 2013, Hartig et al. 2016). Most existing research focuses on social media and photography, with little attention to archives and memory institutions. There is, however, a growing awareness that social media content, including photos, need to be treated as records that should be acquired for public archives. A recent innovative example is the Norwegian National Archives, which is collecting social media posts from politicians.[1] Another example is the National Library of New Zealand, which is collecting Facebook accounts from New Zealanders.[2]

The CoSoPho project has drawn on recent studies that explore archival functions and memory-making practices of relevance to museums and archives. Important work has been done by the archivist and researcher Jessica Bushey (2015), who has discussed the validity of social media records and problems connected to them, and by the anthropologist Haidy Geismar who in her article *Instant Archives?* (2017) reflects on Instagram as an archive, a way of making sense of the complexity of the service alongside analysing user-generated content. Extensive research of importance to photography and museums has been performed by Elizabeth Edwards (2015), who even argues for the fundamental role of photography collections to the operation of the museum. The work of the media theorist Lev Manovich is also of interest, as his studies push the boundaries for social media photography as visual and non-visual big data, the latter presented in his research project Visual Earth.[3] Manovich has also inspired the project through his study *The Exceptional and the Everyday: 144 Hours in Kiev* (2014), where place and changes were analysed through Instagram photos. The 'extraordinary' has also been researched by Howard Besser (2012), who in his study of the 'Occupy' movement touches upon participatory issues as well as the entire process of selecting, capturing, and preserving media shared online. The archives theoretician Terry Cook (2013) characterises the present era as an "identity paradigm", which involves cooperation.

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1. http://beta.some.arkivverket.no/ (Accessed Oct 30, 2019).

2. https://natlib.govt.nz/blog/posts/is-your-facebook-account-an-archive-of-the-future (Accessed Oct 30, 2019).

3. http://visual-earth.net/ (Accessed Dec 17, 2019).

In addition, researchers like Benoit III and Eveleigh (2019), Eveleigh (2015) and Huvila (2008) have identified the need for participatory methods.

Research questions

The CoSoPho project has been guided by three research questions that address the challenges of collecting social digital photography:

1. How can collection policies and practices be adapted to create relevant and accessible collections of social digital photography?

The first research question captures differences between analogue and born-digital photography collections and the work practices around them. As the production and consumption of social digital photography takes place within digital frameworks and infrastructures it is inevitable that it will impact current work practices around collecting photography.

Collecting the analogue photograph has largely focused on images of good quality, in stable condition. These images were to fill in gaps in current holdings with unique and unusual or rare image content. They were to represent a range of photographic techniques and practices as well as geographical and topographical areas, while not placing a burden on future resources due to costly conservation efforts (Ritzenthaler and Vogt-O'Connor 2006, 78–79). In short, the acquisition of analogue photography has historically mainly been a choice and decision by the collecting museum or archive, which is the case in the collecting criteria of the Swedish publication *Att samla och gallra* (2003). In

the 2006 publication, *Photographs – Archival Care And Management* the advice is to be very selective, avoiding possible duplicates available at other institutions and photographs in need of significant preservation or extensive in number, which would require sampling (Ritzenthaler and Vogt-O'Connor 2006, 80).

The ephemeral nature of the social digital photograph, rapidly shared in different contexts, does not sit well with the often passive collecting of analogue photography. Capturing both the photograph and its context is crucial, which institutions have done with varying success and awareness in the past. However, with social digital photography, the need for context is more urgent than ever.

2. How can digital archives, collection databases and interfaces be relevantly adapted – considering the character of the social digital photograph and the digital context – to serve different stakeholders and end users?

The second research question explores the management and consumption of social digital photography collections. As the social digital photograph tends to be fluid, moving through multiple contexts, and since it is an assemblage of image content, captions, comments, likes, emojis, and EXIF data, museums and archives are facing the need to host a new array of metadata. The social digital photograph is also produced here and now, potentially allowing direct contact with the producer of the image, which in turn can generate further context to enrich the image content. And with the emergence of inclusive methods, the producers of the photographs are highly likely to be the ones to add the image to the collection themselves, without the staff as

intermediaries. Providing relevant metadata is of great importance to the future value of the photographs. Therefore, exploring image recognition became a scope of the project as one possible method to assist tagging of images.

Though managing assemblages of metadata and images would in itself be a daunting task for the project, the team decided to change focus to examine the entire process of collecting social digital photography as audience engagement, participation and collaboration are important parts of collecting initiatives. During the project it also became evident that the act of collecting social digital photography is new to most museums and archives.

Discussions have been held around dissemination, not so much in technical terms but in ethical considerations, since a significant difference between analogue and social digital photography is that the latter can, and even should, be made public immediately after collecting. This raises ethical questions around dissemination and the role of public photo collections.

3. Can museums and archives change their role when collecting and disseminating, to increase user influence in the whole life cycle of the vernacular photographic cultural heritage?

The third research question looks at participatory methods and social digital photography. Inclusion is about bringing people and their heritage together with shared authority. As described by Eva Silvén (2010, 141–142): "Collecting, field research, and collections management have become a public interface, a channel whereby a museum can communicate with its users,

IRC-Galleria Evening, an open discussion event at The Finnish Museum of Photography served as a shared platform for discussing the early history of social media in Finland. Photo: Karl Ketamo 2017. The Finnish Museum of Photography.

and become an arena where they can meet in a joint quest for knowledge and multi-faceted understandings. In parallel, collecting and collections management have turned into emancipatory tools for groups who want to make their imprint onto the public creation of history, particularly indigenous peoples and minorities." As Lenstra concludes, communities seek autonomous spaces for their cultural heritage, such as Facebook groups (2017, 102). He emphasises the need for building trusting relationships with communities, especially community leaders. With this in focus as the third research question for the CoSoPho project, the team wished to examine what inclusive methods means in the context of collecting social digital photography.

Chapter overview

Connect to Collect begins by framing social digital photography in relation to the collection of visual cultural heritage. It examines the social and the digital and investigates the phenomenon of online images and shared reality. The transition of social media photography into visual heritage is then explored. This conceptual discussion is followed by 11 case studies on collecting social digital photography performed within the project. The results of the case studies are followed by descriptive analyses of the development of a web app for collecting and the experimental use of image recognition tools for describing collected images. The anthology ends with recommendations aimed at supporting museums and archives in taking the first steps towards collecting social digital photography.

Part I: Framing social digital photography

Chapter 1, by Anna Dahlgren, theorises about the social digital photograph as a phenomenon or artefact to be collected by museums and archives. Through a review of current research in the field, Dahlgren brings three central arguments and frames the implications for collecting social digital photography, raising questions around ethics, the roles of museums and archives as providers of long-term commitment and open sources, and as providers of context.

In Chapter 2, the researcher in fashion studies Lisa Ehlin discusses the practices and expressions of images, primarily among younger generations, many of whom can be described as digital natives. Departing from notions of Digital Dualism, whereby society in some ways strives towards a separation of online and the 'real' world, Ehlin moves on to discuss the very realness of online social life and how sharing has become a way to see and be seen for a demographic group that in many ways is excluded from many physical spaces.

In Chapter 3, Paula Uimonen summarises survey results from the CoSoPho project, framed in a discussion on social media photography and digital cultural heritage. The chapter outlines the project's holistic approach and the insights gained from its innovative efforts in collecting digital visual heritage.

Part II: Case studies

The second part of the book presents the 11 case studies carried out by the project team: Elisabeth Boogh (Collections Strategist, Stockholm County Museum), Kajsa Hartig (Project manager, Nordiska Museet), Bente Jensen (Archivist, Aalborg City Archives) and Anni Wallenius (Chief Curator, Collections, The Finnish Museum of Photography). The case studies are used as empirical bases for discussing changing work practices for museums and archives collecting social digital photography, as well as to support the recommendations at the end of this anthology. A central part of the collecting initiatives has been to examine the entire process of collecting, from idea and planning to collecting and acquisition, to identify critical points where new methods challenge existing work practices as well as opportunities where online collecting could benefit the museum or archive in a much broader sense than just developing photography collections.

The chapters in Part II are categorised into three themes that the team identified as relevant to explore,

based on the theory of social photography as well as the practices of the institutions. The themes are: places, practices and events. *Places* focuses on how social digital photography can depict a town or a village through many gazes, and how the study of social media photography can be an entry point to the collection of images of a place. *Practices* explores how individual photographic practices affect what is produced and shared, and how this affects collecting. *Events* examines how social media photography produced in connection with events can be collected and how this differs from collecting from, for example, a place. This chapter also describes how rapid response collecting can be utilised in connection to sudden significant events.

Part III: New collecting interfaces

One of the goals of the project was to research around user interfaces and social digital photography. As the team noticed early on that the very first step of collecting was missing for many institutions, a tool for acquiring social digital photography was produced. During this process the project team also decided to look further into the entire process of collecting in online environments and explore the bridge between collecting interfaces and dissemination of the very same collections.

Chapter 7 discusses the project's efforts to develop a prototype web app for collecting social digital photography.

Chapter 8 explores image recognition as a feature of collecting processes not yet implemented by museums and archives other than through some experiments. Doctoral researcher Arran Rees performed experiments for the CoSoPho project, running collected images through three different existing image recognition services, to explore the usefulness of these kinds of services to contemporary collections of social digital photography.

Part IV: Conclusions

The anthology ends with a conclusion that addresses the research questions of the project, while advancing the field based on the experiences and learnings of the CoSoPho project. The conclusion also functions as a point of departure for the recommendations and tool kit in the Appendix. Together with the web app as a practical tool, described in Part III, the recommendations are aimed at supporting museums and archives that wish to initiate collecting projects. The recommendations cover a broad range of possibilities and challenges that come with collecting.

Above all, the project team hopes to ignite further discussions about the possibilities for preserving the fluid and complex visual heritage of our time for future generations.

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Part I: Conceptual Framing

1. Rethinking the Social Photograph in the Age of Digital Interconnectivity

Anna Dahlgren

SOCIAL DIGITAL PHOTOGRAPHY is the object of study in the research project that inspired this book.[1] If one wishes to collect and preserve social digital photography, a key question is: what is being collected and preserved, or more precisely, what is possible or even desirable to collect and preserve? A first step in addressing this question is to dissect the tripartite phenomenon of social digital photography, to understand the implications of its main components. In other words, how can the 'social', the 'digital' and 'photography' be understood both in relation to contemporary culture and in relation to historical periods?

This chapter seeks to historicise the social digital photograph as a phenomenon or cultural artefact to be included in public cultural heritage collections. On the basis of current findings in image studies and media studies this chapter brings three overall arguments around this phenomenon. First it argues that all photographs are social. Second, it stresses the importance of acknowledging the materiality of digital photographs. Thirdly it proposes that photographs may primarily be defined and understood as a process and not as artefacts.[2] None of these individual arguments are new – they have been the topic for a wide number of scholarly writings in the last two decades. However, the combination of these three arguments and their relation to the cultural heritage sector's practices for collecting and preserving social digital pho-

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1. Funding by Riksbankens jubileumsfond SAF16-1043:1: Samla social digital fotografi.
2. The idea that photographs are artefacts has implications for archival practices as well as theories. Despite photographs in archives being formally defined as documents and parts of series rather than artefacts, every single photograph is on a very basic level a material artefact. The theoretical implications of this viewpoint have, for example, been elaborated by Elisabeth Edwards and Janice Hart in the seminal book *Photo-graphs Objects Histories: On the Materiality of Images.* 2004. The fact that the default mode of photographs in museums and archives is the series and not the single picture has in turn been discussed in the Norwegian publication *80 millioner bilder. Norsk kulturhistoriskt fotografi 1855–2005.* 2008, edited by Jonas Ekeberg, Oslo: Forlaget Pres. For a general introduction to material culture studies see Jules David Prown, "Mind in matter: An Introduction to Material Culture Theory and Method." 1982. *Winterthur Portfolio*, 17 (1): 1–19.

tography has not been considered in any extensive way.

This chapter ties into historical or cultural media studies that emphasise continuities *and* discontinuities regarding techniques, mediums, and their associated cultural practices and forms (Couldry 2012; Gitelman and Pingree 2003; Gitelman 2008; Hepp 2012). At the core of these writings is the acknowledgment of the historical dimensions of media or as Lisa Gitelman put it: "Even the newest new media today come from somewhere" (2008, 5). Tying into this, the foundation for this chapter is to continuously seek to historicise social digital photography. This strand of media research also entails a media definition that goes beyond technology, whereby media is defined as "socially realized structures of communication, where structures include both technological forms and their associated protocols, and where communication is a cultural practice, a ritualized collaboration of different people" (Gitelman 2008, 7). Taken together, this media historical take has two vital implications. First, it implies that media are always social and cultural. Second, it implies that there are always historical dimensions to consider. This is in stark contrast to contemporary discourses on media, both present and historical, as expressed in marketing and the press, where the focus on novelties is the default (Harcup and Deidre 2017). Indeed, this occasionally also holds for academic research, as recently pointed out by art historian Peter Bengtsen (2016).

All images are social

All images can be said to be social. They are communicative in the sense that the individual who has produced them has done so to convey a message, precise or general, personal or instrumental (Gitelman and Pingree 2003; Snickars 2005, 17). Any image is therefore an expression of the producer's thoughts, knowledge, beliefs, emotions or state of mind. Thus, photography like any other image technique or cultural practice, has always been social. Accordingly, the crucial questions in relation to contemporary digital photographic practices is rather in *what sense* they are social and if and how they are social in comparison with analogue photographic practices. I would argue that the social practices common to analogue photography are still in practice in digital photography. Many digital photographic practices are in fact remediating their analogue counterparts, using the terminology of Bolter and Grusin (Bolter and Grusin 1999). Yet there are also alternate, more or less 'new' social practices that have developed in the wake of the digitisation of personal photography, which in turn could be compared and understood in relation to historically-shaped practices.

While the history of personal photography is often written in relation to the emergence of cheap and easy-to-use cameras and amateur photography in the 1880s, Martha Langford has pointed out that long before that period there were 'photography amateurs'. These were people who started to collect professionally produced photographs in albums in the late 1850s and onwards in Europe and the US (Langford 2001, 41). While the amateur photographers were primarily men, the photography amateurs who collected, ordered and mounted photographs in albums were primarily women. When comparing the 19th century practices and uses of photographic albums with the practices in online interfaces for personal photographs in the 21st century

there are some striking similarities that bridge centuries as well as technical platforms (Dahlgren 2013). More poignantly, both the album and the social media platforms are central to identity formation and social interaction.

For one to understand 19th century personal photographic culture it is not enough to study the individual images but also the material objects through which they were looked at and displayed, including albums, frames and jewellery. The design, size and material used in the photo albums, for example, suggests where and how photographs were looked at. Moreover, they disclose contemporary ideas on class, gender, family and relations, as well as the basic notion of what a photographic portrait was (Dahlgren 2013). Correspondingly, the image carriers – the material interfaces or objects where contemporary digital social photography are displayed, circulated and looked at – are equally important for the understanding and interpretation of photographic practice. Indeed, photographs formed an important basis for social interaction and conversation in the second half of the 19th century and the same holds for what we today call social media photography.

Secondly, and equally important for understanding 19th century personal photo culture is the commentary or written text presented in conjunction with these photographs. The majority of all images were accompanied by text, either orally performed or in written form. Photo albums were true conversation pieces and testimonies on how they could 'save' a social gathering when the host and guest did not have anything to talk about are plentiful (Dahlgren 2013, 250–254). Today the photo albums that reside in museum and archive

Social analogue photography in the Nineteenth century. People talking over a photo album. Illustration from Eustace Clare Grenville Murray, *Side-lights on English society: Sketches from life, social & satirical,* Detroit: Singing Tree Press, 1969, p. 185.

collections are mute in the sense that the oral stories that were such a crucial element in their original use are no longer known. However, hints on the wordings and commentary on photographic albums may be found in fiction and satire from the period (Di Bello 2007: Dahlgren 2013). In the same way, the online interfaces where personal photographs are circulated today are heavily dependent on text, either spoken or written. These images are also tagged, commented on and talked about.

Thus, to enable future generations of curators and researchers to fully grasp contemporary digital social photography as cultural practice, it is vital to collect not only the photographs, but also the devices, information about their uses and the written texts and oral conversations that accompany these images.

There are also some decisive differences between 'analogue' and 'digital' photographic practices that might be particularly visible or acknowledged by current generations who have experienced both categories of techniques. As pointed out by media historian Lisa Gitelman, such transitory periods are particularly instructive as they openly discuss the old and the new (2003, xii–xv).

Indeed, the term social has other connotations in the digital domain. Thus, what is termed 'social' photography – meaning photographs circulating on digital online interfaces – evade earlier divides between private and public, professional and amateur, and genres like entertainment, news and propaganda. Put differently, previously separated functional end uses of images – to divert, inform or persuade – have *converged*, using Jenkins' (2006) terminology, in the contemporary category 'social photography'. Moreover, as pointed out by Rubinstein and Sluis, personal photography online is "distributed and shared on a scale comparable with news or commercial photography" (2010, 10). Content sharing online platforms are "trans-individual archiving practices," which are characterised by a mix of intimate photographs and 'public' forms of photography (Vivienne and Burgess 2013, 281). This in turn implies that personal photography, which was simultaneously ubiquitous and hidden from public space during the 20th century, is now widely shared through online interfaces.

However, scrutinising civil uses of photography and photo albums in the 19th century it is evident that they were not as private as 20th century albums. On the contrary, they were, just like the typical spaces in which they were used, semi-public.[3] Photographs and albums filled with portraits were on display in parlours, the main public spaces of private homes (Habermas 1984, 51). Accordingly, personal uses of photography have varied historically, pending between being more or less public or private. Thus the 'renewed visibility' of personal photographs in the beginning of the 21st century implies that "the roles of the professional photographic image and that of a snapshot are changing" as for example through citizen journalism, sousveillance and as the idea of the detached observer is abandoned (Rubinstein and Sluis 2008, 11; Andén-Papadopolous 2013). This in turn raises the question of *what* the photo-

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3. The question of the public/private divide in relation to social media practices has been the object of several studies. See, for example, Michael James Walsh, "The selfie and the transformation of the public–private distinction", *Information, Communication and Society*, 20, 8 (2017): 1185–1203.

graphs that are circulated on interfaces like Facebook and Instagram actually are?

In a way, before the advent of online sharing, personal photographs were in fact more at odds with the museum idea of collecting photographs to later display them in exhibitions and printed publications. Simultaneously, the need to collect and archive 'personal' online photographs is less pronounced as they are archived in an aggregated sense through online sharing, platforms, and re-circulations. Naturally, digital photographs can be lost or destroyed due to technical breakdowns in platform servers or individual devices (computers, smartphones or digital cameras). Yet compared to their analogue counterparts, the chances of back-up copies existing are dramatically higher.

Thus, I argue that what museums and archives primarily need to collect, document and archive is not only the images themselves but most importantly the practices, habits, understanding and further 'meaning' of these image practices. Finding answers to questions like: What does this visual, textual and oral practice mean to you? Why are you making, distributing and consuming these images? Who are the intended audiences? In short, questions on practices and habits but also feelings, aims, rewards or output – the affordances of social digital photography. Taken together, the image content is not the decisive feature of digital social photography, but rather its patterns of circulation, use and deferred meaning. What has to be recorded for the future is "not just *what* people do but *why*," as suggested by Van House et al. (2005).

According to the study of camera phone usage by Van House et al. (2005), personal photography has four functions: 1) creating and maintaining social rela-tionships; 2) constructing personal and group memory; 3) self-presentation; and 4) self-expression. Moreover, camera phones are used to make 'functional images', which are made instead of writing down, copying or scanning something. This fifth function of personal photography is completely new, according to Van House et al. However, I would add that all of these functions – including functional images – also hold for the practices of making and looking at civil or personal analogue photographs. The functional uses of photography was the topic in one of the very first publications to include photographic prints, Henry Fox Talbot's *The Pencil of Nature* (1844). In this book Talbot explains how photography could be used to make inventories, which would be a painstaking task if written in words. Talbot also exemplifies how photography could be used to copy graphic prints or enlarge or scale down images or objects (1844, Plate III, XI).

Talbot describes the advantages of using the camera instead of paper and pen to make inventories of objects: "The more strange and fantastic the forms of his old teapots, the more advantage in having their pictures given instead of their descriptions [. . .] The articles represented on this plate are numerous: but, however numerous the objects – however complicated the arrangement – the Camera depicts them all at once."

From artefact to database

The transformation of personal or private photography practices from cameras, film and paper prints, albums, frames, and boxes into mobile phone cameras and digital interfaces for display online steered by mathematical algorithms raises a number of implications in relation

Functional photography anno 1844. In one of the first photo illustrated books Fox Talbot describes the advantages of using the camera instead of paper and pen to make inventories of objects: "The more strange and fantastic the forms of his old teapots, the more advantage in having their pictures given instead of their descriptions [...] The articles represented on this plate are numerous: but, however numerous the objects—however complicated the arrangement—the Camera depicts them all at once." Photo: William Henry Fox Talbot, Articles of China plate III in *The Pencil of Nature*, 1844, salted paper photography.

to the understanding of personal or vernacular photography, snapshots or family pictures or whatever other denomination one chooses to use.[4] Of vital importance for the practices of online sharing of personal photography and user-created content are the material or technical fundamentals. Accordingly, the prerequisites for a culture of digital social photography are platforms like Facebook (founded 2004), Flickr (2004), Tumblr (2007), Pinterest (2010), and Instagram (2010), all of which appeared in the wake of Web 2.0.

For the cultural heritage institutions whose mission is to collect and preserve these images, this technical development is marked by two major challenges. The first is the 'massification' of images online, which is the result of the increasing production of digital photographs paired with the continuous digitisation of analogue images. The implications of this deluge of images available online, digitised and born-digital have been raised in a number of recent publications (Baylis 2014; Bunnik, Cawley and Mulqueen 2016; Pollen 2016). This overabundance of images is furthermore increased by the dynamic connection and networked character of the web, which can be described as a digital archive, which in itself increases access to a continually growing body of images (Ernst and Parikka 2013), as images are copied and redistributed in infinite numbers, potentially modified, even manipulated, and placed in new contexts.

This chapter argues that the digital photograph has a materiality that museums should acknowledge when collecting social digital photography. According to Hans Belting, "pictures are images embodied in media" (2011, 11), thus every picture consists of a medium whether it is a painting, a photograph or viewed on a monitor, or independent of whether it is handmade and unique or mechanically mass-produced. In Belting's tripartite model of picture, image and medium, the *picture* is understood as the material artefact, the *image* is the visual content or pattern, and the *medium* is the image support, technology or artisanship that transmits and gives visibility to the image. Thus, the medium is "that which conveys or hosts an image, making it visible, turning it into a picture" (Belting 2011, 18).

When analogue photographs are collected by museums and archives the image is bound to a medium whether it is on silver-plated copper, glass, paper or celluloid. For digital photography, image and medium are not fixed – their relation is fluid. Thus, while the 'image' is the same, the medium might be very different depending on the device used to display the image. However, this does not mean that the medium is not important. On the contrary, every image is defined by its medium whether this is paper or a smartphone screen. In this context it is vital to acknowledge the fact that digital devices for image display are converging previously separate mediums, such as printed newspapers, television and photo albums. It is vital to consider the material aspects of these devices for converging media – some interesting continuities are visible. For example, the format of the standard sized and

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4. For discussions on this terminology see for example Patricia Holland: "Sweet it is to Scan. Personal Photographs and Popular Photography", *Photography. A Critical Introduction*, red. Liz Wells, London: Routledge, 1997. In this chapter I have consistently used the term 'personal' photography although I am aware of the alternatives and the limitations each of these terms encompass.

mass-produced carte-de-visite photographs of the 19th century (6 x 9 cm) is very close to the size of a typical smartphone screen of the early 21st century.

The transformation from analogue to digital medium has also altered the photographic collection. Indeed "the digital snapshot collection now takes the form of a database" (Rubinstein and Sluis 2008) as they "appear as collections of items on which the user can perform various operations – view, navigate, search' (Manovich 2001, 219). As pointed out by media archaeologist Wolfgang Ernst (Ernst and Parikka 2013) there are a number of decisive differences between the analogue and digital archive, or the analogue and digital collection. Worth noting in this context is that both the private collection, belonging to an individual or a group of individuals – the material or the objects that memory institutions seek to acquire and preserve – *and* the repository of all these materials or objects in the collection of a museum or archive are in themselves an archive. This might not have been pronounced when speaking of a collection of photo albums made of paper but these are also individual archives incorporated into a larger archive. However, when the materials or objects collected are digital the question of archival structure within the collected items and the archival infrastructure of the receiving institution are vital.

According to Ernst, there are a number of decisive differences between analogue and digital archives. For one, the digital archive is characterised by *dynamic connections*, and the analogue by *static accumulation*. On an overall level, the digital is characterised by *logistical interlinking*, while the analogue is *contents of files*. Moreover, the digital is an *aggregate of unpredictable texts*, while the analogue is *pre-selected quantities of documents*. In addition, the relation to time is crucially different, where the digital archive exists at a *micro temporal level, at present*, while the analogue archive is *preserved time*, a *macro temporal index* and a *mnemonic memory* (Ernst and Parikka 2013). In a similar vein, Bunz has pointed out that the Internet is "an archive of the present" characterised by dynamic links – it is a "contextual cloud of semantic niches held together by algorithms" (2013, 86–87). This means that in order to collect and preserve digital cultural heritage, the infrastructure of memory institutions has to be decisively changed.

Photography as interface and process

Finally, I argue, in line with a number of scholars, that photographs should be considered as processes rather than artefacts or objects. This processual take on images in general and photography in particular is influenced by Belting, who argues that images "do not *exist* by themselves, but they *happen*; they *take* place" (2005, 302–303). Correspondingly, Joanna Zylinskas and Kamila Kuc have recently used the notion of 'photo-mediations' to emphasise the "intertwined spatial and temporal nature of photography, pointing as it does to a more processual understanding of media" (2016, 12). Moreover, as remarked in a recent stock-taking of visual culture studies, "there is no such thing as an image in the singular, but rather always its movements, or process of imaging" (Manghani 2015, 23). As pointed out by Mitchell "perhaps the most interesting consequence of seeing images as living is that the question of their value (understood as vitality) is played out in a social context" (2005, 92).

If one considers photography as a process rather than a particular imaging technique or 'look' the digital divide is easier to pinpoint. While very few people can determine whether a photographic print has been taken with an analogue or digital camera, the processes of making and consuming photography are different in a number of vital aspects in the wake of the shift from analogue to digital. From a historical technical perspective, however, the introduction of flash photography in the 1870s and easy-to-use amateur cameras in the 1880s had a much more decisive impact on what have been (and could be) represented in photographic images. I argue, however, that what we photograph (image content) and in what frequency (number of images produced) is not so much dependent on whether the camera and the image support is analogue or digital. Rather this is a result of the price of each image and the complexity of its making. When photographs entered Western society in the first decades of the 19th century they were precious objects produced through expensive and intricate techniques. To take a photograph you needed, among other things, precious metals like silver and copper and knowledge of physics and chemistry. Since then the materials and technical means of photography have become successively cheaper and simpler.

Since photography emerged as a true mass medium through the invention of the carte-de-visite in the 1860s and later photographic postcards, photographs of cats (and dogs) have been popular to collect and circulate. The photographer Harry Pointer is alleged to have taken around 200 different cat pictures in the 1870s.[5]

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5. http://www.photohistory-sussex.co.uk/BTNPointerCats.htm
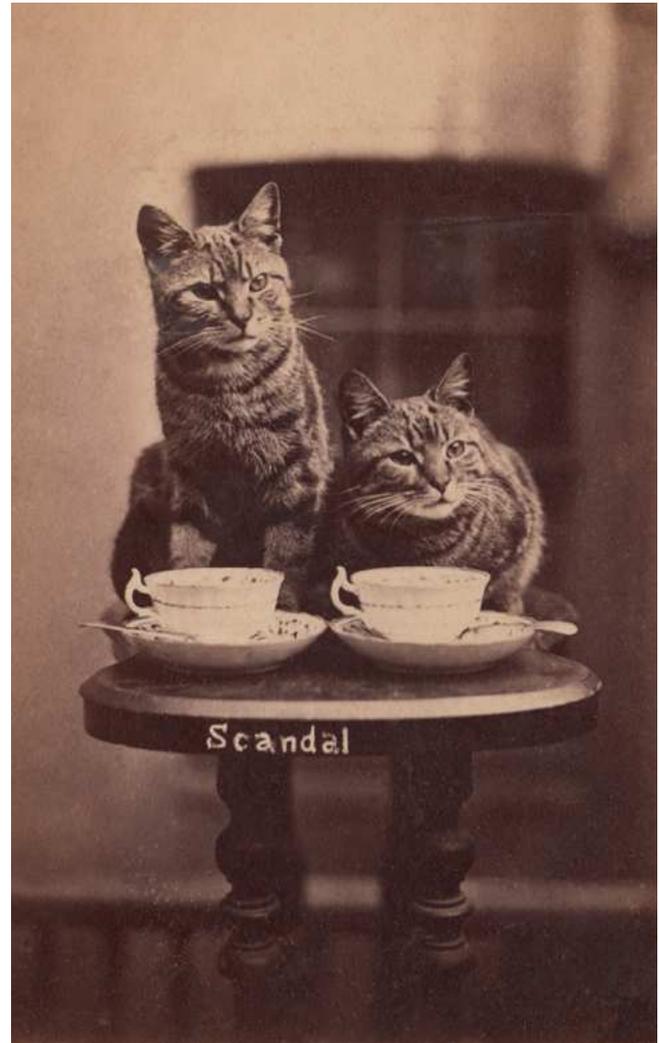
Insta cats avant la lettre. Since photography emerged as a true mass medium through the invention of the carte-de-visite in the 1860s, photographs of cats (and dogs) have been popular to collect and circulate. Photograph: Harry Pointer, The Brighton Cat's series, 1970s. Courtesy The Library of Nineteenth-Century Photography.

The analogue/digital divide in photography

In sum I argue, in line with several scholars before me, that the most important difference between analogue and digital photography is the mode of production and circulation. The fact that there are "methods for *instant image sharing*" is, for example, vital to the understanding of contemporary digital social photography, as observed by Rubinstein and Sluis (2008, 12). This decisive difference between analogue and digital photography is due to the fact that the camera and the image support can be the same device, as exemplified by the smartphone or computer. This in turn has changed the basic conception of photography's relation to time, from being understood as a means for nostalgia and preservation of memories, most famously expressed in Roland Barthes' seminal book *Camera Obscura* (1980), which concerns photography as a means for remembering and longing for the past. While the moment of photographic capture and display in digital image support takes place in the same moment, the production and consumption of photographs have merged in time. Physically looking at a photograph still means that one looks at an instant already passed, but as the time lapse has diminished, new practices and understandings of photography have emerged. However, this does not hold for all digitally-produced photographs. Taking photographs with a digital camera is in many ways 'in between'.

Another similarly decisive difference between analogue and digital photography as process is that digital photographs can very easily and instantly be erased. Analogue photographs can also be erased instantly or will eventually do so by fading. However, in the preva-lent analogue system, since at least the 1880s and Kodaks roll films, each image is numbered, which would then always disclose that something has been erased. With digital photography, oblivion and deletion is rather the default. Not only is traceless deletion built into recording devices, in addition, devices are flooded with images and easily dropped or broken. According to Rubinstein and Sluis, this is "threatening a death blow to the traditional role of the photograph as a memento and keepsake" (2008, 13). Moreover, the authors have remarked that photographs that are "imperfect, unflattering, or meaningless at the time" will not survive and with them disappears chance and unnoticed details, which are core features of analogue photographic techniques (Rubinstein and Sluis 2008, 13; cf. Szarkowski 1966). In a similar vein, Bunz has acknowledged that "interests and not events drive the logic of the digital public" (Bunz 2013, 88).

Finally, the simplicity and cheapness of making photography with digital tools implies distributed control in a micro perspective as young people today "demand a place as historiographers and intervene in the mediation of family memories and ideologies" (Proitz 2017, 548–563). Yet the question of control in a macro perspective – the lack of control in how images are used and circulated once in the cloud – is maybe the most urgent challenge for photography in the age of digital interconnectivity.

Sharing and caring for visual heritage

The digitisation of photography raises a number of challenges for memory institutions. As put forward by a number of scholars, the digital turn has brought a

range of changes – technical, social and cultural – while also building on historical, analogue practices and traditions. Thus, there are new modes of production, circulation and display, partly tying into established and old practices and partly completely new. Returning to the three arguments proposed in this chapter – that all photographs are social; that digital (photography) has a materiality; and that photography is a process and not an artefact – what are the further implications for the collecting practices of cultural heritage institutions? While this chapter started with three arguments it ends with some tentative suggestions.

Firstly, I suggest that a core inquiry in the era of digital interconnectivity is the question of surveillance and control. Already in 1973 Susan Sontag pointed out that "[c]ameras define reality in two ways essential to the working of advanced industrial society: as spectacle (for the masses) and as an object of surveillance (for rulers)" (1973, 179). A topical question for memory institutions is accordingly to carefully consider the ethical aspects of collecting, preserving and displaying personal photographs as an instance of surveillance. This could be discussed positively (as counterweight to commercial agents online) and negatively (as reproducing traditions with a long history within science and museums to collect individuals as specimen of race, age, culture and so on) but most importantly the implicit power conditions in the archive have to be thoughtfully considered and discussed (Schwarz and Cook 2002; Featherstone 2006).

Secondly, I propose that collecting digital artefacts or processes demands a new mindset for memory institutions. Is it possible, for example, to collect and preserve digital artefacts in a materially-focused system of collecting, which despite being a digital platform or database, lacks the dynamic, linked and open character of the original repository of these image? And if not, what would the digital archive or museum collection look or be like that would separate it from the 'original' archive, in terms of content, metadata, infrastructure, and system design? Put bluntly, if images on Instagram, Facebook or any other open online platform should be collected by museums and archives what would the added value be? Or, put differently, if the images and texts appearing on these sites are already open and public, what is the role of the museum, or what is the added value of having the same contents and images available on a museum site?

As far as I see it, the role of the memory institution is threefold vis-à-vis these online corporate platforms. First, museums and archives represent a *long-term* commitment for preservation. Second, they are *open repositories* for future acquisitions of knowledge. Finally, and most importantly, culture institutions may provide *thick descriptions* – the cultural, social and historical context for any given artefact (Geertz 1973). The most urgent task for cultural heritage institutions facing photography in the age of digital interconnectivity is thus to focus on the complex habits and protocols of photo-based digital social media as a dynamic and changing social, cultural and technical phenomena.

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2. Lived Mediation: Online Images as Shared Reality

Lisa Ehlin

[T]HE MOST REVOLUTIONARY event in the recent history of photography is not the arrival of digital cameras as such, but rather the broadband connection of these cameras to the Internet – in effect turning every photograph on the Web into a potential frame in a boundless film (Burgin 2011, 144).

Introduction

As networked digital images become increasingly ubiquitous in contemporary culture, the way they are produced, shared and discussed among social groups that take them for granted should be of particular focus in understanding the implications of social digital photographs. As sociologist Nathan Jurgenson notes,

> Even those who do not remember a time before smartphones are born into a world still reeling from the collective vertigo of the dizzying change – not just in the technologies and devices but in interpersonal behaviour and political realities (2019, 1).

If we do indeed experience technological, social, cultural and visual vertigo, it is important to grasp how we relate to the origins of that vertigo and why it creates such debate and sense of instability or even feelings of unreality. By contrast, many of those born into a digital online world would describe images as essential parts of everyday life, not experiencing vertigo in the introduction of pictures but rather, perhaps, in their absence. Consequently, it is through the eyes of those who have fully integrated online image practices into their vision and ways of thinking that we can move forward in a visual culture debate riddled with confusion.

This chapter discusses the role of digital images in young people's lives. It considers the practice and expression of images, primarily among younger generations. How do teenagers and young adults present themselves and negotiate identity, as well as visual culture, through networked images, apps and different social platforms? What can memory institutions take away from those internalised forms of expression that are as fluid and ephemeral as current social media practices?

Defining the Internet demographic

In the article "Teens, Gender, and Self-Presentation in Social Media" (2015) Susan Herring and Sanja Kapidzic make the argument that present-day teenagers are truly born and raised in the age of computers and online communication. They note that, "[a]t no other time in history have young people enjoyed such opportunity to make themselves visible to, and heard by, diverse audiences" (2015, 1). These teenagers are, as coined by Mark Prensky in 2001, 'digital natives'. Indeed, in the US, 95 % of teenagers "are online", compared to 78 % of adults (even though the idea of being online and whether you are aware that you are online might be up for debate) (ibid. 2015, 2). For Sweden, the numbers are generally higher, but a major shift since 2015 is that teenagers today prefer social media apps such as Snapchat and Instagram over Facebook. 89 % of 12- to 15-year-olds in Sweden used Snapchat daily in 2018, compared to 8 % of 36–45-year-olds (who prefer Facebook) (Svenskar och Internet 2018). For girls in high school (*högstadiet*), daily use of Snapchat was 97 % in 2018.

It should be noted that smartphone and Internet use today is as common among the older generations as those born in the 1990s or 2000s. For example, it has been argued that as Facebook's popularity has increased among the over-55s over the past few years, teenagers and 20-somethings have defected to services such as Snapchat, Instagram and YouTube (Sweney 2018). Digital natives or not, online presence in Sweden is almost 100 %, meaning that everyone more or less uses its services and social spaces. Thus, although I will focus mainly on digital image practices of the younger demographic, I do not wish to 'exotify' teenagers as inhabiting a different space than the rest of the Internet community, as it is equally important to note that the frequent online presence of younger generations has to be put in a larger context of changes in the overall community, for example where kids and teenagers are allowed to meet and hang out. I will return to this issue later in the chapter.

Digital dualism

There is a central aspect to the networked image debate that is often taken for granted: the division made between Internet activities and physical reality. We often speak of bullying versus cyber bullying, of online personas versus our real-life selves, of photographs as (mere) representations of something real, or even visual presentation of the self in general being only surface, in many ways hiding our true, authentic selves, as if, as Nathan Jurgenson notes, we are always watching ourselves in the third person (2019, 57). The mixing of mask and authenticity is of course not a new concept. However, the separation of the Internet as being 'over there', with my physical presence as I am writing this 'here', is commonplace in Internet and digital culture debates. Popular books such as Sherry Turkle's *Alone Together* (2011), Evgeny Morozov's *The Net Delusion* (2011), Nicholas Carr's *The Shallows* (2010), Mark Bauerlein's *The Dumbest Generation* (2008), Lee Siegel's *Against the Machine* (2008), Andrew Keen's *The Cult of the Amateur* (2007) and many more all point to this systematic prejudice. This creates a problem when considering younger generations and their image and social media practices, especially

when it comes to normative judgements. Issues like 'sexting' (sending and receiving sexually explicit messages and images) between teens is dealt with through this lens with a 'just put the phone away' attitude as a solution to the problem, which really implies that it is the digital connection itself that is toxic and that if we put the phone away and take a walk in the real world, we will experience the calmness and connection to the world rendered impossible in the online chaos. As Jurgenson points out, "the relief goes hand in hand with the implicit belief that how our identities have changed over time is something that should be hidden" (2019, 60). He calls this division of online and offline 'digital dualism', a sort of stigma or belief that what existed before online and social media was more real. This logic spills over to teenagers and how we view their online lives.

We can also turn 'reality check' on its head, and view reality from a more fluid digital image point of view. In *Soft Image* (2015) Rémi Marie and Ingrid Hoelzl note that we also need to discuss major shifts in the relation between world, image and data to understand digital images. In recent years, we have seen attempts at this through concepts such as the 'networked image', 'locative media' (GPS), 'net locality' and even 'sensory digital photography' (images produced and consumed in movement), but outside of this is the even bigger picture represented by Google Street View and Google Earth, which is the building of the 'total image' of the world, which has changed both the status of the image and our experience of the world (Marie and Hoelzl 2015, 83). Most important here is that the different technologies that make this experience happen are now so smooth that we have started to think it was always

like this, that these different images have always existed in the same symbolic space, because what it means in reality is that Google, in photomapping the entire world, is also building the world's database. By extension, we might then view the world *as* database (Marie and Hoelzl 2015, 84). Images then become operative, part of a larger circular process of data exchange, in which we, the users, also feed back into the database. We operate and get operated on. This, some argue, is a major paradigm shift, and draws a distinctive line in the sand regarding similarities and differences to analogue photography. Marie and Hoelzl call this "From street photography to street view" (ibid.).

On top of this, the software, code and algorithms of these images and services are constantly being updated and altered, thus adding to the idea of something fluid rather than fixed. Some scholars argue that photography has always been social, and indeed, photography and cartography have met and merged before in history (for example, in aerial or space photography; see Dyce 2013; Brand 1968; Ahmed 2018). But the question is whether we can see 'through' analogue photographs in this way, or whether we even can and should assume that they are more or less the same, just because they share certain characteristics.

Again, there is a stubborn notion in media debates insisting on the separation, or even dichotomy, between the 'realness' of being away from our computers, and the artificiality and superficiality of interacting in front of screens. Michael Agresta writes:

> We now spend more than half our waking lives looking at digital displays. The online image, the thing that makes us want to click or share – or have one of

the older kinds of emotions, empathy or outrage or anything in between – has become a significant unit of contemporary life, perhaps analogous to the more venerable "moment" of lived experience that's stored in human, rather than computer, memory. […] True, these same sorts of hieroglyphs played out across the covers and front pages of the 20th-century newsstand. But now, thanks to the efficiency of the archives and the speed of our always-on Web connections, we bombard ourselves with thousands of them every day. We sift through them, curiously and compulsively, archivists of ourselves and of the world (2014).

The idea that we have traded something 'real' for the efficiency of the Internet seems undisputed and long-lived. If we were to speak of images only, the idea of efficiency would be correct, as poor images are a key currency in online communication. However, this swift and ephemeral exchange is not in opposition to reality or being away from our keyboards. An answer to the argument of being 'bombarded with images' can be found in a comparison to Siegfried Kracauer's notion of photography from a century ago. According to Kracauer (1927), the illustrated magazines of the day left us in a "blizzard of photographs" (1927, 1995: 58), submerging us in pictures while we are not able to perceive them. The notion of images 'sweeping away the dams of memory' is echoed in contemporary discourse. Now, as then, images seem to frighten and threaten us, and in that there is consistency. However, this notion does not take the discussion further, and it is not nuanced. Agresta's choice of words, terms like 'compulsion' and 'speed' puts the digital image in a historical

When u go on snapchat and see everyone else having a lit summer

Meme created from still of Disney movie *Lilo and Stitch*. Meme posted on Tumblr by Yikers. https://approach. tumblr.com/post/156627452809 (Accessed 15-01-2020).

line of pictures in opposition to contemplation and spiritual development (2014). However, if we look at the pictures people do take, they are often of the smaller things in life, food or a quiet moment in the forest, aspects of daily life very much like contemplation.

For digital kids, online is everywhere

Applied to teens specifically, and in a context of social media being precisely social, images take on a whole new function. But the everyday image practices of younger generations need precisely that: context. In 2014, Microsoft researcher danah boyd released a report from a five-year project about teens and the Inter-

net called *It's Complicated*. In it, she made an ongoing argument that it is not the online behaviour of our teens that we should consider first, but the 'offline' changes in culture and society, the context that surrounds them. She notes:

> What teens do online cannot be separated from their broader desires and interests, attitudes and values. Their relation to networked publics signals their interest in being a part of public life. It does not suggest that they're trying to go virtual or that they're using technology to escape reality. Teens' engagement with social media and other technologies is a way of engaging with their broader social world (2014, 202).

Furthermore, the accessibility of physical spaces, which was a given to children born in the 1970s and 1980s, has changed or disappeared. boyd argues that teens want to connect to public spaces and their peers as much as older generations, however, rather than fighting to reclaim places "that earlier cohorts had occupied, many teens have taken a different approach: they've created their own publics" (2014, 201). The accessibility of Internet spaces regardless of who or where you are, your abilities or anxieties, background or knowledge, is in this sense revolutionary, especially if you belong to groups not always invited to specific physical spaces.

For many young people, social life has also become more constrained timewise, with homework, part-time jobs and other obligations, which is why social media in some ways have replaced group interactions. It is a "social lifeline" that helps them stay connected the way kids in the 1980s perhaps hung out at the local mall (boyd 2014, 20). From the outside perspective, teens constantly looking at their phones might seem like addiction to the screen (as represented by the infamous Time magazine cover "The Me Me Me Generation" from 2013) but what they are really doing is being teenagers: flirting, gossiping, comparing notes and sharing their passions and anxieties.

Moreover, teens rarely get to have a say in the public discourse that surrounds them, but they are often spoken about. Instead, the images shared on Snapchat and Instagram can in many ways be viewed as their voices: *they share in order to see and be seen*. They choose to share to be a part of the public, but how much they share is shaped by how public they want to be. They are, as boyd chooses to label it, "digital flâneurs" (2014, 203). In the article "Digital mediation, connectivity, and networked teens" (2015), Jessica Ringrose and Laura Harvey takes this even further, suggesting that online connectivity is affective by teens mediating not only emotions or thoughts, but their actual bodies by mediating bodily capacities to affect or be affected (2019, 452). The digital here then means a renegotiation of physical material reality.

In other words, social media cannot be understood outside of the embodied cultures that exist everywhere else. Digital culture *is* physical culture. Thus, 'hanging out' online for many teens is the same as any other type of interaction. The arbitrary dichotomy of online and offline (or 'away from keyboard', which some Internet-savvy groups often choose to call physical places) still upheld by many theorists as an explanation for 'online behaviour' creates a confusion as to where 'reality' is placed and experienced.

Sharing images

When it comes to sharing images on social media, the overlapping of realities is fundamental to understanding how they are experienced. On Snapchat[1], images are almost always ephemeral, not meant to last, fleeting in a constant stream, in the same sense that moments pass away from the keyboard. Many social platforms such as Facebook and Instagram keep records and archives of pictures and posts, making it possible to return to them and build some kind of linear narrative of one's life. In the article "Sharing the small moments: ephemeral social interaction on Snapchat" (2016), and following danah boyd, authors Joseph Bayer et al. label this function "persistence" – how a digital artefact such as a picture prolongs accessibility of social information over time (2016, 956). Arguably, this also makes individuals accountable for themselves, as the archive becomes a representation of the self over time. Ephemerality in images however, because they do not last, is sometimes paired with anonymity, affording greater privacy for users (Bayer et al. 2016, 957). This, in turn, makes the pictures more akin to face-to-face interactions. In the most mundane of situations – making dinner; paying bills; brushing your teeth – there is time for a 'snap' to a friend, perhaps just to say "Hi, what's up?"

Even though many snaps are screenshots, which in actuality means that they are saved in the phone along with other pictures, the norm on the Snapchat platform, as a lightweight image and messaging sharing

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1. A smartphone application where messages and pictures are usually only available for a short amount of time.

place, still increases the feeling of social presence and being 'in the moment'. People feel together (Bayer et al. 2016, 959). One of the participants in the survey by Bayer et al. stated: "When you [the interviewer] said 'picture' I really thought of like stuff I keep on my phone and stuff like that, not Snapchat" (2016, 967). Because of the ephemeral nature of Snapchat, according to Bayer et al., people pay full attention to the few seconds the image appears as opposed to pictures on Instagram where they are more likely to be multitasking as they browse.

Instagram introduced 'Instagram Stories' in 2016, which in many ways mimics the Snapchat form. Although images stay for 24 hours rather than a few seconds, in the same way that Snapchat captures the feeling of face-to-face interaction, so Instagram Stories lighten the often heavily-polished and photoshopped perfection of the traditional Instagram flow. In the Stories, users can add music, gifs, stickers and filters to add to the feeling of something light-hearted, imperfect and off the cuff. The idea of a story in itself also hints to moments being continuous, rather than the more traditional idea of photography as a unique artefact, arguably 'frozen' in time. It is, again, the idea of flow, making images linked and connected and seemingly more alive.

Let us not forget a very important part in this 'new' way of approaching visual digital culture, which is the fact that teens and 20-somethings have an eye for what type of content feels genuine. Journalist Ryan Holmes notes:

> Millennials and gen-Zers have grown up saturated with digital marketing and "content." (Some 293,000
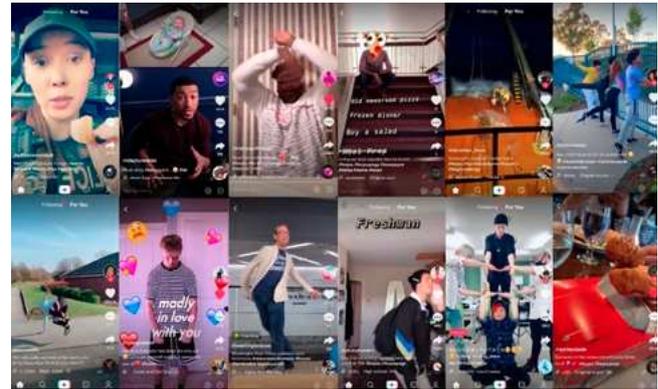
status updates are now posted on Facebook every minute.) They've learned to tune out banner ads and can smell a sales pitch a mile away. Companies hoping to reach them with Stories need to provide true value: to entertain, inform, or educate, not just sell (2018).

Image sharing that might seem trivial and pointless is in similar ways filled with much more than meets the eye in terms of context, background information, references, and basically everything else that is not shown. One could almost dare to state, in tandem with Anna Dahlberg in Chapter 1 of this anthology, that images are a constant, rather than a moment. They are always being made in our heads and renegotiated after we have seen a story or a post online. The actual singular picture is just a point in this flow, not an end result or even a unique entity.

When discussing teens' online behaviour, it is likely that certain dichotomies such as public and private, personal and collective, online and offline, authentic and fake and so on, are if not useless, at least harder for them to grasp, as they do not function in the same way. An important point to make here is that you can be several things at once: connected and isolated, social and lonely, exploring and exposed. This shines through in every aspect of online image practices.

The next step: moving images

Images as reality rather than representations of reality find another – perhaps even more overlapping – form in moving pictures. A big part of apps such as Snapchat and Instagram Stories are the fact that the images shared are more like little videos rather than still pho-

Collage of TikTok videos. Picture posted by Ahmet A. Sabanci. https://www.newslabturkey.org/tik-tok-the-epoch-timesin-yukselisi-facebook-trendsin-donusu/ (Accessed 15-01-2020).

tographs. Perhaps you film your cat doing something funny, or you make a silly face that requires a few seconds to see. Many face filters – which might be labelled as the latest trend on these platforms, where the user can choose to look like a bunny, or perhaps add some makeup or flowers to the picture – often require movement to be fully experienced.

The seamless movement in and out of traditionally different mediums hints at a sensation of 'presentness' to the images and adds to the feeling of being there now, when it is happening. This idea of immersion in the experience arguably echoes neighbouring trends in visual culture, primarily those of gaming, VR, augmentation, live-streaming and interactive video. In 2016 Cisco predicted that by 2020, more than 80 % of consumer Internet traffic will be video content, and many of the big platforms such as Facebook would openly prioritise video (Boxer 2016). If a big part of the Internet has been

the shift from text-heavy to image-heavy content, this would then be the next big shift, something already anticipated with the popularity of gifs and cult apps such as Vine or the present rise of TikTok. On top of this, of course, is the empire of YouTube, home to global Internet megastars such as Swedish PewDiePie, with 100 million subscribers at time of writing.

Although video and moving images will not replace still pictures and the function of photography (this is like stating that cinema or VHS would have replaced photography in the past), the more fluid practices of these separate mediums should be needed both on social media and for memory institutions to contextualise their role in younger people's lives. This notion of the Web as a *lived* and embodied experience, an augmentation of the physical rather than a separate space is still a notion that is not fully rooted in the dominant discourse. Nathan Jurgenson addresses the idea of digital dualism with "We can't log off" (2019, 69). I would argue that for many teens in the late 2010s, they never really logged on. This is not necessarily frightening or dystopian – it is just a new kind of reality.

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3. Collecting Social Media Photography as Visual Digital Heritage

Paula Uimonen

PHOTOGRAPHS POSTED ON social media constitute an emergent form of visual digital heritage that is of considerable relevance for memory institutions, while presenting new challenges to existing work practices. Building on the team's earlier research on digital photography in museums and archives (e.g. Boogh and Diaz 2013; Hartig 2014; Jensen 2013), this project has approached the social media photograph as an "assemblage of image, text, metadata," which in turn is "affected by the digital network in which it is shared" (Hartig et al. 2018, 1). In other words, the social media photograph is a combination of images and texts, interwoven with social relations, and mediated by digital technology. This complexity has required a multifaceted methodology to probe how memory institutions can approach social media photography as visual digital heritage.

In this chapter, a theoretical discussion of social media photography will be followed by a presentation of empirical data from the project's online survey, concluding with a meta-methodological reflection on how the project has explored different methods for the collection of visual digital heritage. The aim is to frame the project results in a broader discussion on memory institutions and digital cultural heritage, while providing an overview of some project results. As outlined in this chapter, the project's holistic approach to social media photographs, combined with its methodological openness, has generated valuable insights into the opportunities and challenges of collecting digital visual heritage.

Social media photography, digital archiving and memory-making

On social media, millions of photographs are shared every day, capturing moments, events, places and people, as well as activities, thoughts and feelings. According to recent estimates, some 300 million photos are posted on Facebook every day,[1] while 95 million pho-

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1. https://zephoria.com/top-15-valuable-facebook-statistics/ (Accessed Dec 6, 2018).

The social media photograph is a complex entity, it is a combination of images and texts, interwoven with social relations, and mediated by digital technology. All of this challenges museums and archives attempting to collect and acquire them. The hashtag #bestnine started in 2014 with 246 postings and the following years it became viral. The nine images compiled in the post depicts the photos receiving the highest number of likes in one person's Instagram account during one year. Photo: John Forler, Stockholm County Museum, CC-BY-NC.

tos are uploaded daily on Instagram.[2] Social media photographs are often accompanied by text, from hashtags to comments, and in some cases they are modified, through filters, words and added features. The aesthetics vary a great deal, from carefully composed professional and artistic photographs, to blurred images of people and places. The duration of the photographs also varies, some are ephemeral and others are carefully stored for remembrance. By virtue of being shared, the photographs circulate in social networks, forming part of digitally-mediated communication. The sheer ubiquity of photographs on social media may come across as daunting for memory institutions, yet these images also offer an unprecedented opportunity to document and preserve everyday social life as well as to collect our visual digital heritage as it evolves.

Photographs on social media exemplify many of the features associated with digital photography, but social media photography can also be conceptualised as a category in its own right. Similar to digital photography, social media photography is commonly characterised by vernacular imagery and networked circulation, often capturing everyday life as well as special events, thus making non-professional photography more ubiquitous (e.g. Favero 2014; Gómez Cruz and Lehmuskallio 2016; Van House 2011). Even so, similar to how mobile photography is distinguishable from digital photography (Uimonen 2016), it is worth paying attention to "the movement from digital photography to specifically social-media photography" (Miller 2015, 2).

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2 https://www.websitehostingrating.com/instagram-statistics/ (Accessed Dec 6, 2018).

Based on a comparison of the evolution of social media photography on common platforms (Facebook, Instagram and Snapchat), Miller emphasises *social communication* as a defining characteristic, suggesting "a movement more generally in photography from memorialization to communication" (2015, 10). This emphasis on visual communication is supported by research on photo-sharing and interpersonal meaning construction on social media platforms like Instagram (e.g. Serafinelli 2017; Zappavigna 2016) and Facebook (Miller and Sinanan 2017).

Even so, the continued significance of *memory-making* is also recognisable in social media photography. As Bartoletti argues, on social media "users construct not only communication and sociality, but also memory," which makes it "a place for remembering and for the narration of life experiences – which can be individual and collective, textual and visual – through which the work of memory becomes visible" (Bartoletti 2011, 82). Indeed, while much social media photography may come across as spontaneous and ephemeral, it is very much part of contemporary forms of memory-making, capturing social life as it evolves, through visual communication and networked social interaction. Scholars have underlined the archival properties of social media photography, which are of particular interest to memory institutions: "Instagram opens up the possibility of registering or archiving a slice of reality that was absent in the traditional archive" (Geismar 2017, 341). But as Geismar points out, platforms like Instagram are *messy and unruly archives* (2017, 336), quite distinct from the more stable and structured archives of memory institutions.

These practices of memory-making and digital archiving make social media photography of considerable relevance for memory institutions, while its complexity poses numerous challenges. Social media photographs cannot be managed as autonomous image objects or memory objects but need to be appreciated as assemblages in their social context, shaped by social practice. As such, their collection builds upon and advances the changing practices of museums and archives in the age of digital media (e.g. Grau et al. 2017).

By virtue of being shared, social media photographs are both individual and collective; they are *born-digital* and *born social*. Whether photographs are shared to a limited number of friends or followers on private social media channels, or made publicly available on open platforms, they are integral to visual communication and social networking. Platforms like Instagram are based on a complex mesh of practices, including "the production and presentation of images, their aesthetic evaluation (the appreciation, enjoyment, and judgement of images), and their classification (the constitution of textual frames for image using tags and captions that creates an infrastructure of aestheticized categorisation)" (Geismar 2017, 336). As discussed by Ehlin in Chapter 2, younger generations are not only adept at managing this complexity, but they also take it for granted, their digital visual practices forming an integral part of their way of life.

The sociality of social media photographs is further complicated by the ways in which images interact with text. Photographs are often accompanied by captions, hashtags and/or comments, and once they are shared they are subject to responses, from visual symbols to textual comments. Hashtags function as archival tools, textual artefacts that help identify and trace images

(Geismar 2017). But hashtags can also perform like iconic images, visual artefacts that embody cultural meaning and political action, as exemplified by *#metoo* (Uimonen 2019). The use of hashtags is illustrative of the multimodal logic of social media, which often blurs distinctions between text and images, combining both in creative forms (ibid).

Mediated by digital technology, social media photographs are embedded in online platforms and technological interfaces that both influence and are influenced by social behaviour, thus forming a dialectical relationship between social actors and social media. These technological affordances affect the temporality of photographs in different ways. For instance, Snapchat pictures typically appear momentarily; Instagram offers a platform for more lasting display; while Facebook is often used as a digital archive (Miller 2015). Meanwhile, user preferences and practices also affect the temporality of interfaces. Facebook has developed various memory functions to facilitate individual and collective memory-making; Instagram accounts can now be downloaded for archiving; and Snapchat now offers options for time limits, while more multimedia features have been added. Digital interfaces also affect the materiality of photographs, shifting it from printed objects and framed pictures to images viewed on screens and stored on digital devices (Favero 2014; Gómez Cruz and Lehmuskallio 2016). In this sense, the social media photograph is material and immaterial, fluid as well as immobile.

The dialectics of social communication and digital visuality pose further challenges for memory institutions, since the evolving interfaces themselves are worth documenting. The visual turn in digital media is in itself an interesting phenomenon, pointing to evolving forms of social interaction and cultural expression. Memory institutions are well-placed to capture such developments, not least in terms of unfolding digital heritage. If anything, memory institutions are uniquely well-positioned to not only capture social media photography as a socially and culturally significant phenomenon, but also to contextualize it from a historical perspective, as Dahlgren discusses in Chapter 1.

Online survey of photography practices on social media

This project has used an online survey to capture more data on user practices in social media photography. The survey was designed by the project team and posted on the *Minnen* site,[3] from 2017 to 2019, entitled *Do you post images in social media*? The initial survey was published in Swedish and Danish, and later a Finnish version was posted by the Finnish Museum of Photography. The project team promoted the survey through institutional social media channels and in communication with interviewees, students and other interlocutors. Altogether the survey captured 211 responses: 75 from Sweden and Denmark and 136 from Finland.

The survey consisted of 21 questions and options for additional comments. Some of the questions were multiple choice, others captured responses in free textual form. The survey was designed to take no more than 20–25 minutes to complete, including some biographi-

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3. http://www.minnen.se

cal information in the Swedish/Danish version (name, year of birth, place of birth, location, occupation and gender). The questions ranged from technical (e.g. devices and platforms used) to practical (e.g. how and why pictures were taken and shared). Since the survey aimed to capture practices, many questions focused on motivations, thus probing respondents' own reflections.

Multiple devices and variety of platforms

In the survey, the most common digital devices for social media photography were smartphones, tablets and digital cameras (see Figure 2). These devices were pre-categorised in the survey, but respondents could also choose 'other', which resulted in some adding 'film camera'. Unsurprisingly, the most common device was the smartphone (107 out of 136 in Finland; 43 out of 75 in Sweden and Denmark). But many used smartphones as well as digital cameras (46 out of 136 in Finland; 21 out of 75 in Sweden and Denmark). Interestingly, some did not use smartphones, *only* digital cameras (12 in Finland, 2 in Sweden and Denmark), or digital cameras and tablets (1 in Finland, 1 in Sweden and Denmark), or only tablets (2 in Finland).
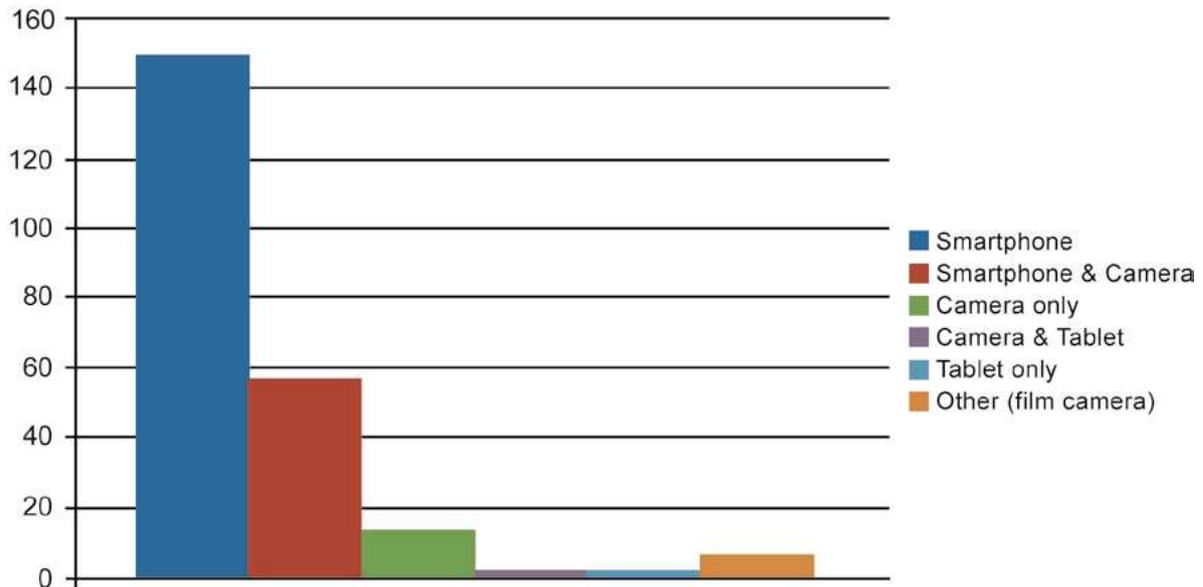
Digital devices used for social media photography.

Although smartphones dominated in the survey, it also showed that social media photography relies on a variety of devices, sometimes excluding mobile phones. As much as smartphones were the most commonly used device, it was not the only one used and some people even preferred to use digital cameras for their social media photography. It would thus be erroneous to equate social media photography with mobile photography. Instead, it is important to keep in mind that photographic practices influence the choice of technological tools.

When it comes to social media platforms, the survey showed interesting results (see Figure 3). The survey listed common channels as pre-determined categories: Instagram, Facebook, Flickr, Tumblr, Twitter, Pinterest, Snapchat and WhatsApp. Respondents could also add other channels. The most popular platforms were Instagram (37 out of 75 in Sweden and Denmark, 90 out of 136 in Finland) and Facebook (41 in Sweden and Denmark, 100 in Finland). Surprisingly, Facebook turned out to be more popular than Instagram, which was a rather unexpected result, since
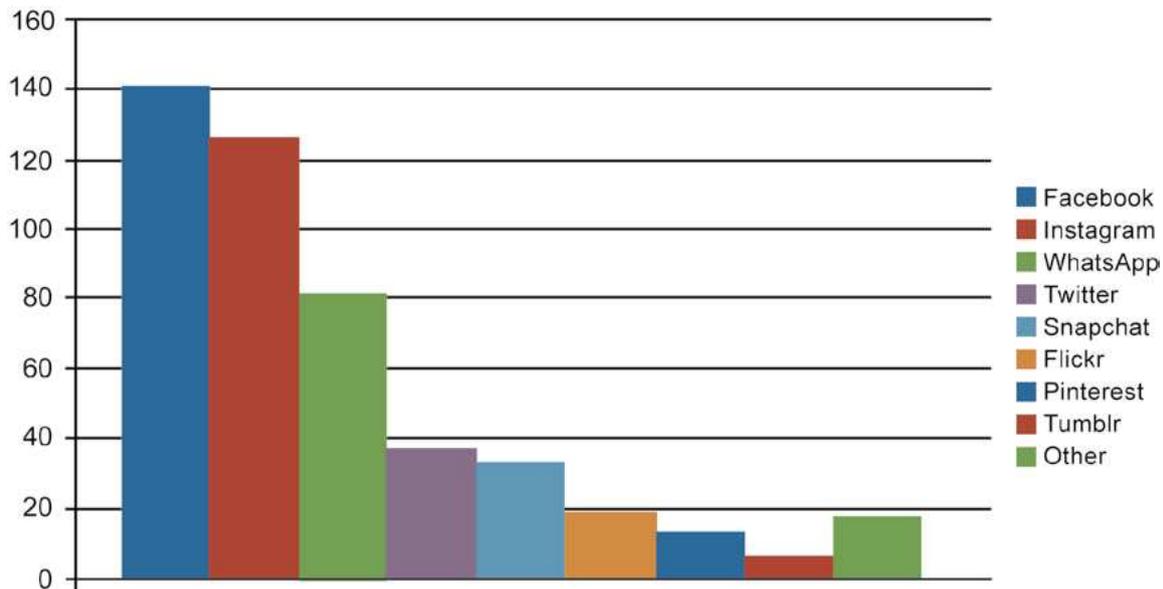
Social media platforms used for photo-sharing.

Instagram is often assumed to be the primary photo-sharing social media. Respondents who used Instagram also used Facebook, in some cases along with other platforms, but some only used Instagram (4 out of 37 Instagram users in Sweden and Denmark, 17 out of 90 in Finland). Other photo-sharing sites like Flickr, Pinterest and Tumblr were not as common, although still used. Twitter, which is popular for short text, was also used for photo-sharing (13 in Sweden and Denmark, 25 in Finland). The smartphone interfaces Snapchat and WhatsApp were also quite popular (24 in Sweden and Denmark, 92 in Finland). WhatsApp was used almost as much as Instagram in Finland (77 out of 92 WhatsApp/Snapchat users), while Snapchat was more common in Sweden and Denmark (19 out of 24). Respondents also listed other platforms, such as LinkedIn, Google Photos, and Telegram, as well as blogs.

Motivations for using different platforms were varied, combining personal preferences and technological affordances. In answering the question on choice of channels, respondents explained their motivations in terms of type of pictures, the device used, and the aims of communication, which in turn influenced the platforms used (see excerpts below).

This interplay of aesthetic, social and technical considerations is instructive of the complexity of social media photography. Far from being limited to a particular type of image, photographs range from intimately shared snapshots of everyday life captured with smartphones, to more public displays of aesthetically valued and socially framed photographs. In addition to selecting what to photograph, people make conscious choices in

Responses to choice of channels (*original language*)

When I share something about my hobbies, I share on Instagram while I share on Facebook if I share about myself as a person. For example, how I experience something, where I am going in a little while and with whom etc. Instagram I use as a creative outlet, because I want to share the picture itself.

(Når jeg deler noget om mine hobbyer, deler jeg på Instagram, mens jeg deler på Facebook hvis jeg deler om mig selv som person. Fx om hvordan jeg griber af en oplevelse, om hvad jeg skal om lidt og med hvem osv. Instagram bruger jeg som kreativt outlet, fordi jeg gerne vil dele selve billedet.)

On Instagram I have the most followers that I do not know. And I follow unknown like-minded people who like photography. There I post pictures that have to do with my hobby photography. For example close-ups of flowers and insects, nature but also Stockholm motifs. On Facebook I only follow people I know and do not post pictures there as often. There will be more pictures of the family and what I have experienced.

På Instagram har jag flest följare som jag inte känner. Och jag följer okända likasinnade som gillar fotografering. Där lägger jag upp bilder som har med min hobby fotografering att göra. Tex närbilder på blommor och insekter, Natur men även Stockholmsmotiv. På Facebook följer jag bara personer jag känner och lägger inte ut bilder där lika ofta. Där blir det mer bilder om familen och vad jag har varit med om.

WhatsApp I use for everyday photos and send pictures of my children to other family members. On Instagram I share more designed and thoughtful images.

Whatsappia käytän arkisempiin kuviin sekä lähetän kuvia lapsistani läheisilleni. Instagramissa jaan asetellumpia ja harkitumpia kuvia.

**Facebook and WhatsApp: more private photos (family and friends),
Instagram: Public – Everyday Images; snapshots
Flickr: images adapted to different groups – experimental images**

*Facebook and WhatsApp: mera privata bilder (familj och vänner),
Instagram: offentlig – vardagsbilder; ögonblicksbilder
Flickr: bilder anpassade till olika grupper – experimentella bilder*

Silly and funny pictures with selected friends on Snapchat, Messenger or WhatsApp, significant moments on Facebook and the most carefully compiled and aesthetic features on Instagram.

Höhlät ja hassut kuvat jaan valittujen kaverien kanssa Snapchatissa, Messengerissä tai Whatsappilla, merkittävät hetket Facebookissa ja huolellisimmin sommitellut ja esteettisiä ominaisuuksia omaavat Instagramissa.

**On Instagram I only post pictures that have something to do with my everyday life. Fun stuff that has happened during my day, the good or bad weather and similar from my iPhone. On Facebook I put most pictures in batches, often in albums from vacations or if I have been out in nature and taking pictures – my Facebook pictures are mostly taken with my mirror reflex camera. Snapchat and WhatsApp
are used for social contact, and the photos taken there are with my iPhone, and deal with my everyday life.**

På instagram lægger jeg kun billeder op sóm har noget med min hverdag at gøre. Sjove ting der er sket i løbet af min dag, det gode eller dårlige vejr og lignende fra min Iphone. På facebook lægger jeg mest billeder op i flertal, tit i albums fra ferier eller hvis jeg har været ude i naturen og tage billeder – mine Facebook billeder er for det meste taget med mit spejlrefleks kamera. Snapchat og WhatsApp bliver brugt til social kontakt, og de billeder der bliver taget der er med min Iphone, og omhandler min hverdag.

what to post and where, depending on what they wish to convey to whom as well as their understanding of different platforms.

The survey also captured temporal aspects of photo-sharing on social media, showing how certain experiences and events tend to generate more postings of photographs. Social and cultural events (such as birthdays, parties, concerts, festivals) were often cited as instances when the respondent posted more photographs, along with travelling and vacations. Some also posted more when they felt inspired to do so or had time to spare.

By comparison, photographs shared through direct messaging were of a more private and immediate nature. These could be more mundane images of everyday life, more intimate photographs or more specific ones, as well as humorous images and jokes. These photographs were shared with a select few, typically families and friends, instead of a larger number of social media connections. Similar to how different factors influenced what was posted on social media and on what platform, respondents thus distinguished between different recipients of their images, adjusting circulation based on their own preferences and communication needs.

Hashtags and captions for communication and visibility

The survey also captured the use of hashtags, exploring motivations for their use. Most respondents – approximately 80 % – used hashtags, using their own words and/or existing hashtags. They listed a variety of reasons for using hashtags: archival, communicative and humorous. For those who used them, hashtags added

value, offering textual clarification and commentary in the context of ephemeral image flows. As respondents explained: "So that people who search on a particular hashtag can find my images" (*For at folk der søger på de bestemte hashtags kan nå frem til mine billeder*), "To participate in a context, making the images searchable" (*För att delta i ett sammanhang – göra inläggen sökbara!*), and "Some hashtags I use to make friends in a particular Instagram community find my photos. Other times I use the hashtags to explain a little about the picture and my feelings about it – e.g. *#weekendatlast*" (*Nogle hashtags bruger jeg for at venner i en bestemt Instagram community kan finde mine billeder. Andre gange bruger jeg hashtagsne til at forklare lidt om billedet og mine følelser omkring det – fx #endeligweekend*).

The searchable and communicative aspects of hashtags were important, making images – and by extension the person who posted them – more visible: "Most often to supplement the text, sometimes to be able to find my own things again (Instagram is USELESS at sorting), sometimes as part of a campaign" (*Oftast för att komplettera texten, ibland för att kunna hitta mina egna saker igen (instagram är VÄRDELÖST på sortering), någon gång som del i en kampanj*). The humorous aspect of hashtags was also noted by respondents: "For fun instead of writing a line of text, I sometimes write an 'expressive' hashtag" (*På skoj istället för att skriva en textrad skrivet jag ibland en "talande" hashtag*), "Instead of writing a lot of text itself, some of the text can be replaced by hashtags. Hashtags can also give a humorous aspect to the picture" (*Det er i stedet for at skrive en masse tekst selv, så kan noget af teksten erstattes af hashtags. Hashtags kan også give en humoristisk aspekt til billedet*).

Captions were also common, short textual descrip-

tions used by most respondents in the survey. While hashtags were used to position the image in online flows, captions were descriptive of the image itself. Respondents explained: "Either a short title in the form of a word, and sometimes a long description or reflection on the motif" (*Antingen en kort titel i form av ett ord, och ibland en lång beskrivning eller utläggning kring motivet*)," "Typically a small description of where, when and what happens" (*Typisk en lille beskrivelse af hvor, hvornår og hvad der sker*)." This documentary aspect of captions could also serve an archival function, helping the respondent to trigger their memory "Can be useful for my own memory as well…" (*Kan vara bra för mitt eget minne också...*). Captions can thus interplay with the image as a form of memory-making, documenting aspects of life in a combination of visual and textual forms of representation.

Hashtags and captions underline the sociality of social media photography, which the survey also illustrated. In the survey, respondents were asked to evaluate online responses to their postings: "How important is feedback on your images?" Most respondents (42 %) found responses to be either important or not so important (40 %), while a few (6 %) thought them very important, and some (12 %) did not find them to be important at all. Reasons for finding responses important underlined appreciation and interaction: "It is always nice to get positive comments on one's images" (*Det är alltid kul att få positiva kommentarer kring sina bilder*), "It is the meeting and interaction with other people that adds value (*Det är mötet och interaktionen med andra människor som ger ett mervärde*), "Comments I am mostly indifferent to and sharing I would like to avoid. But likes show that people like what they see. If

there were no likes, then there was no reason to post pictures" (*Kommentarer er jeg for det meste ligeglad med og delinger vil jeg gerne undgå. Men likes, viser at folk kan lide det de ser. Hvis der ikke var nogen likes, så var der ingen grund til at ligge billeder op*). Those who evaluated responses to be not so important could still appreciate receiving them, even though it was not the primary objective: "It is not so important as such, but it is always nice to get a response to what you post" (*Det er jo som sådan ikke så vigtigt men det er altid rart at få respons på det man lægger ud*). Those who found responses to be very important emphasised communication and interaction: "For reciprocity" (*Vastavuoroisuuden takia*), "Images are sometimes used as communication, therefore response is important" (*Billeder bliver nogle gange brugt som kommunikation, derfor er respons vigtigt*), "Because I published pictures to reach the audience and it is a sign that I get feedback. If you share it, it is even better, because you like it and it also shows that there is common interest or thought" (*Därför att jag publicerade bilder för att nå publiken och den är en tecken att jag får respons. Om man delar de är det ännu bättre för att man tyckte om den och den visar också att det finns gemensamma intresse eller tanke*).

Sorting, storing and museum collections

Since the survey aimed to capture practices related to memory-making, respondents were asked whether and how they sorted digital images. The majority of respondents (86 %) sorted their images, typically in their smartphone gallery (27 %). But they also used other interfaces, from Facebook albums, Flickr and Google Photos to computer folders. Most sorted manually,

while some noted that functions like geotagging facilitated categorisation. A few respondents reflected on their unstructured management of photographs: "Am so bad at such things haha… Do not even know how to sort images" (*Är så dålig på sånt haha… Vet inte hur man gör för att sortera bilder ens*), "Sloppily and random! Because there is no smooth system or programme! Oh how I wish it existed" (*Slarvigt och random! För att det inte finns något smidigt system eller program! Åh vad jag önskar att det fanns*).

For storage, respondents used a variety of tools. Smartphone galleries were used for storage, along with photography sites like Facebook albums, Flickr and Google Photos. The majority of respondents also used computer folders, along with external hard disks, memory cards and USB memory sticks as well as online data storage systems such as Dropbox, iCloud and OneDrive. Similar to sorting, storage was quite cumbersome for some respondents: "Haha sensitive question. A lot has disappeared. Should deal with it" (*Haha känslig fråga. Mycket har försvunnit. Borde ta tag i det*), "I am bad at it. If I take pictures with the camera I usually save them but with the mobile I do not" (*Jag är dåligt på det. Om jag tar bilder med kamera brukar jag spara dem men är det med mobil gör jag det inte*).

The survey also asked what respondents thought of museums collecting some of their photos for the future and the results were overall positive. They used words like *fun*, *fantastic* and *nice*, to express their positive endorsement of such collections, while noting the documentary value of photographs and excitement of being part of history in the making. For instance: "If they can help to depict a particular part of history, then that's fine" (*Hvis de kan være med til at afbillede en bestemt*

del af historien, så er det fint), "An honour! Important that the 'everyday' is kept for the future – not just the great photographers and news images" (*En ära! Viktigt att det "vanliga" bevaras för framtiden – inte bara de stora fotograferna och nyhetsbilder*), "It would be fun and interesting. I'd be involved in creating the history of the social media era" (*Se olisi hauskaa ja kiinnostavaa. Saisin olla mukana luomassa someajan historiaa*).

While positive, many respondents insisted on ethics in museum collections, underlining the importance of people agreeing on what was to be saved. This concern with privacy and informed consent is instructive of how even seemingly public postings of images on social media can be considered private by users. Meanwhile, since memory institutions are public institutes they are expected to adhere to professional ethics, while respecting the privacy of contributors: "Immediately positive, however I would prefer to be asked for permission (directly or indirectly)" (*Umiddelbart positivt, men jeg vil dog foretrække at blive spurgt om lov (enten direkte eller indirekte)*), "I can agree if I am included in decisions on what" (*Det kan jag gå med på om jag är med och bestämmer vilka*), "If I can decide what pictures to save and what information, then ok" (*Jos saan itse päättää mitä kuvia tallennetaan ja millä informaatiolla, niin ok*).

Explorative methods, social media photography and visual digital heritage

The Collecting Social Photography project has explored how memory institutions can collect social media photographs through a variety of methods, from surveys to case studies. The survey discussed above offers interesting insights into how people use social me-

dia for visual communication, social interaction and memory-making. It also shows very positive attitudes to memory institutions playing a more active role in collecting and preserving social media photographs. While the survey results offer an overview of common practices and perceptions, the case studies provide more in-depth knowledge on a variety of topics.

The case studies have been categorised thematically into three clusters: places, practices and events. This categorisation was not evident at the outset but has evolved organically through the development of specific case studies. *Places* capture case studies that focus on physical locations, urban (Södertälje and Aalborg) as well as rural (Gandrup). These have been carried out by memory institutions that have a mission to document particular places: the Stockholm County Museum and Aalborg City Archives. *Practices* offer a broad category of case studies on current photographic practices on different social media (Social Media Diaries), or specific platforms like Facebook (Family Living) and Instagram (Insta-Suomi). One of the case studies also investigates social media photography from a historical perspective (PreHistory of Social Media). The case studies on practices have been performed by the Finnish Museum of Photography and the Stockholm County Museum, institutes that specialise in photography and documentation of everyday life respectively. *Events* constitutes a somewhat elusive category, covering collections of viral online campaigns (MeToo and Knytblus) and significant events (Stockholm Terrorist Attack) as well as recurring events (Christmas in Aalborg). All events have strong connections with mass media, which has made them particularly interesting for Nordiska Museet, the Stockholm County

Museum and Aalborg City Archives in their efforts to explore collaboration and outreach.

The case studies represent the empirical foundation of the project, designed and implemented by the project team in collaboration with select partners. As detailed in Part II, the case studies have explored different methodologies, often a combination of qualitative (observations, interviews) and quantitative (big data, surveys) research methods. The case studies have also enabled collaboration with different partners (cultural institutions, media) and various forms of outreach to different audiences (online and offline). Through the case studies, participating institutes have been able to test and explore new collecting methods, while trying out new partnerships and work practices, thus addressing the research questions of this project.

In addition to surveys and case studies, the project has carried out ideation workshops, drawing on the input of colleagues, experts and scholars. These workshops have offered open work spaces for experimenting and sharing ideas, thus generating creative insights.

Last but not least, the project has developed a prototype for collecting, an app that can be used on smartphones and computer devices. The development process has generated considerable insights into technical requirements, strategic partnerships and user needs, while offering a concrete outcome of the project that can be freely used and adapted by memory institutions.

Building on a variety of research methods, the project results highlight the need for museums and archives to play a more active role in the collection of digital social photographs. Whether appraised from a historical perspective (Chapter 1), or a future-oriented trend analysis (Chapter 2), the findings of this project are supported by current scholarship. Not only do photographs on social media offer unprecedented opportunities to document contemporary social life but evolving digitally-mediated photographic practices also constitute important cultural phenomena worth collecting for the future.

The results of this project can hopefully inspire memory institutions to play their part in collecting and preserving emergent forms of visual digital heritage. By openly sharing its experiences, the project contributes knowledge on how memory institutions can document contemporary cultural forms and practices. The empirical data is analysed from different disciplinary angles, including art history, digital and visual anthropology, museum and archive studies, media and communication, and visual studies. The recommendations that conclude this anthology are thus based on a solid knowledge base, pinpointing how and why social media photography is a form of visual digital heritage of great relevance for memory institutions.

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Part II: Case Studies

4. Places: Introduction

Bente Jensen

PLACE AND LOCALITY are at the core of the missions of the archives and museums participating in the Collecting Social Photography project on different levels, ranging from national to regional and local. For Stockholm County Museum and Aalborg City Archives, which formed the case studies in this chapter, place defines the majority of practises of the institutions. Nordiska Museet has a long tradition of documenting life and work connected to places. Various aspects of place and locality are thus at the centre of collecting and outreach for these institutions Hence the concept of place provides an obvious and relevant choice as one of the themes for the Collecting Social Photography case studies. Furthermore, photography constitutes and forms places, while places are consumed through photography. Photographs of places reflect life and practices of the inhabitants.

Two of the places chosen for the case studies in this chapter are relatively large towns: Södertälje (94,000 inhabitants) in Sweden and Aalborg (115,000 inhabitants) in Denmark. Both are old industrial cities. To ensure representativity and to examine whether the use of social photography is an urban phenomenon related to specific practices in city life, the team also conducted a case study in the small rural town of Gandrup (1,556 inhabitants), 21 km east of Aalborg.

The four case studies in this chapter analyse the various images of a place seen through social photography as a basis for future and present collection and outreach. In the *#mygandrup* case study the local archives even became an active co-creator in the contemporary visual identity of the town, Gandrup. On the whole, social photography seems to be a new and valid way to document places and at the same time opens the opportunity for archives and museums to collect a representative and multitudinous gaze of a place.

Inspiration from a multitude of research fields

The inspiration for the approaches in the case studies derives from several fields of research related to places, ranging from history to quantitative approaches using

images as big data, from social media research to research on methods such as crowdsourcing and other participatory methods.

As sources for the history of the city, social digital photographs permit the documentation of changes as well as the permanence of the cityscape through citizens' everyday gazes. Although it is not uncommon that analogue vernacular photos in the archives possess this function, social digital photography does the same on a much larger scale and in massive quantities. Moreover, through its complexity of text, network, and image, social photography documents the use of the city and the practices, discussions and interactions related to places, thus representing a potential source for present and future research on a scale not previously seen.

The Collecting Social Photography project has found inspiration for new ways of considering places. For instance, the project obtained an overview of the image content and patterns found in social digital photographs through approaches used in research fields that analyse urban social behaviour and city dynamics. These approaches see interfaces like Instagram as a participatory sensing system (PSS) and use the huge amounts of geolocative big data to examine patterns of activity in the city. Examples to emphasise are the work of Lev Manovich et al., *On Broadway* (2014) and *The Exceptional and the Everyday: 144 Hours in Kyiv* (2014), as well as that of Boy and Uitermark, *How to Study the City on Instagram* (2016), where the dynamics of cities are analysed using data from Instagram images. The focus in these projects is on the identification of macro-level patterns within the datasets, rather than towards the analysis of the content of individual images – they tell little about the image content and why people created and shared them. It has not been possible to harvest big data for the CoSoPho project for ethical, legal and technological reasons, which means that the images in the case studies had to be analysed manually. Moreover, big data approaches do not focus on images as sources of history and cultural heritage, which is the focus of the CoSoPho project, where data is turned into cultural heritage and archives with the permission of the producers.

The social media platform studied in the three case studies: *Södertälje: Searching for Diversity and Representation, Aalborg: The Image of a City Seen through Multiple Gazes* and *#weloveaalborg* is Instagram. In the *#mygandrup: Collaboration towards a Contempoary Social Image of Small Town* case study a combination of Instagram and Facebook was used. Furthermore, in the Södertälje case study, collecting was performed using two museums' online collecting platforms, *Samtidsbild* and *Minnen*.

The image and representation of Södertälje and Aalborg on Instagram

In the Södertälje and Aalborg case studies an open-ended monitoring of images on Instagram was performed to establish a point of departure for collecting social photography. Furthermore, the aim was to analyse how the two cities were depicted on Instagram. Tifentale (2018) is critical of a method based on selected photographs: "The approach to study a selected group of photographs... can be productive, but it is also dangerous because it deliberately extracts some photographs from their natural environment – it isolates these images from the networked camera, from this hy-

brid device of their making, editing, sharing, and viewing. And that can be misleading." The CoSoPho team agrees with Tifentale: the method risks taking the photo out of its fluid network. As a consequence, the Södertälje case study researched the context and network using qualitative methods such as interviews and photo elicitation to obtain further knowledge. A combination of quantitative and qualitative methods was employed, as both Hand (2016) and Serafinelli (2018) recommend in their works. The case study *Aalborg: The Image of a City Seen through Multiple Gazes on Instagram* followed the method previously used in the Södertälje case to enable comparisons to be drawn. Interviews were not performed, as the aim of the case study was to monitor images of the city on Instagram as a guideline for selection for further collection.

In both case studies, analysing a relatively small sample has proven useful to obtain a deeper understanding of the posts as units of images, hashtags, and comments, as recommended by Laestedius (2017, 581). The image content has been examined using manual data collection in a combination of two approaches: Manovich's three categories of Instagram photography: design, professional and casual (2016) and the method recommended by Rasmussen Pennington (2017) in which content analysis describes the most frequent content of the individual posts. Voss, Lvov and Thomson agree on this approach: "Establishing boundaries around a topic or major event or location provides a general scope for defining a collection. Limiting collection to a single platform or a small number of platforms may also make its scope more manageable" (2016, 167).

There are of course issues of concern when approaching a place on Instagram. A general reservation when collecting through the hashtag or geotag method is representativity, as the data/images reflect the practices of the actual users of social media. Despite the fact that everyone has access to exactly the same functions (adding hashtags and optional geo-tagging) and the same user interface, the results are diverse (Miller 2016). There are gaps of information as not everyone uses Instagram, not all parts of a town or area are depicted, and only a fraction of the photos are geotagged, plus the service itself is decreasing diversity by highlighting popular images and by framing the photos in certain aspects (Manovich 2017).

#weloveaalborg and #mygandrup

In the case studies *#weloveaalborg – Hashtagged Sentiments about a City on Instagram* and *#mygandrup: Collaboration towards a Contemporary Social Image of a Small Town* carried out by Aalborg City Archives, the archives initiated the collection by introducing a hashtag *#weloveaalborg* and *#mygandrup* to the producers of vernacular photos on Instagram. *#mygandrup* was performed in collaboration with the local Hals Archives. Participatory methods and outreach were used to urge the social photographers to use the hashtags.

The approach in these case studies positions the photographers as kinds of 'citizen journalists or reporters', utilising the fact that, using Pink and Hjorth's concept (2014), they are 'digital wayfarers'. The concept refers to the fact that mobile digital photography is interwoven in everyday practices for many individuals, as they move through places taking photos with their camera phone, tagging and sharing photos on

social media. This participatory method can also be described as crowdsourcing organised by a hashtag (Jensen et al. 2019).

The case studies are directed top-down, as the archives decided on the collection hashtag *#mygandrup* and *#weloveaalborg* used in this chapter and *#Christmasinaalborg* in Chapter 6. A bottom-up direction is found in the *Södertälje* and *Aalborg* case studies, as the point of departure is the user-generated hashtag. In these case studies, the CoSoPho project uses both the social function and the organisational function of the hashtag to identify and communicate.

The four case studies in this chapter analyse the various images of a place seen through social digital photography as a basis for future and present collection and outreach. On the whole, social digital photography seems to be a new and valid way to document places and at the same time opens the opportunity for archives and museums to collect a representative and multitudinous gaze of a place.

4.1. Södertälje: Searching for Diversity and Representation on Instagram

Elisabeth Boogh and Kajsa Hartig

THIS CASE STUDY on the town of Södertälje, Sweden, looks at the benefits of open-ended observation of images on Instagram as a first step in initiating research around a place. It addresses the challenges of performing successful outreach for online collecting initiatives, and it reinforces the need for agile work practices when developing relevant and successful online collecting initiatives.

The purpose of the case study, carried out by Nordiska Museet and the Stockholm County Museum, was to open-endedly investigate and learn how a place – the town of Södertälje – was depicted through Instagram. There were three aims: the first was to explore new methods to increase motivation for co-creating photographic heritage; second, to explore different methods of collecting by using two dedicated online collecting platforms; and third, to understand how museums can reach out to interact with communities through social media photography on Instagram, in order to document a place and collect photography, initiatives that need strategic planning and dedicated resources as Roued-Cunliffe and Copeland point out (2017).

In terms of scope, the case study focused on place-based hashtags and geotags. On social media, photography is often used for self-narration and storytelling. Van House and her team have identified four social uses for networked personal photography: "creating and maintaining social relationships, constructing personal and group memory, self-presentation, and self-expression" (2005, 1854). But what happens when a hashtag or geotag from a place or location is examined as opposed to the storytelling of a personal account on Instagram? A multifaceted story emerges as the hashtag or geotag is made up of posts by hundreds or thousands of people and not represented by one single person. Trends can be distinguished, for example the most Instagrammed spots in town, or popular leisure activities. For museums with a mission to collect and document the everyday life of people living in the area as well as changes in the built environment, Instagram can be a valuable source of information as well as a space for communication.

Södertälje, a town with a population of 94.000 is situated 10 kilometers south of Stockholm, in Sweden.
Photo: Stefan Christophs, Stockholm County Museum, CC-BY-NC.

Södertälje is a town located south of Stockholm, Sweden with a population of approximately 94,000 of which more than 50 % are either born abroad or have parents who were born abroad. Scania, a world-leading manufacturer of trucks and lorries, is the largest employer, which becomes very apparent when scrolling through Instagram. But the unemployment rate is high, especially for young people, and the level of higher education is low. Three of the most trouble-ridden suburbs in Sweden are located in Södertälje.

Instagram collection methods

As this case study was launched early in the research project, the collection methods were explorative. Using qualitative and quantitative approaches, the case study built on research in visual anthropology (Miller 2016; Edwards 2014) and placemaking in urban areas (Anselin and Williams 2015). To obtain an overview of Instagram content from Södertälje, the team decided to focus on an analysis of visual and textual content. Several different approaches for outreach were examined with regards to collecting images.

The collection of photographs was made through

two websites – *Samtidsbild* and *Minnen* – existing tools for collecting developed by the Stockholm County Museum and Nordiska Museet.[1] The websites were used with different scopes and contexts on different occasions. On *Minnen*, a general survey was set up asking contributors to share thoughts on posting photographs on social media, as well as to upload photographs to a museum/archive service.[2] The survey was used throughout the research project, and in the Södertälje case study inhabitants were encouraged to contribute through several outreach efforts.

The website *Samtidsbild* was used in a campaign and in connection with interviews to encourage people to contribute with photographs from their hometown. *Samtidsbild* was also used in a competition in September 2017, asking people to contribute images depicting Södertälje.

Audience engagement

One of the three founding research questions of the Collecting Social Photo project addressed the need for participatory and inclusive methods. This proved to be one of the central issues for the Södertälje case study: How can museums and archives engage audiences to contribute to the photographic heritage, depicting a place here and now?

Throughout 2017 a number of outreach efforts were made. As the team began analysing visual content on Instagram, decisions were made to contact individual account owners encouraging them to respond to the

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1. http://www.minnen.se and http://www.samtidsbild.se
2. Chapter 3 features an analysis of the results from the survey.

survey on *Minnen* about photographic practices and social media, and at the same time to upload photos to the museum. The account owners were approached through direct messages, using the Instagram account of *Samtidsbild*. It was considered more appropriate to use the official accounts of the institution rather than personal accounts of staff members, thereby confirming the authenticity of the sender (Berg 2015, 128). The Instagram account owners were selected based on the visual content of their accounts and for demographic reasons, as representativity is essential when documenting and collecting from a geographical location.

Early on, the team also decided to publish sponsored posts on Nordiska Museet's Facebook and Instagram accounts, as well as the Stockholm County Museum accounts. The posts were aimed at people living in Södertälje.

The sponsored content consisted of:

- A short film sponsored by and directed to Södertälje on Nordiska Museet's Facebook page on May 3, 2017 reaching more than 22,000 people and generating 9,400 views.

- An image with the text *#södertälje*, encouraging people to contribute to the *Minnen* survey. It was shared as a sponsored Instagram post and directed to Södertälje, generating 170 likes.

Additionally, a post was shared in a private Facebook group with 10,000 members, generating 10 likes and five comments. Information about the project was also posted physically at a nearby university, aimed at encouraging students to respond to the survey and parti-

A short film sponsored and directed to Södertälje on the Nordic Museum Facebook on May 3, 2017 reaching more than 22,000 people and generating 9,400 views.

cipate in interviews. Approximately 10 non-profit organisations were contacted through email with requests for participants for the survey and interviews.

In September 2017 the Stockholm County Museum launched a photography competition in collaboration with the local newspaper, *Länstidningen*. The newspaper published an article about the competition before the launch, and a second article presented the winner. The museum promoted the competition through a sponsored post on Instagram, reaching 697 likes, and through the museum website. The winner received a gift card and all photographs were exhibited in the town hall.

Later in the autumn, the entire Collecting Social Photo project was featured in an article in the same paper.

Contributed photographs and survey answers

In total, 44 Instagrammers were contacted either through direct message or by commenting on a post, and 15 responded. Seven chose to answer the survey on *Minnen* and contributed with 37 images; another eight chose to upload a total of 77 images on *Samtidsbild*. Six people were interviewed: four were women aged between 19 and 54 and two were men between 30 and 42; only one of the interviewees had a non-Swedish ethnic background. The competition resulted in 149 images being submitted by 17 individuals, but not all were Instagram images as this was not a prerequisite for the competition.

Both *Samtidsbild* and *Minnen* are functioning websites, but at the time they had certain flaws. *Minnen* had some usability issues, which led to the team deciding to ask three respondents to upload photos during the interview using their mobile phones, to further analyse the user experience. Out of the three respondents, only two succeeded in submitting contributions. With *Samtidsbild* it was difficult to set up collecting initiatives asking specific questions as the museum staff could not edit text on the website without external tech support, a costly and time-consuming process.

Analysing visual and textual content

The team started out by simply scrolling through content on *#södertälje*, but since it contained approximately 77,000 posts a tool and method for analysis was needed. Hence the third-party service Notified was used for collecting metadata and images in real-time using the hashtag *#södertälje*. The service allows data to be downloaded to a spreadsheet and for different kinds of data visualisations to be created. On social media text and images work with each other to create meaning (Lemke 2002) and therefore must be analysed together. A limitation of a big data approach such as using the third-party service was that it did not analyse visual content (Laestadius 2017, 579). This had to be done manually through a visual screening of the images.

The team set out to analyse photographs and metadata from one month, March 2017.

After initial coding of almost 300 posts over three days, it was evident that a majority of images posted with the hashtag consisted of commercial content. Another finding was that only 30 % of the hashtag posts contained geographical data, and when plotted onto a map using Google Fusion Tables, all posts were centred around the inner parts of town. As the case study aimed to explore everyday photography posted by a demographically representative proportion of the population, only the geotag[3] continued to be pursued and was broadened to include four more suburban geotags.

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3. A geotag is the specific location of the photo. It is picked up by Instagram from the longitude and latitude information stored in the photo. When uploading a photo on Instagram the service suggests one or several nearby locations.

After the switch to geotags, the third-party software could no longer be used as it only collected metadata from hashtags. Instead, the team opted for collecting and analysing smaller samples of data by making screenshots of the top nine and latest nine posts in the feeds of five geotags during 17 randomly selected days in March, June, and September. Analysing smaller sample sizes of Instagram data proved to be a good method as it allowed for a greater understanding of the post as a unit, that is, the image in conjunction with hashtags, captions, comments, and emojis (Laestadius 2017, 581). In this round, a total of 229 posts were examined.

By using a method of content analysis and coding the image, caption, and hashtags on two levels, a list of codes was created describing the most frequent content of the individual posts (Rasmussen Pennington 2017, 236–237).

Portrait:	Intentional depiction of one or more persons. Photographer not visible in image.	Selfie:	Self-portrait; only one person, including/ excluding the face.
Groupie:	Photographer posing with others; at least two persons in photo.	Activity:	Indoor and outdoor; activities involving humans visible or implied in image.
Sports:	Arenas, gym, tournaments; but also motivational, i.e. photographer setting goals for exercise.	Beauty:	Hair, tattoos, make-up, nails, eyes, fashion.

City-scape:	Buildings, streets, public art, parks, bodies of water, infrastructure.	Transport:	Lorries, cars, trains, buses, boats, commuting.
Work:	Different occupations.	Weather:	Sunshine, rain, snow, rainbows etc.
Nature:	Scenery, including sunsets, beautiful skies.	Food:	Close-ups of food, drinks and meals with people eating and drinking.
Festival:	Traditions, Christmas, Easter, Eid, Rosh-hashana, weddings, birthdays.	Migration:	Self-expressed nationality/ethnicity through hashtags and captions.
Animal:	Domesticated and non-domesticated.	Home:	Decorations, refurbishment, etc.
Emoji:	Describes emojis used in post.	Emotional:	Images, captions, comments, hashtags adding emotion to post.
Captioned photo:	Photo with embedded text, i.e. memes, snapchat/Instagram filters.	Public Non-profit/commercial	Opposite of personal photo.
Descriptive hashtag	Hashtags describing the image, either what is visible in image or enhancing the meaning of the post itself.	Communicative/Social hashtag	Hashtags used for connecting with others, i.e. instagood, or hashtags with other names of cities.

In the analysis, Manovich's (2016) three categories of Instagram photographs were also noted: design, professional and casual. Of the three categories, casual seemed to be the most common in Södertälje, suggesting that people were more likely to have been communicating everyday life with people they knew rather than producing aesthetically design images showing craft or professional photography.

When comparing the five geotags representing the five areas within the suburban area, a pattern emerged wherein the codes provided different characteristics of the areas, suggesting that people living, working and spending time there engaged in different activities and therefore posted different content. Unsurprisingly, the most frequent code in the town centre was cityscape. Of the three residential areas, one is more gentrified and two are socially deprived areas. In the first, the most common codes were nature, portrait and sports, and in the others were portrait, activity, selfie, beauty, and food. The fifth geotag was Chassiporten, a location within the Scania industrial area, and the most used codes here were transport, cityscape, and work.

For practical and ethical reasons, the content analysis was conducted one month after gathering the data, leaving ample time for account holders/photographers to make changes to their posts. As noted by Markham and Buchanan "people may operate in public spaces but maintain strong perceptions of privacy" (2012, 6). If a user changes content, deletes a post or changes their account from public to private, it may signal that they perceive the content to be sensitive and not for public consumption or indeed for researchers to use or museum staff to collect (Laestadius 2017, 583). Therefore, gathering data, either as a researcher or as museum

1. Activity. Photo: Milagros Sahlén, Stockholm County Museum, CC-BY-NC.

2. Photographs from the category 'work' depicts occupations. The contributor of this image works as a train driver and often photographs along his journeys. Photo: Simon Bertilsson, Stockholm County Museum, CC-BY-NC.

3. Home is another of the frequent categories in Södertälje. The caption that followed this image on Samtidsbild reads "Saturday night, a cup of tea, a cheese sandwich, a sofa, a home and peace of mind." Photo: Lena Johansson, Stockholm County Museum, CC-BY-NC.

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staff, calls for careful ethical considerations to be made throughout the project.

An analysis of audience engagement

Several different methods of outreach were trialled in the case study. Some of the methods have been used in other case studies within the research project, with varying degrees of success.

The result of the one-to-one contacts through direct messages corresponds to the results of the case study *Family living – The True Story: Collecting From Facebook*, where a little more than a third of the people contacted responded. In Södertälje, 44 Instagrammers were approached and 15 responded, approximately a third, making direct messaging in the two case studies comparable.

Publishing sponsored content on Instagram worked well in the *The 2017 Stockholm Terrorist Attack: Rapid Response Collecting* case study, where people were asked to share their social media photography with the museum. When used in Södertälje, many people interacted with the sponsored content but those who responded to the team's request for interviews were typical audiences at the museums – primarily adult females with Swedish ethnic background.

Neither the posters placed at the university nor the emails to non-profit organisations generated any responses. The post shared in a Facebook group did not receive great attention, with only 10 likes and 5 comments.

The sponsored post published in regards to the competition reached 697 likes, but the best promotion for the competition was the collaboration with the local newspaper and their coverage through articles and ads.

An analysis of six interviews

The content analysis only provides coding on a denotative level and cannot deliver answers about context or any thoughts the photographer might have had (Rasmussen Pennington 2017, 236). It was therefore complemented with interviews with six Instagram users, using photo-elicitation as a method to discuss images shared on the platform. The interviews revealed important context to the photos and accounts, photography practices and reasons for posting on Instagram.

Displaying the creativity of visual compositions and conveying emotions are two common strategies for photo-sharing on Instagram (Serafinelli 2018, 62). This was true for two of the interviewees. One, a middle-aged man, shared beautiful scenery of cityscapes as he wanted others to see the fine qualities of his hometown, even though it is troubled by high unemployment rates and crime.

For a young woman, sharing photos and selfies is all about emotions and expressing how she feels. Social interaction was another strategy for photo-sharing employed by a third interviewee, a woman in her 50s who was an active member of several Instagram communities (Igers) and used *#IG* hashtags to communicate with other photographers around the world.

For both women and for another interviewed man in his 30s, the Instagram feed also functioned as personal memory, turning it into "a visual version of a traditional diary" (Serafinelli 2018, 66). The feed of another interviewed middle-aged woman was organised thematically, which is common on Instagram (Serafinelli and Villi 2017, 176). She dedicated her account to her two dogs, and she only followed other accounts of the same dog breed.

1. "Woke up at 03:30 for this view of a peaceful and quiet Södertälje. Many forget it is very beautiful city." Photo: Stefan Christophs, Stockholm County Museum, CC-BY-NC.

2. The photograph of a woman mirrored through a commuter train window was published in the book *#enjoysweden* depicting the best Instagram photos from Sweden. Photo: Lena Thiderman, Stockholm County Museum, CC-BY-NC.

3. These two dogs have their own Instagram account, and only follow other accounts with dogs of the same breed. Photo: Git Gustavsson, Stockholm County Museum, CC-BY-NC .

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Discussion: community-oriented collecting and collaborative place making

The benefits of spending time and resources on initiatives like the Södertälje case study is that it can be a relevant first step in getting acquainted with a place, for example to launch collecting initiatives but also to spark new relationships with audiences. It is an open-ended first step that gradually helps to shape the next steps of a collecting initiative. Agile work methods have to be adopted as it might require the museum/archive staff to reconsider any initial plans and let the project take another direction. This approach also helps to identify communities and common identities that can serve as a starting point for engagement, which Spotts and Copeland point out as being essential parameters for participatory archiving (2017, 131).

The results of this case study show that Instagram can be an entry point to a community, a way to identify different cultural expressions, diversity in demography, and potential collaborating partners. "In order to conceptualize a collection, some boundaries must be drawn and members must be identified so that professionals working for the hosting institution can solicit engagement" (Spotts and Copeland 2017, 131). However, through the somewhat meagre results from the outreach efforts in Södertälje it is clear that to achieve a better result the team would need to do a more thorough design of the collecting initiative, from outreach to collection – for example to find and support ambassadors from each of the communities the museum or archive wishes to collect from. This would generate better results, such as true engagement from the audience, better representativity and a broader range of collected photographs.

For the contributors, initiatives like this create opportunities for greater involvement in writing the history of a place. It is a prerequisite for co-creation of photographic heritage, and it enables participation at its most basic level.

When approaching a geographical location by studying hashtags and geotags, Instagram statistics need to be compared with demographics of the town to ensure representativity.[4] When the team compared the two sets of statistics it became clear that the Instagram feed was not representative of the population in Södertälje. The relatively young population is consistent with Instagram users, although males are overrepresented in the population of Södertälje, whereas more females than males statistically use Instagram on a national scale. People born abroad are more frequent users on Instagram, which compares with Södertälje's population, where 52 % are either born abroad or have parents who were born abroad. To be able to collect a more representative sample of Instagram photography from Södertälje the team would need to design a collecting initiative corresponding to the demographic data analysed as well as to the identified categories. In the team's selection of accounts to observe or collect from, a focus should be on reaching more males than females between 12 and 44 and a majority should come from the countries most represented in Södertälje: Syria, Iraq, Finland, Turkey and Poland.

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4. Information about Instagram use is from the annual publication *Svenskarna och Internet,* 2016 and the demographics from the town are from the website of the council of Södertälje and Ekonomifakta.

At the beginning of the case study the team was influenced by a big data approach to harvest metadata and images, but soon realised that legally, ethically, and practically this was not viable. Instagram does not allow for scraping of content, but by using a third-party service that had an agreement with Instagram it was possible to collect metadata and images from the hashtag Södertälje. The drawback was that the service was expensive, and that the data could only be used as long as the museum had a valid license with the third-party service. As a consequence, the collected data was only used for analysis to distinguish trends. A big data approach does not provide the full picture, as it removes images from their social context (Van House 2017, 278), yet context is much needed for documentary purposes at museums and archives. Ethically it is also questionable, as people posting on Instagram could not imagine their content being collected by a museum without their consent. This was confirmed in the interviews: respondents were positive about a museum collecting their photographs, but they wanted to give their consent.

One very practical consequence of not being able to scrape content from Instagram is that museums and archives need to develop functional online collecting tools. The two platforms used in the case study, *Minnen* and *Samtidsbild*, both have their flaws and it is vital to continue to develop them to further lower the threshold for participation and ensure agreeable user experiences. Collecting on a one-to-one basis also allows museums and archives to continue to build trust with audiences by ensuring that memory institutions are safe places to harbour their photographs.

4.2. Aalborg: The Image of a City Seen through Multiple Gazes on Instagram

Bente Jensen

THE CASE STUDY was performed in autumn 2018 and followed the method previously used in the Södertälje case in Chapter 4.1. It was carried out by Aalborg City Archives using quantitative methods in order to obtain an overview of how a locality, the city of Aalborg, was depicted on Instagram. The hashtag *#Aalborg* and the geotag Aalborg on Instagram were monitored to create a basis for future collection and selection strategies through observation and categorisation of the images found as a start for developing a method for future collection of the image of towns in social media as sources for future history writing. The case also reflected on the value of social media photography to be preserved, compared to the professional photographs of the city in many archival holdings.

In the frame of the CoSoPho project, this case study enables a comparison with the Södertälje case study to understand what implications a specific location has for user motives and patterns on Instagram. In other words, to explore the expected dependence of locality and demography on the specific types of image content and practices on the social media platform.

The monitoring of social digital photography and the enormous number of photos with the hashtag *#Aalborg* and geotag Aalborg on Instagram help the archives to position themselves as relevant in a contemporary setting, identifying trends and changes through the image content. The approach is inspired by studies such as Anselin and Williams (2015), Boy and Uitermark (2016) and Manovich (2016) who all regarded Instagram and other social media as participatory location sensing systems with massive amounts of data that make it possible to identify and explore socio spatial patterns of networks, neighbourhoods, and trends of media use. As a research field characterised by a mixture of methods and theories from social and computer science their interest is not in collecting the data for future use as archival information, unlike the CoSoPho project. However, the previous studies represent useful inspiration for cultural heritage and archives research.

In the Aalborg case study, Instagram data is per-

ceived as a potential archive of massive information about landscape and life. This notion opens the idea of selection and preservation of the social digital photo for the future in archives and museums. Structured monitoring of social digital images reveals trends and developments in the use of townscape among people and establish a way to identify recurring themes and trends that could be important to react to in the devel-

A walk with a view of the brand new waterfront building complexes at the Limfjord, The photo also symbolises the changes of the harbour front in Aalborg from based on industrial use to the development into a place for living and recreation from the 1990'ies. Photo: @najalundegaard.

opment of a collection strategy, which also includes specific characteristics of social digital photography.

A number of researchers have analysed the social media platforms in terms of archives, which also offer insights useful for the process of collecting photographs as well as to place the sense of history. Geismar, in 'Instant Archives', reflects on Instagram as a massive, user-generated archive in itself, structured by corporation (Geismar 2017, 332). Gehl (2009) has analysed YouTube, identifying roles and relations between the media platform, the user, and the content in archival terms. Bartoletti (2011) has also analysed how memory in a continuum from private/public and individual/collective/cultural has been supported and managed on platforms such as Flickr and YouTube and discussed user practices connected to them.

Not everybody agrees with the archivist view. Another research direction focuses on the ephemerality and presence, regarding the social digital photo as a flow or a stream not meant to be preserved for the future, as Jurgenson does, citing Van House and Van Dijk (Jurgenson

2019, 47). In the *#Aalborg* and the Södertälje case studies, the team redefined the social photo's presence-focus and through collecting, with the permission of the photographer, turned it into cultural heritage.

Comparison as method

Because the case study was launched as a comparison with the Södertälje study the choice of methods for collecting was partly the same. To obtain an overview of the content published on Instagram from Aalborg, the team decided to focus on an analysis of visual and textual content. The case also presented an opportunity to compare the method with the other place related studies in the CoSoPho project performed via predefined hashtags decided by the archives and collaborators as *#weloveaalborg*, *#mygandrup* in this chapter and *#Christmasinaalborg* in Chapter 6.

To be able to compare the Aalborg and Södertälje case studies the choice of hashtag was replicated: the name of the city. An experience from the Swedish case study was that it was useful to combine the monitoring of the hashtag with the geotag. In the Aalborg case, the possibility of harvesting data through the tool Notified, as performed in the Södertälje case, was not available.

The monitoring of the hashtag and the geotag was performed between October 3 and 23, 2018, where samples were documented every other day, over 11 days. The samples consisted of nine of 'the latest' and 'relevant' photos (chosen by Instagram) of Aalborg as a geotag and the *#Aalborg* hashtag, following the way Instagram structures the view of the flow. The 398 posts were manually screened, categorised and coded on two levels. As in the Södertälje case, it allowed a

comprehension of the post as unit consisting of image, hashtags, captions, etc.

The case used a method of content analysis and by coding the image, caption and hashtags on two levels, a list of codes was created describing the most frequent content of the individual posts (Rasmussen Pennington 2017, 236–237). The categories were borrowed from the Södertälje case to allow comparison. As part of the analysis, Manovich's three categories of Instagram photographs – design, professional and casual – were listed for each photo (2016):

> Level 1: The images were analysed and descriptive terms were added.
> Level 2: The images were sorted into categories to obtain a full overview and to identify popular content, etc.

In this case study, no collecting was undertaken, as the focus was on monitoring in order to make substantiated decisions about what to collect in a following phase, if using the location hashtag or geotag open-endedly. As the aim was documentation, it was also not relevant to consider methods of outreach in this phase of the case.

#hashtag or geotag

The data obtained was decided by the choice of hashtag, the city name *#Aalborg*. This was a consequence of the explorative format of the project to use an open location hashtag. As found in the Södertälje case, Aalborg is an 'inaccurate' hashtag, since it covers both the city and the municipality. A mixed approach using

qualitative interviews could have complemented the knowledge on the practices behind the hashtag and the geotag (Geismar 2017). What do people actually mean when using the hashtag or geotag Aalborg? In the Aalborg case the focus was directed to the image content. In the Swedish case the team decided to include geotags from four suburban areas in the monitoring to ensure social and local representativity. The same should have been done in Aalborg to obtain better representativity, as the town name is connected with the city centre as it is in Södertälje.

In the Södertälje case 70 % of the images found on the hashtag were business or commercially related. This was why the Swedish project team continued monitoring the geotag Södertälje instead, to search for pictures of the cityscape, which was the aim of the project. In *#Aalborg* the percentage was lower: 25 % of the posts was commercial. In the geotag sample it was 10 %, which is a difference between the two localities that is difficult to explain without further research. It might be a consequence of different business structures, as it seems from the brief monitoring that hair, nail and

Aalborg Airport: Portrait in an artistic edition. The caption expresses the conflict between flying and living a sustainable life. It is also an example of one of the few photos not taken in the center of the city using the hashtag #aalborg. Photo: @theoneofonecom.

Body practices are communicated frequently on Instagram in Aalborg. One of the most popular expressions is tattoo art. Images depict both people showing off their tattoos as well as tattoo parlours marketing their work. Photo: @artistictatooingaalborg.

beard salons and fitness, tattoo and bodybuilding parlours – business related to the body – used Instagram heavily for promotion.

The image content analysis revealed that the most dominant categories in the hashtag sample were: nature, views, architecture, people and food/drink, in this order with nature as the most dominant category. In the geotag sample it was: people, food, health, beauty and nature. A cautious conclusion could be that content related to the townscape was found in the hashtag sample to a larger extent than in the geotag sample, where the focus was on people and subjects related to the body. Larger samples need to be studied to conclude whether this result is generally applicable in time and locality. The categories created in the Södertälje case functioned well as a tool, so it can be concluded that

The rest rooms in the local shopping center Friis. Even most of the photos in the samples could be characterised as casual, everyday content, here an example of a Instagram photo in design mode according to Manovich's terms.
Photo: @Lars_jj.

there were similarities in the choice of content across the two cities, despite the differences observed above.

The coding, which utilised Manovich's three categories of Instagram photographs (design, professional and casual), revealed that in both samples the category casual was dominant. Almost half of the hashtag photos and 40 % of the geotagged photos were casual. Also, in the Södertälje case, casual was the prevalent category on the platform. The many 'casual' photos reflect the communication of everyday practices through photographs. This is in accordance with Manovich's conclusions about the practices on Instagram and supported by Jurgenson, for example (Manovich 2016; Jurgenson 2019). The implication of the categorisation for archives and museums will be touched upon below. It should be noted here that a weakness in the analysis is how to agree on the categorising terms. The terms are very subjective, however, at the same time they offer an overview.

Embracing the 'casual' social photo of the city

The samples were obtained from a combination of the nine latest and the nine most 'relevant' photos presented by Instagram at the top of the feed. The method was a pragmatic way to perform a selection and to gain a structured sample. The photos defined as latest and relevant were decided by Instagram's algorithms, which were not transparent, and the choice of photos was even dependent on the account the analysis was performed from. However, in this case study the aim was to obtain a random structured selection and this method ensured that outcome.

In the Aalborg case study, interviews were not con-

ducted to follow up on the monitoring of the Aalborg hashtag and geotag. The aim was to gain an overview of the image content. At the same time, it proved possible to select persons to consider collection from through screening the samples. If the project had decided to follow that line, various forms of outreach should have been done as in the Swedish case study and in the Insta-Suomi case in Chapter 5.3, where the intention was to learn more about the practices behind social digital photography.

It is relevant to draw on experiences from the longitudinal case study *#Christmasinaalborg*. Retrospectively, the method used in the *#Aalborg* case could have been very useful as a basis for starting to use a hashtag as a collection tool by the City Archives in 2012. In 2013,

Fjordbyen (the fjord city) in Aalborg by the Limfjord, where a group of people live near the fjord reusing material from abandoned boats. Photo: @lenar17.

after the first *#Christmasinaalborg* campaign, Aalborg City Archives introduced a new hashtag: *#mitaalborg* (*#myaalborg*) to monitor the town photos in a semi-controlled way as a basis for selection. However, the method was never used, but the hashtag *#mitaalborg* became very popular very quickly, and at the time of writing (July 24, 2019) there are 68,700 pictures with the hashtag on Instagram. But nobody remembers that the hashtag was introduced by the City Archives.

The other case studies, *#weloveaalborg*, *#Juliaalborg* (*#Christmasinaalborg*) and *#mygandrup*, performed by Aalborg City Archives show that it is possible to collect through a hashtag on social media, where the focus takes place over a limited time, in a dedicated initiative and when the chosen hashtag is monitored. This is a top-down method, as the archives invent the hashtag. The event case studies in this anthology show that hashtags from below also offer possibilities, when documenting an event, such as *#knytblus*, *#metoo* and the terrorist attack in Stockholm. Both the *#Södertälje* case and the *#Aalborg* case show that the name of a locality/town is too broad and unspecific, but at the same time they are useful to obtain an overview for further steps.

The intuitive way of performing the collection from the beginning reflects the conclusions throughout the anthology about the need to work in an agile way to start collecting using new media, which means you learn while you work. If the method used in Södertälje and this Aalborg case study had been used in earlier case studies, like *#Juliaalborg*, it would have proved a structured way to learn about the city on Instagram. The method could also have been used as an entry point to communities and to ensure demographic and local representativity.

The city seen from below also permits openly learning from the massive amounts of information found on Instagram not only about locality, but also about identifying new business structures through the image content, as the commercial focus has grown on the social media platform and numerous firms use the platform for marketing purposes. Instead of characterising the numerous commercial photos on businesses related to body practices as disturbing as the Södertälje case study tentatively did, the image content could be regarded as a valuable entry to the collection of sources to document new forms of small businesses in the city, not previously represented in the holdings.

In the analysis of the social images of the city, Manovich's categories were used, and the category 'casual' was the dominant category in the Danish and the Swedish case studies. The photographs provide an opportunity to collect the image of a locality seen through the inhabitants' many gazes, while moving around communicating and documenting in the city scape as 'digital wayfarers', using Pink and Hjorth's term (2013). At the same time, the case opens for a discussion of new principles for collecting the image of the city reflecting new photo practices. 'Casual' everyday social digital photos challenge the values most collection strategies are built upon in archives and museums, prioritising professional and design (art) photos of the city, using Manovich's terms (2016). It is less the case in local and city archives, where the focus is primarily on documentation, but professional and press photographer's photos tend to dominate many holdings.

According to Jurgenson social photos "are not made to be collected or archived", as he emphasises the ongoing exchange as "a springboard to future action and dialogue" (2019, 49). He regards social photography in

An example of how a newly established café, Wefeat in Aalborg, uses Instagram as a marketing tool. Photo: @wefeat.

its temporary form as an alternative to recording and collecting life into the databases of museums and encourages appreciation for the experience of the present for its own sake (Jurgenson 2019, 52). From the CoSoPho project's point of view, social images of the city place the archives and museums in a relevant position between present, past and future, with a mission to preserve the past. This positioning entails a change of collection strategy and opens up a discussion of new selection criteria, which embraces the kind of aesthetics and structure of the social photo, documenting the city. A change that could secure diverse gazes on the townshape in future history writing.

4.3. #Weloveaalborg: Hashtagged Sentiments about a City on Instagram

Bente Jensen

THE *#weloveaalborg* CASE STUDY was founded on both the common use of hashtags on social media for social and communicative purposes and as the starting point of a collecting initiative by Aalborg City Archives. It explored new dynamics in collecting social digital photography, where outreach and collecting merge into one activity supporting each other in a synergistic way. Furthermore, it examined how bringing together multiple collaborating partners requires careful negotiations and compromises, but also effectively places the archives at the centre of a community, as a space for discussions around relevant topics in contemporary society.

The purpose of the case study *#weloveaalborg* was to explore methods for collecting the image of a town through a time-limited initiative: from August 15 to September 15, 2018. Another aim of *#weloveaalborg* was to understand how the archives could reach out through social media photography on Instagram in combination with other media, to document a place and collect photography through the use of a hashtag. The case thus intended to examine processes of place making through social media, not least articulations of

sentiments related to the place, as implied by the chosen collecting hashtag, *#weloveaalborg*. People were invited to show what parts of town they preferred or loved and why they did so. As a result, the captions became more relevant to study. The approach was inspired by Lev Manovich and his team's place studies of Broadway and Kiev (Manovich et al. 2014, 2015). Former collection initiatives by Aalborg City Archives and The Old Town Museum (Den gamle By) in Aarhus were also considered when planning the method, as they had also collected data through the use of a hashtag (Jensen 2013; Jensen 2014; Djupdræt 2015).

The experiment was a collaborative effort between Aalborg City Archives, Visit Aalborg (the local tourist organisation) and Kunsthal Nord (municipal art gallery), with the Aalborg-based magazine *Appetize* as a media partner. The local *Instagrammers Aalborg group* also supported the initiative. As there were many partners with a range of objectives, the aims differed, following the missions of each participating institution. Simultaneously, the case study revealed different approaches to social media photos between the archivist

(photos as documentation), the art historian (photos as art) and the tourism professional (photos as promotion of a tourist destination). The different approaches became clear in the curation of 20 images for an exhibition that ended the project, at two different venues in October-November 2018. The role of *Appetize* magazine, was to promote the initiative and to sponsor a poster, showing a mosaic of the photos curated for the exhibition.
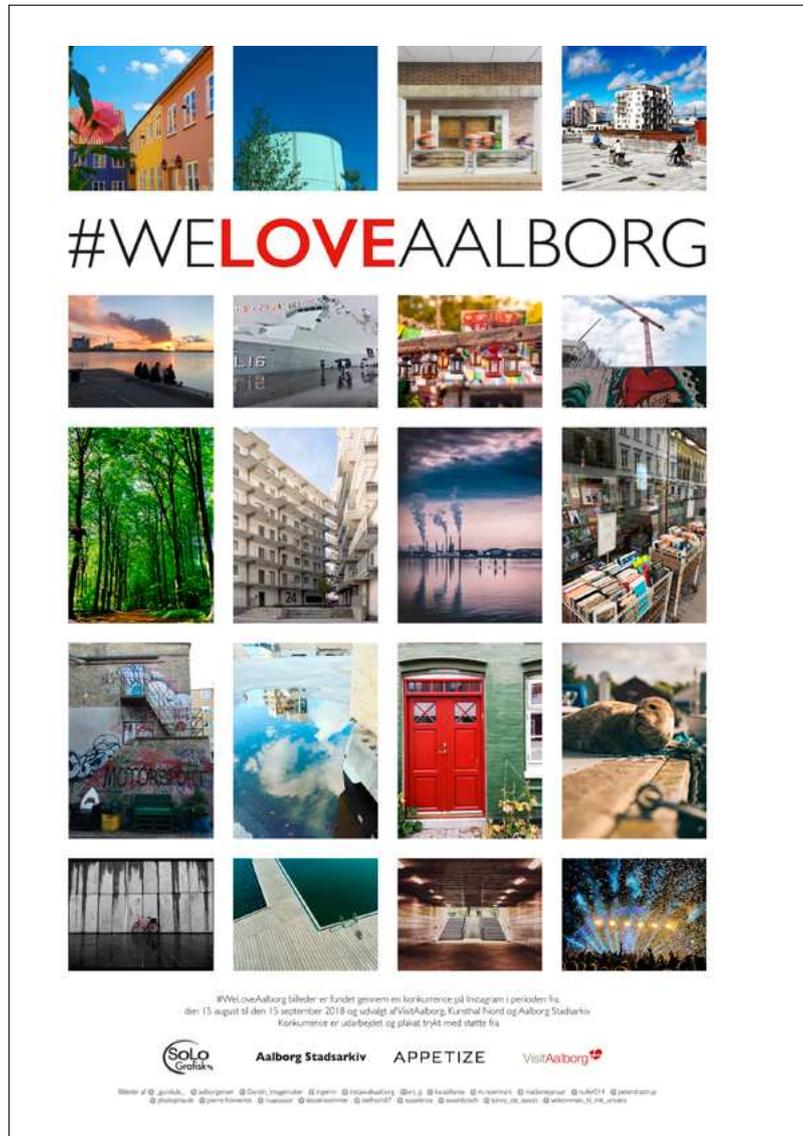
Poster featuring the winner photos from the #weloveaalborg initiative sponsored by the local lifestyle magazine *Appetize*.

In this case, the preconception was that collaboration could increase the visibility of the initiative, because wider audiences could be reached. Aalborg City Archives regarded *#weloveaalborg* as a case study in CoSoPho, while the tourist organisation saw the initiative as a way of making Aalborg visible as an attractive travel destination on social media. The art gallery participated reluctantly and changed attitudes during the project, especially about whether the photos could be regarded as art and thereby suitable for its mission. They ended up regarding the project as a way to identify and get in contact with new local photo artists.

The hashtag used for the collecting initiative was decided by the partners through negotiation. It was agreed to reuse *#weloveaalborg*, which was already used and known by Instagrammers. A hashtag and slogan are common in various forms in tourist promotion campaigns, dating back to the iconic 'I(heart)New York' in 1977.

The function of the specific hashtag was to focus outreach, to distinguish photos tagged with other hashtags related to the locality, such as *#Aalborg* and *#mitaalborg* (myaalborg), and to obtain a manageable number of photos.

Inspiration from big data approaches

This case study was inspired by Manovich's big data quantitative analysis of places (Manovich 2014, 2015). Haidy Geismar (2017), among others, has discussed Manovich's big data 'ethnography' approach to places and events, drawing on massive numbers of Instagram images to create visualisations. Manovich and Hochman claim that this kind of analysis "can lead to cultural, social, and political insights about particular local places during particular time periods" (Hochman and Manovich 2013, 2). By contrast, Geismar argues that the method reveals little about the understanding of the images themselves and the social context in which they are produced (Geismar 2017). Tim Highfield and Tama Leaver advocate for mixed methods, combining quantitative and qualitative tools and insights, "to take full advantage and explore more thoroughly the rich datasets collected from social media" to identify practices that might be missed through automated analyses based on big data (Highfield and Leaver 2014, 1). The spatial data in *#weloveaalborg* did not derive from tracking the geolocation obtaining massive amounts of images as in the Manovich cases. Instead the images were selected through the hashtag chosen by the team. The social context was not examined, so the focus in this approach was a mixture between quantitative and qualitative methods. As with the other place studies, this case also used a method of content analysis and coded the image, caption, and hashtags on two levels that described the most frequent content of the individual posts (Rasmussen Pennington 2017, 236–237). In *#weloveaalborg* the focus was on *City shape* combined with descriptive categories on a second level to obtain an overview of places and image content.

Opposed to a big data approach, most of the Instagrammers who participated in *#weloveaalborg* did so as a result of the outreach efforts. However, as the hashtag was reused, there were people participating who were not aware of the new context because Instagrammers used the hashtag habitually. This observation reveals a practice where hashtags are not used intentionally but automatically as social tagging to gain more views and likes (Lee 2018; Barton 2018).

Gamification elements were used to encourage the Instagrammers to take part. A prize could be won, and the tagged images were included in the curation of an exhibition, which was also regarded as a motivation and reward by many participants. In contrast to traditional archival theory and practice based on analogue photography, acquisition (collection) and outreach merged into one process, as born-digital photography calls for participatory methods, which includes the cre-

The winner in of the #weloveaalborg competition in front of her photo at the exhibition. Photo: Susan Knøs.

ator (Huvila 2008). With regards to *#weloveaalborg*, the exhibition also became part of the process and supported the collection and engagement.

Hashtags as tools

The hashtag *#weloveaalborg* was used as a tool for collecting and outreach. In most cases, tagging and commenting in museums and archives are intended to improve access to collections by making them searchable, enriched by user-generated information. The aim of facilitating tagging and commenting on different platforms was also to generate extended user engagement or social tagging (Barton, 2015, 2018; Lee 2018). Generally, tags serve two purposes: organisational and social. The hashtags expose the pictures, enable navigation and visibility, and at the same time signal connection and emotion. Studies have been performed on social tagging in Twitter and Flickr, but only a few have discussed the use of hashtags on Instagram, according to Lee (2018). On Instagram, the tagging is a combination of descriptive and social tagging. In contrast to a traditional taxonomy, the tagging does not follow a pre-determined organisation or indexical structure, but is, instead, socially and collectively produced (Highfield and Leaver, 2014). In the *#weloveaalborg* case study, the descriptive and social elements were used, however they were expanded for digital curation, as (hash)tagging was used as a tool for acquisition or collecting. Barton has shown that individuals and institutions have used hashtags in a similar way within the Flickr community to curate exhibitions on the platform. Barton and Geismar also remind us that tagging possibilities are dependent on the affordances of the platform (Barton 2015, 2018; Geismar 2017).

The #weloveaalborg case study worked with hashtags, as described by Yang et al., "by creating a hashtag, a user either invents and shares a new bookmark (of content), or initialises and spreads a coat of arms (of a community), or both. By adopting an existing hashtag, a user either presents her interest in a topic, or presents her intent to obtain a community membership, or both" (2013, 262). The case used both the social function and the organisational function of the hashtag to identify and start a dialogue, with the aim of collecting. It also reused an existing tag to reach an existing community. The practice of tagging was used as a tool or method to get an overview of the users' motives and practices enabling identification and selection of material to be curated for the exhibition and to be collected; to communicate with users and producers to engage in dialogue; to encourage collaboration and co-creation; and simply to upload photos. Bruns and Burgess (2011) have argued that hashtags can allow certain types of communities to emerge and form, including ad hoc publics, responding very quickly in relation to a particular event or topical issue, as shown in the cases in Chapter 6. The communities may not persist, but can be efficient, even if they only exist for a short time. In the #weloveaalborg case, the team drew on similar experiences from the #Juliaalborg (#Christmasinaalborg) initiative and sought to construct a community around the hashtag, collecting and the exhibition.

The Aalborg City Archives and collaborators invited the public to share social media photography in a participatory way and communicated through the tags. Chang has analysed communication through social tagging. She shows how the use of hashtags has become a unique tagging convention to help associate messages with particular events or contexts: "Prefixed by a # symbol with a keyword, a Twitter (and an Instagram) hashtag serves as a bottom-up user proposed tagging convention" (Chang 2010, 1). However, hashtag-based communication can have several directions: a top-down direction, when staff in the archives or museum decide on a hashtag, as in the #weloveaalborg case; while a bottom-up direction is found in the #södertälje case study in this chapter, since the point of departure is user-generated hashtags.

The team not only observed through the hashtags but combined the observation with direct engagement with Instagrammers, liking their posts, using the hashtag for communication, and finally through curating a number of photos for collection and an exhibition.

The case study also tested the process of collecting and description in the archives database with a small number of photos, as it was decided beforehand that the archives would collect the 20 images curated for the exhibition. All 20 winners, except one, were happy for the Aalborg City Archives to collect their images and provided further metadata and contextual information.

Outreach methods

In the #weloveaalborg case study the research question was central: How can museums and archives engage audiences to contribute to photographic heritage, depicting a place here and now? In this case, one of the ways of enforcing outreach and engagement was collaboration with local partners. The outreach was performed on social media platforms and in local traditional media.

The initiative was conducted at the same time as an annual 'Aalborg Festival' (August 15 to September 15, 2018), which meant it became part of the official festi-

Graffiti in an alley. The winner photo.
Photo: Susan Knøs.

val programme together with other cultural events. The project had a web presence through the Visitaalborg website (the tourism partner), which presented the project as well as the terms and conditions for participation and collection.[1]

The initiative also had its own *#weloveaalborg* Instagram account as part of the communication. The function of the account was to speak on behalf of all the

partners and to remind people of the deadlines within the initiative as well as encouraging them to use the hashtag. Aalborg City Archives also promoted the initiative on their Facebook and Instagram accounts. A practice often used by the city archives, reposting images on Instagram and Facebook, was not possible, because the images were part of a competition.

The media partner *Appetize* covered *#weloveaalborg* during the initiative and introduced the exhibition in October.[2] It was also covered by the local newspaper Aalborg.nu.[3] Media coverage encouraged participation from inhabitants of Aalborg and expressed curiosity about where the most lovable locations in town were to be found.

The Instagrammers Aalborg group also supported the initiative. The group promoted *#weloveaalborg* posts on their Facebook group and Instagram account and encouraged members to join the initiative. 'Prominent' Instagrammers within the Aalborg community were also invited to act as 'ambassadors' for the project through comments on photos on their Instagram accounts.

Analysis of methods and results

The hashtag *#weloveaalborg* was monitored on Instagram daily to enable answers to the following questions:

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1. https://www.visitaalborg.dk/aalborg/del-aalborg-med-weloveaalborg-konkurrence-og-udstilling

....

2. https://www.appetize.dk/del-dit-aalborg-og-bliv-udstillet/ and https://www.appetize.dk/hvorfor-elsker-vi-aalborg (Accessed Dec 29, 2019).
3. https://aalborgnu.dk/nyheder/weloveaalborg-fotoudstilling-viser-byens-mange-sider/f11a387d-59c8-45d4-800c-87a2ad316ae5 (Accessed Dec 29, 2019).

- How many images were uploaded? Could a pattern of uploads be identified during the initiative month? Did outreach have any effect on posting?
- How many different categories of image content were there? What was the distribution between image content and locations?
- How many users participated? How many images did they each post? Did the gamification method work?
- What do the captions say about *#weloveaalborg* and places people loved?
- What does the analysis of captions and hashtags say about Instagram practices?

During the initiative month, 845 images were uploaded to Instagram using the hashtag *#weloveaalborg*. The average number of daily uploads was 28 and people uploaded between 1–144 photos each. The outreach had an effect on the pattern of upload: one day the numbers were particularly high, when one Instagrammer discovered the initiative, thus showing that the gaming elements worked. The person wanted to win and be part of the exhibition, which he was very open about in an answer to a follower, who admired his photos: "Right now I am just spamming, as I want to win a photo competition with photos from Aalborg".

In total 116 Instagrammers participated in the initiative, and 11 were businesses including beauty, food, real estate, and second-hand shops. Three participants were locally-based bloggers. This confirms Manovich's notion that Instagram has lost some of its social appeal, as commercial images and sponsored posts fr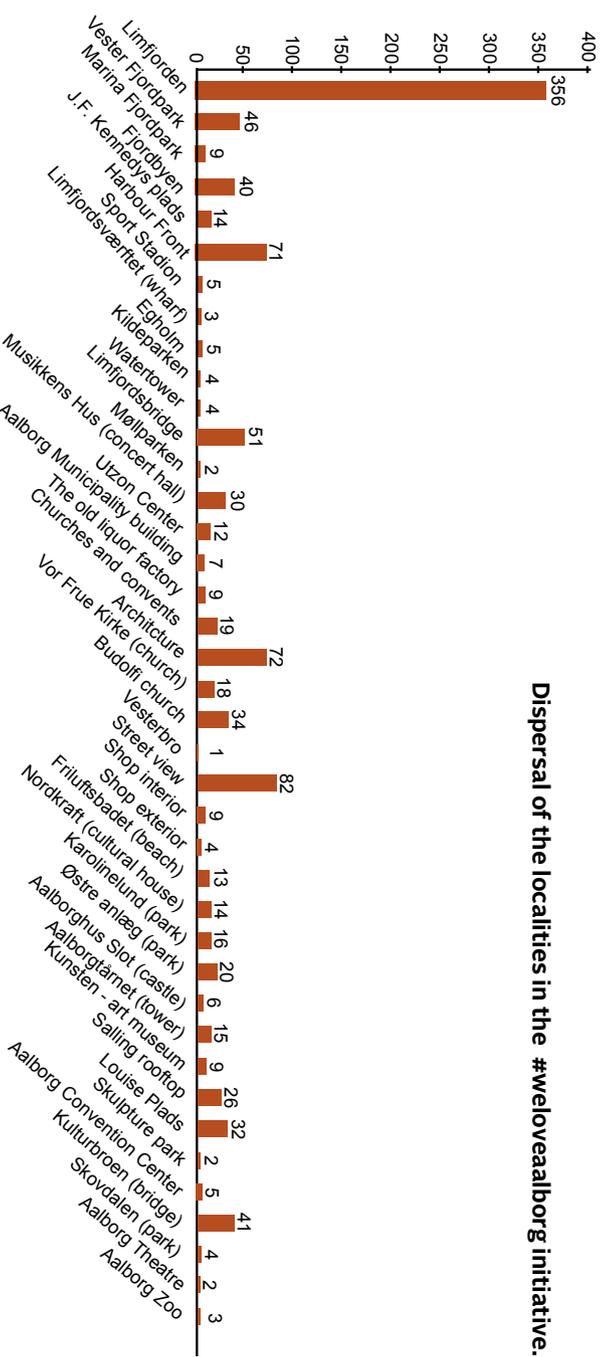om companies began to play a more dominant role from around 2015 (Manovich 2017, 4). It is a low number of commercial content, though, compared to findings in the Södertälje case in this chapter. The explanation could be that the initiative was a directed collection initiative.

The photos were screened and divided into subcategories showing topographical places selected by the creators on Instagram to illustrate what part of town and what kind of image categories the Instagrammers 'loved'. Then the cityscape was further categorised into a second level, describing the content according to the categories used in the Södertälje case (Rasmussen Pennington 2017, 236–237).
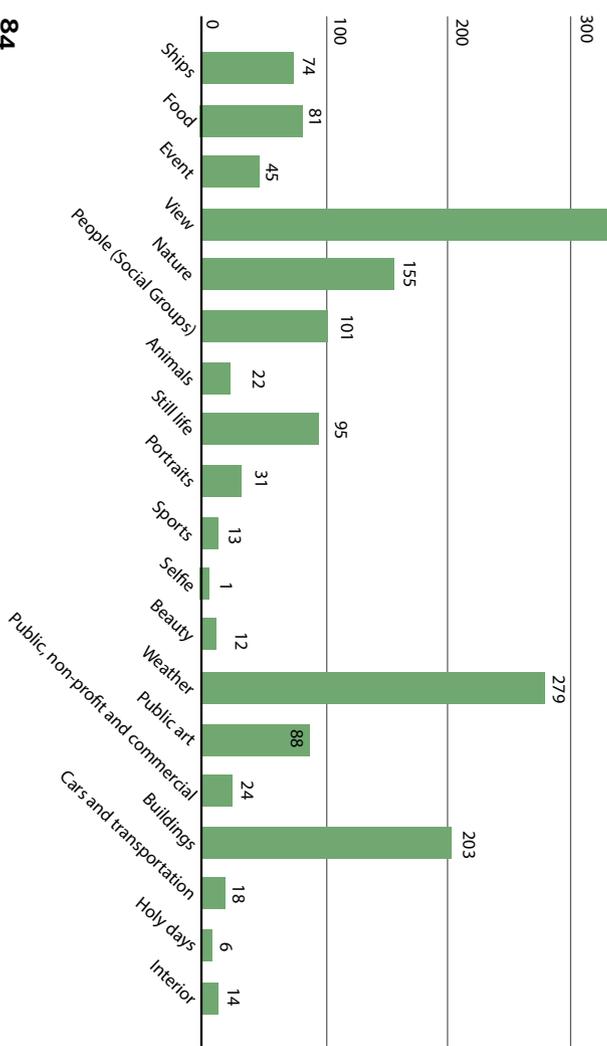
A plurality of the locations was in the inner city, many included the Limfjord and the former industrial harbour on both sides of the fjord, which is now gentrified. The photos 'without place' were not examined using the geolocation functions within Instagram, which could have shown the location pattern visualised as a map as in the big data studies of locations referred to (Manovich 2015). Instagram users' focus on documenting their everyday lives means that they are more likely to include geotags than on other platforms, like Twitter, according to Manikonda et al. (2014, 1). The pattern might have changed, but the notion raises an interesting question to explore further.

The figures show that the predominant types of image content in the traditional landscape photography categories were: views, weather, and buildings. The image content also reflected the affordances of the platform as well as the styles and trends of city photography on Instagram. Examples are reflections, 'puddlegrams' and sunsets. Influencers on the site begin trends and discover new photo spots that are enforced by blog posts on how to gain more followers.

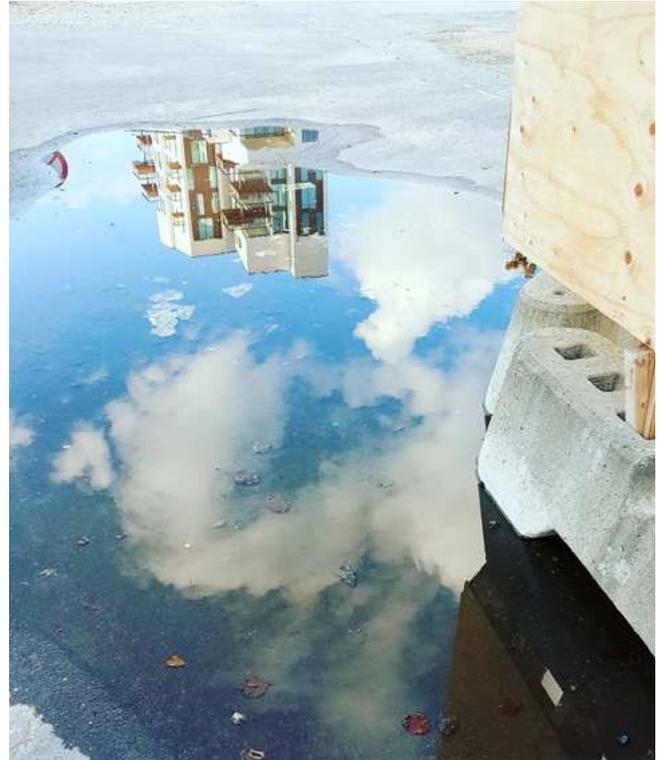**Dispersal of the localities in the #weloveaalborg initiative.**

Locality	Value
Limfjorden	356
Vester Fjordpark	46
Marina Fjordpark	9
Fjordbyen	40
J.F. Kennedys plads	14
Harbour Front	71
Sport Stadion	5
Limfjordsværftet (wharf)	3
Egholm	5
Kildeparken	4
Watertower	4
Limfjordsbridge	51
Møllparken	2
Musikkens Hus (concert hall)	30
Utzon Center	12
Aalborg Municipality building	7
The old liquor factory	9
Churches and convents	19
Architecture	72
Vor Frue Kirke (church)	18
Budolfi church	34
Vesterbro	1
Street view	82
Shop interior	9
Shop exterior	4
Friluftsbadet (beach)	13
Nordkraft (cultural house)	14
Karolinelund (park)	16
Østre anlæg (park)	20
Aalborghus Slot (castle)	6
Aalborgtårnet (tower)	15
Kunsten - art museum	9
Salling rooftop	26
Louise Plads	32
Skulpture park	2
Aalborg Convention Center	5
Kulturbroen (bridge)	41
Skovdalen (park)	4
Aalborg Theatre	2
Aalborg Zoo	3

Dispersal of image content in the #weloveaalborg initiative.

Content	Value
Ships	74
Food	81
Event	45
View	358
Nature	155
People (Social Groups)	101
Animals	22
Still life	95
Portraits	31
Sports	13
Selfie	1
Beauty	12
Weather	279
Public art	88
Public, non-profit and commercial	24
Buildings	203
Cars and transportation	18
Holy days	6
Interior	14

Bikes on the top of a newly constructed parking house at the Limfjord. Photo: Mike White.

Puddlegram. Photo: Lone Larsen.

From a city history and cultural heritage point of view the image content documents the development of the town and how people have received the gentrified parts along the fjord, a city beach, and the parks as popular places to hang out and to document. Initiatives to beautify the houses in town with murals as well as the 'wilder' form, graffiti, were also popular motives, and both signal metropolitan life.

Hashtag and caption analysis

As the invitation asked, "show us what you love in Aalborg", the images in conjunction with the captions, the comments, and the use of social and descriptive hashtags became central in the analysis.

The figure illustrates that approximately half of the participants 'talked' through the images and hashtags, while less than 300 had written extensive text. Instagram is a highly visual platform and meanings are frequently conveyed through the photographs (Laestadius 2017, 575). An analysis of the captions indicates how users expressed their love of the locations, which were the same as the categories above:

- The Limfjord, the views and the new harbour front. The view and the light.
- How murals beautify the town.
- A brand-new rooftop on a department store, especially the view from the terrace.
- The combination of new and old elements in town.
- The nature in the city area.
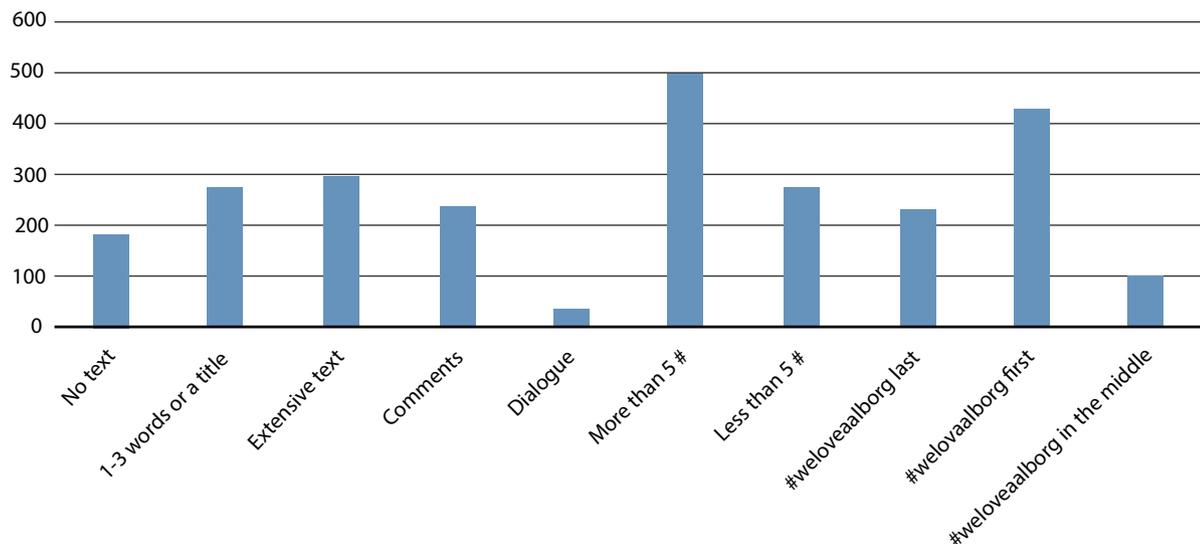
Types of text and use of hashtags.

A way to further study the photos could be a linguistic approach, like Barton took in research on tagging on Flickr (Barton 2015, 2018), to explore whether the themes in the captions correspond with the image content.

There is not much dialogue found in the captions, as people speak through the hashtags and the images. Up to 500 images had more than five hashtags. The affordances of Instagram promote visual rather than textual communication. Laestadius finds that hashtags are less likely to indicate posts as continuing conversations as on Twitter, and more likely to provide context and participation in a community (Laestadius 2017, 576). The case study confirms this notion and was in line with the case study design, as the hashtag as a collecting tool needed both context information and wished to create a sense of community within the initiative. At the same time the use of hashtags challenged the affordances of Instagram by being used in an unintentional way; for collection of photos in archives and museums. Referring to Bucher and Helmond (2017, 18) this use can be described as drawing the entities together into a new form of meaningfulness, which means that an approach to affordances from a relational and multi-layered perspective is demonstrated in the case study.

Conversation within a large group of users is not frequently seen on Instagram. Each photo that used the hashtag *#weloveaalborg* did not discuss or speak to every other post with this hashtag. Instead, dialogue occurred as comments to individual posts. The *#weloveaalborg* and Aalborg City Archives Instagram accounts did, however, attempt to speak to a larger audience, while promoting the initiative. Hence it was necessary to use other communication platforms.
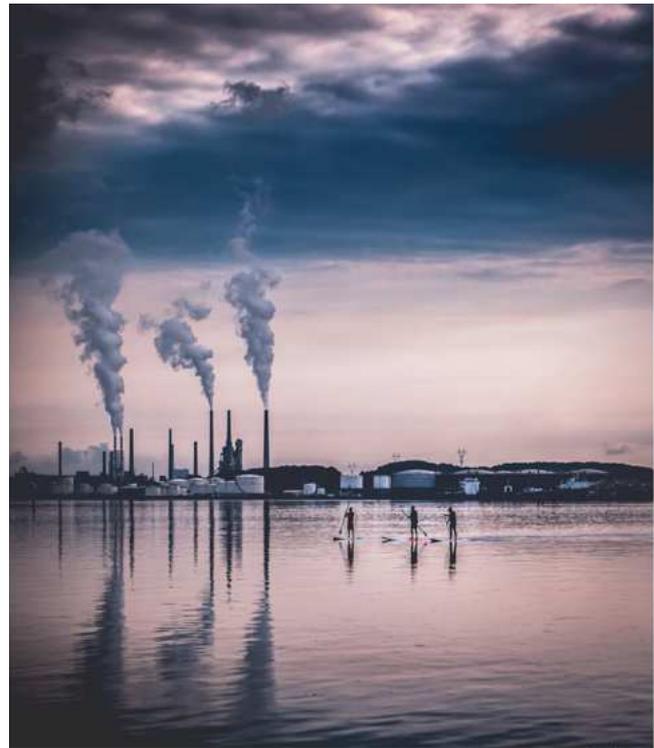
Three stand up paddlers at the Limfjord with cement factory in the background - one of the winner photos. Photo: Lucas Illanes.

Curation for the #weloveaalborg exhibition and collection

20 images were curated for the exhibition and collected for the archives. Aesthetic arguments became important in the selection, to ensure that images supported each other in the exhibition, while confirming that they represented the recurrent content categories found through the analysis. The exhibition itself became a promotional element and this was expressed

through the proud reactions of those selected. The 'winners' came to the launch of the exhibition with their family and friends and showed their positive attitude about the initiative. A number of the participants had only known each other through their Instagram names. The positive reaction was also shown in captions and photos on Instagram.

A focus on outreach coexisted with the principles of selection and collection for long-term preservation. In some phases outreach became predominant. One of the missions of Aalborg City Archives is to document the city, its changes and everyday life. It was decided by the archives that the selection should be regarded as a reflection of the initiative as such and Instagram styles in general. The criteria for selection is also documented in Arkibas, the access database of the archives. From a city history and an archival position, the images reflect how Aalborg is perceived today on the Instagram platform. The hashtag encouraged feelings and attitudes, which were reflected as statements through the photos, the hashtags, captions and comments in combination. For that reason, it was important to preserve the entire posts, and this was done as screenshots in the access database.

As archival entities, Instagram posts are hybrids between an archived image and a document. They reflect how communication and statements, which earlier were performed as pure text, have become a combination of image and text in various fluid forms (captions, comments, hashtags) on social media. On Instagram, the image is predominant and often speaks for itself, as seen in this study. This has implications for the description and attached metadata of the entity in the archival databases. This observation is important to further answer the research questions of the Collecting

The vernissage of the #weloveaalborg exhibition in October 2018 at the local culture house: Nordkraft, a former power plant. Photo: @danish_imagemaker.

Social Photography project about the changes in working practises required to collect from social media.

Discussion

The case study illustrates ways of engaging with users when archives collaborate with partners from media, tourism and other cultural institutions. Compromises had to be made when working in a collaborative way with partners, as exemplified by the choice of hashtag and in the curation of photos. More partners also meant that communication and outreach was successful because of the broader approach to outreach, greater resources and the synergy between the different me-

dia. This was reflected in the number of photos with the hashtag *#weloveaalborg* – 845 photos during a month-long initiative was considered impressive by all the partners.

The case study has caught the attention of other partners in Aalborg Municipality as a method for using social media photography and hashtags as a tool for capturing preferences and attitudes in landscape and city, while involving users in the collection. One example is the Park and Landscape Department, which has expressed interest in using the method to draw attention to the green development in the municipality. A local cultural institution, Nordkraft, has also mirrored the initiative, using the hashtag *#weloveNordkraft* when celebrating the 10-year anniversary of the institution in the spring of 2019. The City Archives are partners in both projects and secure long-time preservation by promising to collect the images using the hashtag as well as supporting outreach on their platforms. Seen in the light of image-making, this participation also positions the archives as a relevant, user-involved partner in contemporary city development processes.

As a collection method, the monitoring of hashtags should be complemented with interviews with users, to obtain a detailed understanding of the multitude of meanings of individual practices and to understand the user motives for participating in the collection, as Geismar (2017) calls for. A deep analysis of the captions, comments and hashtags should also be performed. This can strengthen the value of the photographs as historical sources reflecting the sentiments of the town at the given time regarded from different positions, which could be identified by using qualitative methods such as interviews as a part of the initiative.

The case study invited Instagrammers to show,

Building density in a new area of Aalborg. Photo: Inge Marie Møller Nielsen.

what parts of Aalborg they 'loved'. The choices of image content and their captions offered a hint of an answer to the question. It also indicated what kind of image content of the city to collect today and how to involve its inhabitants in the process. A broad collection with many partners helped to involve a broader audience that reflected more gazes on the city.

4.4. #mygandrup: Collaboration towards a Contemporary Social Image of a Small Town

Bente Jensen

SITUATED IN THE small rural town of Gandrup, this case study explored how the identity of a place affects the frames of a collecting initiative, and vice versa – how collecting and collaboration around an initiative can change the perception of a place. It examined how small experiments can create a foundation for building digital skills and embracing new work methods for collecting social digital photography, showing the changing role of local archives, from gatekeepers and guardians of history to community facilitators.

In the Collecting Social Photo (CoSoPho) project there was a need to explore collection of social digital photography from a small rural town, as the other place-related case studies were more urban in focus. The small town of Gandrup near Aalborg in Denmark was chosen to answer the question of whether social digital photography is an urban phenomenon in particular and to study the possible consequences for a collection strategy in a small-town setting. During the process it also became evident that the case study could illustrate what role local archives can play in the creation of contemporary identity and the depiction of a place.

The case study was a collaborative project carried out in the summer of 2019 by Aalborg City Archives together with the local archives in the area, Hals Archives (Hals Arkiv), a local archive organised as a member-driven society with an elected board and based on voluntary work. The place, Gandrup, was chosen for pragmatic reasons, because the local archives are housed there.

The local archives, Hals Archives, are community archives, which can be defined as "collections of materials created, held and managed primarily within communities and outside the formal heritage sector" (Flinn et al. 2009, 1) and "collections of material gathered primarily by members of a given community and over whose use community members exercise some level of control" (Flinn et al. 2009, 2, 72), using definitions based on a British context. The Danish local archives are usually supported by the municipalities and not totally independent. They are not an expression of a pronounced counter- or protest culture, but function as a platform to create and preserve a common community identity in a small place that is not well represented by

The main road in Gandrup during the parliamentary election campaign 2019 and the #mygandrup collection initiative. Photo: @tikster .

Gandrup is situated 21 km east of Aalborg. It is part of Aalborg Municipality, but the town functioned until 2006 as administration centre of the former Hals Municipality. Today around 1,500 inhabitants live in Gandrup. Gandrup's development was initiated by the construction of a railway connection between the town, Aalborg and Sæby, in 1886. The railroad line and Gandrup Station closed in 1968. Today the locality is a small-centre town in a rural setting with a school, supermarkets and small industries; among them a brick factory, due to clay deposits in the area. Many of the inhabitants commute to Aalborg or other big cities for work. In recent years Gandrup has also attracted families with small children.

the public archives. They go against the public mainstream as the focus is on very local and private archives. The local archives collect private archives from people, companies and associations in their area. At the same time, they are in need of a digital strategy of collecting to stay relevant and sustainable in the future, a fact that also makes this case study relevant and important in a general sense outside the context of CoSoPho.

Hals Archives launched the project together with Aalborg City Archives because the archives wanted to experiment with new ways of collecting contemporary photography on digital platforms, which was expressed explicitly when introducing the collection initiative *#mygandrup* on social media.[1]

Collaboration and outreach

#mygandrup was a collaborative project as Hals Archives was involved in the decision-making process from the beginning and had the final say, as the archives were the ones who were 'talking' to the public. Hals Archives was also the owner of the collection initiative. The CoSoPho project and Aalborg City Archives were mentioned in the presentation at the very beginning of the project, but from then on the local archives were responsible for the dialogue. The local archives decided that the collection should use a combination of Facebook and Instagram as collection platforms. Facebook was preferred by Hals Archives as they already had experience of using the platform in their communication with the community. Instagram

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1. https://www.facebook.com/groups/1536201599843773/?fref=nf (Accessed April 30, 2019).

was included because of experience from other CoSoPho case studies already performed. As the local archives had no experience using Instagram they drew on the experience of Aalborg City Archives in this part of the case study.

The hashtag *#mitgandrup* (*#mygandrup*) was decided upon without much discussion. The local archives wanted a local, individual gaze on the locality. As one of the reasons for this case study was to experiment within a rural setting, it was explicitly mentioned in the presentation of the collection initiative that the images could be of horses, cows, fields, etc. As in the Södertälje and Aalborg cases studies, the name of the town is related to and associated with the centre, even in a small setting.

It was decided to create two new collection accounts with the name of the collection hashtag: *#mitgandrup* (*#mygandrup*) on Facebook and Instagram, using existing media and meeting places to attract people to the platforms. As a starting point the two social media platforms were monitored. On Facebook there were no 'competing' Gandrup groups sharing contemporary photos from Gandrup, as the town-based group "I am from Gandrup" (Jeg er fra Gandrup) shared and rhapsodised about historical photos, while the "9362Gandrup" group shared things for sale and searched for runaway pets and cows, thus a lacuna was identified[2]. The result of the monitoring was also the important fact that there was no tradition or existing practice of sharing photos of contemporary Gandrup in Facebook

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2. Facebook groups: Jeg er fra Gandrup: https://www.facebook.com/groups/577489102338526/ and 9362Gandrup https://www.facebook.com/groups/1601909060093203/ (Accessed January 26, 2020).

The local pizzeria in Gandrup. Photo: @tikster.

groups. The two existing Facebook groups were used to communicate the *#mygandrup* collection and to introduce the new Facebook group.

The use of the geotag and hashtag Gandrup were monitored briefly on Instagram and it was concluded that local businesses, sports clubs and the school maintained accounts on the platform, while some private photographers were also identified. They were all contacted via the collection account and asked to participate, to be ambassadors and to share their photos of Gandrup and to use the collection hashtag in the collection period. The responses were positive, and most people and institutions participated.

The collection initiative was promoted in local newspapers and a poster was produced and displayed in public areas and local meeting places, such as super-

markets and the school. The advantage of launching the case study in a relatively small place was that it was possible to cover all known media and networks.

A competition was set up (with a prize draw for five goody bags) and Hals Archives promised to arrange an exhibition of the 20 best photos in the archives building in Gandrup to nudge people towards participation. Nudging in this context is seen as gamification elements motivating people to participate in the collection initiative. In the period of the initiative the local archives were active on both social media platforms, liking, commenting and encouraging people to share. The archives actively used their networks to ask people interested in the local archives to participate.

Collection and selection of #mygrandrup photos

The collection initiative was planned to run from May 1 to May 31 but was extended to June 16, as it proceeded slower than expected. In general, people supported the initiative by joining the two groups on Facebook and Instagram, but most followers were passive spectators. This issue was actively addressed by Hals Archives through comments on the platforms, which welcomed new members and asked people explicitly to share photos to support the initiative. It seems that followers expressed interest and curiosity in looking at photos shared by other followers on social media but were not motivated to contribute themselves.

Altogether, 129 people joined the *#mitgandrup* Facebook group. One third were men, the rest women. In total, 16 people contributed with photos (1 man, 15 women), and 83 photos were shared; participants contributed from 1 to 20 photos.

On Instagram 87 persons followed the *#mitgandrup* account (35 men, 8 institutions/societies/businesses, and 44 women). 11 shared photos with the hashtag (4 women, 1 business, 1 school, 7 men), and 111 photos were shared in all, 60 of them uploaded by Gandrup School – the rest shared between 1 and 13 photos.

The case study allows a comparison of the two social media platforms in a small and local context. Few people participated in collection on both platforms. The Facebook contributors seemed to be the oldest, mostly women, and some were connected with local archives work in advance. One of the most proactive women was 80 years old, and she was motivated to document daily life in Gandrup and share it.

On Instagram, Gandrup School was very active, uploading more than half of the photos. Some children were involved through a teacher taking the class on a photo safari as part of a lesson. Local businesses were not dominant – only the local restaurant responded to the suggestion to share. Using Instagram opened up the participation to local businesses, institutions and young people.

The differences observed between the users on Facebook and Instagram confirms Laestadius' observation that Instagram is highly skewed towards younger users (Laestadius 2017, 577), and in Gandrup this still seems to be the case. It became clear that the traditional users and volunteers in the local archives preferred using Facebook, a platform they were comfortable with.

In total, 216 people followed the two platforms, and there were few overlaps. Most seemed to have a local connection – as there are 1,556 inhabitants in Gandrup, this suggests that 14.5 % knew about the initiative. The 27 people who shared photos were all local,

The arrival of the mobile library. Photo: Maja Koch.

A man with his teddy. Everyday life in Gandrup. Photo: Maja Koch.

Town life – street photography. Photo: Maja Koch.

The chefs at the local inn having fun in the kitchen. Photo: @gaestgivergaardengandrup.

which means that 2 % of the population shared photos. The numbers also illustrate the advantage of working in a small community.

In total, 194 photos were shared. On Facebook the dominant category was nature of all kinds, especially green areas of town, such as a path system that was a popular category. A new skater park was also a very popular type of content, especially for younger participants. Next came factories and shops, as one person started documenting those places. Personal photos of a wedding and leisure were among the subjects depicted, and as street photography was. On Instagram, activities at the school dominated, with more than half of the photos being uploaded by them. Changes in the town, including new buildings and initiatives, were also a focus in the documentation.

Hals Archives decided to collect all the photos. They wanted the original photo from the smartphone or camera and chose a pragmatic way to collect to save time, by simply asking people via the two collection accounts to email the photos to the archives with information about the donor and the archives' right to use them. The initiative was concluded with an event and exhibition in 2019.

The local archives chose to collect only the photos and not the communication expressed in the associated captions. Recently Jurgenson (2019) has been very explicit about the functions of the social photo and joins the trend that considers communication to be taking over from the documentation purposes of photography. In the Gandrup case, the archives asked people to use *#mygandrup* and the captions were in general not very long. People communicated by liking the photos and by joining the groups. The 'social' in this

Promotion photo for the campaign. Skateboard facility at the Gandrup School. The photo aimed to attract young people to participate in the collecting initiative. Photo: Hals Archives.

case study could be interpreted as the process happening to inspire others by creating a new digital community on the two social media platforms. Here the platforms, especially the Facebook group, in some ways functioned as a digital extension of the traditional physical community archives and in so doing, updated their contemporary relevance and role in identity 'production'.

An exit strategy of the project was discussed, as the two collection platforms on Facebook and Instagram were set up only for the *#mygandrup* collection initiative. People continued to use the hashtag and follow the accounts after the initiative ended. It was decided that the accounts would continue until after the exhi-

bition and then stop. After that people were advised to use Hals Archives' Facebook account and encouraged to share contemporary photos on the "I am from Gandrup" Facebook group, which was agreed with the private administrator of the group. Hals Archives did not plan to continue their presence on Instagram. The archives also hoped that the case study would have a lasting effect, where people would start documenting and communicating contemporary Gandrup on social media. The archives' plan was to support the process by sharing the collected social digital photos on relevant local social media to inspire future collection, and also anticipated that the planned exhibition would have the same effect.

The results of collecting social photography in a rural setting

The board of Hals Archives was convinced that the method was useful and intended to replicate the *#mygandrup* initiative in another town, Hals. In Hals there is an established tradition of sharing photos on social media and the archives expected that the process might be different, as they could build on existing habits.

Gandrup was a challenging locality, as there was no tradition of sharing contemporary photos of the place on social media platforms at the beginning of the initiative. The assumption of Hals Archives was that during the initiative people might not find Gandrup shareable and 'Instagramable', as it is a relatively new town. There is not an old town centre in Gandrup, because the town grew out of the railway connection in the late 19th century. An indication of this observation could be that people aimed to depict a more traditional landscape

The initiative asked explicitly for photos in an agricultural setting. The closest to that were the chickens in a garden in Gandrup and sheeps in the local park. Photo: Sasha Jonstrup.

photography showing nature, like a park, Teglgårdsparken, and a local green path system. They overlooked the small urban features and did not share their private lives and family to a great extent. The archives asked for rural elements but did not receive many photos related to agriculture.

The question posed was that if social digital photography is an urban phenomenon, what are the implications of running a collecting initiative in a semi-rural place, a small town, or in the countryside? More case studies in small rural communities should be conducted to be able to conclude in a representative way. The Gandrup case study also demonstrates the advantage of using a small place for a collecting initiative. The archives can be relatively sure that they covered all the possible media, networks and meeting places in their outreach. If not, they would know which subcultures had not been reached or who was not interested. To delve deeper into motives and networks more qualitative methods should be used, as mentioned in the other case studies.

To answer the question of whether the Hals Archives has been an active co-creator in the creation of a contemporary visual identity of Gandrup, the answer is affirmative. In the collection initiative the archives acted as community facilitators as defined by Flynn et al. (2009) and Cook (2013). Some people took up the challenge and started to perceive the place in a new way, while they were documenting, commenting and sharing. Hals Archives' collection of social digital photography, together with the locals, seems to have contributed to a new sense of community.

The influence of a place and the role of archives

Hals Local Archives was happy with the result of the collection initiative and felt inspired and empowered to continue experimenting with new collecting methods on social media. The next planned project was to celebrate the 800 years jubilee of a local church by asking people to share their memories and photos, contemporary as well as historical, in a Facebook group and to collect the shared content.

As a consequence of the project, Hals Archives has now included social digital photography into their collection practice, to overcome the existing focus on the nostalgic 'old days' and black-and-white photography. With this initiative Hals Archives wanted the archives to be digital, contemporary, relevant and sustainable for future use. In the case study, the archives positioned themselves as active co-creators in the shaping of a contemporary local (visual) place identity of Gandrup, together with the inhabitants of the town. In the process, images were created as future sources of the history of the place. It is a process in a state of flux, as it was not possible to predict the result of the initiative in advance.

In their research on community archives Flinn et al. (2009) asked: What is the relationship between physical and virtual community archives and how do these different sites affect the ways in which identities are produced? In this case study the social media platforms, especially the Facebook group, in some ways functioned as a digital extension of the traditional physical community archives and, in doing so, updated their contemporary relevance in identity and image 'production'.

The characterisation of the role of the local archives is coherent with Terry Cook's identification of four shifting archival paradigms from evidence to memory, identity, and community (Cook 2012) within the last

120 years, where archives change their role from guardians to community facilitators. It is also aligned with new theories of participatory archives (Huvila 2015). One of the questions asked in the case study was whether the archives' collection of social digital photography together with local inhabitants can contribute and participate in the creation of a new sense of community or even a new image of a place.

The Gandrup case study illustrates that the locality, local practices and traditions have an influence on both the collection of social digital photography and on the work methods.

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5. Practices and Visuality: Introduction

Anni Wallenius

IN THE CASE studies presented in this chapter the main focus lies in understanding and documenting what people do with photographs on social media and what meanings they connect to these practices. Thus, the focus is on studying the role of social digital photographs in the lives of individual persons. By contrast, the point of departure in the other case study chapters is the thematic or specific context of collected images, or methodologies used in the collecting process.

Defining visual and social practices

Understanding photography as a practice is a way of trying to make sense of how photographs exist and are produced in a relationship between social structures and individual human actions. In *Digital Photography and Everyday Life*, Asko Lehmuskallio and Edgar Gómez Cruz suggest that the practice-based approach is a useful way of understanding digital photography as part of everyday life (2016, 4). With the practice-based approach they refer to a way of studying photography

both from the perspectives of seeing and representing as well as acting and performing.

Traditionally, a practice-based approach has been a typical way of writing the history of photography, where different photographic genres – for example early studio practices, scientific uses of photography, press photography or fashion photography – have often been a common way of structuring information.[1] In photographic theory, however, the idea of photography as representation has been dominant for several decades (Lister 2016, 267). Gómez Cruz and Lehmuskallio juxtapose the more comprehensive practice-based approach with representation theory, which they, together with Lister, claim to be an inadequate tool for studying photography, especially new digital photographic practices.

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1. An early example of this is Robert Tafts' book *Photography and the American Scene* (1938), a description of photography in the USA before 1889.

The emerging interest in studying photography as a social practice should not mean a reduced interest in visuality. Instead, visuality is the core reason for using and producing photographs – but different social practices suggest different images and different visual choices. Martin Hand (2017) describes visuality in social media as comprising three broad elements: images, circulation and social practices. He also suggests that anyone trying to make sense of the visual in social media needs to ask how visual objects are generated and used – and to preferably study these aspects together (Hand 2017, 215).

Social media practices as cultural heritage

As cultural heritage, social media practices have huge potential for helping to understand, document and collect contemporary life. Sarah Pink suggests that "by engaging with people as they use visual and digital media in their everyday lives, we can create routes to understanding their worlds beyond these media" (2013, 134).

Understanding photography as social practice highlights its role in the social life of individuals and communities. Elisa Giaccardi states that social media has a significant impact on heritage discourse, "as new technologies alter and transform the complex set of social practices that interweave memories, material traces and performative enactments to give meaning and significance in the present to the lived realities of our past" (2012, 1). Photography's pronounced role as communication – combined with the online social networks it is mostly produced for and displayed on – although not new poses new challenges and possibilities for heritage institutions.

To understand what happens in a community or network on the Internet it is necessary to study the affordances of the community or group on the platform and how interactions are facilitated or obstructed (Berg 2015, 94). Understanding the affordances of social media platforms is also vital. Piia Varis suggests that the shape of platforms does not determine how they are used for communicative purposes, but the design of the site influences interactions on it (2016, 58). Understanding these affordances calls for new competences among heritage professionals.

Introducing the case studies

Social media photography deserves to be collected as an important aspect of contemporary life. More profoundly meaningful documentation projects can be created when this documentation is closely linked to the collecting institutions' missions. In the case studies conducted by The Finnish Museum of Photography, the focus was on photographic practices and visuality as well as the role of photographs in communication. The Stockholm County Museum's case study documented the changing practices of domestic photography.

In the case study *Family Living – The True Story: Collecting from Facebook,* Stockholm County Museum set out to investigate whether or not the images posted on a Facebook group could be seen as a continuation of traditional domestic photography. In this group, members posted pictures of their untidy homes and home-making failures, accompanied by witty and self-ironical comments. The purpose of the group is to

offer a place of peer support and at the same time critique the unrealistically perfect homes presented in glossy interior magazines. For a regional museum documenting everyday life, the prospect of being able to collect these pictures of 'real homes' is inspiring. The case study also explored the idea that social media – in this case a Facebook group – is changing and broadening the practices of domestic photography, where the focus has traditionally been on documenting festivities and happy aspects of family life.

In the three case studies conducted by The Finnish Museum of Photography, the focus was on understanding what people do with photographs on different platforms on social media and what kind of visual choices they make in relation to the social practices on these platforms. In the case study *Pre-History of Visual Social Media*, the museum invited the audience to discuss the first Finnish image sharing social media platform: IRC-Galleria. The audience was also asked to donate photographs they had shared on the platform and share the memories and meanings they related to these photographs with the museum. In the case study *Social Media Diaries*, the museum documented the visual social media practices of two young women together with them. In the case study *Insta-Suomi*, the museum also invited the audience to participate in selecting study participants, and the curation of collected photographs was done together with them. Here, the aim was to collect a versatile selection of contemporary Instagram practices and visuality. Through the case studies, it became evident that multiple documentation methods in the form of observation, interviews and others are needed to preserve the complexity of social and visual interaction on social media.

Documenting practices together with the practitioners

In the case studies presented in this chapter, cooperation with the museums' audiences took different forms, but none of the studies could have been carried out without active audience participation. Opening the heritage institutions' collecting processes for more collaborative, open and participatory (i.e. more 'social') collecting methods is crucial when the aim is to document and collect social practices. It has been noted that through participatory methods and co-operation with communities, heritage institutions are able to build "more inclusive and culturally relevant collections" (Roued-Cunliffe and Copeland 2017, xvii). Examples of this can be found in the case studies presented in this chapter.

The case studies offer viewpoints and insights into different communities' and individuals' visual and social practices. Through the case studies, valuable material has been added to the collections of the institutions. However, this kind of approach, where the number of research participants can be very limited or the topic of documentation highly specialised, can be criticised for not creating 'representative' collections and thus leading to "an almost exclusive focus on local meanings denying the possibility of generalisation," as Paola Filippucci warns (2009, 321). These questions are not new to heritage professionals but are highlighted by the abundance of photographs on social media. To resolve these issues, careful reflection and documentation of the curating and collecting processes is crucial.

5.1. Collecting IRC-Galleria: The Pre-History of Finnish Visual Social Media

Anni Wallenius

AS DISCUSSED IN other cases in this anthology, the affordances of social media platforms need to be documented when collecting social media photography. This section examines the role of a Finnish social media platform and how it gives valuable context to collected photographs. It explores the use of temporary technical tools for collecting, and it discusses the shifting role of museums as active partners to communities, providing safe spaces for personal digital heritage.

Today, most social media platforms used in the Nordic countries are global giants owned by transnational companies. However, in the early 2000s, there was more room for national social media services created by local companies for local users (Suominen et al. 2017, 343). The pre-history of social media (the time preceding Facebook) differs significantly in different countries and/or language areas. In Finland, the era of visual social media started unusually early. Already by 2006, a majority of Finnish youth had shared visual content on a Finnish social media platform called IRC-Galleria. The platform had a strong focus on visuality and personal photography. IRC-Galleria's main content was photographs published by users, most often self-portraits, and comments related to them. The users developed particular visual styles together with a myriad of social practices connected to them.

This case study had two main objectives. The first was to communicate and discuss the idea of the museum collecting social media images with the museum's audience. The second was to document photographic and social practices on IRC-Galleria and collect photographs shared on the platform, together with meanings related to them, while experimenting with new ways of collecting.

The Finnish Museum of Photography wanted to collect and document examples of the whole spectre of Finnish photographic culture, from photographic art to different types of vernacular photography. For the museum, IRC-Galleria represents an innovative and unique genre within the constantly emerging new applications and subcultures of photographic practices. The central role of photography, the popularity of the platform and its position as a Finnish particularity all

IRC-Galleria is a Finnish online community and web gallery. It was founded in 2000 for users of the messaging service Internet Relay Chat (IRC) to post images of themselves. First created to serve as a supplementary web gallery for IRC, IRC-Galleria quickly gained popularity beyond the intended scope and developed into a social media of its own. At the peak of its popularity in 2006–2007, approximately 70 % of Finnish youth aged 15–17 used the service on a weekly basis. In Sweden, similar local services such as LunarStorm and Bilddagboken, did not achieve such dominant positions (Suominen et al. 2017, 348). A Finnish language version of Facebook was launched in 2008 and it quickly marginalised IRC-Galleria (Karilahti 2016). By 2011 the popularity of the platform had collapsed: only 16.7 % of 7–20-year-olds used IRC-Galleria, while over 82 % of 16–20-year-olds used Facebook (Aarnio and Multisilta 2012, 11). According to information provided by IRC-Galleria, the platform still has 450,000 registered users and 12 million photographs (IRC-Galleria.net), but the number of active users is modest.

made IRC-Galleria a well-grounded topic for a case study by The Finnish Museum of Photography.

As part of the case study, former users were asked to describe IRC-Galleria using one word. The attributes given referred equally to visual, emotional and social aspects of the user culture.

Salamavalo. Raaka. Aito. Persoona. Peili. Teini. Känny. Ei-filtterii. Ommattu. Saletisti hot.

Flash light. Raw. Authentic. Personal. Mirror. Teenager. Mobile phone. No-filter. Owned [as in dedicated to someone]. Hot, for real.

Martin Hand (2017) states that visuality on social media can be understood to comprise of images, circulation and practices. To successfully study these visualities it is important to ask how these visual objects have been used and made sense of, aspects that are difficult to study by analysing the images alone (Hand 2017). This was also the approach taken in this case study.

IRC-Galleria has been subject to academic research before (Lehtinen 2009, 2014; Teräväinen 2009; Pyykkönen 2010), and more recently as a subject of nostalgia (Donner 2018; Typpö 2016). Visuality on the platform is usually of central interest to both researchers and journalists. However, collecting and preserving the actual images is rarely within the scope of existing work. Without the contribution of heritage institutions there is a risk of losing the most central elements of the platform.

Working together offline and online: outreach and collaboration methods

The first action of the project was to organise an open event called 'IRC-Galleria ilta' (IRC-Galleria Night) where attendants were invited to share and discuss their memories of IRC-Galleria with two invited speakers. The project and event were communicated

IRC-Galleria Evening, an open discussion event at The Finnish Museum of Photography. Photo: Karl Ketamo 2017. The Finnish Museum of Photography.

through the museum's Facebook page and Instagram account.

The open discussion event was a loosely-structured group interview. Discussion was led by the project intern Anni Savolainen, who posed open-ended questions according to a pre-written synopsis. The museum had invited two guest speakers to initiate the discussion – they wanted to avoid a setting where museum staff would sit in front of the audience, answering questions from a passive crowd. Instead, the aim was to cre-

ate a more equal setting for collective discussion and dissolve the notion of the museum as an authority. Inviting guest speakers who represented the IRC-Galleria community was one of the ways the power balance of the event was moderated.

One of the invited speakers, Jari 'Jaffa' Jaanto, was one of the founders and current owners of IRC-Galleria and well-known to former users of the platform. The other, Lassi Varinen, was a self-proclaimed Internet archaeologist, who gained fame as the owner of the

popular 'best of IRC-Galleria' Tumblr and Instagram accounts. He has also organised several exhibitions on IRC-Galleria photographs. The speakers had the role of breaking the ice by first commenting on the questions and themes of the discussion. Before the event they also spread the word about the forthcoming event through their own channels. Jaanto posted an advertisement for the event on IRC-Galleria and Varinen mentioned it on his popular accounts on social media.

Themes of discussion were, among others, the role of IRC-Galleria in the social networks of its users, for example through the concept of the 'IRC-Galleria generation', its applicability and its definition, as well as its connection to the youth culture of the early 2000s. Differences in user patterns and affordances of IRC-Galleria and current social media platforms were also discussed, as well as photography and photo-editing practices, visual styles and genres. Another topic was the museum's attempt to collect IRC-Galleria and the audience was asked to comment on what a representative IRC-Galleria collection should include.

The discussion was recorded and streamed live on the museum's Facebook page. All participants were informed of this and asked to sign a consent form. Names and ages of the audience members were also collected. Participants were also offered the possibility to write down their memories and opinions during the event, if they did not feel comfortable sharing them aloud with others.

In addition to the open discussion event/group interview, four people were interviewed, on three different occasions. The invited discussants of the event were interviewed before the event. This pair of interviews had the dual purpose of familiarizing them with the topics of the open event group discussion and also making sure their views were well-documented for the museum. Two individual interviews were conducted by telephone with former active users of IRC-Galleria. One of them was a young professional photographer, whom the project team had identified as a representative active user of the platform; the other attended the IRC-Galleria event at the museum. These four interviews offered additional insights into the theme but were not principal collection methods.

Do-it-yourself: finding a 'good enough' online collecting tool

In addition to the open event and interviews, the project collected images shared on IRC-Galleria as well as meanings and stories related to them through an online questionnaire. Because of a lack of existing tools for online collecting in Finland, the museum had to find a free, safe and relatively easy way for the audience to submit their images and stories. The museum wanted to only collect photographs with rich contextual information. Sending photographs via email was ruled out, as getting additional information on photos would have required several rounds of emailing back and forth with the contributors. At the time, using Google's free online-survey tools was out of the question because of personal data reasons, since the museum had to be sure that the collected material would not even be temporarily saved on a server outside the EU. Finally, the issue was solved by using a survey extension (LimeSurvey) of the museum's existing contact management system (Gruppo). The service was familiar to the museum as it had previously been used for course registrations, but it also allowed

image files to be uploaded without being automatically processed in any way by the service. The platform had not been designed for collecting work and had never been used in this way, but for the purpose of the case study, it was a good enough tool.

The museum as a platform for shared identity work

The museum collected 57 images with contextual information from 13 contributors and conducted three interviews with four people. The IRC-Galleria evening discussion event was attended by 80 participants aged between 19 and 36.

Communicating the project and its aims was a success. The Facebook event of IRC-Galleria Night reached 22,830 Facebook users, resulting in 319 people clicking 'going' and 2,800 'interested'. This generated larger visibility on social media and also resulted in a large number of real-life participants at the event. Two national newspapers[1] wrote about the event beforehand in their online editions. This caused a challenge when around 30 attendants had to be turned back because of lack of space. Fortunately, following the event through Facebook live-stream could be offered as an alternative way of attending.

The online survey service used for collecting proved to be a steady and reliable platform. However, it left a lot of room for improvement when it came to usability, ...

1. *Helsingin Sanomat Nyt*, May 19, 2017 https://www.hs.fi/nyt/art-2000005217650.html; and City, May 22, 2017 https://www.city.fi/ilmiot/valokuvataiteen+museossa+muistellaan+legendaarista+IRC-Galleriaa/10906

On IRC-Galleria, interaction was created around photos, most commonly self portraits. Producing and posting photos of oneself was a continuous identity creation where belonging to certain groups and differentiating from others happened through visual choices. Photos from top left to bottom right: Jasmina Kauta 2010, Santeri Pälikkö 2010, Jonna Leskinen 2008, Pihla Orkoneva 2007 and Eeva Hänninen 2003. The Finnish Museum of Photography.

especially regarding the back-end process of archiving the information and images to the museum's database and server.

As anticipated, the number of collected images was moderate. The enthusiasm and commitment of the participants in the discussion event only partly trans-

lated into active contributions to the collecting campaign. One reason, discussed at the event, was the relatively long time between the active use of the service (beginning of the 2000s) and collecting (2017), since some of the users had closed their accounts and lost the photographs they had shared on the platform. Even for users who had not deleted their accounts, visiting the old platform or going through their digital photo archives also proved to be too cumbersome.

Because of the chosen collection method, curatorial decisions were left completely to the participants. On the online collecting platform, they were asked to donate 'examples of images they had posted on IRC-Galleria', but no other instructions were given. Analysis of the contextual information suggests that they had decided to donate photos that they now, in retrospect, closely associated with identity work.

Remembering and creating a community: analysis of interviews and discussion event

Sarah Pink (2015, 74) suggests that an interview can be understood "as a *representation* of an experienced reality," but at the same time "it would usually be reasonable to treat certain knowledge represented in its narrative as a reliable account of, for instance events that happened and persons who existed." An interview can thus provide factual information, but only through interviewees' personal understanding of the topic. In addition to the conversational and social aspects, the interview always has sensorial components. This is especially emphasised in a group interview, where

non-verbal, interaction-related and multi-sensory aspects play an important role. In the case of the IRC-Galleria event, these provisions need to be taken into consideration when analysing the discussion. It is clear that the large number of participants might have made it difficult for some participants to express their views or to disagree with the more vocal discussants.

Even considering these reservations, it can be suggested that the interviews and event discussion revealed meanings that users attributed to IRC-Galleria. Karin Becker describes the act of taking and displaying photographs as "'performance of representation', – an enactment of the social knowledge of photographic practices and networks of power and creativity that arise within the nexus of photographers, viewers and those who are photographed" (2016, 101). IRC-Galleria is a prime example of such a network, where social capital could be obtained by mastering the complex visual nuances and interaction patterns unique for the platform. Vilma Lehtinen's study on IRC-Galleria shows that the platform was primarily used for maintaining existing social networks but also for extending them by performing different interaction rituals (2007, 89–90). Lehtinen focused on the textual communication on the platform, but in this case study the focus was on the role of photographs in this interaction.

Mary Chayko states that "[c]ognitive connections, emotionality, intimacy, playfulness and social networking all merge – often simultaneously – when social connectedness is technologically mediated" (2008, 5). This is also true of case study participants' accounts of their practices in IRC-Galleria, where themes vary from visual humour to questions of identity.

The central role of the photograph was a key feature on the platform, as one participant at the discussion event described:

Ja sit tietysti aika keskeisenä teknisenä yksityiskohtana, Galleriahan on tosi kuvakeskeinen, kommentit tulee aina kuviin, kun sä meet profiliin niin siellä on aina toi kuva ensimmäisenä. Kaikki pyörii sen ympärill.

One key technical aspect [was that] The Galleria was really centred around the photographs, all comments were written as comments to photos, when you entered someone's profile, you saw the pictures first. Everything revolved around it.

For many, IRC-Galleria was the main reason for taking up photography, and most of the photographs posted on the platform were taken (and often digitally edited) for this use, as described by one of the contributors:

Joo, todellakin Galleriaa varten. Niitä otettiin siis, miljooneja ja niistä sit parhaat eli todellakin vaan Galleriaa varten. Ja sit piti aina ottaa kamera mukaan jonnekin mistä halus ottaa Galtsu-kuvia.

Yeah, totally for the Galleria. We took like, millions [of photos], and then the best ones [were chosen], so totally only for the Galleria. And then you had to always take a camera with you to the places where you wanted to take photos for the Galleria.

Ehkä yks oleellisimpii juttui siinä kulttuurissa oli se että Facebookiin lisättiin se yks kuva ja sen varaan alettiin sit rakentaa sitä some-identiteettii ja sitten taas Galleriassa

oikeestaan niin niitä Galtsu-kuvii otettiin joka päivä melkeen ja vaihdettiin sitä profiilikuvaa.

Maybe one of the core things in this culture was that [when] on Facebook you added one profile photo and started building your social media identity, in Galleria you actually took these Galleria-photos almost daily and kept on changing your profile image.

Ostin rippilahjaksi saamillani rahoilla itselleni järjestelmäkameran, jota aloin kuljettamaan jopa koulussa asti päivittäin. Olin todella ahkera kuvaamaan itseäni, muita ja itse asiassa kaikkea, joka oli kiinnostavaa. Parhaimmat palat lisäsin aina Galleriaan. Muistan panostaneeni Gallerian ulkoasuun todella paljon.

I bought myself a SLR camera with the money I got as gifts for my first communion. I was very studious in photographing myself, others and actually everything interesting. Best bits I uploaded to Galleria. I remember putting a lot of effort on the appearance of [my profile on] the Galleria.

The popularity of a certain image was measured by the number of comments. A 'Like' function did not exist, so liking had to be expressed by writing an appreciative comment. Karin Becker describes photographs as reflexive practice (2016, 101), placed and performed culturally (and temporally). The aspect of cultural construction and transformation of this performativity comes through in one participant's comment:

Jees eli kyse on ihan samasta ilmiöstä ja motivaattorista mikä nykypäivänäkin mikä somessa näkyy elikkä kun lisäsit

uusii kuvii niin aloit saada kommentteja. Ja siit sitten pik-kuhiljaa aloit oppimaan että minkälaiset kuvat saa kom-mentteja ja hyviä kommentteja.

Yeah so it is a question of the same phenomenon and motivation as today you can see on social media, like when you added new photos you started getting comments. And then little-by-little you started learning what kind of photos get comments and good comments.

Social interaction and new networks were described as the key elements that made IRC-Galleria so powerful and meaningful for its users, as one described it:

Mut kaikista tärkeimpiä oli ne yhteisöt mihin pysty liittyy ja sitä kautta sit loi sitä identiteettiä ja sit oli muutamii yhteisöi missä ihan trollas täysillä menemään ja tuli niitä komment-teja. Mä muistan että se oli se kaikista hauskoin puoli.

But the most important thing were the groups you could join and by doing so you created your identity and there were some groups where you trolled and got comments. I remember that as the most fun part.

Another user reflected on her experiences of the plat-form as a place of identity making:

IRC-Galleria oli paikka, joka auttoi meitä 1990-luvulla syntyneitä epävarmoja teinejä määrittelemään itsemme ja löytämään ihmisiä, jotka olivat kaltaisiamme tai jollaisia tahdoimme ehkä olla. Kuvat otettiin nimenomaan ja varta vasten IRC-Galleriaan, miksi muuten niitä kuvia olisi otet-tu? Voisin sanoa, että vaikka kuvat ladattiin IRC-Galle-

riaan muiden nähtäville, ne silti ladattiin sinne itseä varten. 'Katsokaa meitä, kelpaammeko tällaisina? Inhot-kaa, rakastakaa, niin mekin.'

IRC-Galleria was a place which helped us insecure teenagers born in the 1990s to define ourselves and find people who were like us or who we liked to re-semble. Photos were taken specifically and intention-ally for IRC-Galleria, why else would we have taken them? I could say that even though pictures were placed on IRC-Galleria for others to see, they were there for oneself. 'Look at us, are we ok like this? Hate us, love us, so do we.'

Pidin kuvailua tärkeänä itsetunnolle, näin jälkikäteen ajateltuna kuvien luominen oli terapeuttinen prosessi, jonka aikana vallinneet tunteet välittyvät kuvistani minulle edel-leen.

I felt taking pictures was important for my self-es-teem, in retrospect, [I think that] making images was a therapeutic process, and the feelings I had [then] do still came across from the pictures for me.

Many felt that IRC-Galleria offered them an adult-free zone, where all users were young adults or teenagers. Social media was still considered to be part of youth culture, existing outside the normativity of society and school. One contributor had found her first friends in her new hometown by connecting with like-minded users with similar interests on IRC-Galleria. Finding new acquaintances was easy, since all profiles were pub-lic by default and commenting on a stranger's photos was common practice.

No joo justiinsa se että siellä Galleriassa oli vaan ne nuoret niin sitten Facebookissa oli vanhemmat ja kaikki nää että niille piti tai pitää vähän esittää sitten että millaselta haluaa näyttää sitten ulkopuolisille, että ei ajateltu että Galleriasta joku työnantaja näkis niitä tai opettajat näkis niitä tai mitään tämmöstä.

Well like that there on Galleria it was only young people, then [later] on Facebook also parents and all these [joined] and you had to think about how you want to be perceived, like we didn't think that on Galleria your employer could see them or teacher or anything.

The pioneering role of IRC-Galleria as the pre-history of visual social media in Finland was summed up by one of the participants:

Se mikä tulevaisuudessa voi olla ehkä vaikee käsittää on se että IRC-Galleria on ainakin mulle ollut ensimmäinen nettisivu jonne oli oikeesti matala kynnys laittaa itse ottamiaan kuvia. En mä voi kuvitella että sillon ois voinu olla mikään muu nettisivu tai palvelu mihin mä voisin itse ottaa kuvan ja laittaa. Et se on nykyään jotenkin niin helppoo ja arkipäivästä että se voi unohtua että ainiin se ei oo aina ollu olemassa.

What in the future may be hard to grasp is that IRC-Galleria, at least for me, was the first website where the threshold of adding pictures I had taken myself was quite low. I couldn't imagine, back then, that there could be any other site or service where I could self-take a picture and post it. Like today that is so easy and everyday that you can easily forget that [something like] this hasn't been around forever.

Discussion: Online communities and heritage organisations

IRC-Galleria was the first popular social media platform in Finland, and this case study implies that it still is an important part of the collective memory for today's Finnish young adults, so much so that they were willing to contribute to the museum's efforts to document it.

Out of the two main objectives of the process, one being communicating the project and the other documenting IRC-Galleria, the first goal was achieved successfully. Through the popularity of the event on social media and media coverage, the museum was able to reach new audiences and contribute to widening the idea of museum work and museum collections. For the audiences attending the IRC-Galleria event at the museum, the evening was a chance to connect with others and reflect on a platform that had been an important aspect of their youth. During the height of its popularity, IRC-Galleria, like many new phenomena within youth culture, was often discussed in the media with a critical and judgmental tone. The fact that the museum was now interested in the users' memories and experiences and considered them valuable and worth documenting, was met with surprise and enthusiasm. The open discussion event was a productive method for obtaining information but especially for creating a socially meaningful experience for the museum audience.

When it comes to collecting the actual photographs shared on the platform, an additional collecting effort would be needed to create a comprehensive collection of IRC-Galleria photographs.

Museums have a long tradition of documenting the

practices of different communities. Lately, as a result of the shift in thinking about museums' role in society, communities have been seen as active partners for museums and archives. Heritage professionals' roles have shifted from authoritative gatekeepers to facilitators and enablers of contemporary communities' processes of remembering, as Silberman and Purser (2012, 13–14) suggest. Communities also take new forms in today's digitally networked world. Most of the participants of the IRC-Galleria discussion event expressed a strong sense of community, regardless of the fact that most of them had never met each other (in 'real life') before. This means that heritage professionals need to be alert to be able to identify and critically address new questions related to these new communities and infrastructures of communication (Giaccardi 2012, 5).

Another important finding from the IRC-Galleria event was that heritage institutions are well suited to functioning as safe spaces for discussing personal and collective digital heritage. By incorporating social, digital visual heritage into their ways of working, heritage institutions can be trusted and relevant partners for new audiences.

Possibilities of early image processing software were eagerly explored by many users. Photos: Tiia Rantanen 2009 and Anni Savolainen 2004, The Finnish Museum of Photography.

Posting photographs of oneself in IRC-Galleria was an important act of identity making and an act of courage, as described by one informant: "I was a really shy kid, but I remember taking this photo because I wanted [to post] something really funny to the Galleria. It took quite a lot of courage but I still remember, which ones of my friends liked the photo and found it funny." Photo: Anni Savolainen, 2004, The Finnish Museum of Photography.

Apart from self portraits, group photos with friends were common content on IRC-Galleria. Humour in the form of funny poses, clothing or situation comedy were popular topics through which friendship and belonging were portrayed, as described by this informant: "For me, this picture combines home, youth, friendship, summer night and lake landscape. Also, there is a mosquito in the foreground. --" Photo: Esa Keskinen 2006, The Finnish Museum of Photography.

5.2. Social Media Diaries: Documenting Visual Practices with Social Media Users

Anni Wallenius

THIS CASE STUDY emphasises the benefits of including multiple social media platforms for a better understanding of personal photographic practices of today. It discusses the need for close collaboration with participants to relevantly design a collecting initiative and explores the challenges of publicly placing museums in the context of investigative journalists, academic researchers and others seeking to collect social media photography.

When billions of photos are shared on social media every day, how can heritage institutions, with their limited resources, create relevant collections of social media practices? In the case study Social Media Diaries this question was investigated on the level of individual social media users by The Finnish Museum of Photography. More specifically, the case study investigated three interrelated questions. How do social media users themselves reflect on their practices? What is needed to preserve a meaningful and rich description of a person's visual practices on different social media platforms? How can participatory and co-curatorial collecting methods facilitate this work?

In Social Media Diaries, the museum documented and collected visual interaction on social media in close collaboration with two study participants. Karin Becker (2016, 99) suggests that to understand the complex ecosystem of visual social media, one would benefit from asking *who* connects, *where*, and *in what ways*. In this study, the goal was to gain insights into how social media users reflected on their own practices, networks, interactions, and choices of platform. Moreover, photographs on social media are closely linked to ideologies, social norms and aesthetic preferences that vary significantly between populations (Miller 2015, 15). This was another premise for this case study, which focused on the norms and aesthetics of social media use.

The case study was small in scale and experimental, focusing on testing new methods of user engagement, co-curation and collecting. The aim was also to discover how working closely with study participants and having them participate in the documentation process would affect the collected material.

Photography as social practice has long been one of the areas of The Finnish Museum of Photography's

collecting work. Understanding photographs as carriers, mediators and makers of social meaning has been a reason for collecting for example family albums, photographic postcards or prioritizing photographs with inscriptions or handwritten notes. Understanding the similarities and differences of earlier and current practices and collecting examples of today's personal photography is vital for a museum of photography to maintain its relevance.

Methods

In this case study, collection, outreach and collaboration methods were closely intertwined. Key collecting methods were semi-structured interviews, photo elicitation and participant's self-narrated video logs, thus capturing 'social media diaries'. In addition to the selected study participants, a larger museum audience was invited to take part by suggesting possible candidates for the study.

Co-operation methods: finding participants for the study

Finding interested and committed study participants was crucial for the successful execution of the case study. It was important to find people who use social media versatilely and actively, to be able to collect a rich sample during a short documentation period. This was a key reason for deciding to work with young people. In 2018, a majority of Finns (61 % of 16–89-year-olds) had used a social media service within the last three months, but the youngest age group (16–24-year-olds) topped the statistics (Official Statistics of Finland 2018), since almost all of them (93 %) had used social

media within three months, 83 % every day, and 58 % said they were logged into social media (almost) constantly (Suomen virallinen tilasto 2018). Documenting how youth use social media in the late 2010s would also complement the findings of the case study Pre-History of Visual Social Media, where the focus was on the previous decade.

Two participants were selected for the case study. One was found through an open call on the museum's Facebook page. The museum's audience was asked to suggest possible candidates: active social media users interested in working with the museum. The museum received several suggestions, mostly from older family members of younger social media users. The suggested candidates, the majority of whom were female, were contacted and asked about their willingness to participate. The chosen participant, Pauliina, was selected because she was able to commit to cooperating with the museum during the project period. Parallel to the open call, the museum contacted a social media influencer, Maiju, who agreed to take part in the project. Both participants were in their early 20s and female. One was from Helsinki, the other had just moved to the Helsinki area from Central Finland.

Through the choice of participants a further research question emerged: what kind of differences would there be in the practices of a well-known social media personality and a young woman not living in the public eye?

Collection methods: documenting together

Documenting and collecting was carried out during two days in August 2017. On one of the days, the two

Left image: Screenshot from Pauliina's Snapchat: in the selfie she is wearing a name tag and work outfit related to her studies, but she has combined these professional attributes with a filter altering her facial features. 2017, The Finnish Museum of Photography.

Right image: Self-portrait from Maiju's public Instagram account. Photo: 2017, The Finnish Museum of Photography.

study participants were aware that the museum was collecting data on their practices, and they kept a video log in which they narrated what kind of images they shared and why on different social media platforms. The second day was decided by the museum team, who followed the study participants' photo sharing on social media that day. The participant was only informed about the date of the second day afterwards, when she could also narrow down the selection of the collected material. All images and videos shared on the public

accounts of the study participants during those two days were collected by the museum or sent by them to the museum later, complemented with screenshots showing likes and comments.

Soon after the two days, the study participants were interviewed individually about their practices through photo elicitation, a method of open-ended interviewing, where discussion is stimulated by images. Lapenta sees photo elicitation as a useful method for exploring complex subjects. The photographs used to elicit discussion can trigger meanings and interpretations the interviewer could not have anticipated (Lapenta 2011, 202). Photo elicitation interviews highlight the point that meanings of images are not fixed but redefined in conversations and vary between viewers (Harper 2012, 158). The process of 'looking together' helped the two interviewees bring forward meanings that would have been hard to grasp by only analysing the photographs themselves. For example, both often used visual sarcasm in their social media postings. They were very aware of the different discursive practices on social media platforms: for example, the proper way of addressing other users and what kind of tone of voice, both in writing and in visual choices, was suitable for each platform. Through their public postings on social media they were contributing to these different discourses. Some aspects of the user culture they embraced, others not.

Results: collected materials

The museum collected six photographs posted on Instagram, two screenshots of WhatsApp conversations, two YouTube videos, four screenshot videos of Snapchat and two screenshot videos on Tumblr. Also, two
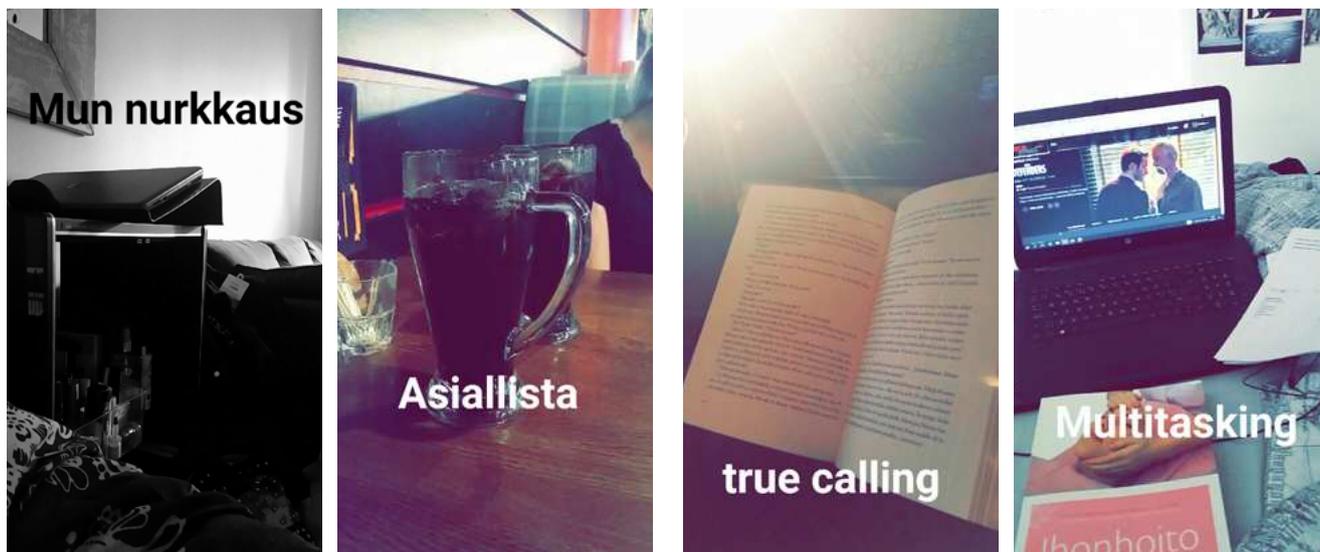
Screenshots from Pauliina's Snapchat. Pauliina posts casual photos, through which she narrates her everyday life. She sometimes uses text to offer additional interpretation of her photos. The first is a photo of Pauliina's workspace in her new school ("oma nurkka" translates as "My corner"). The second is a picture of two soda glasses at a cafe, accompanied with a text "asiallista" (literally translating to "decent") symbolizing nice time spent with a friend before going to the movies. In the third photo the text "true calling", together with the rays of light falling on the open book, are a reference to her hobby, reading. The last one with the text "Multitasking" shows Netflix open on a laptop and a school book on beauty care next to it. Together these photos represent a major part of things important for her: studying, hobbies, pop culture and friends, but interpreting them without her self-narrated video log or an interview would be difficult. 2017, The Finnish Museum of Photography.

interviews and eleven video-logs produced by the study participants were added to the collection.

Analysis of outreach and collaboration

Due to the small scale of the case study, participation of the larger museum audience was limited, but to the extent it was tried out, it was successful: the museum was able to find a study participant through audience sug-

gestions. Collaboration with the study participants was in principle smooth: they both responded positively to the museum's ideas for cooperation. Some challenges emerged when the museum was unable to describe its requests clearly and participants were left unsure of what was expected from them. This working method resulted in a varied collection, which can be seen both as a weakness and strength of the method. The documentation material the participants produced

was not uniform in format or quality, but instead the participants took the documentation into their own hands and ended up developing their own strategies and perspectives. It can be concluded that the aim of shifting the power balance between the museum and the participants was achieved. In the self-narrated video logs the participants gained ownership of the documentation and took the role of experienced experts who patiently describe their practices to less knowledgeable museum staff.

Analysis of results from interviews: different platforms

Both participants had developed specific strategies for each platform they used. During the documenting days they had used Snapchat, WhatsApp, Tumblr, Instagram and YouTube. Each service asked for different kind of aesthetics and the audience and interaction varied on different platforms. Snapchat and WhatsApp were used for communicating with real life friends and family. On these platforms photos were often shared without editing, taken by the camera function in the app and shared instantly. On Instagram visual choices were considered much more: at the moment of photography, when choosing the images to be shared and when editing them.

One of the study participants, Pauliina, was an avid user of Tumblr, a micro-blog service mostly used for sharing Internet content. Most of her almost 1,000 followers were strangers whom she did not know outside Tumblr. On Tumblr, creative expression took the form of curating a cohesive feed of interesting content created by others.

Social influencer Maiju's most important platform was YouTube and she identified primarily as a video blogger. Planning the content but also locations and other visual elements of the videos were important and inspiring parts of her vlogging. Her Snapchat and Instagram accounts are also public and were followed, at least partly, by the same audience as her YouTube channel, but her visual choices nevertheless varied from platform to platform. On Snapchat she posted video notes of places and situations she encountered, without editing.

Ne videot on jotenkin mulle tärkeempiä koska ne säilyy ensinnäkin, tai et niitä voi niinku kattoo myöhemminkin, ja ne on mullekin semmonen kiva päiväkirjamainen. Ja jotenkin siitä saa paljon enemmän semmosen visuaalisen. Ja mä tykkään leikkii sil kameralla. Ku taas Snäppiin laittaa silleen matalal kynnyksellä mitä vaan. (Maiju)

The videos [on YouTube] are somehow more important for me, firstly, because they are preserved, or can also be viewed afterwards, and for me they are like a kind of nice diary. And somehow I can make them more visual. I like playing around with a camera. Then again on Snapchat you add just about anything with a low threshold.

Both participants reflected on the differences between moving and still images, thus affirming Lisa Ehlin's observations on the growing significance of moving images, as discussed in Chapter 2. Maiju preferred videos on Snapchat, as they were easier to check out without having to intensively stare at the screen. She felt they were more proper content for the platform than still images. Pauliina, on the other hand, felt gif-an-

imations were superior to still images on Tumblr because moving images made her Tumblr page look more dynamic and caught the attention of browsers better.

Both rarely used Instagram Stories and preferred Snapchat as the main platform for quick, short posts. Pauliina had shared pictures of going to the movies on Snapchat and commented ironically in her video-log that the motivation for this kind of post was "proving that a person has a social life". She had just started studying and had moved to a new town and described Snapchat in general as a way of telling her friends and other viewers how she was doing at her new school, what it was like to study beauty care and to live in the metropolitan area and to visit Helsinki nightlife. Commenting on current popular culture was also important to her.

Analysis of results from interviews: visual practices and aesthetic choices

Participants described what different forms visuality and self-representation take on different social media platforms. They were doing conscious identity work when selecting, curating and editing photos for social media. Maintaining cohesive aesthetics was important, but this left room for making use of and playing with the possibilities offered by filters, editing and captions:

> *Yleensä jos mä yritän ottaa itestäni kuvan ku mä teen tollasen ilmeen niin mä oon silleen hyii eii. Mut mun mielestä toi filtteri tuo tohon vähän sellasta hauskuutta ja sit se ottaa kaiken sen rumuuden pois siitä.* (Pauliina)

Usually when I try to take a selfie with this expression I am like 'oh no [I do not look good]!' I think adding this filter adds some fun [to the photo] and takes away the ugliness.

> *No tää Instagram on aika tällain… niinku tosi kovaan harkitsen aina että mitä kuvii mä tänne laitan… tuolla on niin ku kokonaisuudessa kaikkee mikä kertoo et millanen mä oon ihmisenä ja esimerkiks just noi kuvien värit ja kaikki, noi kuvien tekstit ja silleen… et mä laitan vähän tollasia tulkinnallisia kuvatekstejä. Mä tykkään olla vähän tollainen mysteerinen vai miten sen sanois.* (Pauliina)

Well Instagram… I consider really hard what kind of photos I put here… as a whole [my Instagram feed] tells what kind of person I am, for example those colours of photos and captions… I use kinda ambiguous captions. I like to be a bit mysterious.

> *Niin tota sit mä oon silleen et hei, nyt tuli hyvä kuva. Tää on just tällain minkä vois laittaa Instagramiin. Et jos vertaa vaan Snapchatiin niin mä vaan laitan sinne jotain, et hei tässä on tollain, laitanpa siitä kuvan. Ku jotkut on sellassii et ne päivittää Instagramia koko ajan. Ihan mihin vaan ne menee tai tekee tai jotain tollasta.* (Pauliina)

I am like 'now I got a good photo.' This is something I could post on Instagram. Like compared to Snapchat, there I just put something, like 'here is this thing, I'll just post a picture [without thinking too much]'. Some other people post on Instagram all the time, wherever they go or whatever they do.

Analysis of results from interviews: social interaction and meaning-making

On Tumblr interaction happens in the form of likes, reblogging (sharing others' content on one's own Tumblr feed), public comments or private chat messaging. Pauliina followed likes and reblogging of her posts. Receiving a lot of likes and reblogs made her happy as it was a sign of getting confirmation on the relevance of her choices of shared content, while also proving that like-minded people, who appreciated her content existed. She saw Tumblr as a forum for exchanging information about new phenomena of popular culture, for example films, TV series, actors, music and books. She both received information and acted as an advocate for content she appreciated, hoping to be able to introduce her followers to art and culture that she herself valued.

Writing captions or cover texts was described as a balancing act. Overexplaining images would be boring and mainstream, but it was also important to avoid being too cryptic, so that ironic or funny subtexts of photos were understood by followers.

No tässä esimerkiks, Tumblrissa on ihan sellanen normi chatti mis pystyy jutella ihmisten kanssa tai vaik ku tässähän pystyy seuraa ihmisiä niin ja ku mulla on aika paljon seuraajia niin joskus tulee esimerkiks pari päivää sitte yks lähetti mulle viestiä et tota katoiksä sen uuden Death Note -elokuvan. Sit juteltiin siitä... yleensä joku tulee avaa keskustelun jostain tälleen tv-sarjasta tai jostain musiikista… niin sit siit syntyy sellai keskustelunaihe et sil saa niinku yhteyden muihin. Et niinku tällasia nettisuhteita muodostaa. (Pauliina)

Well here for example, on Tumblr there is a chat function, like you can follow people and I have quite a lot of followers, so a couple of days ago one of them sent me a message 'have you seen the new film *Death Note*.' Then we chatted about it... often someone opens the discussion about a TV series or music… this creates topics for conversation and you get in contact with others. Like you form this kind of Internet relationships.

With her 180,000 followers, Maiju had to constantly consider the reactions and responses her social media posts had. Before posting a vlog about a controversial topic she had to prepare herself for negative and aggressive comments. But the majority of the comments were usually positive, and she felt she could have an influence as an advocate for issues that were important to her, like gender equality and mental health. As an example, she described how two girls had approached her on the street and wanted to tell her how her videos had encouraged them to engage with feminist issues and helped in dealing with inappropriate comments.

Discussion

A key finding of the case study was the importance of working closely with participants. When collecting and documenting phenomena unfamiliar or new to museums, without proper engagement with producers of visual cultural heritage, the risk for misinterpretation is high. Understanding affordances and user cultures of different platforms is vital for making sense of collected material. It is also important to keep in mind

Screenshot from Pauliina's WhatsApp conversation with her sisters. Pauliina shared couple of gif-animations of tv-series she likes. One of the sisters is replying with a combination of emojis, the other is writing that she agrees with "everything mentioned above". Thus, all parts of the chat, the visual and written, form a flow of conversation. 2017, The Finnish Museum of Photography.

Screenshot from Maiju's private conversation with her boyfriend on WhatsApp. The written discussion is dealing with the changing weather, and the photograph has the role of a comment in the chat. –Nice rain we have here! –oh here it is sunshine still –Here a dark, gloomy rain! –looking forward to it [written with ironic tone] –[the photograph, taken out of a bus heading towards the area with dark clouds]. 2017, The Finnish Museum of Photography.

that on social media different and sometimes even contradictory practices exist simultaneously. Rich contextual information allows researchers and heritage professionals to gain a better understanding of this important aspect of social media.

Analysis of the working methods show that the overly rigid design of the case study resulted in a rather limited collection of visual material. One of the participants shared almost no content of her own on one of the collection days. It might have been more useful to monitor the users for a certain period and select, together with them, suitable and representative days for collecting. It is also easier to concentrate on documenting only one or a limited number of social media platforms within one case study – but in this case, it is important to openly state the limitations of this selection. The choice of platforms should derive from the aims of the documentation project, and not be based on the personal preferences of the institution's staff.

The aim of the self-narrated log was to make sure that participants' own voices would be well-documented, but the task was perhaps too broad, and the instructions given by the museum not clear enough. The logs offer interesting material and thus having them as part of the documentation is valuable, but in future studies similar results might be achieved more easily by conducting photo elicitation interviews soon after the collecting days, preferably on the following day. Whether participants reflect on their practices for a video diary or in an interview situation, the museum needs to be aware that the collected data always tells more about "individual practices of self-reflection and confession" than about the actual practices in question (Hand 2017, 224).

Heritage institutions should never lose sight of the fact that their collecting and documenting work is completely unfamiliar to the vast majority of people. When working with non-professional producers of heritage, it is not enough to describe project goals and anticipated outcomes in the beginning of the project, but these should be discussed throughout the cooperation. The differences and similarities between the work and objectives of a museum and that of a journalist, academic researcher or a media agency is also a question worth discussing with the informants.

Working intensively with participants is time consuming and balancing this with the need to create representative collections is challenging. Martin Hand suggests social media researchers tackle the vast amount of possible research material on social media by constraining their analysis to "discrete geo-temporal frames" (2017, 218). A concise collection period, when selected carefully, can be a good way of controlling the use of collecting resources and a recommended course of action for heritage institutions as well.

For an institution interested in documenting social relationships, communication, youth culture or everyday use of photographs, a similar approach is recommended. For a deeper understanding of visuality on a particular platform a more compactly delimited scope would be useful.

This case study, with further developed working methods, should in the future be complemented by working with participants representing different demographic groups. Working with other pairs of two would in the long-run create interesting and varied collections of different visual social interaction networks of social media users.

5.3. Insta-Suomi: Documenting Finnish Instagram

Anni Wallenius

THIS SECTION ALIGNS with the case studies in this anthology in that it discusses the need for performing multiple collecting methods for achieving relevant context to collections. It explores the function of agile co-curation for successful collecting initiatives, and it reinforces the need for diverse digital skills among collecting staff, in all the steps of collecting social digital photography.

Documenting Finnish Instagram culture

In this case study, The Finnish Museum of Photography set out to collect a concise, varied, and visually interesting collection of Finnish Instagram photography in 2018, with rich contextual information. The aim was not to create a collection of average Finnish Instagram photography or even aspire to collect a comprehensive collection, but to preserve well-documented examples of the multitude of different social and visual realities existing on the platform. According to Laestadius (2017, 579), Instagram research can either be focused on understanding Instagram-specific behaviours or

understanding other phenomena through Instagram. In this case study, the focus was on understanding Instagram culture itself. On social media, affordances of platforms change rapidly and unexpectedly. Preserving examples of Instagram culture permanently in the museum's collections can assure that they survive for the future. Another key principle was to involve the museum's audience in the decision-making at different stages of the process.

As a national museum of photography, The Finnish Museum of Photography wanted to carry out a case study with a focus on visuality and sociality on Instagram. In addition to collecting images, the museum wanted to understand more about the personal choices and social networks of individual practices on visual social media. Drawing on Serafinelli's (2017) approach, the case study considered individuals and images to be equally important for a qualitative analysis of Instagram culture.

Instagram has been described as the most visual of all visual social media platforms. Miller (2015, 6) suggests that Instagram can be considered as a craft, where

In 2017, Instagram was the fourth most popular social media platform in Finland, surpassed in popularity only by Facebook, Facebook Messenger and WhatsApp (all owned by Facebook) with Facebook and Messenger being mostly popular with adult users. An average of 33 % of Finns used Instagram, the platform's popularity peaking in the age group 10–19-year-olds, with average coverage of 78 % (Official Statistics of Finland 2017). Instagram is used by a very heterogeneous group of users, and the countless networks on Instagram create vast numbers of different subcultures.

users illustrate their abilities by adopting certain visual and social strategies. Despite the emergence of, for example, meme culture, personal photography is still the core of user patterns on Instagram. But Instagram photography has recently become one possible arena for professional photographers and new professionals are emerging through it. For a photography museum investigating the changes that have happened in the role and practices of both professional and amateur photographers, documenting Instagram is essential. Also, experiences from earlier case studies had led to the conclusion that working closely with interlocutors, concentrating on documenting a limited number of platforms, and collecting a concise collection of images would be a good way forward in terms of developing a successful case study.

One of the aims of the case study was to collect a representative collection of Instagram photography, but at the same time the case study was limited in scope. The number of study participants had to be quite small: overall, 10 people were interviewed. In addition, as collecting and documenting information on each collected photograph is part of a sustainable collecting process, the number of photographs collected from each participant was limited to 10–25.

Interviews and audience engagement

Collection methods for Insta-Suomi were developed based on the experiences from previous case studies conducted by the Finnish Museum of Photography. These included maintaining a dialogue with the museum's audience and at a later stage with the invited interviewees, with a strong emphasis on co-curation with the audience and on collecting a varying, interesting group of images.

The Insta-Suomi case study was initiated with an open real-life event called Instagram Night (*Insta-ilta* in Finnish), organised at The Finnish Museum of Photography. The audience was invited along to discuss Instagram photography and its role in their own lives and in today's visual culture.

The museum had invited three guest speakers to initiate the discussion. These were: Konsta Linkola, a young travel and nature photographer and Instagram semi-professional; Arez Metta, a young fashion and portrait photographer; and Irja Leino, 87-year-old amateur photographer and Instagram enthusiast. The diversity of experiences among these three speakers highlighted the different realities of Finnish Instagram. For Irja Leino, Instagram is a feel-good hobby that had only brought positive things to her life: international connections, creativity and sociality. The younger

photographers had more conflicting relationships with the platform. Uniformity, commercialism, visual clichés and pressure brought on by normativity of beauty and lifestyle standards were seen as negative aspects of contemporary Instagram culture. The need to curate one's feed and life and the stress resulting from comparisons to others were mentioned. On the positive side, the possibility for playful visual experimentation and new social connections were mentioned. A love-hate relationship was mentioned as an apt description of the role of Instagram in the lives of most attendants. During the event, discussion was lively, and the audience and invited speakers noted that sharing positive and negative experiences of Instagram culture with others felt enjoyable.

At the next stage, the museum organised a call for audience suggestions of individual Instagram users they felt the museum should be documenting. This was done through the museum's Facebook and Instagram accounts. On Instagram, the call was the most successful post ever published on the museum's Instagram account, generating 1,281 likes and 216 comments, whereby people shared their suggestions about what or whom they thought should be collected. These suggestions were cross-referenced with the list of interesting genres and user groups identified earlier by the museum staff. The interviewees for the study were chosen by combining the suggestions of the museum staff and those from the audience.

The main principle in choosing the interviewees was diversity in visual and social practices on social media. There were two key criteria for selection. Firstly, each had to represent a different strategy and motivation for using Instagram. Secondly, each had to be creating and sharing visually interesting images, all representing different aesthetics and different visual ideals. These criteria were based on the mission and collecting policy of The Finnish Museum of Photography. The aim was to document practices by both professional and amateur photographers, so technical skills or technical image quality were not criteria for selection.

Additionally, demographic representativeness was considered. The ages of the study participants ranged from 16 to 87; six were female and four male; six were from Helsinki or the Helsinki metropolitan area, four were from other parts of Finland, both rural and urban areas. The focus was on collecting material that had been specially created for Instagram, not reposted from other social media, and the accounts had to be public.

Interviewees were contacted through Instagram's messaging function. For this purpose, the project team had created a project account called Insta-Suomi on Instagram, with a link to the museum's website providing more information about the project. This was necessary as the official Instagram account of the museum would have been difficult to harness for the case study, as it is usually used for marketing and managed by the museum's communications team. The project account was only used for communicating with possible interviewees, not to promote the project more generally. This way of contacting the possible study participants was relatively successful: most of those contacted replied promptly and wanted to participate. Three refused, two on account of them being too busy or currently outside Finland and thus unable to come for an interview.

The study participants were interviewed and asked to propose a representative selection of photographs
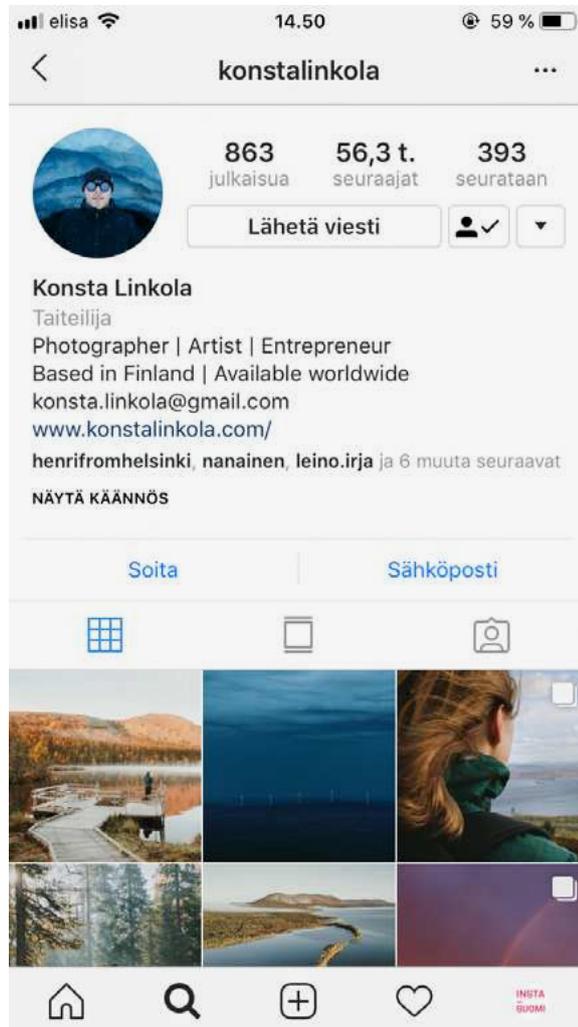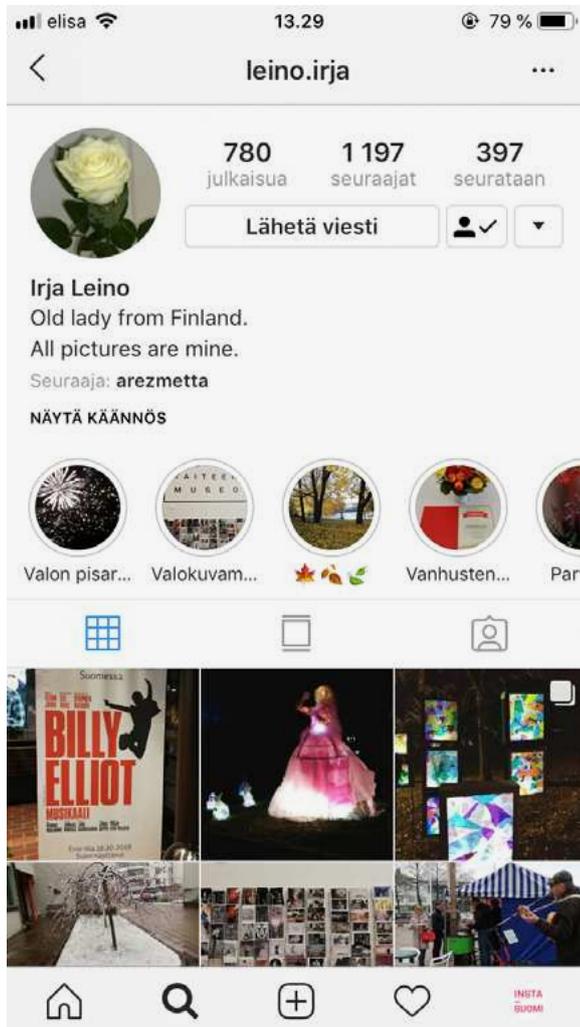
Apart from individual photos and their comments, screenshots of interviewee's Instagram profiles were also collected. The profiles show number of followers, but also how users describe and position themselves in the networked arena of Instagram. Screenshots were taken in autumn 2018. The Finnish Museum of Photography.

from their Instagram accounts to be added to the museum collection. This was done by browsing their Instagram feed on a laptop computer together. When an interviewee suggested a certain image be collected, this image was opened on a separate tab on the browser. In each interview there were two interviewers from the museum – this allowed one interviewer to operate the computer while the other could concentrate on the interview structure and questions. The interview was recorded. Study participants had final say on the choice of collected photographs, but most wanted to make the choices in dialogue with museum staff. The photographs were discussed by using methods of photo elicitation. After the interview, museum staff downloaded the chosen photographs to the museum server by using a free online service called Dinsta (Surti 2018), took screen captures of the photographs with comments, likes and text, and screen shot videos of all the comments of each photograph by using a mobile phone screen capture feature. A screenshot of the interviewee's Instagram feed, containing profile picture, profile description and number of followers, was also collected.

Representativeness and content of interviews

Overall, nine face-to-face interviews were conducted, each 50–90 minutes in length; one interview was carried out by email because the study participant was located in north-eastern Finland. In his case, geographical representativity was considered more important than the face-to-face interview. 10–25 photographs from each interviewee were collected and catalogued, a

Screenshot from Irja Leino's Instagram account showing a comment. Developing international online connections by following and commenting back on other users who had commented on her photos was an interesting and inspiring aspect of Instagram culture Leino enthusiastically embraced. 2017, The Finnish Museum of Photography.

total of 187 images. The semi-structured interviews had four main themes: practical aspects of Instagram use; visuality of photographs and photo feed on Instagram; social interaction on the platform; and meanings related to the use of Instagram.

Interviewees were asked about their history of Instagram use, their photographic practices outside Instagram and their habits of using the service. The importance of likes and comments and their habits of planning, photographing and editing their photographs were also discussed. They were asked about their motivations for taking and publishing photos as well as how thoroughly they curated their Instagram feed and what kind of images they would not publish on their account. On a more general level, they were asked what they felt a good or bad Instagram image would look like, what they considered to be Instagram clichés and what trends or subcultures they identified on Instagram. They were also interviewed about their practices of following and commenting on other user's accounts and finally about the negative and positive aspects of using Instagram and what they felt would be important to preserve for the future.

Documenting individual visual practices

Through interviews, a multitude of different practices was documented. It soon became evident that the practices and meanings related to social media photography cannot be understood by analysing the photographs alone, as earlier stated by Serafinelli (2017, 95). Interviewed users had different strategies regarding both the production of the photographs as well as sharing and social interaction.

If analysis had been limited only to the collected photographs, it might have been hard to see any connections between the interviewees' ways of using Instagram. There were some similar traits, however, one being that all were conscious of the affordances and limitations of the platform. The endless potential for networking was met with conflicting sentiments.

The following user categories could be identified: small town amateur photo journalist; street photographer; visual activist; photographic artist's photo art project; nature photographer's portfolio; professional Instagram travel photographer; self-made teenage fashion photographer/stylist and a visual comedian. All of these categories are discussed briefly below. Selection for the more detailed description in this text was based on the Instagram-specificity of their practices.

Irja Leino, self-proclaimed small-town photojournalist, had found her dear old hobby, photography, after many years, when her daughter introduced her to Instagram. She quickly picked up ways to share, comment and follow others by studying more experienced users. From the beginning, the international aspect of the platform fascinated her. Instagram opened a window to far-away places and her pictures of her small Finnish hometown also reached an international audience. She was amused by the fact that her high age combined with active Instagram use were considered by many as startling and had made her an advocate of the platform – for example several local newspapers had written stories about her. She shares pictures of events, activities and the environment in her hometown, having taken the role of self-made local photojournalist.

Irja Leino actively participated, documented and shared on Instagram photos of different kind of public events in her hometown. Here, the armoured brigade from a nearby garrison was visiting Valkeakoski, and Leino was there to document it. 2017, The Finnish Museum of Photography.

Photos: Irja Leino 2017-2018, The Finnish Museum of Photography.
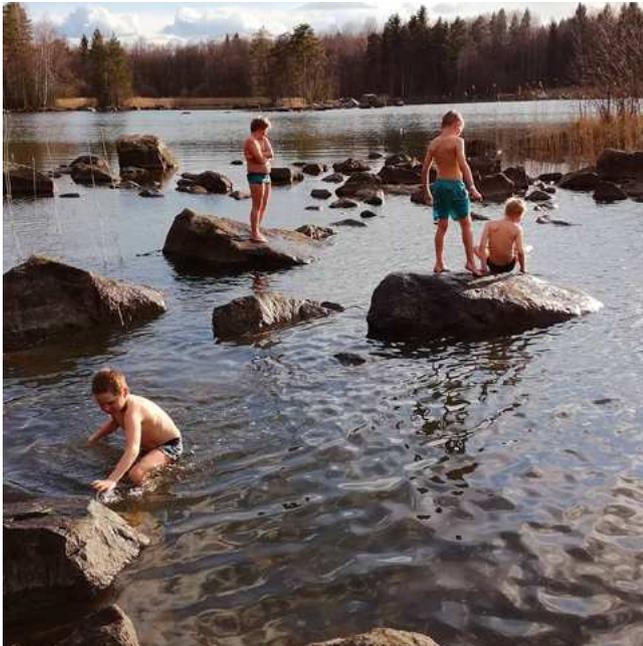
For **street photographer Jussi Kapanen** Instagram had offered a new inspiring platform for an old interest in street photography. Roaming the streets of his hometown in a quest for good photos had become more rewarding when he could expose his photos for critique, comments and likes by international street photography networks on Instagram.

For Jussi Kapanen, setting up an Instagram account reignited his old interest in street photography. Photos: Jussi Kapanen 2017-2018, The Finnish Museum of Photography.

Similarly, **nature photographer Ari-Pekka Nikula** continued his pre-social media photographic practices on Instagram. As a professional nature photographer, located in a small rural town in North-Eastern Finland, Instagram functioned primarily as a portfolio for presenting his work to future clients and audiences.

For Ari-Mati Nikula Instagram was just one platform among others. By use of internationally popular nature-related hashtags he was able to reach audience and potential clients from different parts of the world. Photos: Ari-Matti Nikula 2018, The Finnish Museum of Photography.

Konsta Linkola is **a freelance photographer** whose career had been sparked by Instagram. He had succeeded in finding fame and customers through the platform and had been living the vagabond life of a professional travel Instagrammer. Despite his success he was highly critical of Instagram aesthetics and the harsh world of commercial travel photography. He had the urge to pursue artistic photographic projects outside of Instagram, but at the same time the platform provided his livelihood. For him, 'real photography' mostly existed outside Instagram.

Out of all interviewees Konsta Linkola was the only one who had, from time to time, earned most of his income through commissioned photoshoots brought on by his Instagram account. Travel photography and Nordic nature were his forte. Photos: Konsta Linkola 2016, 2017, The Finnish Museum of Photography.

Emerging photographic artist Utu-Tuuli Jussila viewed Instagram as a platform for visual experiments. Initially, the museum team had hoped to be able to document a Finnish photographic artist whose art would only or primarily exist on Instagram, but such an artist could not be found. Most Finnish artists working with photography used Instagram either as a portfolio for exhibiting artworks outside Instagram or as a personal media not connected to their art. Jussila had three different Instagram accounts, one of them existing more as a portfolio for her artistic alter ego Jussi Lautu and a second one for sharing personal photography, for example travel photos. However, she described her third account, titled 'Limb-o-rama', as the most interesting one; there she could experiment more freely and without pressure. Jussila's Instagram projects were part of her artistic practice and ambitiously executed. Still, she saw them as inferior to her other artworks. She was critical but well informed about the ways one could gain fame within the art scene on Instagram, and semi-reluctantly participated in these practices, by for example using the hashtags of important photography magazines or editing applications to draw the attention of the 'it-crowd' to her photos. At the same time, she wanted to stay free of the agony of carefully curating her feed and hashtags to attract as large an audience as possible.

Utu-Tuuli Jussila's artistic practice on the Limb-o-rama Instagram account is based on images found on Google Street View, where she looks for so called glitches, digital errors, depicting severed-looking human limbs. 2018, The Finnish Museum of Photography.

16-year-old **Lotta Sulin, a self-made fashion photographer and stylist**, was one of the interviewees suggested by the museum's audience, representing an Instagram specific practice the museum team had failed to identify beforehand. She was exploring the possibilities of Instagram as a medium with ambition and commitment. She organised and executed creative photoshoots where she scouted for locations, collected or made dresses, accessories and props, and invited friends, friends of friends or sometimes even strangers to act as her models. Creative expression in a free and free-spirited environment with endless possibilities for new audiences for her work made Instagram the perfect, and so far only, platform for her photographic practice.

Lotta Sulin's only outlet for photos created by her self-made photoshoots was her Instagram account. Photos: Lotta Sulin 2017–2018, The Finnish Museum of Photography.

For **visual comedian Mikko Turunen**, Instagram was a visual playground with no profit motives. His Instagram feed consisted of carefully structured images with visual humour and up-to-date aesthetics. Finding and using the latest tricks, filters and apps for manipulating or, for example, animating his images inspired him. He was one of the two interviewees who also posted pictures of himself. Rather than traditional selfies, he used his own face or character as raw material for exploring different editing possibilities.

Mikko Turunen uses selfies as a starting point for his creative expression. Possibilities of new filters and editing tools are a source of inspiration for him, and often his photos contained an element of moving image. Photos: Mikko Turunen 2015-2018, The Finnish Museum of Photography.

Instagram activist Ruska Sarén used her own personality and body as a medium for advocating issues important to her. She was a student of fashion, balancing between posting pictures of her outfits and make-up experiments as well as playful self-portraits with a strong social message. She was a champion for body positivity and gender equality. She reacted critically to the double standards of Instagram censorship, which allowed sexism to flourish while images with body positive content were sometimes blocked as 'too sexual'. Through her experiences, darker sides of Instagram sociality were also discussed and documented. She sometimes felt overwhelmed by inappropriate comments she received on her controversial photos. Still, the much larger volume of positive feedback from young people who had felt inspired and empowered by her pictures encouraged her to continue. Joss Hands sees social online networks' potential for activism in horizontal, communicative action (2011, 18), a concept befitting Sarén's activities.

Ruska Sarén uses self-portraits as tools for activism and advocacy. In her photos, she embraced body positivity and feminism and played with gendered stereotypes. Photos: Ruska Sarén 2017-2018, The Finnish Museum of Photography.

The project also interviewed two members of **Igers-Helsinki, a Helsinki Instagrammers' community**. Meri Kukkavaara and Taru Latva-Pukkila had been active members of the Igers movement since the early 2010s, having functioned as community managers. For them, Instagram was both an inspiring environment for amateur photography and a highly social platform that had given them long-lasting new relationships and a real-life community. Having observed Instagram for a long stretch of time, they felt the Igers movement to be one of the last strongholds of the old, less commercial and more social and photography-oriented Instagram. Insta-meets and Insta-walks, monthly meetings and photo walks where anyone could join in were at the core of the local community, while meetings of Instagrammers from different countries added an international element to the community.

Members of IgersHelsinki group posing together in a group photo at a Instameet in Yayoi Kusama's exhibition at Helsinki Art Museum. Photo: Meri Kukkavaara 2016, The Finnish Museum of Photography.

Ethics and legal issues

Working closely with interviewees made discussing consent and copyright easy. All signed a consent form, which was discussed before signing, to make sure the participants understood what they were committing to. The biggest concern or unsolved issue was the personal data of other persons who could be identified from the pictures or comments. This issue was discussed with the interviewees and was something they were asked to consider when choosing photos to be collected, but no written consent was obtained from these persons.

Discussion: Instagram culture as cultural heritage

Co-curation with the audience afforded the museum a chance to test and redevelop its hypothesis on interesting Instagram phenomena. The museum was able to engage new audiences in the collecting initiative. This resulted in a wider, more multifaceted and varied collection than what could have been obtained through a traditional curatorial acquisition process. The resulting collection is not a comprehensive representation of Finnish Instagram in 2018, but it offers a multitude of insights into how the platform was being used. One important conclusion was that to be able to understand practices and visuality on social media, heritage institutions need to work closely together with the producers of the images.

Collecting rich contextual information poses challenges: processing the material from the interviews is time-consuming. There is a risk that without enough resources for transcribing it, the information will not find its way into the cataloguing process and will be difficult to use in the future. In this case study, the staff member present at the interviews also catalogued the collected images. This allowed her to use all the information gained in the interviews, and this kind of work process can be recommended. It is also a strong argument for limiting the amount of collected images so that a sustainable work process can be achieved.

Most of the potential interviewees contacted by the collecting team responded positively to the request to take part in the case study. They were surprised by the invitation but felt it was important to take part in documenting Instagram for the future, a platform that has played an important part in their own lives. Many of them said they felt honoured to be included and to have their photographs added to the museum collection. It can be concluded that museum collections were seen as valuable and meaningful, and contributing to them was considered rewarding, as the participants did not receive any compensation for their contributions.

The networkedness of images is a central feature of Instagram usage – on public Instagram accounts, hashtags and geolocations as well as tagging users in images are used as tools to link photographs to these networks. For now, tools and resources do not allow thorough documentation of these networks. Use of the web archiving service Webrecorder, created by Rhizome (https://webrecorder.io/), was examined. Webrecorder can be used to create an interactive, clickable recording of a website along with any additional content triggered by interactions on the site. Unfortunately, at the time of this case study, Webrecorder could only be used for recording websites by browsing from a laptop com-

puter. Since Instagram is always used and most often browsed on mobile devices, recordings made in the desktop view could not have preserved the authentic user experience of the platform and was thus ruled out.

Successful documentation of social media photography requires that museum staff spend plenty of time online, familiarizing themselves with the topic of the documentation. This does not mean that museums would need to abandon their more traditional role as a real-life platform for learning and social interaction. The success of the discussion event organised as part of the case study Pre-History of Social Media had showed that social media photography is a topic that can also bring different audiences together in the museum space – this finding was further confirmed in this case study.

On a larger scale, the museum audience and other museum professionals have generally reacted positively to the idea of the museum collecting Instagram images. They share the feeling of urgency, as the lifespan of digital photographs, social media photography and social media platforms is generally considered or feared to be short.

The material and information collected through this case study were highly valuable additions to the collections of a photography museum. In this case study the focus was on the contemporary use of photography, the meaning making that takes place in photographic and sharing practices, and in the visuality of the photographs shared on Instagram. For any museum or archive wanting to document current phenomena within photography, a similar approach can be suggested. For memory institutions documenting social networks, social interaction, identity politics or civil society, this approach might prove fruitful as well. In addition, the photographs collected also have content that is linked to material culture, youth culture, everyday life, fashion, localities, nature and tourism, among other themes. Even if the interest of the collecting institution is mainly in the content of the images, interviews with the photographers are an important source of contextual information.

5.4. Family Living – The True Story: Collecting from Facebook

Elisabeth Boogh

THE CASE STUDIES of the Collecting Social Photo (CoSoPho) project all explore the affordances of social media services. In this section the analogy is made between a Facebook group and an online photo album, discussing how this form of album differs from analogue albums previously collected by museums and archives. The case explores outreach in the group with sometimes sensitive content, and how collaborating with group administrators is essential. It also examines the use of ethnographic methods to document and observe the context of the photographs as well as to support outreach.

Collecting online photo albums

The story of Facebook is well-known, beginning as a forum for students to communicate with each other, but soon becoming a repository for personal photographs. Facebook was launched to the public in 2004 and by the end of 2010 it held a bigger photo collection than any other site on the web at the time, with a staggering 60 billion photographs uploaded and shared by

its users.[1] This section explores the possibilities of collecting social media photography from a Facebook group.

The Stockholm County Museum has a history of collecting everyday analogue photography from amateurs and this case study was designed to examine the premises of collecting photographs from and interacting with members of a Facebook group called *Family Living – The True Story*. It also investigates how personal memory is created between members in a Facebook group structured around a central theme and described by the administrators as a photo album. Which memories do people choose to share in the group and how do they compare with the memory-making of family photo albums in analogue forms? What would be the value of incorporating images from the online photo album into the museum collection? Do the photographs represent a new line in museum/archival collec-

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1. https://mashable.com/2011/02/14/facebook-photo-infograph-
   ic/?europe=trueandasid=c228f21b (Accessed Aug 27, 2019).

tions, or should they be considered as a continuation of already existing collections?

The case study was delimited by choice of research methods, by participants' geographical location and by

> The Facebook group Family Living – The True Story was set up in 2009 as a response to the popular imagery in glossy magazines of perfect and beautiful homes. The group has a steadily growing number of participants amounting to more than 80,000 spread geographically across Sweden, and to some extent other Nordic countries. The group is active, with many posts shared daily. The group is described by the administrators as a mutual photo album, a unique document of our time containing thousands of photographs, that also works as a therapy session for people lacking time and resources to keep up with the expectations of a perfect and happy life.[2]
>
> The members of the group support each other by posting pictures of their untidy homes, depicting the messiness of everyday life. The photographs and captions often have a humorous tone and the comments from other participants in the group are supportive and sometimes ironical. The group is moderated by administrators and any comments that are cynical or question the author of the post in a negative manner are strictly removed.

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2. https://www.facebook.com/groups/87500194530/permalink/10151643428204531/ (Accessed Aug 14, 2019).

time. As the Stockholm County Museum is a regional museum the case study focused on participants living in the region, although the Facebook group has members from all around Sweden, and even some other Nordic countries. The study was performed between August 2018 and March 2019.

From digital ethnography to content analysis

A combination of methods was used in the case study, drawing from digital ethnography such as participatory observation and production as well as online interviews, along with content analysis, which was also used in the case studies on place seen in Chapter 4. In digital ethnography, researchers should strive for participation, which in turn creates an understanding of the conversations and interactions online. This requires the researcher to contribute with content and become a participatory producer, who not only observes but also intervenes and thereby contributes to shaping the empirical field of study (Berg 2015, 94–95). Reflexivity is part of the process and "can be defined as the ways in which we, as ethnographers, produce knowledge through our encounters with other people and things" (Pink et al. 2016, 12).

Throughout the case study, participatory observation and production were performed by liking and commenting on posts, primarily from members in the group from the Stockholm region, and by adding content through online postings. The observations were noted in a field diary and data from the posts was collected in a spreadsheet and later used for content analysis. The observations served to give an overall sense of the content and tonality of the Facebook group and helped

Screenshot of an image posted by Elisabeth Boogh.

member of the Facebook group for years and therefore chose to use her own account (Berg 2015, 128).

In addition, some interviews were conducted online – in compliance with digital ethnography methods asking the contributors how they preferred to be interviewed – on Messenger where they were first approached or by email (Berg 2015, 99–100). The questions centred around engagement in the Facebook group, gratifications of sharing photos on social media, and photography as memory.

Outreach and collaboration methods

Outreach was carried out in several steps. The first step was to obtain consent from the administrators to research the Facebook group and to enable contact with participants in an ethical manner.[1] The administrators function as gatekeepers and it would have been both unethical and impractical to circumvent them. Members of the group were approached on a one-to-one basis either by direct messaging or by commenting in the conversation threads, asking for contributions to *Samtidsbild*[2] and for interviews. For clarity and ethical reasons, the messages contained information about the research project linking to a text on the museum website, as well as the consent given by the administrators. Some time into the case study the administrator shared

shape the interview questions. Sharing posts in the group served to gain empirical knowledge about what content and tone resulted in more or fewer interactions by other members of the group. Although it is preferable to use official accounts of the institution, thus confirming the authenticity of the sender, rather than personal social media accounts of staff members, in this particular case the staff member had already been a

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1. Ethical considerations and evaluations were made throughout the study. A good source providing the framework for ethical decisions is Ethical Decision-Making and Internet Research: Recommendations from the AoIR Ethics Working Committee (V. 2.0).
2. *Samtidsbild* or Contemporary Images is a website and app for collecting born-digital photography at Stockholms läns museum.

a post in the group encouraging the members to contribute to *Samtidsbild*.

A text about the case study was published on the museum website as well as three blog posts written by the museum staff and by the founder of the *Family Living* Facebook group. The blog posts were also published on the museum's Facebook page.

The collection of images was designed as a collaborative initiative where the contributors were "invited to serve as active partners in the creation of institutional projects that are originated and ultimately controlled by the institution" (Simon 2010, 187). Hence the collecting of images was planned as a combination of user-generated collecting where the contributor chooses what image to contribute and curated collecting where the museum makes a selection by asking for a specific image. In the end, only two contributors chose to upload photographs not asked for by the museum, leaving the case study at a contributory stage according to Simon's definition, where the contributors provide limited and specified objects to an institutionally controlled process (2010).

The collected images were uploaded by the contributor to the collecting service *Samtidsbild* at Stockholm County Museum. At the time, *Samtidsbild* existed as both an app and a website and the contributors could use either service. However, one of the contributors discovered a flaw on the website, as it was impossible to upload an image straight from a mobile phone. Consequently, the contributors were asked to only use the app, which may have been perceived as a hindrance, adding an extra step in the process of contributing to the museum collection.

Collected photographs and screenshots

The collected material consists of 40 images contributed by 36 members of the Facebook group *Family Living*. The visual content of the collected images adheres to the administrator's instruction: "The submitted photographs should depict: the untidy home, temporary emergency solutions, unsuccessful catastrophic cooking, unkept garden or plants, messy vacation homes". The only depiction not collected was messy vacation homes, probably due to the timing of the case study being in the autumn and winter. Several collected images depicted traditions or seasonal holidays as two of these occurred during the case study, putting extra strain on the contributors' efforts of being homemakers.

The museum asked for consent from contributors to save screenshots of their images posted on *Family Living*, to complement the original image and for contextual documentation. 31 screenshots were uploaded by the museum staff to *Samtidsbild*. For ethical reasons the identities of the people who made comments on the posts were removed as they had not been asked for consent. *Samtidsbild* is connected to the museum collections database and the metadata provided by the contributor is automatically catalogued in the database, but the screenshots were not made public.

The examples below of images collected to the museum are typical of posts found on *Family Living – The True Story*. The photograph is accompanied by the image caption submitted on *Samtidsbild* and the image caption on *Family Living* on Facebook, showing how significant the written caption is for understanding both visual content and motivation for sharing. In two of the examples, the contributor has chosen a different

caption when uploading the photo to *Samtidsbild*, thus changing the meaning of the visual content. When examining the posts on *Family Living* compared to the photos uploaded to *Samtidsbild* it also becomes obvious how the conversations shape the meaning of the photograph, which underlines that screenshots of posts have to be collected as well as the original photograph.

Image caption on *Samtidsbild*:

> When I have children, I will always cook meals from scratch without serving semi-manufactured products, and never ramen noodles. That's how we were thinking before having children. Now when having two little ones, ramen noodles will do just well for lunch.

Image caption on *Family Living*:

> When I have children, I will always cook meals from scratch without serving semi-manufactured products, and never ramen noodles.

The post received 1,400 likes, hearts and laughing smileys and 88 comments from people expressing sympathy and recognition. The photograph depicts a mundane subject, empty packages of a meal familiar to many of us. Without the message provided by the accompanying text and supported by the comments, the visual content is difficult to understand. But together, as an assemblage, the post/photo discusses everyday life and connotes a pragmatism around children, preparing meals and not having enough time.

Photo: Nahrin Lindkvist, Stockholm County Museum, CC-BY-NC.

Image caption on *Family living* and *Samtidsbild*:

> Pennants really change the overall impression of our guest room. So welcoming.

This post received 836 likes, hearts, and laughing smileys and 17 comments on *Family Living*. The photo depicts a scene not usually found in photo albums or museum collections. On a denotative level, it depicts a room with multiple usages with organised and unorganised storage of things. On a connotative level, it discusses the surplus of things in our homes today, and the fact that many in Sweden can afford homes with spare rooms. But it also suggests a homemaker with time constraints, or who at least chooses not to prioritise keeping order in the spare room.

Photo: Sarah Buskas Liljedahl, Stockholm County Museum, CC-BY-NC

Image caption on *Samtidsbild*:

> At the home of a gardening engineer! I want to show what reality looks like behind the filtered, pink-shimmering walls on social media. Here is the bare truth about how time has become a utopia impossible to keep up with. It has totally ceased to exist. I am also a mother of two children.

Image caption *Family Living*:

> What do you, all good family fighters in here work with? For what occupation have you taken on expensive student loans? I am a trained gardening engineer myself!

The post sparked 886 likes, hearts, and laughing smileys and received 469 comments. The photograph is bland, depicting a flower pot with a rose having brown leaves and withering flowers. At most the visual content itself gives information about indoor plants in the 21st century. But when shared as a post on *Family Living*, adding a question, it sparked a massive conversation where people posted what they had studied and the occupation they ended up with. The significance of the photograph differs between the two platforms. On *Samtidsbild* the image connotes lack of time as experienced by a mother of two, implied by insufficient care for the rose. On *Family Living*, it sparks conversations about occupations and failed dreams.

An analysis of visual and textual content

Content analysis, where the images were visually examined in conjunction with textual content, was conducted in the case study as a method to define the content and to support the curated selection. In the model of content analysis used, the frequency of common depictions was deciphered in a set of images by coding the content through short descriptive words. The method might define what a photograph depicts, but it does not show what it is about (Shatford 1986). It is therefore useful to complement it with other docu-

"My daughter was too tired to sit on the couch, so she did the only reasonable thing and relaxed in the bookshelf instead (?)." Photo: Annie Skoglund, Stockholm County Museum, CC-BY-NC

"It doesn't matter that things don't turn out as expected." Photo: Nicole Hesselbrandt, Stockholm County Museum, CC-BY-NC

mentation methods, for example interviewing and participatory observation and production.

The images were compiled from two sets of monitoring sessions on *Family Living*, one performed in the spring and the other during the autumn of 2018. 116 posts were coded by describing the photograph and the caption written by the contributor. Unsurprisingly, the result more or less confirmed the administrator's prerequisite of depictions allowed in the group. Posts describing family life were by far the most common, closely followed by unsuccessful cooking and baking. Untidiness came third, then issues around laundry and cleaning (or not cleaning). Only eight of the posts depicted persons or parts of the body as most contributors seemed careful not to show family members. The most common messy room depicted in the posts was the kitchen (the site of unsuccessful cooking and baking), then the living room, followed by the hallway and bathroom.

"Got a bit shocked as I walked into the bath-room only to find out that my five-year-old had taken a bath with an entire roll of toilet paper." Photo: Åsa Backhaus Alahrash, Stockholm County Museum, CC-BY-NC.

An analysis of outreach and collaboration

100 members were approached on Facebook Messenger and a little over a third chose to contribute with a photograph. 27 of those contacted who did not contribute a photograph were positive to the museum reaching out to them and several responded that they would upload their image on the *Samtidsbild* app later the same day or the following day, but never did. In total, 76 persons uploaded a photograph or were positive about the idea of contributing to a museum collection, yet only 40 images were uploaded. This indicates that the threshold is high in getting people to contribute,

especially when it comes to depictions of everyday life, as seen in some of the other case studies in the project, such as *Södertälje: Searching for Diversity and Representation on Instagram*.

A majority of the contributors were women (32) and only a few (4) were men. There are no known demographic statistics of the Facebook group but the imbalance in gender among the contributors aligns with the imbalance found in the content analysis. Why seemingly more women than men are engaged in *Family Living* remains to be answered.

The best method to contact people and ask for contributions proved to be through one-to-one direct mes-

saging. The administrator's post inviting people to contribute induced no reactions, although the expectations were high.

Interviews examining engagement, gratification and memory

In addition to the collected photographs, 15 contributors were also interviewed about their engagement in the group, about gratifications of sharing photos on social media and photography as memory. Some of the respondents had been members in the group for more than five years, some were newcomers. Most posted a couple of photos per year and they commented and liked others' posts fairly regularly. They perceived the Facebook group to be a safe place for sharing parts of their lives, although one person remarked that no place on the Internet can be counted as a safe place.

According to Malik, Dhir and Nieminen there are six different types of gratifications obtained by people who share photos on Facebook: affection, attention-seeking, disclosure, habit, information sharing and social influence (2016, 134). When asked in the interviews, most respondents regarded disclosure as the most important, i.e. sharing information about oneself to others, and one person commented:

> I wish to contribute with the comic side, turning misery into something one can laugh about.

Another person commented that she had been prescribed by her therapist to take one photo of something positive each day, like having a cup of coffee instead of dealing with the laundry, after experiencing a burnout. She then discovered *Family Living* on Facebook and it became part of her recovery, photographing and sharing images of her untidy and chaotic home without feeling bad about it.

11 of the 15 interviewed regarded photographs shared on social media as memories. The notion of photography on social media being memories is supported by Bartoletti who claims that social media has become a place for both intimate, autobiographical remembering and for building public memories (2011). When asked whether the photographs compiled in *Family Living* can be regarded as a photo album the answers varied. A majority of respondents perceived *Family Living* as a photo album, although they made the distinction that photo albums normally contain images of the family, of people well-known to the contributor, and typically had one author and not many as in the Facebook group. One of the respondents remarked:

> [*Family Living*] is a photo album showing what family homes and living with children REALLY look like in Sweden. A photo album that you can browse when feeling alone and unsuccessful since you otherwise only see pictures of happy families in tidy homes. In traditional albums everything is more planned, everything should look as perfect as possible.

Those who did not regard *Family Living* as a photo album saw albums as private and personal, something used for compiling photographs documenting feelings and valuable memories and to be shared with family and friends. One respondent remarked that *Family Living* was not a photo album since one did not return and look at the photographs, as they are part of a stream of images.

Discussion: memory-making in online photo albums

Several conclusions can be drawn from the case study. Collecting is a public facing activity and has to be made in dialogue with online communities. In this case study it took the form of collaboration with the original founder and administrator of the group, designing the initiative together. The administrators are stakeholders enabling both research and collaboration with the members of the group. In this case, the founder felt a strong responsibility for the group, thus making it relevant for them to allow the museum to collect and preserve content.

Another conclusion is that it is essential for the staff at museums and archives to be digitally competent and have knowledge about the online environment they wish to operate within. This case study drew from digital ethnography using participatory production as a method, allowing the staff involved to empirically learn about both the affordances of the social media platform and the tonality of the conversations in the group *Family Living*.

When collecting from social media the museum competes with the gratifications obtained from sharing posts online, and it is logical to ask why it is relevant for the contributor to add to the museum collection. One answer was given as a response to one of the direct messages asking for contributions:

> Ha, ha, yes of course we want to contribute to the collection [...]. Thanks for asking! Looking forward to contributing to our history :-)

Even though 30 % of the persons approached in the case chose to contribute to the collection, perhaps wanting to be part of history, it is fair to assume that moving away from Facebook to upload an image on a museum collecting tool can be too much of an effort, especially as the museum collecting tool does not offer any means of gratifications other than perpetuity. This calls for further development of museum and archive collecting tools and building smooth transitions between the social media platform and the collecting tool. The three images discussed in the text above also signal that people perceive a museum or archive collecting tool to be something other than a social media platform, as they chose to alter the texts in their captions. The conversations shape the meaning of the photograph making it essential for museums and archives to not only collect the original photograph but also screenshots of the posts online.

One finding in the case study is that it was hard, not to say impossible, to promote a user-generated collection where the contributor makes a selection, and the post made by the founder inviting members to contribute with photos to the museum did not generate any results. The best response was when the museum staff asked for specific images in one-to-one conversations. This confirms findings made by the research team from other case studies that people are much more willing to contribute with images concerning viral, sudden, and perhaps tragic events such as the terrorist attack in Stockholm in 2017, than photographs depicting everyday life.

The question of how the memory-making of analogue family photo albums compares to online photo albums remains to be discussed. Historically family

photo albums revolved around the family and persons well-known to the family. The photographs were often described as everyday life, but on the contrary, they depicted celebratory occasions, like birthdays and vacations, and rarely everyday life such as messy kitchens and unmade beds, and few used the camera for self-study or therapy (Marien 2002, 445). In *Family Living* the photographs certainly are everyday, depicting the messiness of family life, and many of the members claimed to post images and texts as a form of self-therapy. Many of the photographs showed sides of life not normally portrayed or mediated to others. In this sense, the traditional family photo album differs from the online album *Family Living*.

According to Sandbye (2014), family photo albums are objects related to personal, affective, social and cultural communication, whereas Chalfen argues that family photography is a process and a 'doing' (1987). In this context *Family Living* can be perceived as a photo album as it requires an act of 'doing', a process of photographing and sharing in order to communicate, but not in a personal sense with family members but rather with unknown members of the Facebook group.

Both analogue and online albums are set up chronologically and used as conversation pieces but for different reasons. The traditional album functioned as a meeting place, where the family tale was created, and it sparked conversations about the people in the album (Dahlgren 2013, 275). Online, the conversations are between people posting and about the images.

In early snapshot photography the contributors were influenced by the photographic industry and marketing strategies and were encouraged to photograph special occasions but also domestic life and the passing of everyday life (Jacob 2011, 10–12). In *Family Living* the contributors were influenced by seeing other photographs in the feed and the variety of depictions was limited by the administrators' rules.

To conclude, it is reasonable to say that memories compiled in the online album differ greatly from the traditional analogue album. Nonetheless, the members of the Facebook group perceived the memories as common ground and therefore they constituted an album.

For a museum collecting and documenting cultural history, online albums can serve as important documents depicting different aspects of everyday life and are therefore of value. The Stockholm County Museum already has a number of historical photographs in the collections depicting homes and everyday life in the region and the photographs from *Family Living* make a valuable addition to this collection. However, after having analysed the collected photographs in the case study it is fair to say that the images do not compare to any photographs previously collected by the museum as they are far more mundane and perhaps portray the downside of life. It is, therefore, safe to claim that they represent a new line of photographs in the collection.

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6. Events: Introduction

Elisabeth Boogh

THIS CHAPTER DEALS with events as a theme for collecting social digital photography.

In recent years events of different kinds, demonstrations and conversations on social media have become subject for collection by museums and archives around the world. An early example from 2011 is the Occupy Wall Street movement in the US where New York University made an attempt to collect audiovisual content posted on social media by activists (Besser 2012). A more recent example of collecting from a social movement is Schlesinger Library's mission to collect the digital footprints of *#metoo* in the US, including posts on social media.[1] A European example is the Norwegian National Archives' initiative that began in 2017 collecting screenshots of Norwegian politicians' posting on social media.[2] On social media visual content is central – on Instagram alone there are more than 500 million users around the world uploading 95 million postings per day.[3] Despite this, the examples above did not focus singularly on photography.

Photographs produced in relation to events can express people's reactions to sudden incidents in society that in some ways affect their everyday lives. Or they can document everyday life or ways of celebrating festivities, such as holidays, birthdays or weddings. Everyday photography shared on social media allows for the creation of individual memories as well as the construction of personal narratives and a common social memorialisation (Serafinelli 2018; Ippolito 2014). For museums and archives this development presents an opportunity for connecting with broader audiences, and by allowing the collections to become more representative they add more voices and stories connected to the events.

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1. https://www.schlesinger-metooproject-radcliffe.org/ (Accessed Sep 21, 2019).
2. https://beta.arkivverket.no/post/178756836640/s%C3%B8k-i-politik-eres-innlegg-p%C3%A5-sosiale-medier#disqus_thread (Accessed Dec 21, 2018).
3. https://www.reuters.com/article/us-facebook-instagram-users/insta-grams-user-base-grows-to-more-than-500-million-idUSKCN0Z71LN (Accessed Jan 6, 2019).

The case studies in this chapter present a broad range of events, having common ground as they all represent how offline and online events have merged on social media. Events can be described as "something that happens in a public context" (Pink 2016, 148), and events online are often connected to the offline world – social media is part of how the event is conceptualised and experienced by people participating and viewing the event (Pink 2016, 165).

The collecting initiatives presented in this chapter's case studies cover three very different subjects: an international social movement against sexual harassment as it was perceived in Sweden, a sudden incident in Sweden in the form of a terrorist attack, and documenting recurrent Christmas celebrations in Denmark as part of a cultural and religious festivity. The topics differ in sentiment, ranging from serious to joyful events, but at the same time they represent issues common to social media. The methods used in the case studies could easily be applied to similar topics such as social uprisings, demonstrations, climate catastrophes or happier or recurring events in society bringing people together.

Initiatives for collecting everyday photography on social media have to be planned and set up differently according to subject matter but also considering the speed of movements online. The case studies in this chapter introduce two possible means of collecting in collaboration with the producers of social media content. Firstly, recurring events (such as in the case study *#Christmasinaalborg: Insights from a Longitudinal Case Study*) enable the building and maintaining of long-term relationships with communities by running a campaign on Instagram over a number of years. Sec-

ondly, in cases studies concerning sudden viral events (such as *The 2017 Stockholm Terrorist Attack: Rapid Response Collecting*, and *Collecting Viral Campaigns: #metoo and #knytblus*) the activities on social media span a very short time. Rapid response collecting enables quick action on behalf of museums and archives, addressing both the immediacy and ephemerality of the social digital photograph, thus challenging current work practices around photography collections.

Introducing the topics

#metoo is a worldwide social movement against sexual harassment that manifested in a viral campaign in 2017. It sparked engagement in social media as responses to media coverage of stories about sexual harassment and abuse. In Sweden the engagement in social media was especially noticeable, and generated demonstrations and gatherings in several Swedish towns. *#knytblus* was a purely Swedish campaign, building on the impact of *#metoo*, responding to events connected to how the Swedish Academy handled accusations of sexual harassment. Both *#metoo* and *#knytblus* were collected through initiatives by the project team in collaboration with Nordiska Museet.

The Stockholm terrorist attack in April 2017 is another type of incident, a sudden traumatic event, which like *#metoo* and *#knytblus* sparked intense engagement online. Two collecting initiatives were launched by the project team in collaboration with Nordiska Museet and the Stockholm County Museum to collect social digital photographs in response to the terrorist attack. The case study positions itself in connection with other collecting initiatives carried out by museums and archives

around Europe in recent years, documenting and preserving spontaneous memorials arising after terrorist attacks. However, the collection from the Stockholm terrorist attack clearly shows that besides from collecting physical objects placed at the memorials, photographs shared on social media function as an extension of the memorials, with people posting photographs both to commemorate and honour the victims but also to grasp what happened on a personal level.

#Christmasinaalborg: Insights from a Longitudinal Case Study represents a joyful recurrent event, connected to the celebration of Christmas in the town of Aalborg in Denmark. The Aalborg City Archives began to collect images from celebrations of Christmas in 2012 and has since continued to collect each year, introducing new hashtags to be used on Instagram, as well as arranging physical Instawalks and meet-ups connecting people with a common interest in documenting their town. This methodology could easily scale up and be used in other similar topics of mutual celebration.

Using hashtags as a method for framing collecting initiatives

The case studies in the chapter discuss the use of hashtags to frame collecting initiatives, as well as for outreach. The direction of the hashtag *#Christmasinaalborg* moves in a top to bottom trajectory, having originated with the Aalborg City Archives and since moving out of the realm of the archives to be widely used by people without knowing its source. The archive uses the hashtag as both a means of reaching potential contributors to the holdings as well as for collecting. The methods of collecting follow a traditional approach by using

emails for securing agreements as well as sending photographs to the archives.

In the rapid response cases of the terrorist attack, *#metoo* and *#knytblus*, collecting was initiated from already existing and broadly used hashtags. Rapid response collecting calls for an urgent need to reach out with very short notice. In the terrorist attack case both traditional and social media were used for outreach, but in *#metoo* and *#knytblus* sponsored posts on Instagram were successfully used as the only means of outreach. Collecting was conducted through existing websites allowing people to upload their images, with few restrictions. The collecting method called for ethical considerations to be well thought through before the launch.

Both *#metoo* and *#knytblus* were examples of hashtag activism, where people use social media as a platform for protesting and sharing testimonies. Related to the sensitive nature of the topics, ethics naturally played an important role in the case studies. The chapter therefore introduces a discussion of hashtags as a safe place, and also considers museums and archives as safe places for peoples' stories and testimonies of abuse and misconduct.

Finally, the case studies in the chapter also touch upon the changing affordances of the social media services as well as a shift in social practices of people sharing content. The longitudinal perspective of *#Christmasinaalborg* clearly shows how people's attitudes have changed over the years as the novelty of Instagram has worn off, calling for agile collecting practices and adaptation to new ways of producing and sharing photographs online.

6.1. Collecting Viral Campaigns: #metoo and #knytblus

Kajsa Hartig and Elisabeth Boogh

THIS CASE STUDY shares conclusions from two collecting initiatives of viral online campaigns in Sweden: *#metoo* and *#knytblus*. Both campaigns embody feminist agency and women's roles and rights as well as contested and problematic issues in society (Uimonen 2019). Three issues reflecting challenges of collecting are specifically examined: the use of hashtags for framing collection and outreach and its implications for representativity; the negative effects of malfunctioning digital tools for collecting; and the impact of the complexity of digital cultural heritage on work practices in museums and archives. A discussion will also be introduced on hashtags as safe spaces for sharing stories and experiences around difficult issues, and on how museums/archives need to proceed when connecting to these spaces.

In October 2017, as the viral international campaign *#metoo*[1] reached Sweden, Nordiska Museet was approached by a journalist asking whether the museum

planned to collect stories. At the time, the museum was performing development work on the collecting website *Minnen*[2] to resolve user experience issues discovered during the collection of images from the Stockholm terrorist attack in 2017 (described in this anthology). However, as the campaign grew, with demonstrations planned around the country and increasing interest from traditional media, the museum decided to launch an initiative with short notice in collaboration with the Collecting Social Photo (CoSoPho) project. Through the initial contacts with the media and focused outreach through social media the collecting initiative reached a large audience within a few days.

Six months later and strongly connected to *#metoo*, a national campaign in Sweden named *#knytblus* was launched. On the evening of April 12, 2018 Sara Danius announced her resignation as Permanent Secretary of

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1. https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Me_Too_movement (Accessed Sep. 21, 2019).

2. http://www.minnen.se

#metoo or *#MeToo* is a hashtag that was created on social media to draw attention to the extent of sexual harassment against women. The hashtag became viral on October 15, 2017 when American actor Alyssa Milano asked women who had been or were sexually abused to respond to her tweet using the words 'Me too'. As the tweet became viral the hashtag, #metoo was created. In Sweden, the campaign engaged a large number of women as well as men. In connection with the viral campaign several physical manifestations of the campaign were held around Sweden in October 2017 to allow women to tell their stories and to demonstrate against abuse against women. These demonstrations were spontaneously organised with very short notice.

The **#knytblus** hashtag became viral as the Permanent Secretary of the Swedish Academy was forced to re-sign due to her reaction to sexual misconduct. On the day of her resignation she wore a white bow blouse. The blouse was a signature garment for Sara Danius and, being the first woman to be appointed Permanent Secretary of the Swedish Academy, the garment came to symbolise women entering previously male-dominated centres of power (Gemzöe 2018, 76). The bow blouse is perceived as the female version of tie and blazer and became fashionable when women entered the male-dominated white-collar professions in the 1950s. In the 1980s it was associated with ruthless career women, being a favourite outfit of British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher.

The media coverage of Danius' departure from the Academy wearing a bow blouse sparked a new viral campaign of people – mainly women – posting self-portraits wearing bow blouses.

the Swedish Academy.[3] Her resignation was caused by disagreements around the misconduct regarding the sexual assault of a person associated with the Academy. The resignation caused an uproar on social media and the following day the hashtags *#knytblus* (bow blouse) and *#knytblusförsara* (bow blouse for Sara) were trending as people expressed their support for Sara Danius. At the centre of the campaign were posts by women sharing selfies[4] wearing a bow blouse. Because of the connection to *#metoo* and the very visual nature of the campaign, Nordiska Museet decided to launch another collecting initiative.

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3. The Swedish Academy is an independent cultural institution, founded in 1786 by King Gustaf III in order to advance the Swedish language and Swedish literature. The Academy has awarded the Nobel Prize in Literature since 1901.

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4. According to Oxford dictionaries, a selfie is: a photograph that one has taken of oneself, typically one taken with a smartphone or webcam and shared via social media (https://www.lexico.com/en/definition/selfie), whereas a portrait is described by the same source as: a painting, drawing, photograph, or engraving of a person, especially one depicting only the face or head and shoulders (https://www.lexico.com/en/definition/portrait) (Accessed Sep. 21, 2019).

The bow blouse became fashionable when women entered the male-dominated white-collar professions in the 1950's and it is often perceived as the female version of tie and blazer. This blouse from 1972 was manufactured by the Finnish company Seventa. NM.0327921 Photo: Nordiska museet, CC-BY-NC-ND.

Both collecting initiatives, *#metoo* and *#knytblus*, align with the museum's mission to collect and document women's role and terms in society. The initiatives have also proved to be valuable for the CoSoPho project as they examine the capabilities of museums to collect from sudden viral events. They were launched with the aim of exploring bottom-up user-generated hashtags in viral events as a method to reach and communicate with a broader audience on social media, with the purpose of collecting social media photography. A related aim was to understand how and why people choose to share photos and messages during viral campaigns on social media. The case places itself within the context of museums and archives collecting from and exploring the digital footprints of such movements, as for example the Schlesinger Library's *#metoo Digital Media Collection*.[5]

Collecting from hashtags

Both collecting initiatives were delimited in scope to photographs shared on social media with the hashtags *#metoo* and *#knytblus* combined with a brief number of

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5. https://www.schlesinger-metooproject-radcliffe.org/ (Accessed Sep 21, 2019).

survey questions to the contributors. The website *Minnen* was used as a collecting platform for both initiatives. *Minnen* is constructed as a survey tool with the possibility of uploading media files, such as photographs, allowing for collecting personal testimonies and experiences around certain topics and issues, framed by the museum staff.

No further documentation regarding the collection of photographs was created by the museum. However, a year later, in 2019, the museum made a decision to acquire a bow blouse designed by Sara Danius and fashion designer Camilla Thulin because the garment has become a symbol for the struggle for women's rights. Furthermore, as a part of the CoSoPho research project anthropologist Paula Uimonen conducted further research, which includes interviews of women taking part in protests. It examines the visual expressions of the *#metoo* campaign in Sweden and discusses the representativeness of the online collecting initiatives (Uimonen 2019).

The purpose of the survey questions was to examine the reasons for people participating in both viral campaigns and to provide context for their uploaded photographs. At the time of the *#metoo* viral event, the staff setting up the collecting initiative perceived photographs from physical demonstrations to be the type of photographs most frequently shared.

#metoo survey questions:

- Did you share anything on social media in connection to the *#metoo* campaign? (Y/N)
- Why did you participate in the campaign?
- How did you participate?

- Did you participate in a demonstration where you live?
- If you participated in a demonstration where you live, please share photos.

In the *#knytblus* initiative, questions were asked about whether the contributor had shared a post or commented on social media using the hashtag *#knytblus* or *#knytblusförsara*, and if they had posted a selfie. They were then asked to upload the selfie to the website.

#knytblus survey questions:

- Did you share anything or make comments using the hashtag *#knytblus* or *#knytblusförsara*? (Y/N)
- Why did you participate in the campaign?
- Have you posted a selfie with a bow blouse today? Please share your photo.

As both *#metoo* and *#knytblus* were rapid response collecting initiatives, initiated early in the museum's efforts to collect social media images from a viral campaign, there was little time for planning what to collect. However, the collecting team had identified categories of image depictions frequently used in both campaigns and subsequently asked for photographs with these depictions in the initiatives. This form of participatory collecting initiative can be described as contributory, where users of social media are invited to act as active partners uploading images of their choice, with the initiative still very much controlled by the museum (Simon 2010, 187).

Outreach through hashtag-based communication

In both initiatives, hashtags and the visual communication connected to them were the focus for outreach and collection. The use of communication through social tagging has been analysed by Chang, showing how hashtags associate messages with particular events or contexts: "prefixed by a # symbol with a keyword, a Twitter (and an Instagram) hashtag serves as a bottom-up user proposed tagging convention" (Chang 2010, 1). Uimonen points out that *#metoo* resembles other forms of feminist hashtag activism, used both for online and offline forms of protest. The hashtag can also be used to mobilise the creation of digital archives of personal testimonials as a form of collective memory-making (Uimonen 2019).

The CoSoPho project has further identified that hashtag-based communication moves in several directions when it comes to collecting initiatives: either in a top-down direction when the museum/archives invents or sets up a hashtag for others to use and for the memory institutions to collect from, as in the case study *#Christmasinaalborg: Insights from a Longitudinal Case Study*; or in a bottom-up direction as in *#metoo* and *#knytblus*, where the point of departure is user-generated hashtags (Jensen et al. 2019, 62). In both cases, museums and archives can engage with audiences in collecting initiatives.

In the *#metoo* and *#knytblus* initiatives hashtags were examined by the museum to get an overview of what kind of photographs or images were shared. The hashtags were also used as a way to communicate with audiences in order to engage people to contribute. As in the previous collecting initiative by Nordiska Museet, The Stockholm Terrorist Attack in April 2017, sponsored social media posts on both Facebook and Instagram were a central way to reach out and engage.

The traditional media caught on to the initiatives early on, which helped with reaching out even further. In the *#metoo* initiative, shortly after the museum's sponsored post on social media, the Swedish National Broadcasting Service SR shared the collecting initiative, which spread throughout the media. The initiative was eventually noticed and shared by Alyssa Milano, the American actress and initiator of the 2017 international *#MeToo* campaign, bringing the initiative to the attention of an even broader audience.

Collecting photographs and testimonies

The *#metoo* initiative resulted in approximately 170 contributions. For the contributions delivered to the museum there were two options, either 'send to archives' – contribute photos to the collections only – or to send to archives and make the contribution publicly available on the *Minnen* website. Due to user experience issues with *Minnen*, more than 90 contributions (some duplicates) were never submitted, only saved on the platform. This meant that the contributions were not available for the museum to acquire without contacting each contributor. In the *#metoo* case all contributions delivered to the *#metoo* collection were made public by the contributors, none were sent to archives only.

As with *#metoo*, contributors to the *#knytblus* initiative could decide whether they wanted their photographs and texts to be displayed publicly on *Minnen* as well as being archived, or only submitted to the archive

An Instagram Story shared during the campaign depicting the word #metoo. Photo: Fanni, Nordiska museet, CC-BY.

One of seven images contributed with the words Me Too embroidered on tablecloths. Photo: Malin Fredenstedt, Nordiska museet, CC-O.

for future research. In total, 79 photographs were uploaded to the museum, of which 69 were made public and 10 were submitted to the archive only.

An analysis of collected social digital photographs

In the analysis of images from both collecting initiatives sample images were chosen to reflect what was uploaded to both collecting initiatives on *Minnen*.

One significant feature of the *#metoo* campaign, as observed by the project team on Instagram, was its lack of images and photographs specifically, apart from im-

ages depicting the words MeToo or the hashtag *#MeToo*. This is mirrored in the material contributed to *Minnen*, which contains very few photographs. Compared to other collecting initiatives, *#metoo* contained more abstract imagery, for example depictions with symbolic meaning and captioned images including the word *#metoo*. The following four images depict three typical photographs shared on Facebook and Instagram and contributed to *Minnen*: captioned images or images depicting the text MeToo, abstract or metaphorical visual content, and demonstrations.

One of the common types of images shared on social media throughout the campaign were images displaying text in one way or another. Many images showed only the hashtag *#metoo*, as in this Instagram Story on the previous page. The contributor explained why participating in the campaign was important:

> "It feels important to in a simple way through the hashtag *#metoo* recognise the number of people who endure sexual harassment… A great way to reach more!"

The text MeToo became a symbol during the campaign as an iconic image in itself, as in the photograph of the embroidered tablecloth. The image is one of a set of seven.

> "I wrote 'Metoo' on Facebook and embroidered the same on tablecloths. To remind ourselves at home, our family members and everyone who visits us. An embroidery cannot be swiped away and replaced by a dinner, a kitten or a meme. The embroidery is there to stay. At the office, on the table or on the wall or wherever you want."
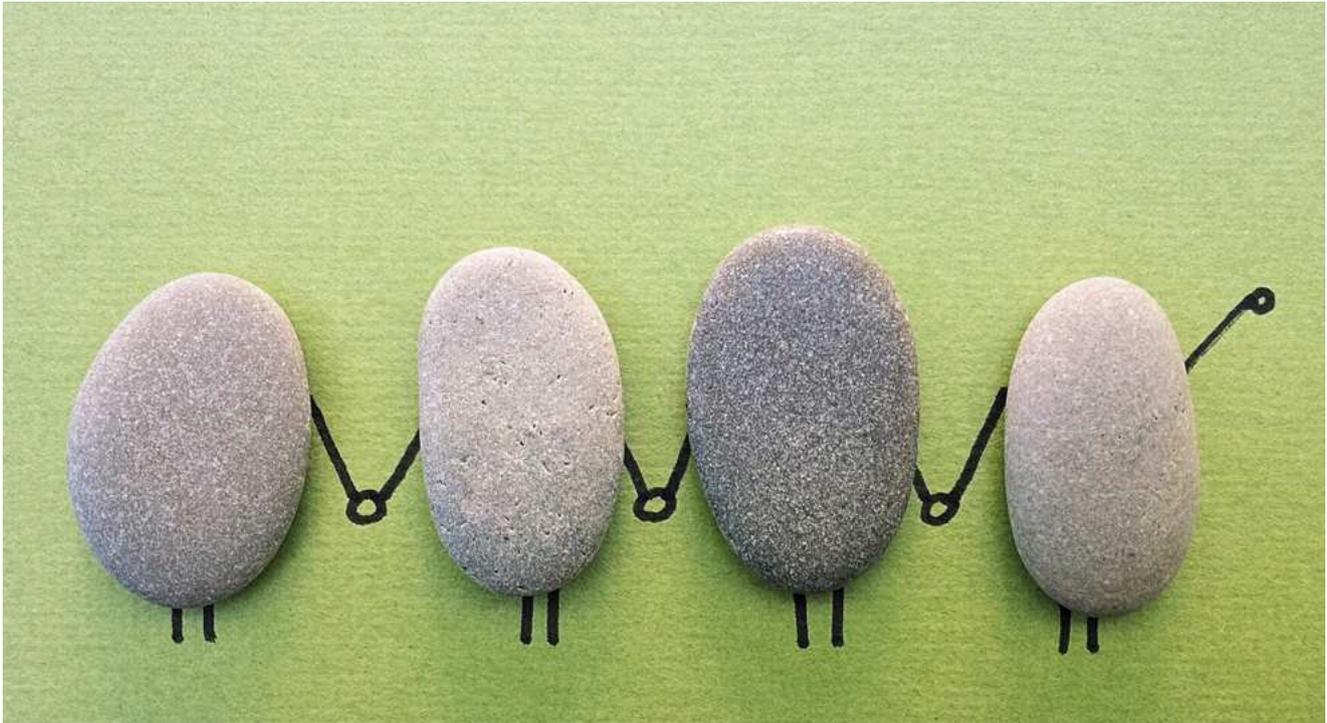
The photo of the pebbles has circulated on the Internet since August 2016 and represents the category of abstract or metaphorical motifs. Photo: unknown, Nordiska museet, CC-BY.

The photo of four pebbles with legs and arms drawn on a green background is an example of abstract or metaphorical depictions. It first appeared on the Internet in August 2016, according to the image search engine Tin Eye,[6] and has since been used in memes, but also as illustrations on various websites. The submission of this image on *Minnen* also raises questions of copyright. How should museums and archives handle contributions by the public with no known copyright-holder?

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6.   https://www.tineye.com/

In October 2017 a transsexual person chose to illustrate their long testimony of abuse with this image. In response to the question of why they participated in the campaign, they answered:

"To highlight different power perspectives through my experiences from the time before I knew I was trans."

Photographs with abstract or metaphorical content were also used to communicate support and solidarity, or emotions connected to the campaign. Metaphorical depictions like flowers and nature, for example, were

One of many demonstrations that took place around Sweden. Photo: Emilia Otterstam, Nordiska museet, CC-BY.

In many selfies the depicted person is looking straight into the camera, with unsmiling, serious gaze. Photo: Anna Kölen, Nordiska museet, CC-BY.

also common in the visual communication connected to the terrorist attack in Stockholm in 2017.

When the survey questions were set up on *Minnen* there was a preconception that photos depicting demonstrations would be the most common contribution, partly due to the sensitive nature of the topic, and partly because photos from demonstrations had already been observed on social media. In the survey the team even explicitly asked for images from demonstrations as they had been frequently seen on social media. The reasons why people chose to upload photos with visual content

other than demonstrations still remains to be examined.

The *#knytblus* viral event was image-driven and had a focus on shared selfies. A majority of the contributors responded to the request from the museum to upload images, although some chose to only contribute survey responses.

In most selfies the depicted person is looking straight into the camera with a steadfast gaze and unsmiling face as if wanting to enforce the seriousness of the matter. Some are wearing actual bow blouses while others have improvised by tying a scarf in a bow around

A scarf tied around the neck symbolising a bow blouse. Photo: Anu Takalo, Nordiska museet, CC-BY.

Lacking a bow blouse in her wardrobe this woman tied her hijab in a loose bow. Photo: Fazeela Selberg Zaib, Nordiska museet, CC-BY.

their neck. The bow blouse connotes power, being the female equivalent of a suit and tie, as one of the contributors pointed out.

Most of the contributed public photos were selfies or portraits, either depicting the entire face or cropped to omit parts of the face and putting emphasis on the bow blouse itself.

A majority of the contributed images were selfies by women, but a couple depicted men with bow blouses. In two of the photographs a hijab was used to symbolise the bow blouse.

Filters and captions were added to some images, sometimes using humour as in the image of a dog dressed in a bow blouse, resembling the use of handwritten signs depicted in the photos of the *#BringBackOurGirls* viral event. Translated, the captions read *#BowblouseForSara* and *#WantToBiteThePatriarchy*. Of the other contributions that are not selfies one is a drawing of a bow blouse and the text '*Snille och smak*' ('Genius and taste'), which is the motto of the Swedish Academy. Another person contributed with a selfie-filter used on Facebook and yet another chose a screen-

This meme represents the use of handwritten signs used in other viral events. Photo: Malin Danneman, Nordiska museet, CC-0.

shot of a search on the online thesaurus of the Swedish Academy showing that the word bow blouse actually cannot be found there.

Observation of the hashtag was made initially by the collecting team and dominant depictions were identified. But as no thorough content analysis was made or comparison between contributed photographs and the overall photographic content on the hashtag on social media, it is not clear whether the photographs shared on *Minnen* truly represent the bulk of photos shared on social media.

However, as shown in the analysis by Paula Uimonen, the visual nature of the text itself – the word MeToo and the hashtag MeToo as well as *#MetooSweden* – constitutes a hashtag visuality which had significant impact on Swedish society (2019). The case studies *#metoo* and

#knytblus were set up as initiatives for collecting social digital photographs and initially the staff did not expect people to contribute captioned images with hashtags. It is noteworthy that, regardless of the museum asking for photograph with specific visual content, contributors of both initiatives chose to upload other types of images as well, which indicates the need for discussions around the framing of collecting initiatives, and the need for exploring open-ended survey questions.

Hashtags perceived as safe spaces

The contributed photographs and survey responses from both case studies are examples of hashtag activism, a term first coined in 2011 around the Occupy Wall Street protests. The hashtag symbol (#) was first introduced on Twitter in 2007 as a means of coordinating conversation online and has been employed by activists to plan and coordinate social awareness campaigns, initiate protests and marches, share stories and unite communities, all connected to bringing about social changes (Goswami 2018, 255). Unlike other forms of activism, hashtag activism only requires users to share, like or retweet a post online (Gemzöe 2018, 73), which was confirmed by one of the contributors of the *#knytblus* collecting initiative:

> When the female permanent secretary of the Swedish Academy is forced to resign because she tried to break up the friendship corruption among the male members, a symbolic protest is the least contribution one can do.

Hashtag activism has been accused of being a lazy form of activism, not amounting to making change or pro-

gress. But one benefit of hashtag activism is the amplification of voices often ignored by other forms of media. This became particularly visible in the *#metoo* viral campaign, which had a feminist angle as it consisted to a large extent of testimonies from women portraying themselves as witnesses rather than victims of sexual harassment or abuse (Uimonen 2019).

Hashtag activism can also evolve into selfie activism. Selfies can be used to express a multitude of emotions and desires through facial expression, body language and visual art elements and have often been accused of being somewhat superficial (Nemer and Freeman 2015, 1832). But when combining an activist hashtag with a selfie it brings the latter beyond narcissistic tendencies, as journalist Lauren Katz points out, since posting a photo of yourself with a message makes a bigger statement than simply tweeting a hashtag (2014). One example of selfie activism was when Michelle Obama protested against the abduction of girls in Nigeria. She was portrayed holding a sign with the text *#bringbackourgirls* and many followed her example. In the *#knytblus* collecting initiative the selfies were not combined with handwritten signs but wearing and showing the bow blouse carried the same function.

The numerous testimonials shared on social media and on the website *Minnen* with the hashtag *#metoo* as well as stories shared in Facebook groups such as *#allavi* (with 49,000 members) indicate that the hashtag is a safe space for sharing difficult stories, as described by Uimonen (2019). For many people, museums and archives are also perceived to be safe spaces, which was confirmed when an elderly woman called a member of the collecting team wishing to share a story she had never shared with her family.

One conclusion is that the use of hashtags to engage with audiences around difficult topics can result in collection of content that is otherwise difficult to acquire by museum/archival collections.

Analysis of outreach and collaboration

Sponsored posts on social media have proven to be central to engagement with a large audience in an ongoing bottom-up viral campaign. By engaging in the communication around a hashtag, museums and archives can quickly reach and communicate with potential contributors. A sponsored post is targeted toward a certain audience, within a specific age and geographical range, as well as their interests and occupations. The demographics of the contributors of both *#metoo* and *#knytblus* collecting initiatives points to who the targeted sponsored post reached. A majority of contributors were women in their mid-40s. They all had higher education and many had occupations such as teachers or were otherwise publicly employed. About 50 % of the contributors to *#metoo* lived in or near the three major Swedish cities, whereas a little more than half of the *#knytblus* contributors lived all around the country, and the rest resided in or around Stockholm.

These numbers imply that most contributions to both collecting initiatives corresponded to a rather regular museum audience, indicating that outreach efforts were not as efficient as would have been desirable. This raises two issues. Firstly, while the *#metoo* campaign itself might have reached a broad audience, it was spearheaded by 'white feminist online advocacy' leaving some groups of people with a sense of exclusion (Uimonen 2019). The people most likely to respond to

Sponsored posts are key in reaching large audiences on social media, and by engaging in the communication around a hashtag, museums and archives can quickly reach and communicate with potential contributors.

the museums' sponsored post were, of course, those who also took part in the viral campaigns. Secondly, due to the urgency of reaching out, the sponsored posts were aimed at audiences most likely to respond, audiences familiar with museums, while the sponsored post was created by museum staff of ethnic Swedish background. A conclusion is that museums and archives need to develop strategies and confidence around broader outreach initiatives to ensure representativity and to maintain confidence in museums as safe spaces to be entrusted with difficult content.

Responses from the surveys

One aim of both case studies was to learn how and why people choose to share photos and texts in viral cam-

A sponsored post is targeted toward a certain audience, within a specific age and geographical range, as well as their interests and occupations.

paigns. Therefore, one of the questions in *Minnen* was "Why did you participate in the campaign?" The nature of the responses in the two campaigns were radically different. In *#knytblus* the answers provided context to the photographs and the contributors talked about expressing support for the Permanent Secretary and for all women, and to protest against the patriarchy, especially as perceived within the Swedish Academy. Several pointed out that sharing is a way to make one's voice heard while others felt a need to do more, that maybe a shared post on social media was not enough.

In *#metoo* a majority of the replies did not provide context to photographs, as few photos were contributed, instead many were the actual testimonies that had been shared on social media. Some of the responses gave a framework for the viral campaign as such, by explaining why it is important to share stories on social media, and thereby providing valuable context to the museum's documentation of the viral event.

> By sharing your experience with others I believe it can help both those who share and those who read to feel less alone about their experience. I also believe that sharing can help you understand what you have actually been through.

Many of the responses from both *#metoo* and *#knytblus* clearly fall within the practice of hashtag activism, where hashtags are used to share stories and unite communities to bring about social change.

> My feelings about *#knytblus* are above all powerlessness and anger, but also a feeling of strength and solidarity with my fellow sisters. From now on, the actu-

al bow blouse and *#knytblus* (*#bowblouse*) will be the symbol of battle.

> [...] I believe social media is a powerful tool to bring about political change. The value of lifting personal testimonies into a bigger socio-political context has been underestimated until the *#metoo* campaign.

The different nature of the responses to the survey questions in the two campaigns, and the discrepancy with the anticipated result of the collecting initiatives illuminates the complexity of collecting digital cultural heritage, and the need for careful assessment of the chosen approach.

Discussion

Collecting and documenting campaigns like *#metoo* and *#knytblus* are important activities for museums and archives as they depict women's roles and rights, addressing contested and problematic issues in society constituting 'difficult heritage'. As Paula Uimonen (2019) states, the *#metoo* campaign is in itself a form of digital cultural heritage. The content posted with the hashtag constitutes a form of digital archive of personal testimonies, produced in a multimodal context (Uimonen 2019).

The hashtag also serves as an entry point into the topic, an arena for observation and a natural framing for conversation with people participating in the campaign. In the *#metoo* case the hashtag also served as an iconic image, constituting a powerful form of digital visuality, replacing and substituting photographs and other images (Uimonen 2019) and therefore becoming an object to collect in itself.

The major focus of both collecting initiatives has been to target the personal voices and stories posted on social media, shared with these hashtags, and to broaden the collections of the museum. In terms of outreach the museum most likely reached a broader audience than usual through sponsored social media posts, as was the case in the Stockholm terrorist attack in 2017, described in this anthology. However, in terms of representativity the *#metoo* collection does not preserve stories from all groups of women that have been exposed to sexual harassment.[7] Through the vast number of people joining Facebook groups such as *#allavi* (Alla vi, *All of us*) there can be assumptions made that more demographic groups have participated with stories on social media than contributed to the museum's collecting initiative. This is also confirmed by the results from the *#metoo* collecting initiative, which contains content from a demographic group of women much resembling a loyal museum audience: well-educated women in their mid-40s, half of whom live in or near the three major Swedish cities. The *#knytblus* initiative targeted people who actually shared selfies with the hashtag and is therefore by default more limited in scope.

For similar future collecting initiatives a more strategic presence on social media might eventually build trust for larger groups of people to discover and contribute to museum collecting initiatives. Complementing online collecting with interviews, for example, would also be a way of broadening the representativity of contributed stories.

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7. In 2017 more than 50 % of Swedish women claimed they had been exposed to sexual harassment: https://www.svt.se/nyheter/inrikes/mer-an-varannan-kvinna-utsatt-for-sexuella-trakasserier (Accessed Jan 27, 2020).

It takes time to build trust and to show that museums and archives are safe spaces for sharing sensitive stories. Secure and stable infrastructures as well as transparency around the collecting initiative, also expressed in the terms and conditions, is one part of building trust. Another is for museums and archives to become institutions where all members of society feel welcome, removing the audiences' sense of being intimidated by an authoritative voice, taking on a role as arenas for safely discussing "unsafe ideas" and to "foster balanced conversations" as Elaine Gurian proposes (2006, 92–94).

User experience issues with the digital online collecting tool occurred during the collecting initiatives, causing contributions to be unavailable for the museum to acquire to the collections, highlighting the need for stable infrastructures for online collecting. Not only do they need to be solid and functional, they need to provide a useful, relevant and pleasant user experience. This also connects to the previous discussions around providing safe and welcoming environments for users – this should extend to online museum environments as well.

As issues with user experiences are time-consuming to fix and require resources to address them, solid testing with users is of course recommended before launching collecting initiatives. In this case the experiences of collecting provided data for improvements, which has now led to better user experiences.

The two initiatives, *#metoo* and *#knytblus*, came about as the museum and the CoSoPho project wished to explore rapid response collecting in connection with viral events. They aligned with the museum's current work and mission around collecting and documenting women's history. However, as the practices around online collecting are still in an experimental phase and are not yet part of everyday practices, the two collecting

initiatives were limited in scope and content. In contrast to the Schlesinger Library's *#metoo Digital Media Collection* project's vast ambitions to collect social media, news articles, statements of denial and/or apology, Web-forum conversations, legislation, lawsuits, statistical studies, Fortune 500 companies' employment manuals, hashtags related to *#metoo*, and more.[8]

In short, this captures the complexity of collecting and documenting viral campaigns, calling for a broader scope of collecting efforts. In the case of *#metoo* and *#knytblus* photographs will only capture fragmented parts of the events, especially where visual material is scarce. To understand the actual impact the *#metoo* and *#knytblus* campaigns have had on Swedish society, a broader documentation and collection would have been necessary.

Bringing this type of collecting into the regular work of museums and archives requires not only complementary methods for collecting but also agile project methods. Working in iterative cycles allows informed decisions about the next steps in outreach and collecting to be made. As communication and collecting takes place on social media, staff need to constantly have their ear to the ground and be experienced in both participating on and observing social media.

A significant feature of the *#metoo* collection is that contributors chose not to respond to the survey questions but instead provided testimonials of abuse. This is indicative of the complexity of digital heritage, produced across multiple platforms and expressed through various forms of media, that is closely connected to personal practices and affordances of the social media services. This was difficult to anticipate by the staff be-

ginning the collecting initiative but was something that emerged during the ongoing operation. Through constant responsiveness during the collecting initiatives the team might have chosen to alter the methods as initial assumptions about what people wanted to share were only partly validated.

Both studies resulted in rather different photographs collected by Nordiska Museet. The *#metoo* campaign resulted in few images and a number of testimonies about abuse, as well as statements about contributing to the campaign. *#knytblus* on the other hand resulted in more photos per contribution. Both were part of the movement called hashtag activism, which first occurred at the time of the Occupy movement. However, as Uimonen (2019) notices, the use of a hashtag might result in 'unruly archives' as audiences might wish to share what they perceive is most important about the hashtag. It can be argued that the creation of such unruly archives improves upon the possibility of creating collaborations on equal terms between museums and archives and their audiences. At the same time, it might raise discussions around archives and museums as platforms for activism. This calls for careful planning of collecting initiatives as well as strategies and resources to follow up and apply a multitude of collecting methods, to ensure a multitude of voices.

In a rapidly changing society museums and archives are generally perceived by the public to be trustworthy,[9] which provides a unique opportunity to take a stance and strive to document and collect from all perspectives. Collecting from a broad range within hashtag activism ensures broad representativity in the collections.

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8. https://www.schlesinger-metooproject-radcliffe.org/collection (Accessed Sep 21, 2019).

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9. museumnext.com/article/should-museums-be-activists/ (Accessed Sep 24, 2019).

6.2. The 2017 Stockholm Terrorist Attack: Rapid Response Collecting

Kajsa Hartig and Elisabeth Boogh

A TERRORIST ATTACK took place in Stockholm, Sweden on April 7, 2017. This case study describes two museums' efforts to collect social digital photographs taken during and after the attack through two separate collecting initiatives. The case study examines three central aspects of collecting social digital photography from sudden significant events: the urgent need for rapid response collecting with an agile approach; the importance of complementary collecting methods; and the need for changing collecting practices to new ways of producing and sharing photographs on social media.

Initial aims and objectives of the two collecting initiatives, run by the Stockholm County Museum and Nordiska Museet in collaboration with the Collecting Social Photo project (CoSoPho), were in line with both museums' missions to document and collect from sudden significant events in society. At the time of the attack, the use of networked photographs during such events had also been identified by the CoSoPho project as a relevant topic to explore. Collecting physical objects from spontaneous memorials is not a new task for museums and archives. One example is the collection of artefacts carried out by the museum Kulturmagasinet Helsingborg from a memorial site constructed to commemorate a victim of assault and vandalism in connection with a football match in southern Sweden in 2014 (Witting 2018, 117).

Several museums and archives around Europe have also seen it as their task to document and collect artefacts from terrorist attacks from 2015 and onwards, for example in Nice, Barcelona and Paris.[1]

With the emergence of social media, atrocities like terrorist attacks are now covered in real-time by the public (Männistö 2016, 86). In the immediate aftermath of the 2017 Stockholm terrorist attack people communicated and shared images on social media mainly using the hashtags *#openstockholm* and *#prayforstockholm*. Many turned to social media for information, to offer a helping hand, to comment on the event or to express emotions.

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1. http://collectingsocialphoto.nordiskamuseet.se/creating-document-ing-and-using-archives-of-spontaneous-memorials/ (Accessed Sep 21, 2019).

A terrorist attack took place on April 7, 2017 in central Stockholm when a hijacked truck was driven with high speed into a pedestrian street, before being crashed into a department store. As a result, five people died: three on Drottninggatan and two later in hospitals. 14 people were injured.

In the few hours following the attack a viral conversation emerged on social media using the hashtags *#openstockholm* and *#prayforstockholm.* People expressed grief and anger but also support for victims and people affected by the attack. Parallel to the conversation online a spontaneous memorial was created at the site of the attack. Flowers, signed notes, soft toys and other items were added to the memorial. The broken windows of the department store were temporarily covered with chipboard, which in turn were quickly covered with Post-it notes with messages from people visiting the site. The chipboard and the Post-it notes, along with a sample of physical objects, were collected by the City Museum of Stockholm.

In 2017 the Stockholm County Museum and Nordiska Museet already had routines and tools in place for collecting digital photographs and stories from the public. However, neither museum had used hashtags for framing collecting initiatives, nor had they collected from sudden significant events, using dedicated online tools and setting up online collecting initiatives with such short notice. Understanding how this new form of col-

"I posted this image on #openstockholm to express my gratitude for those who helped and to honour the victims of the attack." Photo: Manvir Kaur, Nordiska museet, CC-0 .

Drottninggatan on a busy day. Photo: Ola Berglund, Stockholm County Museum, CC-BY-NC-ND .

lecting would be perceived by the public was also of interest to the project.

The case of the Stockholm terrorist attack places itself within the practices of museums and archives collecting from sudden significant events, such as terrorist attacks, and is significant in the way that it specifically focuses on the collection of social digital photographs.

Two collecting initiatives

In the days following the attack, Nordiska Museet and the Stockholm County Museum launched two collect-

ing initiatives using two existing websites dedicated to online collecting initiatives: *#openstockholm* on *Minnen* and *Dokumentation 14:53* on *Samtidsbild*.[2]

The initiatives were launched three and five days after the attack respectively and each had a slightly different focus. *Dokumentation 14:53*, a joint initiative between the Stockholm County Museum and the City Museum of Stockholm, asked for images and responses

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2. http://www.minnen.se and http://www.samtidsbild.se

Screenshot of the collection #openstockholm on Minnen.se.

Screenshot of the collection Dokumentation 14:53 on Samtidsbild.se.

to a digital survey.[3] As *Samtidsbild* is not a survey tool but a media uploading tool, the survey responses were directed to a temporary Tumblr blog. The questions in the survey concerned people's experiences of the attack and were not specifically related to posting images on social media. The collecting initiative *#Openstockholm* by Nordiska Museet, on the other hand, focused on images shared on social media by asking survey questions such as why people had posted images with hashtags *#openstockholm* or *#prayforstockholm*, and on which social media sites images had been shared.

On both websites people were able to upload any image of their choice related to the attack and the museums did not make an active selection of images. A third method for collection of data used the third-party service Notified. Metadata from 7,100 of the approximately 10,000 images posted publicly on Instagram using the hashtag *#openstockholm* was downloaded through the service. In 2018 Nordiska Museet briefly re-launched the *#openstockholm* collecting web page through a social media post, with the purpose of comparing engagement around the topic one year later.

As an additional complement to the above methods, the team manually observed Instagram in order to identify content shared through the hashtag *#openstockholm*, as a comparison to what had been uploaded to *Minnen* and *Samtidsbild*. This was done two years after the attack. 334 images were examined more closely to pinpoint common types of depictions shared on Instagram but not uploaded to *Minnen* and *Samtidsbild*.

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3.   14:53 was the time of the first police alert, thus the joint collecting initiative was called Documentation 14:53.

Surveys on hashtags and images

The *Minnen* website collects cultural heritage through surveys where people can respond and also upload media files. In this case, the following questions were included in the survey:

- Did you post your own or share other's photos (news pictures, friends' photos, etc.) on social media in connection with the terrorist attack?
- Did you post photos for example with hashtag *#openstockholm*, *#prayforstockholm*, *#stockholmimitthjärta* or other hashtags?
- On which social media did you share your photos? (Facebook, Facebook Messenger, Twitter, Instagram, Snapchat, WhatsApp) Other social media?

To follow up on the question of whether people keep social digital photography on their phones after an event, the team sent out a second survey in 2018, one year after the attack, to 60 people who had contributed to *Minnen*. 37 people responded.

The questions asked were:

- Do you still have the photos on your mobile phone, taken in conjunction with/shortly after the terrorist attack on April 7, 2017?
- If not, why?
- If you still have the photos, tell us why?

Samtidsbild does not allow for asking questions of the contributor. Besides setting up a Tumblr blog, an email

with questions was sent to the contributors in 2017 once they had uploaded an image. These questions focused on the viral online conversation:

- Did you post your photo on social media? Which social media and which hashtags did you use?
- Why did you take pictures? To save as memories? To try to understand what happened? To tell others about your experiences?

Two methods of outreach: traditional media and social media

Successful outreach has proved to be central in all case studies in the CoSoPho project. In this case outreach was performed in two different ways: using traditional media and social media. The Stockholm County Museum together with the City Museum of Stockholm sent a press release to print and broadcast media, followed by invitations to news programmes and interviews by journalists. Nordiska Museet decided to sponsor a post on social media aimed at a broad audience, on Facebook and Instagram. Both methods for outreach were already established at the museums.

Collected photographs and metadata

Images and contextual information along with surveys and follow-up questions were collected primarily through existing collecting tools. Approximately 600 images were contributed to both initiatives: a total of 503 images were uploaded to *Minnen* through 111 posts, and 105 images by 48 persons to *Samtidsbild*. In addition, 17 screenshots from social media posts were


Sponsored post shared on Facebook.

later collected and uploaded to *Samtidsbild* for the purpose of documentation. A second attempt to collect images was made by Nordiska Museet in 2018 where 25 people contributed photos and survey responses.

On *Samtidsbild* all contributions are publicly available, while *Minnen* allows for uploading and/or sending the contribution to the museum archives, thus the user

chooses whether the contribution should be public or not. Before this choice is made the user saves the contribution. As the next step was possible to miss due to a design issue on the website (an issue that was later corrected), many users left the website after saving the post but before actually contributing the post to the collection. This posed a problem for the museum as 42 % of the contributions were not available to acquire unless each contributor was contacted individually.

Regardless of these issues, the images collected through *Minnen* and *Samtidsbild* accounted for only a small fraction of all images shared on social media, many of which were shared through private accounts. As the collected metadata from the third-party service showed, approximately 10,000 images were shared with the hashtag *#openstockholm* on Instagram alone, and approximately 3,000 images were posted through private accounts on Instagram, which makes them unavailable to observe for museums and archives.
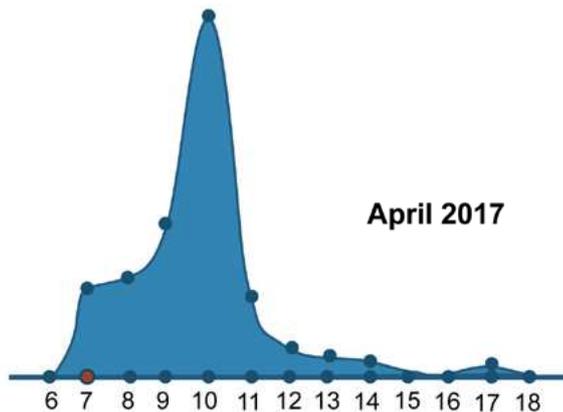
The graph clearly illustrates how published posts on Instagram peaked three days after the attack, followed by a rapid decline.

The additional collection of metadata from the 10,000 images posted on Instagram proved to be useful as a complementary method, as it not only showed how many images were posted on Instagram but also when they were posted. Through this service, the team could identify a sharply increasing curve of published posts peaking three days after the attack, and then rapidly declining in the following days.

A conclusion from the metadata collection is that after a sudden event sharing images online occurs during a very short time span, implying that it is no longer relevant for people to post images, even shortly after the event.

Incentives for online sharing

The survey questions proved important for giving context to images and to the collecting initiatives. One question asked why people chose to share images online in connection with the attack. From the responses some reasons emerged such as alerting and warning others, expressing shock and concern, trying to understand what was happening at the moment, remembering or creating memories, honouring the victims and the police who came quickly to the scene after the attack, trying to understand what had happened through visits to the memorial site, and expressing gratitude to other people for supporting each other.

Content analysis through coding

Content analysis was performed on the collected material through systematic coding as a complement to the surveys. The systematic coding enabled the team to

The most common depiction was photographs of the many spontaneous memorials that formed along the trajectory of the truck. Photo: Deeped Niclas Strandh, Nordiska museet, CC-0.

"Terrorist attack in Stockholm. In an attempt to get home from Södermalm, I walked away from the city center and ended up in the park. I stopped to catch my breath and sent this picture to my wife to be so she would know where I was and that I was safe. Helicopters. The sound of sirens. Panic." Photo: Emil Lindroth, Stockholm County Museum, CC-BY-NC-ND.

identify themes based on both visual content and captions, through inductive analysis of data (Rasmussen Pennington 2017, 237). This generated categories such as Collage, Instagram, Snapchat, Media, Police, Manifestation, Spontaneous memorial site, Memorial wall, Selfie, People, Text, Emotions, Drottninggatan (the street where the terrorist attack took place), Event, Social Media, Drawing, Meme, Elsewhere in Stockholm, Other places, Religion, Emergency care, and Other. Through these codes images with frequent depictions emerged, the most common of which was the memorial site that had emerged onsite after the attack, followed by images with people around the memorial site and police officers.

However, the photographs contributed to the two collecting websites showed that different contexts (web interfaces, questions asked, outreach, and even the scope of the collecting organisation) provided different responses. *Minnen* targeted the hashtag *#openstockholm* and a majority of the contributed images depicted the aftermath of the attack and the memorial site established where the attack took place. On *Samtidsbild* there was also an element of citizen journalism, where people on the street photographed the attack, heavily armed police officers securing the streets, and people walking home.

The additional 334 images and captions, representing categories not collected on *Minnen* and *Samtidsbild*, show that personal expressions such as selfies were one category of images that was largely missing from the collected material, although one selfie was contributed to *Samtidsbild*. Images of yoga practice and outdoor running, expressing peacefulness and 'life goes on' also stand out, as well as images of children, pets, nature and

flowers expressing serenity, peacefulness and hope. Two of the images contributed to *Samtidsbild* depicted the cherry trees in blossom at Kungsträdgården, and in the accompanying text, the contributor talked about never giving up hope. The value of this analysis is to highlight other types of depictions telling the story of the terrorist attack, that were not the most common among the uploaded images nor among those shared online, however they were still significant in numbers and could be relevant for collecting separately.

Analysis of outreach and collaboration

Besides outreach with the purpose of engaging audiences to contribute, the team noticed that the emerging online collection itself was a resource for outreach efforts. It created incitements for contributors to participate, and it could in this particular case function as a memorial site for people affected in different ways. Both *Minnen* and *Samtidsbild* displayed collected images as they were uploaded, thus enabling an interactive memorial site to form.

In general, outreach efforts around events differ depending on the kind of event. In the case of sudden viral events, museums and archives need to reach out with very short notice in order to gain momentum when the posting of images reaches its peak. In this case, both museums used existing channels for outreach to ensure a successful result.

Although the invitation to contribute was covered in all major news media, national and local, only 105 photos (by 48 people) were uploaded to *Samtidsbild* at the Stockholm County Museum. Nordiska Museet's approach to sponsored posts on social media asking people to contribute resulted in more than 500 photos (by almost 100 submitters) uploaded to *Minnen*. A plausible reason for this may lie in the differences between the two museums, with Nordiska Museet having a national scope with a larger audience and Stockholm County Museum being a much smaller museum with a regional focus.

The conclusions from sponsoring posts on social media, where the actual posting and sharing takes place, is that it is easy to gain attention from a large audience. In this case, Nordiska Museet reached a far greater audience than usual, including an audience that was not used to interacting with museums, and some of whom even questioned the idea of museums wanting to collect. A sponsored post in itself can be perceived as commercial, which sparked some comments expressing anger over museums wanting to collect sensitive and personal content at times of grief and shock. However, several people responded to those comments explaining the role of museums and the need to document the stories and experiences for the future.

Outreach, in this case, aligns with what Nina Simon would call contributory participation, where the memory institution sets up the premises, in this case by providing websites for contributions and making calls for participation by using different outreach methods (2010, 187). With such short notice and facing a new form of collecting the museums had not developed methods for a deeper level of participation.

Another conclusion is that there was less engagement around the event a year later, and most likely even less a couple of years from then. The sponsored post by Nordiska Museet on Facebook and Instagram, a couple of days after the attack in 2017, generated a

great response, reaching almost 280,000 people. The follow-up sponsored post in 2018 generated a lesser response. Approximately 100 people uploaded photos to *Minnen* in 2017, and in 2018 only 25 contributed.

However, having already established contact with the people who initially engaged in the collecting initiative in 2017 might have helped with generating a positive effect when reaching out to these participants a year later. The response frequency of the follow-up 2018 survey, aimed at people who had already engaged with the museum by contributing photos one year earlier, was almost 60 %. This could indicate that establishing an ongoing conversation with audiences early on lays a foundation for a long-term relationship with a smaller group of people, and as a consequence lowers barriers for further engagement with the museum or archive.

Analysis of survey responses

The surveys complemented the images as they helped the museums understand why people posted content online in conjunction with the attack. From the survey responses, a strong emotional connection between participants and their photos became apparent. In the 2018 *Minnen* survey, with 37 responses, more than 60 % declared that they had kept photos from the attack on their mobile phones. The photos served as important memories from a sudden significant event. Some even stated they would feel guilty deleting the photos, as the photos also served to honour the victims.

> I don't think it's ok just to delete these pictures, then it feels like you would completely forget what hap-

pened and I think it would be good to remember in order to prevent things like this to ever happen again.

> I don't feel it's right to delete these photos for some reason, I have deleted others but these photos will remain.

> I think it is important to document events. I have kept them for people to remember that we have to take care of each other.

In some of the responses a desire for people to talk about and share their experience was noticeable, an awareness that they had just witnessed an extreme event that would be part of common history. When later asked by the Stockholm County Museum why they chose to photograph the event one person responded that they:

> … wanted to take some pics about the moment, about how people were feeling […] and to show others the way I understand what happened and how people reacted to it.

Another contributor stated that, "certain events become history and are therefore important to document". This relates to Elisa Serafinelli's discussions on Instagram photography as a means of identity disclosure and communication, and the act of taking pictures as a metaphor of people's presence in a scene or at an event, a scene that is worth capturing and thus becomes a memory that needs to be maintained (2018, 178).

For the CoSoPho project initial conclusions are that everyday social photography today still seems to have

an important role as memory, much like everyday photography had before the advent of social media. This case indicates that photographs carrying a stronger meaning of memory are also more likely to be kept compared to less important photographs. This aligns with current research confirming that personal photography today is pursued for memory reasons, among others (Jensen 2019).

Discussion: Stockholm terrorist attack

Even though museums and archives have collected from and documented similar events in the past, collecting social digital photography brings new challenges: the need for rapid response collecting with an agile approach in an online environment; the importance of complementary methods for collecting to achieve a more representative collection; and the need for changing collecting practices according to new ways of producing and sharing photographs on social media.

Rapid response collecting with an agile approach

In cases of significant events, the major reasons for rapid response collecting of social digital photography are that the production of photographs spans a very short period of time, and that social digital photographs in general have a much shorter lifespan than analogue photographs. Rapid response collecting enables museums and archives to keep up-to-date with social and political changes in society (Millard 2018) and thus continue to be relevant for audiences.

As the events and the aftermath of a sudden significant incident unfolds, an agile approach with constant evaluation is also recommended. Evaluation can be done by monitoring and observing social media conversations and through an initial categorisation and analysis of collected material. Through an overview of what has been collected, relevant collecting initiatives as well as documentation can be initiated and changes to the collecting initiative can be made with short notice.

Museums and archives are not unique in addressing or collecting from sudden significant events, as the media does too. What museums and archives specifically bring to rapid response collecting is the long-term investment in the topic as guardians of social memories, preserving information for the future and bringing context and curated content to outreach initiatives.

As one contributor responded:

> I think it's really great that our photos are preserved so that I and others will be able to understand [what happened] in order to move on, strengthened.

A prerequisite for rapid response collecting of social digital photography is having a stable digital infrastructure in place – tools that allow for uploading of photographs to the museum/archives. Tools and services need to be easy to use for audiences as well as staff and they need to be compliant with collections management systems. An important conclusion from this case is that any issues or problems with the collecting tools require time and resources to fix and cannot be solved during an ongoing collecting initiative.

Successful outreach is equally important for rapid response collecting in online environments. The audiences' own communication during viral events should be the

actual target for the collecting initiative. To engage audiences in contributing with photographs and stories from this conversation, the museum/archive needs to be perceived as a safe space for sharing, which requires building trust. This can only be achieved if the museum/archive has a stable existing relation with audiences and an online presence that is regarded as trustworthy and relevant. The role of museums and archives needs to be clear to audiences, seen very much as "democratising, inclusive and polyphonic spaces for critical dialogue about the pasts and the futures",[4] carefully documenting with a broad perspective and with the aim of preserving the images and stories for the future.

In the case of the terrorist attack, it was widely covered by media from the very first day, along with ongoing viral communication on social media, with people posting and sharing content. In such situations, the museum/archive needs to make its voice heard, especially as heritage institutions are generally not known to the public as open for anyone to share stories with. The message needs to be that: a) you have the possibility to contribute; b) you can contribute here; c) you can trust us to take care of and preserve your story; and d) anyone is welcome to contribute.

Press releases and media are still viable ways for museums/archives to reach out and promote collecting initiatives along with sponsored social media posts. Using social media for outreach around museum collections requires a long-term strategy that extends well beyond unique initiatives. It requires a presence and an ongoing conversation that builds trust and creates

awareness of the museum's/archive's role and mission. This means bringing staff of collections and marketing staff – who are usually those in charge of the social media channels – into close collaboration.

The dissemination of collected photographs can become a part of the rapid response initiative as contributed photos might give incitements for others to contribute. However, if the role of the museum/archive is to preserve entire or parts of spontaneous memorials, there are obligations towards people affected by the traumatic event. The families of the deceased might wish to access the collections as a part of the mourning process, as was the case with the Estonia ferry disaster in 1994 (Witting 2018, 122) or the Shoreham Air Show disaster in 2015, in the UK.[5]

For people who were not affected in person yet were touched by the event, digital access is also a way of processing what happened. Two examples of digital access are the website *Memorial for la Rambla 17A* from Barcelona,[6] and the digitised archives from the Paris shootings at Bataclán in 2017 *Hommages aux victimes des attentats de 2015*.[7]

As social digital photographs become part of spontaneous memorials, along with digitised objects and documentary photography performed by the museum/archive, the design of the dissemination interface will have

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5. http://www.spontaneousmemorials.org/wp-content/uploads/2018/12/Shoreham-Community-Archive-20-Sept-2018.pdf (Accessed Jan 27, 2020).

6. https://www.barcelona.cat/memorialrambla17a/en/ (Accessed Jan 27, 2020).

7. http://archives.paris.fr/r/137/hommages-aux-victimes-des-attentats-de-2015/ (Accessed Jan 27, 2020).

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4. http://asemus.museum/news/icom-announces-alternative-museum-definition-will-subject-vote/ (Accessed Aug 30, 2019).

to build on the purpose of the collection, and to cater for different target groups with different needs. As in the case of the Barcelona website a step has been taken to introduce a new visual experience, introducing intuitive browsing rather than a traditional database interface. This opens up discussions about whether museums/archives should actually strive to re-create a sense of a memorial or a different user experience, rather than simply giving access to documents, and whether the two separate collections should be combined into one.

Besides adjusting the collecting initiatives according to initial results, the agile approach also involves monitoring the attack itself. The outcome of this case study is very much the result of reacting to and acting upon the communication online in the days following the attack.

Complementary methods

This case study focused on social digital photography, concentrating partly on images published online that used a common hashtag. The social media photographs collected in this case study were the product of the qualities and affordances of social media services as well as the personal and collaborative practices around the use of photographs, social media and hashtags. Collecting only photographs will create collections of lesser value for contemporary and future users and researchers. Some context can be collected through surveys and screenshots from social media posts in connection with uploading photos.

As observations have shown, there were other types of photographs produced in connection with the terrorist attack that were not submitted to the museums, such as selfies or images from yoga classes. To complement contributions to *Minnen* and *Samtidsbild*, further collecting would have been useful. To achieve this, direct contact with people would be necessary. By comparison, in the Södertälje case study described in this anthology, interviews gave a broader picture of photographic practices. In this case study, survey questions indicated why people chose to post images on social media, but interviews would also have given valuable additional context.

Another way to complement the collecting initiative would be to collect data that preserves and documents as much of the event as possible, the use of the hashtag and the purposes around using it, the affordances of (in this case) Instagram, and further investigation of the personal practices influencing the posting of images. Collection of metadata is especially important in cases of events, as discussed by Lehmuskallio and Gómez Cruz: "Because digital photo files carry metadata and can be combined with a variety of databases, their use for the purposes of modelling events which have taken place, or for predicting what might have happened, is increasing" (2016, 7). This is confirmed by Männistö (2016, 94), who argues that big data analysis might challenge the notion of social media as a fragmented hyperreality and provide important patterns. New possibilities emerge, such as mapping the photos onto a timeline, which can provide new information not available through single images, enabling the telling of new stories about the event.

Working with agile methods allows for rapid initial collecting, and through monitoring and evaluation, the collecting initiative can be scaled by additional focused collecting efforts, such as interviews, observation, further dialogue with contributors and dissemination specifically adapted to the emerging collection.

Changing collecting practices

Evolving photographic practices impact work practices around collecting photographs for museums and archives. Contemporary photographic practices imply an ongoing personal production and sharing of images, of both the exceptional and everyday life (Serafinelli 2018, 160, 163). Everyday photography can in times of sudden significant events play a role as significant memories for people who are affected.[8] It allows for the creation of individual memories as well as the construction of personal narratives and a common social memorialisation (Serafinelli and Ippolito 2018, 2014). For museums, this creates new opportunities to collect and document cultural expressions and reactions to everyday life as well as sudden events of different sorts. Social media becomes an extension of the event and people share images not only to expose their experiences to others but also to grasp and understand what happened on a personal level. This is often done in a collective way using a common hashtag (Besser 2012, Männistö 2016, Serafinelli 2018).

Jon Ippolito describes the term collective social memories, which are transmitted and sustained through conscious efforts of groups and expressed in different ways, creating "interpretive frameworks that help make the experience comprehensible" (2016 – loc 153 of 3247). As seen in the case of the terrorist attack, a sense of community is created through the use of hashtags but also through expressing feelings and

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8. http://collectingsocialphoto.nordiskamuseet.se/creating-documenting-and-using-archives-of-spontaneous-memorials/ (Accessed Jan 19, 2020).

Photographs shared with a common hashtag constitute a collective memorialisation and become part of the physical spontaneous memorials. Photo: Mitra, Nordiska museet, CC-0.

thoughts through captions, comments and emojis in an ongoing dialogue. Photographs posted with the hashtag *#openstockholm* constitute a collective memorialisation of the event and consequently photographs posted and shared through social media may also be considered to be part of a physical spontaneous memorial.

Further exploration of contemporary photographic practices will help museums and archives to re-align existing work practices around collecting from sudden significant events and set up new routines and tools for specifically collecting social digital photography. The conclusion made by the CoSoPho project is that digital skills need to be at the centre of new work practices.

Ethical issues

As this case involved human casualties and strong personal and impactful experiences, the project team chose to discuss ethical issues carefully. The ethical issues connected to the collecting and dissemination of collected material from spontaneous memorials and sudden significant events have been described by Birgitta Witting, among others (2019, 121). The issues concern selection and dissemination, for example. Although the CoSoPho project recommends acquiring all photographs submitted to open collecting initiatives, there are of course exceptions. Some visual content can be ethically challenging and might not be suited to acquisition. In this case there was a risk of people submitting photographs with very sensitive content.

Neither of the two websites moderate content before it is published, but instead unpublish in case offensive content is submitted. Instant publication is a deliberate choice to give immediate positive feedback to users. Two images were sent to archives via *Minnen* that were deliberately not published by the contributor in which a victim was half visible under a blanket. An image of the truck set on fire by the department store was uploaded and published at *Samtidsbild*, where the staff needed to assess whether any victim was visible. Routines to immediately handle sensitive or ethically difficult material must be in place before launching a rapid response collecting initiative. This requires founding the rapid response collecting in transparent and ethically grounded decisions.

Another ethical issue related to online collecting of photographs concerns representativity. Many of the contributions, both written stories as well as comments on photographs, talk about unity and trust in

The truck on fire as it crashed into the department store. Photo: Oliwer Hall, Stockholm County Museum, CC-BY-ND-NC.

society. Opinions expressing negative views on society and the events were neither submitted by users nor documented by staff due to limited time and resources. The lack of such perspectives in the collection is a weakness and a conclusion is that there is a need for museums and archives to open up for discussions on how to deal with verbal and material expressions, that museum staff may consider to be undemocratic, unwanted and populist.

6.3. #Christmasinaalborg: Insights from a Longitudinal Case Study

Bente Jensen

THE AIM OF the *#Christmasinaalborg* (*#Juliaalborg*) case study was to analyse what insights a repeated collection period over a long time can offer when archives and museums collect social digital photography. The case study addressed the challenges of a longitudinal collecting initiative, where both practices and social media services are in constant flux, and how these changes require agile and fluid work practices from the archives and museums involved. Secondly, the case study considered the challenges of keeping in touch with contributors as well as collaborating partners during a longer period of time. Thirdly, it revealed how these processes stress the need for a digitally literate staff and collecting team.

While focusing on the results of 2018, this case study covers a longer collection period, dating back to 2012. In December 2012, Aalborg City Archives initiated *#Christmasinaalborg* (*#Juleniaalborg*), a digital collection initiative primarily on Instagram, with the slogan: "Because Christmas 2012 will soon be history" (Jensen 2013). At the time, there were no examples of other archives and museums using Instagram as a platform for collection and the City Archives wished to experiment with new forms of user involvement online as well as digital curation (Jensen 2014).

Since 2012, the staff at Aalborg City Archives has performed the Christmas collection initiative on Instagram in November and December every year. In 2018 the *#Christmasinaalborg* initiative became a part of the Collecting Social Photo (CoSoPho) project, as an example of a recurring event.

The advantage of a case study that covers a long period of time is that it enables the collecting institution to identify changes in practice and motives. A longitudinal case study also reveals the consequences in user behaviour of changing affordances on social media for the collection over time.

As Manovich (2017, 4) states: "The period covered here [2012–2015 in his case] includes both the time, when most people used Instagram spontaneously without deliberate planning, and the later period when the spontaneous and strategic uses co-existed". These changes also include a growing focus on commercial content on Instagram, which will be touched upon

#ChristmasinAalborg (#Juliaalborg) is a collecting initiative using social media that has been run by Aalborg City Archives in Denmark since 2012. Eight years later in 2020 it appears clear that posts and photos on social media have become history simply because of time, as social media platforms like Instagram, Facebook and Flickr have existed for several years. Images from the first Instagram *#Christmasinaalborg* initiatives document things and places that are now lost.

here, especially the consequences this specific development has for the collection initiative.

The theme, Christmas in a town, can be characterised as a happy recurring tradition that is repeated every year. It is not a social movement or a sudden significant event, like the other case studies in this chapter, but an annual event that is expected, which means plans for collection can be made beforehand. The plans and results can be evaluated, and the initiative can be repeated, if desired, by the memory institution. The implication is that the collection initiative becomes a tradition in itself, part of regular annual activities.

Christmas as a theme for collection

Christmas was chosen as a theme because, in Denmark, Christmas is an immensely popular tradition or event. It gathers people more than it divides them across ideological and religious borders, as people define their own new traditions within the traditional context (Kofod 2008). The theme was also chosen in 2012

because the archives had identified a lack of modern private Christmas photographs in the holdings – there was also a simultaneous demand expressed by people using the holdings of the archives. To ensure that the collection remained relevant, steps had to be taken. Earlier experiments in 2009 using Flickr and Facebook as collecting platforms with an abstract theme – young Greenlanders' first experiences of Denmark – had failed. The experience formed the background for the choice of a popular, concrete and relevant theme when once more experimenting with collection using social media (Frandsen and Jensen 2010, 44), as the City Archives did not want the theme to pose an obstacle.

The hashtag as a collection tool

The primary collection tool was the introduction of an annual hashtag *#Juliaalborg*[year] (*#Christmasinaalborg*) on Instagram. This collection method has not changed during the years of the project. As in the *#weloveaalborg* case presented in Chapter 4, people were asked to tag their images with a specific hashtag, in this case: *#Christmasinaalborg18* (*#Juliaalborg18*) from mid-November to December 24. The collection hashtag follows the year, *#Christmasinaalborg13*, *#Christmasinaalborg14* and the pattern of naming the hashtag is now well-known among local Instagrammers and a few even start to use the hashtag at the first signs of Christmas in Aalborg.

The archives decided the hashtag in a top-down manner, however as other case studies have shown, the archives cannot control a hashtag on social media. Many people use other combinations of the words 'Aalborg' and 'Christmas' when tagging their photos. A

hashtag is a functional means to structure, spread content and provide searchability. However, the meaning of the hashtag goes beyond these functions, as it also represents an integral element of communication via social media, through which the archives wish to motivate Instagrammers to take part. Rauschnabel et al. have identified ten reasons to hashtag: amusing, designing (being unique), conforming, trendgaging (trend engaging), bonding, inspiring, reaching, summarising, endorsing and – unsurprisingly, the traditional function – organising (Rauschnabel et al. 2019, 483 ff). The reason for the archives' use of the collection hashtag was, in retrospect, that the prefix supported the building of a digital community and motivated users to participate and donate social media photographs to the archives, as well as encouraging other users to do the same.

In 2018, Instagrammers were asked to share their photos on Instagram with the hashtag *#Juliaalborg18* (*#Christmasinaalborg18*). Each Advent Sunday in 2018, a photo was picked by the archives and the winner won a calendar, a poster, a 'beerwalk' and a book. The archives cooperated with a local historical society, the tourist organisation and local media, which in turn gained visibility among the participating Instagrammers.

The archives select what to collect according to their mission, which is to document the history of Aalborg: to document change and development and the opposite, permanence. The collection workflow was adapted from the practices of collecting analogue photography. Because of copyright legislation and GDPR, each person and the archives had to sign a contract. This procedure also revealed changing practices in communication. The archives' workflow and the collection database rely on mail correspondence, but in these cases the communication and the collection process started on social media, as comments or messages. The general experience from the initiative has shown that many people do not have a practice of checking their mail, which has led to a change in work practices to enable collection. The images were collected through email or through a third-party download service (Dinsta). Screenshots were taken to document the context on social media.

Outreach and collection are entwined

Outreach and collection cannot be differentiated, as they are entwined as prerequisites for each other in the collection process. Aalborg City Archives reached a new user group in 2012, mainly women aged 18–30. One of the overall aims of the initiative was to test whether people would participate at all, a question raised in Palmer's iconic article from 2009: *Archives 2.0 if we build it, will they come?* In the first Instagram project in 2012, 50 Instagrammers participated and Aalborg City Archives thus obtained some experience in how to build and facilitate a digital community. The collection developed into a yearly event with the help of the group Instagrammers Aalborg, which acts as an ambassador and co-creator, drawing on one of Simon's (2010) modes analysing the relation between user and memory institutions.

During the long duration of the study it has become a challenge to keep the community alive, to motivate the group and to recruit new members. Some Instagrammers have chosen to change to private Instagram accounts or to use one-to-one platforms like Snapchat or

Photograph from the Christmas Instawalk initiated by the City Archives in 2018. A rainy December street in Aalborg. Photo: @krejberg.

Photograph from a Christmas Instawalk initiated by the staff at Aalborg City Archives. A participant capturing the most popular image contents on Instagram of the city: a renaissance stone house and the ferris wheel of the Christmas market. Photo: Mia Nielsen.

Instagram Stories. This observation indicates that memory institutions should be agile in their methods and not cling to one platform, for example Instagram, which is not as 'hip' as it was in 2012, when the initiative started.

Furthermore, Instagram as a company (now part of Facebook) has recently paid little attention to social interaction between Instagrammers. Previously, worldwide Instameets (WWIM) were initiated by Instagram and common weekly themes and hashtags were introduced and highlighted and became a basis for local activities. Now the initiative is left to the Instagrammers themselves, or in this case to the archives and museums, to create and support a community (Serafinelli 2017, 88, 89). This has also proven to have a consequence for the use of the platform, as the feeling of be-

ing part of a worldwide social movement motivated the local Instagrammers to participate in initiatives organised by the archives and the group itself in the Aalborg area.

However, new analogue/offline meeting places are still being created as a result of activity on social media. Aalborg City Archives organises and facilitates Instawalks together with the self-organised group, Instagrammers Aalborg, and have done so since 2012. The Christmas Instawalk is now a tradition and a regular part of the collection initiative.

New collaborations evolve when other stakeholders – theatres, art museums, and concert halls – invite the

group to take photos behind the scenes, while shops open their doors. This is not an exclusive Aalborg trend because Instagram photos also become part of the marketing strategy of the institutions or shops. They brand themselves as participatory institutions or places through the Instagrammers and the use of SoMe (Social Media) influencers has become a part of the communication strategy. For the Instagrammers, the Instawalks are a chance to visit places not normally accessible with good photo opportunities. Sociality and community building are also arguments to participate for both Instagrammers and the archives. It is impossible to avoid the fact that collaborators have other motives, such as marketing behind being a part of a collection or Instawalk initiative.

The Christmas Instawalk in 2018 attracted 15 persons, which was the maximum allowed. The walk went through the Christmas lights of town with visits to places with good views. The Instawalk concept confirms Serafinelli's observation that "the necessary dichotomy between the physical and virtual world pushes the conception of contemporary socialites towards hybridation into the status of mediation. One does not exclude the other; rather one enhances the presence of the other" (2017, 109). In the CoSoPho project setting it is also relevant to consider where the archives or museums position themselves in the process. On the 2018 Christmas Instawalk the staff at the city archives acted as hosts and organisers. The walk had further purposes for the archives: to initiate the uploading of *#Juliaalborg18* photos for the collection initiative and to support and maintain the Instagrammers Aalborg community.

The Instagram platform offered new possibilities for outreach in 2018, as exemplified by Instagram Stories and highlights. Stories is a format that started on Snapchat in 2013 and was adapted to Instagram and Facebook in 2016, with growing popularity according to the platforms' own statistics. In 2017, more than half of Instagrammers globally used stories as well as feeds on a daily basis, according to Facebook (Facebook Business 2018). Instagram Stories were utilised in the *#Christmasinaalborg18* initiative as part of the outreach and promotion of the project and the stories reached several numbers of views. Instagram introduced a Stories highlights section in 2017 to bypass the 24-hour constraint. The stories of the *#Christmasinaalborg18* initiative can also be seen permanently on the city archives' Instagram as highlights. The Instagram Stories were used by the archives as a supplement to the traditional posts in their feed to obtain more visibility around the collection initiative. It was an experiment using digital 'storytelling' in this format, which can be evolved in future initiatives by using video and other communication means. It is relevant to analyse whether the use of the Instagram Story promotes participation in the collection. A way to find out is to perform qualitative interviews to see how people receive the stories and whether they are motivated to participate.

Following the experiences from the *#weloveaalborg* case (Chapter 4), an initiative account on Instagram, unsurprisingly named *#Juliaalborg18* (*#Christmasinalborg18*), was created. The account was used to provide information about the initiative, to like photos using the hashtag and as a platform for conversation with people on Instagram – to encourage them to participate. The account did not follow any other account,

but it obtained 34 followers. The account shared information about the conditions of the initiative and posted the winners' prize draw for the Advent Competition. It was an experiment, as Aalborg City Archives was the sole organiser of the initiative, the institution's Instagram account could also have been used. It is more relevant to create an initiative account when more partners participate in a project to obtain a shared voice when communicating, such as in the case studies *#mygandrup* and *#weloveaalborg* (Chapter 4), which both represented collaborative projects with more institutions.

The outreach of *#Christmasinaalborg18* was cross medial: Instagram was combined with Facebook initiatives. Instagram images were re-posted on Facebook with the consent of the Instagrammer, but not necessarily collected, with a triple purpose: to provide information about the initiative, to nudge and to enable the archives to share a digital Facebook Christmas calendar based on the Instagram photos.

Results of #Christmasinaalborg18

The experience from earlier years permitted comparison in this case study and provided new insights. The hashtag *#Christmasinaalborg18* (Juliaalborg18) was monitored on Instagram daily during the collection initiative to get answers to the following questions:

* How many images were uploaded during the initiative ?
* How many users participated? How many photos did they each post?

* How was the theme *#Christmasinaalborg18* perceived and where did people document Christmas in the area?

A total of 494 images were uploaded to Instagram using the hashtag *#Christmasinaalborg18* (*#Juliaalborg18*). The graph below shows the numbers of photos tagged with the initiative hashtag for each year of the initiative. The *#Juliaalborg* hashtag without indication of year illustrates that the archives cannot 'own' a hashtag, as mentioned previously – it is user-generated: bottom-up. The other hashtags are top-down, decided by the archives, and follow a pattern. Compared with the other years, 494 in 2018 is a satisfying number of photos regarded from the archives' point of view. One of the reasons for the success can be due to the *#weloveaalborg* collecting initiative in late summer 2018. Several people from the former initiative participated and the media returned for the same reason to cover the Christmas initiative.

Furthermore, the City Archives designed the initiative drawing on experiences from other case studies in the CoSoPho project that had demonstrated how crucial outreach and communication throughout the initiative is to obtain a good result. Daily monitoring of the hashtag and number of users provided a good overview of the development of the event and revealed changes to be made or things to reinforce. A running conversation with the Instagrammers involved was also important throughout the whole period – 'the initiative should never sleep', since people expect quick reactions.

Number of photos each year

#Juleniaalborg (2012)	167
#Juliaalborg13	357
#Juliaalborg14	362
#Juliaalborg15	268
#Juliaaborg16	149
#Juliaalborg17	175
#Juliaalborg18	494
#Juliaalborg	782

In total, 115 Instagrammers participated in the 2018 initiative, of whom 15 were businesses ranging from food, cafés and tourism, to games businesses. Four participants were locally-based bloggers and six were cultural institutions. These numbers meant that around 12 % exploited the initiative for commercial use. The latest development on Instagram emphasises the business focus, allowing searches on terms, which makes products visible in posts and now also in Instagram Stories.

In the analysis of image content, city categories (cityscapes, infrastructure, buildings, streets, public art, parks, channel) were relevant because of the topic of the initiative, which most Instagrammers perceived as Christmas in the cityscape. The categories were identical to the ones used in the Södertälje and Aalborg cases in Chapter 4. Of 494 images only 23 depicted private homes. Most of the private categories showed Christmas decorations and food. 26 photos in all depicted family and friends.

The city category was further divided into subcategories showing the localities where the photos were taken in order to comprehend which parts of town were connected with Christmas. A plurality of the locations were in the very central part of the city. Gammeltorv and Nytorv were the places with most photos, with 84 and 82 images respectively. These are the localities where the official Christmas celebrations take place: the arrival of Santa Claus, a Christmas market and the town's Christmas tree. They are also the places where the prettiest Christmas illuminations are concentrated.

The cityscape was further categorised into a second level using Rasmussen Pennington's method describing the content in the post (2017, 236–237). Here Christmas decorations (101), illumination of the street (175), Christmas trees (94) and the Christmas market (153) were not unexpectedly in the top categories.

A Christmas Tree pop-up store in Aalborg.
Photo: @aalborgenser.

Discussion

The number of photos raises questions about appraisal and selection. In a project in the open-air museum, *Den Gamle By* (The Old Town) in Aarhus (Denmark), which used a similar method to collect photographs from music festivals in 2013–2014, the numbers were so overwhelming that the museum decided to only save a few samples (Djupdræt 2015, 84). In Aalborg, the overall number of photos were also used to obtain an overview before photos were selected to be collected. Another selection method would be to involve the Instagrammers, although this has not been tried yet. The focus of the selections is on changes, new traditions, new kinds of decoration – but also on the good or unique photo in an aesthetic sense as well as on permanences. The long range of time makes it possible to discover changes in visual practices of Instagrammers and affordances of the platform itself, as well as changes in the town.

In the collection method used, the depicted content revealed what people associate with the hashtag *#Christmasinaalborg*. The analysis shows that a majority of the images are depictions of the absolute centre of town. If the archives want to document the event in other localities or suburbs, this instruction should be specified, or the hashtag should be changed. This insight underlines that archives or museums should be explicit in the choice and presentation of a hashtag, when used as a tool for collection, as earlier experiences have also verified.

Simultaneously, the image categories display how and where people experience Christmas in town. The localities in the top ten are spaces where the Christmas celebrations (events) are organised by the municipali-

The Christmas Market started in the early 2000's and is now one of the most commonly photographed sites during December in Aalborg. It is already conceived as an old tradition. Photo: @danish_imagemaker.

ty, the business association, the tourist organisation or a department store. The illuminations and the Christmas market appear to be very Instagrammable. Attempts have been made by commentators to determine what makes a town Instagrammable, and the conscious use of light in the cityscape is emphasised as one factor (Matchar 2017; Capps 2017).

A new Christmas tradition in Aalborg adopted from Copenhagen is a Lucia procession of kayaks on the Limfjord in the evening of December 13.
Photo: @aalborgenser.

From a cultural heritage and archival point of view these categories are relevant to document. It could also be useful to conduct an analysis of all types of content since 2012 to document the changes and permanences. Some changes are related to the city's aim to have sustainable Christmas illuminations, while others reveal new traditions such as the immensely popular Christmas Market and a kayak Lucia procession on the Limfjord on December 13.

Few photos showed persons or private Christmas homes. If this had been the focus of collections, other outreach methods should have been used in combination with other hashtags like *#mychristmas*, which focuses on the individual. Privacy could also be a reason for not sharing family photos on open Instagram accounts. Other collection platforms should also be con-

sidered, like the web app presented in this anthology, where the level of privacy can be chosen.

Two other ways of analysing the initiative more profoundly would be to perform qualitative studies and interviews with Instagrammers about their practices and associations to obtain a detailed understanding of the multitude of meanings individuals give to the practices, the image content and to understand the user motives for participating in the collecting, as called for by Geismar (2017). This would help answer questions such as: did the gamification elements, like the weekly competition, motivate participation?

Another approach would be to observe and analyse the photos shared on Instagram in Aalborg in the same period of time at the most popular *#Christmasinaalborg18* geo locations and compare them to establish whether there is consistency in image content. This approach is closer to the quantitative studies performed by Manovich, Boy and Uitermark (2016, 1) and de Silva et al. (2013), which analysed urban social behaviour and city dynamics using Instagram as a Participatory Sensing System obtained from massive amounts of geo locative data. From an archival point of view, this could provide an overview to enable to find representative selections of photos.

In the Södertälje and Aalborg cases in Chapter 4 passive monitoring of hashtags and geotags was performed. Alise Tifentale (2018) is critical to the method: "The approach to study a selected group of photographs such as selfies can be productive, but it is also dangerous because it deliberately extracts some photographs from their natural environment – it isolates these images from the networked camera, from this hybrid device of their making, editing, sharing,

and viewing. And that can be misleading." Tifentale is right that the method takes the photo out of its fluid network, however, in this case study the images were studied in a transition between fixed image and social image, as they were collected as documentation of the event, Christmas, more than the practice and the conversation around them, which follows the mission of the City Archives. This also has consequences for the way the images were described in the archives collection database as a single photo with a focus on the image content. The social media context was saved through screenshots in the back-end of the collection database. In the front end of the collection database the context was documented as a comment, which provided information about the context of the Instagram collection initiative.

Aalborg City Archives did not have a strategy when the staff started the project on Instagram in 2012. It could be claimed in retrospect that the City Archives had defined 'an experimental zone' to work within. The Norwegian researchers Stuedahl, Smørdal and Sem (2014) introduced the concept of experimental zones: a format for a collaborative design space, where media-based dialogues are explored in line with professional practices, which is useful here. Through the project the archives tried to meet the need for the understanding of the new practices of photography and to provide space for developing new methods and practices changing traditional archival functions.

After the first phase of experimentation, the experience from the longitudinal collecting initiative has shown the importance of continuing to work in agile and fluid ways, because of constant changes. Thus, it is important to experiment with outreach in order to be relevant to contemporary photographic practices. In 2018 it was relevant to explore the possibilities of Instagram Stories. Instagram has changed profoundly since 2012, as observed by Manovitch (2016) and Serifinelli (2017), from supporting social communities to intensifying focus on commercial aspects. This development also has local implications, as it has proven necessary to work harder to obtain a community feeling when it is not promoted within the social media platform by the company itself.

The case also emphasises that in active digital collection, outreach and collection cannot be differentiated, as they are entwined as prerequisites for each other in the process. Collaboration is important, and in a longitudinal case it is important to constantly observe the changes and possibilities for collaboration, as the archives or museum cannot expect people to 'hang on' for several years. Aalborg City Archives have through this case study gained experience in how to perform a longitudinal initiative, where it is necessary to adjust to the changes of affordances on Instagram. A community has been created in relation to the initiative, but the experience also demonstrated that it is time consuming to maintain and needs continuous recruitment of participants, as people change their interests or move away from town.

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Part III: New Collecting Interfaces

7. Prototype Development: A Tool for Collecting Social Digital Photography

Kajsa Hartig

"MUSEUM COLLECTIONS OFFER the potential to be the foundations for a rich participatory ecosystem, in which experts and enthusiasts work together to produce knowledge and understanding. That potential has yet to be exploited. Collections instead continue to be presented as "online card catalogs," even as the rest of the web has transitioned towards participation as an expected norm. Our online collections are more vibrant than ever (better data, better images, more multimedia), but where are the edit and upload buttons?" (Stimler and Rawlinson 2019)

This chapter aims to introduce the prototype web app that has been developed by the Collecting Social Photo (CoSoPho) project in collaboration with Micah Walter Studio in New York. It shares the process behind the production and reflects on the role of a specific tool for collecting social digital photography.

As discussed elsewhere in this anthology, social digital photography is a complex assemblage that needs to be collected and disseminated through digital services. One of the research questions in the CoSoPho project also focused on the dissemination of this type of photography. Collections database interfaces in museums and archives today are very much based on managing and displaying digitised analogue photographs, providing limited possibilities for social digital photographs. Developing a new prototype interface for dissemination of these collections was therefore part of the initial plans of the project.

However, early in the project the focus shifted from dissemination to the entire process of collecting, as it became evident that at all steps the process is highly affected by photographic practices and dependent of tools and technologies. Most museums and archives have collections management systems, but no tools for online collecting. The collections databases are managed by museum and archives staff and do not allow for audiences to contribute, other than sometimes through adding comments and tags to existing records. A very basic impact on collecting from the lack of adequate tools is that online collecting becomes an often-demanding manual process or might altogether prevent collecting.

With the collecting process in focus, the project team decided to develop a prototype web app[1] for collecting social digital photography. At the beginning of the project, two of the participating museums had already developed and implemented websites for collecting photographs and stories, *Minnen* and *Samtidsbild*.[2] The reason for building a completely new prototype tool for collecting was to allow the project team – from four different institutions and three countries – to start examining the process of collecting, in the context of a collecting tool, together and from scratch.

The web app had to be produced with a long-term and sustainable perspective. This meant that the technology must be open source and it had to be produced with constant development and possible scaling in mind. The tool should be easy to use not only by contributors but also by staff and potential partners wanting to run a collecting initiative. The starting point was to lower thresholds with technology, not to raise them.

Shifting focus from dissemination to the entire process of collecting also allowed the CoSoPho team to look at the merging of collecting and dissemination, tasks that traditionally have been separated in museums and archives. The main argument for this is that giving access to collections creates a context for contributing that is more comprehensible, which in turn

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1. A web application, or web app, is a client–server computer programme, accessed through a web browser. A web app is not downloaded and installed on the user's mobile phone, in contrast to a mobile app. A mobile app is a computer programme or software application designed to be downloaded to and run on a mobile device such as a phone, tablet or watch.
2. http://www.minnen.se and http://www.samtidsbild.se

creates incentives for contributing photos. It is also a question about trust as contributors can see their photos in the museum/archive context once uploaded. There is no reason to separate the two unless the collected material is not suitable for publishing, in which case it should be accessible in reading rooms only or available for researchers with special permission.

Further impacting the production of the prototype web app was the growing trend in museums and archives to integrate inclusive and participatory methods in their work. In a wider context, this is done for several reasons, such as to enhance learning by participation, to increase participation by marginalised groups and to balance power relations. As is the experience of the CoSoPho project, the use of inclusive methods is especially relevant for collection of social digital photography, or any born-digital material, because of its ephemeral nature but also to enable collection of relevant metadata and to allow for more perspectives and voices in collections. The idea was therefore to create a web app that could be used by communities to contribute directly to the museum/archive collections.

To achieve a relevant tool for collecting social digital photography, working closely across institutions within the research projects as well as inviting input from museums, archives and academic colleagues was essential. This collaboration also aimed to be a starting point for long-term maintenance and development of the prototype.

Framing the prototype

To further understand the way technology, and a prototype tool, could support museums and archives in

collecting social digital photography, the project organised two workshops in November 2017 and March 2018. International colleagues from archives, museums and academia were invited to both workshops to help discuss valuable features of the collecting tool and possible scenarios where it could be used. The workshops were led by Professor of Practice in Computer Science, Risto Sarvas, of Aalto University, Finland.

During the two workshops, user-centred methods, such as service design methods,[3] were applied to the problem of designing a collecting initiative specifying the role of technology at various stages. Through fictitious thematic cases the participants, divided into small teams, worked on problem-solving for two days during each workshop.

The process of working with service design methods can be described as follows:

> "Beware of functional silos. Aim for multidisciplinary teams and give all experts an equal voice. Rock beats scissors and concrete results beat a pre-defined process. Be holistic, see the bigger context. Embrace uncertainty. Co-design with customers. Maximise realism to overcome self-deception. Always validate = Learn, Measure, Build. Have an open and curious mind. Have fun while working." (Sarvas, Nevanlinna, Pesonen 2016)[4]

Design thinking, service design and agile methods are slowly finding their way into the museum and archives sector, and they originate from product development

and marketing industry from the 1980s onwards. They are human-centred, allowing for anticipation and exploration of the different steps of the collecting process. They are highly focused on value creation, responding to the stakeholders' question: "What's in it for me?" They encourage experimentation and user testing, and they provide early results that give a solid foundation for decision-making.

A central conclusion from the workshops was that the actual collecting needs to be deeply embedded in a relevant user experience that stretches far beyond the digital interface and that supports the motivation of the user. The digital tool for collecting is one part of a multifaceted or multi-layered process, and this process needs to support both the work methods deployed by the museum/archives and the experience of the contributors. Furthermore, the conclusions from the workshops emphasised the need for user involvement and for co-creation of heritage collections. This was also confirmed by the results of a parallel survey on Minnen.se, performed by the CoSoPho project, about practices of sharing photographs in social media (see Chapter 3).

Following the two workshops the CoSoPho project launched a call for offers inviting companies to develop a prototype that would enable further exploration of the collecting process. Seven companies responded and, after a selection process, Micah Walter Studio in New York was engaged for the task.

The result is an open source prototype web app that is free to download on Github.[5] The CoSoPho proto-

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3. http://www.leanservicecreation.com, Sarvas, Nevanlinna, Pesonen (2016).
4. http://www.leanservicecreation.com (Accessed Dec 18, 2019).

5. The web app can be downloaded at: https://github.com/collecting-social-photo

type is technical as well as structural and aims to support and encourage museums and archives in taking a step towards collecting social digital photography, and to open up for the public to contribute to our common photographic heritage.

The following section describes the features of the web app, based on the brief that was sent to the companies responding to the call.

Requirements of the prototype collecting tool

In the call for offers, the basic requirements for the prototype were defined. The prototype should:

- Be easy to use for both users and staff;
- Deliver enough context to the photograph to ensure its value as source material;
- Support participatory collecting methods;
- Meet metadata and file format standards; and
- Connect with existing collections management systems to allow acquisition and integration into existing collections and archives.

Target groups

Following discussions in the workshops leading up to the prototype development assumptions about target groups were made. These assumptions were also based on previous experiences by the participating archives and museums. Groups that were considered important ranged from end users, to collaborating partners, to staff setting up collecting initiatives. The survey about photography practices on Minnen.se (Chapter 3) also confirmed the main social media channels used for sharing photographs – Facebook and Instagram – and considered the habits of sharing photos, preserving them and attitudes towards museums and archives collecting social digital photographs.

In the planning leading up to the call for offers and development of the prototype, the following overall traits in target groups were identified as relevant:

- **Contributors**
  The overall target group contributors are single users and communities that museums and archives interact with to encourage contributions to the institution's photography collections. This group often uses social media to share photographs, they use smartphones to take photos, and they have an interest in cultural institutions. They feel positively about contributing to museum and archives collections or react positively if suggested to do so, but may not have done so previously due to experienced or anticipated difficulty.

  This target group does not primarily comprise people who are unfamiliar with, and even uninterested in, cultural heritage, museums and archives. The assumption has so far been that with a general tool that is easy to use these target groups can be reached as well but that they require strategic outreach, specific engagement efforts and long-term collaboration.

- **Ambassadors**

  In this target group are users that would collaborate more closely with museums/archives in collecting efforts, for example members of communities that will act as ambassadors engaging their communities to participate. These ambassadors might also initiate collecting projects completely run by communities.

- **Staff at museums and archives**

  The tool would ideally, at some level, be integrated with existing digital infrastructures and collections management systems to make the process of collecting run smoothly. Museum/archives staff represent a mixture of digital literacy ranging from little or no experience to highly-skilled, and the prototype needed to be accessible for all. Many of the staff members might have low tech skills and little or no experience of administering websites (in this case setting up and managing collecting initiatives) and are inexperienced with collecting digital material. Many are also working with very small budgets, which means the service should demand little external technical support once a collecting project is initiated.

- **Common in all target groups**

  Identifying common wants and needs helped with drafting fundamental features that would serve the three target groups:

  1. A low threshold for participating or using the tool.

  2. Strong incentives to use the tool.
  3. Confirmation that using the tool is beneficial for them personally (as contributors or in their professional roles).

Motivation to contribute

To further understand what features should be developed in the web app, the CoSoPho project team explored possible motivations for contributing to museum/archives collections. Building on experiences from online collecting, case studies and bringing in current research on the topic, the team made assumptions around user motivations. These were partly based on the most common reasons for contributing to social media: affection, attention seeking, disclosure (the privacy paradox), habit, information sharing and social influence (Malik, Dihr and Nieminen 2016). The incentives to share in social media were then loosely translated into a museum/archives context as motives to contribute to a collecting initiative:

1. *Make my voice heard in a public setting*: telling stories that may or may not be marginalised. This also aligns with the need for attention seeking.
2. *Contribute to the common cultural heritage*: this might be new groups or people more familiar with museums/archives providing insight through collaboration with museums to develop understanding. This could be an eagerness to share information with others and hopefully sharing with museums/archives could potentially grow into a habit.

3. *Be recognised by a museum/archive*: "I can show my photos in a museum/at the archives." This corresponds to attention seeking and social influence.
4. *Save my personal photographs for eternity*: my shoebox of photos at the museum/archives benefits from the museum/archives as a safe space. This connects to memory aspects as well as personal habits of saving and sorting photos. This may also be connected to a wish to transfer knowledge to communities and share information with future generations.

During the initial testing of the web app, other concerns became apparent such as a fundamental need for trust and transparency when using the web app, allowing for a sense of control in the uploading process. The incentives to contribute to a collecting initiative were also discussed in the context of trust and equity as the project team was well aware that the tool itself would not increase diversity in collections without proper collaboration, outreach and engagement initiatives.

Ethics

Ethical issues were discussed early in the planning stages. As collecting needs to be done in a secure and trustworthy way, the following questions were addressed in the development process:

- How can we collect sensitive images that are not suitable for being published, but need to be collected anyway? One basic solution was to develop a feature allowing the contributor to 'send only to archives', as the default feature would otherwise be to publish the images immediately.

- How secure is the system? Can it be hacked and content downloaded by a third party? Discussions were held around using encrypted cloud services.

- If images that are potentially sensitive are published, can staff unpublish them? Can staff get in touch with the contributor to notify them that the image has been unpublished? Can contributors unpublish images themselves at a later stage?

- How is the contributor informed about the General Data Protection Regulation (GDPR)? By having terms and conditions as well as a privacy policy in the web app users become aware of how their contributions are used.

- How can we create a trustworthy space online with the web app? Several options were discussed, for example being transparent about how the contributions are and can be used in the future and allowing the contributors to get an overview of their contributions through My page.

What to collect

- Once the established target groups were decided upon, decisions were made about what the collecting tool should collect, including:
- Image files[6]

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6. The web app can be downloaded at: https://github.com/collecting-social-photo

- Screenshots of posted images with comments and likes[7]
- Semi-automatically generated keywords through image recognition tool[8]
- User's own captions and keywords (tags)
- EXIF data (coordinates, time/date and camera type)
- Ability for people to upload entire Instagram or Facebook accounts (images and .json files) via e.g. Dropbox[9]
- Other contextual information such as information on social media channels etc.

Images to be collected

A fundamental question for the development of the prototype was to decide on what types of photographs were to be collected. Early on, the project had identified difficulties in collecting straight from social media, as for example Instagram makes regular changes to their API, limiting access to accounts from third-party apps.[10] Another conclusion from the project is that collecting should always be done with the photographer's consent, for legal and ethical reasons. One solution, apart from asking for photos to be uploaded straight

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7. When collecting screenshots personal information is collected through image content and visible social media handles. National legislation should be considered. Collecting institutions should also be aware that a comment can be considered to be protected by copyright.

8. This was originally planned to be a feature of the prototype web app, but it was not possible to implement it due to limited time and resources.

9. This was not included in the web app due to limited time and resources.

10. https://blog.hubspot.com/marketing/instagram-api-guide (Accessed Dec 28, 2019).

from users' phones, would be to ask participants to take screenshots from their social media accounts and to upload these. This would require the contributor to add metadata about which platforms they used and asking them to upload the same hashtags. Asking users to download and contribute entire Instagram or Facebook accounts is another option, although it was not included in this version of the web app.

The prototype was aimed at allowing the upload of:

- Digital photographs (from smartphones or other sources) that might or might not have been shared on social media; and
- Screenshots of images posted in social media.

Collecting metadata and personal information

Besides collecting actual image files, the following metadata was deemed to be of interest:

- Responses to questions asked by the museum/archive – connected to current collecting themes;
- User's own captions and keywords;
- EXIF data extracted from the image file (coordinates, time/date and camera type); and
- Metadata added by staff members to give context to collected photographs and captions.

The aim was also to allow for semi-automatic addition of keywords acquired by running the image through an image recognition service. It was decided to explore experimentation around this through a separate case study, which is accounted for in Chapter 8.

In addition, personal information needed to be collected: users were encouraged to share their age, gender, occupation, place/country of birth and place of living. Collecting this information enhances the quality of the data as it gives basic demographic context to the uploaded content.

Features

Based on discussions around user groups and motivations, along with the needs of the museum/archives for a smooth process of acquiring photographs, the team decided on some basic features that would allow for setting up collecting initiatives using the web app. The features were decided on during a workshop using brainstorming, grouping, prioritizing and revising. This was the result:

1. Mobile first
As photographs are mainly taken with smartphone cameras and as a majority of people have access to the Internet through their smartphones, the interface for the web app needed to be adapted to a mobile format.

2. Desktop access
Administrative tasks by staff, such as setting up a collecting initiative, or administering an ongoing collecting initiative, might still best be done via a desktop computer. Some users might also prefer making contributions from a desktop computer.

3. Login with social media accounts or email
There is a need for user accounts to allow users to easily access the images they have uploaded. Preferably, those accounts could also be used for one-to-one communication between staff and users.

4. Uploading of image files (single + batch)
Some users might want to upload only one image. However, in some cases users would want to batch upload many photos from, for example, a significant event.

5. Edit uploaded images (add metadata, edit EXIF data, etc.)
Once an image has been uploaded, the user might wish to add or change information. This provides a good user experience. However, altering a contributed image and text should not be allowed after a set amount of time, as the image needs to be unaltered once it has been acquired into the collection (exceptions can of course be made after consultation with the museum/archives).

6. Automatic extraction and addition of EXIF data
Automatic extraction of EXIF data is built into many photo editing services. This would also be useful in a collecting process. The information is valuable to the museum/archives and at the same time not considered relevant to add by the user.

7. Possibility for museum and archive to add metadata on collection level as well as for unique objects (should be separated from user-generated metadata)

As in traditional ways of describing photography collections by curators/archivists, there is a need for

staff to be able to add context from the museum's/archives' point of view. In the case of social digital photography, metadata added by contributors themselves might also need to be complemented by expert-led cataloguing to increase accessibility through search functions. From a metadata perspective it is important to be able to separate each addition of metadata with date and creator. See further discussions on the topic in Chapter 8.

8. Adding captions and keywords as spoken words

A suggestion from the international community of museum colleagues was to add a possibility for the user to upload recordings of spoken words. This is a good way to get more information, especially from smartphone users who might not wish to write long captions on their phones but instead make a voice recording. However, this feature was not developed in the first version of the web app.

9. Terms and conditions

In the process of collecting there needs to be a feature allowing for the user to agree to the terms and conditions of the collecting initiative. This has to be done before uploading the photos. The terms and conditions should regulate the handling of personal information, the further use of the photos and text contributions as well as the actual acquisition of the contributions into the museum's/archives' collections.

The user agrees on licensing of images to regulate further use of the contributions once acquired by the museum/archives. Published photos should be licensed with a Creative Commons licence.[11]

10. Publish publicly or send to archives (not public)

One of the incentives to contribute to a collecting initiative is to see other people's images and to feel a part of a common effort and context. This has been a positive experience from both *Minnen* and *Samtidsbild*. However, there are ethically sensitive images that might not be suitable for publishing. This calls for an option not to publish uploaded images, but to send them straight to the archives. If the user chooses not to publish content uploaded through the collecting tool, then the terms and conditions will regulate access to the photos. The terms of access will differ between institutions and sectors.

11. My pages

To make the contributor comfortable with uploading, as well as with the relationship with the museum/archives, a personal space on the collecting service should be provided. The user can see all their uploaded images and edit them for a short time before they are donated. As an extended functionality, this would be the space where staff could communicate with a contributor around an uploaded image or encourage further participation in other collecting initiatives. However, it was not possible to develop this feature within the scope of the project.

12. Possibility to download images

As published images are to have an open license, making the content free to be re-used by others, there should also be a feature for downloading images.

13. Possibility to add metadata later

A feature that was discussed but not developed was the possibility for the user to add metadata at a later date. This would allow for further reflections around an event, for example. This metadata would be dated and separated from the original data.

14. Moderation after publishing

The prototype needed an admin interface for museums/archives to remove/unpublish content, to create thematic collecting initiatives and to communicate with users.

The project team firmly pushed the idea of not moderating content in the web app as this would slow down the process of collecting and negatively impact the user experience. Instead a feature to remove unsuitable content that had already been published was implemented. This also builds on the experience from *Samtidsbild* and *Minnen*, where no moderation is used, which has proved to be a very positive experience. Very few contributions have been removed, not because of unsuitable content but to advise contributors that their content might be personally sensitive and should therefore not be published and instead sent to archives only.

15. Public availability of all images uploaded, should be browsable thematically

The users need to be able to see their photos added to the collections of the museum/archives. This is a matter of trust and a good user experience, but it is also about creating incentives for others to contribute, to be a part of a public photography collection. The intention has not been to create a new social media service, however the tool should make use of common incentives for posting, such as attention seeking, information sharing and to make one's voice heard in a public setting.

Additional features

A few features were on a wish list to be developed if deemed possible within the time span and budget of the prototype development, such as integration of an image recognition tool and uploading of video. Other features were of interest but it was decided early in the project not to include them due to limited time and budget, such as search functions and parental consent.

Important aspects

A few aspects of collecting and contributing were explicitly mentioned in the product brief. These were expressed to make sure the developer had a user-centred approach.

What's in it for me?

Throughout the process of collecting, users from all groups would need to have one question answered: 'What's in it for me?' The developer was requested in the offer to specify ideas for how to answer or address the question from all target groups.

Contextual information

As the context of the social digital photograph is vital for building new heritage collections, the developer

was to specify in the offer possible solutions for harvesting as much contextual information as possible, user generated and other.

Minimum Viable Product

In the call for offer the developer was asked to suggest a Minimum Viable Product (MVP) based on the brief specifying the prototype. This is a prototype that at a minimum level responds to the needs of the project as specified in the call.

Relevance to museums and archives

One initial requirement was to make sure the prototype was relevant to museums and archives. One aspect of this is usability. A second aspect is a low threshold for getting museums/archives with little or no tech literacy onboard, as well as limited budgets. A third aspect is that the prototype can connect to different museum/archival collections databases. The relevance to the institutional stakeholders had to be at the core of the development process.

Scalability

As developing a prototype is meant to be a first step to a functioning tool, a basic requirement was to make sure the prototype would be scalable. Therefore, the CoSoPho team asked in the production brief that the developer should, in the project report, suggest an exit strategy with a long-term sustainable, viable, scalable future for the interface.

Mobile first

As the project is highly focused on mobile phone photography the user interface had to be developed for the mobile user first. This is also relevant because of the rapid increase in use of the Internet through mobile phones.

Meetings

Throughout the process of the development of the prototype, including regular meetings with the developer was necessary. The project team and the developer need to stay closely in touch.

Deliverables

The primary goal of the prototype development has been to achieve an MVP. This is a product that fulfils the primary goals of the prototype and allows the CoSoPho project team to evaluate and validate assumptions around online collecting, but also a prototype that can be the first step towards producing a more developed product in regular use in museums and archives. A central purpose of the MVP has been to produce it with open source coding and modules, as well as disseminating it openly on GitHub for anyone to download, play with and develop further.

Besides the actual prototype, the specification of requirements included the following:

- Connection to API of Minnen.se and a Collective Access database (and possibly a FileMaker database)

- Documentation for the technical development
- Documentation for the structure and collecting process
- Suggested further development short-term
- Suggested strategies, methods and technical solutions for keeping the data safe during the collecting process.

Results

The CoSoPho project set out to create a prototype tool for collecting social digital photography in the form of a web app. With limited time and resources, a basic prototype, a so-called MVP, was achieved in collaboration with Micah Walter Studio in New York. Micah Walter describes their work with the web app as follows:

> The Collecting Social Photo web application is meant to be useful at the scale of many institutions. After working with the CoSoPho team, our studio devised a plan to create a highly scalable web app that could be slightly customised by each participating institution and still offer many of the features and capabilities that modern photo sharing applications have been providing for years. We tried to think of it as a 'Flickr, but for cultural organisations' and what those differences might look like.
>
> Under the hood, the application has a back-end database and management platform. This is where owners of each 'instance' can manage the content on their site, it's users and all the photos that have been uploaded. There is also a front-end which can be modified by each instance owner to allow some basic customisation for branding purposes. This way each institution can have their own instance of Collecting Social Photo, create their own collecting initiatives, and manage their own users, while participating in a larger overall database project.
>
> Finally the application has an interoperable API that means external developers and researchers can access the data collected for us in visualizations and displays of the underlying collections.

Through the process the project team was able to highlight the many and sometimes complex issues connected to collecting social digital photography. As with the actual collecting projects, digital skills within museums and archives are central. Though developing and maintaining products like the web app is rarely an option for single institutions, staff need to be able to write briefs, carry out a dialogue with technical partners and understand the product well enough to give feedback and assist further development.

The CoSoPho project concludes that there are a few issues to discuss when implementing a collecting tool, such as:

- *Finding a sustainable, long-term solution for maintaining and developing the service*: The goal at this point is to continue collaboration between museums, archives and tech partners around the open source product.
- *Acquiring collected material into the collections management systems*: This is currently done through a manual process, which needs to become automatic.

- *The role of collecting tools as stand-alone products or integrated into collections management systems*: Further discussions are needed around the benefits and possible negative aspects of integrating a collecting tool into a collections management system.
- *The use of the tool in projects based on participatory and inclusive methods*: As discussed elsewhere in this anthology, participation itself is a debated term, and can be performed on many different levels. The role of a collecting tool in participatory projects needs to be further explored.

The web app is now available on GitHub for anyone to download, test and develop: https://github.com/collecting-social-photo

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8. Image Recognition as a Tool in Cataloguing Born-Digital Photography

Arran J. Rees

Project introduction and context

ARTIFICIAL INTELLIGENCE (AI) has made huge leaps forward over the past decade, and the developments in machine learning in particular have led to increasingly sophisticated image recognition tools (Agrawal et al. 2019). A growing number of industries are moving towards using AI to undertake a variety of different tasks, and the cultural sector is not exempt from this. Agrawal et al. question the role of AI in the workforce, asking whether it will move towards substituting *or* complementing humans in specific roles (2019, 2). This was a question posed at the beginning of this image recognition testing project – can AI catalogue photographs as they are collected by museum and archive institutions? Other questions included: the compatibility of museum/archives-controlled vocabularies and the words used by image recognition tools; and the ability of AI to understand context and sensitive situations.

The Collecting Social Photography (CoSoPho) project has anchored itself in the realities of everyday

practice for museum/archive professionals, and therefore understanding the potential impact – positive and negative – of tools like image recognition for core functions like cataloguing was a natural line of enquiry when developing a digital collecting tool with Micah Walter Studio. This chapter begins by highlighting some of the ongoing work of museums/archives in relation to AI, before moving on to describe the methodology of the CoSoPho image recognition testing, analysing the outcomes, and discussing the potential usage of image recognition now, and in the future. It argues that image recognition could be used as a secondary tool for increasing accessible tagging for collections, but that it cannot replace the role of the donor in describing their own photographs, nor the archivist and curator in creating coherent and searchable catalogues.

There is a growing interest in the potential for AI technologies in museums/archives in a range of different functions. Computer engineering scholars Mashid Majd and Reza Safabakhsh have outlined what they thought might be the impact of machine learning on visitor experiences in museums, discussing art authen-

tication, automatic guides and visitor data analysis (2017). They claimed that the majority of existing research focuses on automatic guides, but also noted that the increasingly high achievement levels in image recognition suggest that there is scope to begin training specifically for works of art (Majd and Safabakhsh 2017, 198). Similarly, a recent publication from *Riksarkivet* (National Archives of Sweden) explores the possibilities of AI in archives, touching on text and image recognition, language technologies and visualisation techniques. The report suggests that image recognition is potentially useful in identifying and labelling objects or individual items in photographs, but not for recognising context (Grönqvist 2018) – a finding backed up by the outcomes of the CoSoPho project.

The application of AI in the cultural sector, in both front and backroom activities of museums/archives, is an area of ongoing debate. Missing from much of the existing research is a focus on the ethics of museums/archives using AI. There has been substantial research on issues of racial and gender bias in image recognition (Buolamwini and Gebru 2018; Dave 2019; Schwemmer et al. 2018) as well as critiques of the Western colonial perspectives much of AI technologies have embedded within them (Harrell and Olson 2019; Kesserwan 2018). The conversation about the impact of this for museums/archives is beginning to be addressed through projects such as the Museums and AI Network,[1] which aims to discuss the ethical implica-

tions of museums using AI – an area this chapter also recommends researching in more detail before museums/archives move to integrate AI technologies into more of their practices.

Methodology

The aim of this project was to explore the potential for and begin to understand how image recognition software could be developed for museum/archive cataloguing, rather than to produce a definitive answer on whether this technology should be used for such a task. To do this, 52 images collected through the case studies of the CoSoPho project were catalogued, and later run through three different commercially available image recognition tools. The image recognition tools selected were Amazon Rekognition, Clarifai and Google Vision.[2] All three tools offer a free tier of image recogni-

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2. Amazon Rekognition is a deep learning powered image recognition service from Amazon that offers object and scene detection as well as facial recognition, analysis and comparison services, unsafe image detection, celebrity recognition and text in image recognition. For the purposes of this study, the object and scene feature was used. More information can be found here: https://aws.amazon.com/rekognition/image-features/ (Accessed June 19, 2019).

   Clarifai is an artificial intelligence company that specialises in visual recognition. Their image recognition software offers 14 different models trained on different types of visual data. For the purposes of this study, the general model was used. More information can be found here: https://www.clarifai.com/predict (Accessed June 19, 2019).

   Google Vision is an image recognition service provided by Google. The software offers object detection, text recognition, popular places and logo identification, existence of images on webpages and a moderation service. For the purposes of this study the object detection feature was used. More information can be found here: https://cloud.google.com/vision/#industry-leading-accuracy-for-image-understanding (Accessed June 19, 2019).

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1. The Museums and AI Network is an AHRC funded project based at Goldsmiths, University of London, developed in partnership with the Pratt Institute, The National Gallery (UK), The Metropolitan Museum of Art (US) and the American Museum of Natural History (US): https://themuseumsai.network/about/

tion services but have invested large amounts of money into machine learning. The tools also offer a range of different features. Their general object detection services were used in the analysis for this study. The results were analysed using both quantitative and qualitative methods: each image was given a score between one and five to indicate the degree of success of each image recognition tool; and a qualitative assessment was conducted of 12 images whose results either posed particular problems for museums/archives or were examples of positive outcomes.

The criteria used for scoring the image recognition results were as follows:

- 5: Excellent range of relevant suggested terms
- 4: Good range of relevant suggested terms, one or two incorrect
- 3: Some suggested terms relevant and more than two incorrect, but no completely inappropriate ones
- 2: Most suggested terms irrelevant, one or two potentially inappropriate
- 1: None of the terms relevant or completely inappropriate suggested terms

Analysis

The results of the image recognition testing showed that in many cases, the technology was relatively successful at identifying objects in images and suggesting labels for them. Using the scoring system, which offered a total of 15 points, 40 % (21 images) scored more than 13 points and only 13.5 % (7 images) scored less

than 10 – (see Figure 1). The highest scoring images tended to depict natural landscapes, whilst the lowest scoring images were ones that required context to understand the significance of what was being depicted. The outcomes suggested that whilst the image recognition (IR) tools were successful at identifying most objects in images, the technology is not yet suitable as a primary means of identification in collections by archives and museums. As this analysis shows, images that depict sensitive, contentious or abstract subjects were particularly poorly served by the IR tools, while practical issues such as file size also had an impact on the suggested labels. An additional surprise was that the IR tools were not able to identify other online platforms, such as Instagram or Facebook, or ubiquitous visual and textual symbols like emojis. This next section discusses the analysis of the IR testing in more depth before beginning to draw conclusions on the feasibility of using IR within existing archival and museum frameworks.
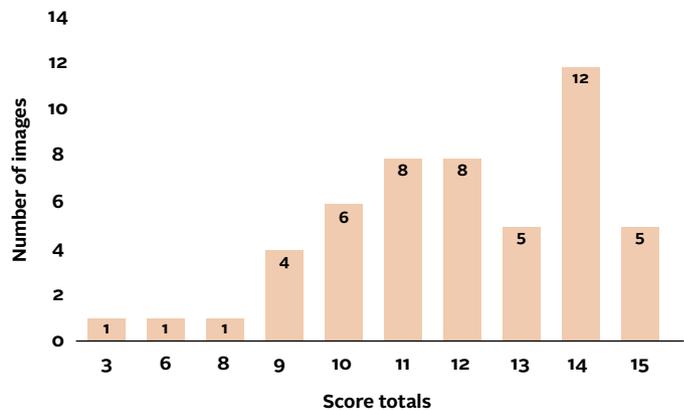
Figure 1. Image recognition scores.

Figure 2. Photo: Simon Bertilsson, Stockholm County Museum, CC-BY-NC.

Human-led	Amazon Rekognition	Clarifai	Google Vision
Geese	x	x	x
Birds	x	x	x
Animals	x	–	x
Water	x	x	x
Waterfront	–	x	–
River	–	x	x
Pier	x	–	–
Jetty	–	–	–
Boats	x	x	–
Yacht	–	–	–
Sky	–	–	x
Reflection	–	x	x
Apartments	–	–	–
Nature	–	x	–

Figure 3. Image recognition successes.

Of the five images that totalled 15 points in the scoring system, four depicted the natural landscape or a nature scene and one, a construction scene, albeit one in a green, natural environment. Considering Figure 2 from the Stockholm County Museum image set as an example, the IR tools identified all but three of the keywords identified in the human-led cataloguing. Of the three that were not identified ('jetty', 'yacht' and 'apartments') the IR tools picked up variations on two ('jetty' and 'yacht') (see Figure 3).

Figure 4 from the Aalborg City Archives image set is a good example of how the IR tools were sometimes able to identify a broader range of labels than the human-led cataloguing. The keywords 'sunset', 'waterfront', 'sky', 'industrial' and 'port' were assigned to the image in the human-led cataloguing, but the IR tools offered many more (see Figure 5). It should be noted here that none of the three identified 'industrial' despite the chimneys in the background of the image producing smoke. It is possible that Amazon Rekognition picked up on this and incorrectly identified them as some sort of boat since 'transportation', 'vehicle' and 'vessel' feature at the lower end of its suggested labels. However, the diversity of suggested labels for the image is impressive and suggests that as an additional form of keywording, IR tools could be useful in creating more searchable and accessible collections.

It is worth noting that although the IR tools work well with scenes of nature, practical issues such as image size and quality do impact on the suggested labels. For example, Figure 6 from the Stockholm County Museum is a high-quality image with a file size of 12 MB. Both Google Vision and Amazon Rekognition have maximum file size limits of 4 and 5 MB respectively, therefore a smaller version of the image had to

Figure 4. Photo: Stefan Hornbøl CC-BY.

Human-led	Amazon Rekognition	Clarifai	Google Vision
Sunset; Waterfront; Sky; Industrial; Port	Human; Person; Water; Waterfront; Nature; Dock; Port; Pier; Outdoors; Sky; Dusk; Sunset; Dawn; Red Sky; Silhouette; People; Sunrise; Sunlight; Transportation; Vehicle; Vessel; Watercraft; Weather; River	Sunset; Water; Dawn; Pier; Reflection; Sun; Lake; River; Bridge; Sea; Dusk; Travel; Beach; Boat; City; Sky; Evening; Harbour; Landscape; Skyline	Sky; Sunset; Cloud; Evening; Horizon; Sea; Sunrise; Morning; Dusk; Afterglow; Ocean; Calm; River; Coast; Vacation; Tourism; City; Reflection; Sound; Person (times 4)

Figure 5.

be created before it could be tested. Clarifai was able to accept both the full-sized image and the smaller one but suggested slightly different labels for the two different sizes (Figure 7). The different size and therefore quality images not only showed the suggested labels in a different order of probability, but also two different labels. The full-sized image suggested 'photograph' and 'sunset' whilst the smaller image suggested 'mo-

tion' and 'rainbow'. It is worth noting that Clarifai did not suggest 'Aurora' as a label but both Amazon Rekognition and Google Vision did.

Figure 6. Photo: Stefan Cristophs, Stockholm County Museum, CC-BY-NC.

Reduced size image		Full size image	
light	0.981	light	0.980
no person	0.975	bridge	0.969
bridge	0.968	landscape	0.965
landscape	0.965	street	0.965
street	0.957	no person	0.963
road	0.952	city	0.957
city	0.947	dark	0.948
water	0.945	sky	0.947
travel	0.944	water	0.947
evening	0.938	travel	0.945
dark	0.932	evening	0.941
sky	0.931	moon	0.930
outdoors	0.921	road	0.924
festival	0.909	nature	0.912
moon	0.898	outdoors	0.909
nature	0.881	urban	0.897
traffic	0.879	photograph	0.893
river	0.876	festival	0.882
motion	0.875	sunset	0.870
rainbow	0.871	rainbow	0.870

Figure 7. The different suggested labels for the same image, but uploaded at a different file size.

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Image recognition issues

Of the seven images that totalled under 10 points using the scoring system, three were related to the 2017 Stockholm Terror Attack and two were related to the *#MeToo* stories collected by Nordiska Museet. Many of the suggested labels for images related to the terror attack were not incorrect, but rather, they seemed inappropriate given the context of the images. For example, Figure 8 from the Stockholm County Museum depicts two children handing flowers to police officers in the street near the cordoned-off area where the incident occurred. The three IR tools suggested very different tags, with one focusing on clothing, another on policing and the third not really drawing any conclusions (Figure 9).

Human-led	Amazon Rekognition	Clarifai	Google Vision
Police; Safety; Terror; Terror attack; Stockholm; Sweden; Children; Flowers	Apparel; Clothing; Human; Person; Pants; Footwear; Shoe; Officer; Military uniform; Military; Jeans; Denim; Coat; Overcoat; Captain; Blossom; Flower; Plant	Police; Rescue; Picket; Drag race; Street; Race (competition); Calamity; People; Competition; Battle; Offense; Child; Vehicle; Climate change; Accident; Law enforcement; Action; Road; City; Marathon	Event; Person; Man

Figure 9.

Figure 8. Photo: Ingela Olsson, Stockholm County Museum, CC-BY-NC-ND.

Similarly, Figure 10 from images collected by Nordiska Museet depicts flowers being placed at a memorial site with the text "*Mina och Lucas blommor* ♥" (Mine and Lucas' flowers) overlaid. All three of the IR tools focused on flowers, floristry and romance rather than a memorial (Figure 11). Interestingly, the IR tools did not recognise the emojis – with Amazon Rekognition identifying the pointing hand as 'bird'. With vernacular photography increasingly produced through applications like Snapchat and Instagram, where layering emojis on top of images is a popular feature, the failure of all three IR tools to identify the image correctly was surprising.

The *#MeToo* images tested through the project were more abstract, and therefore even more difficult for the IR tools to suggest labels for. For example, Figure 12 depicts four pebbles holding hands in solidarity. The

Figure 10. Photo: Kajsa Ljungberg Karageorgiou, Nordiska museet, CC-BY.

images of the pebbles were accompanied by a written statement when submitted to Nordiska Museet. Without knowing the context, the IR was unable to identify anything usable in the images. Google Vision was unable to suggest any terms at all, whilst Clarifai suggested the label 'isolated', which is the opposite of the symbolic meaning of the image (Figure 13).
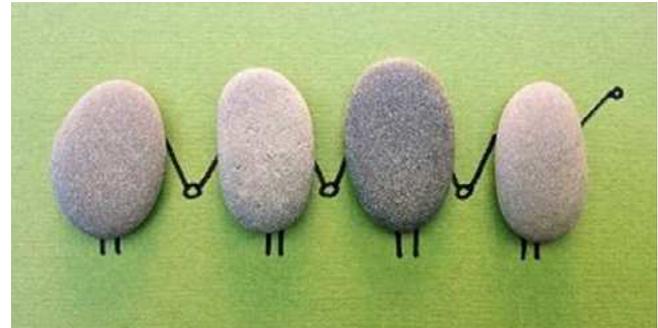
Figure 12. Photo: Unknown, Nordiska museet, CC-BY.

Human-led	Amazon Rekognition	Clarifai	Google Vision
Police; Safety; Terror; Terror attack; Stockholm; Sweden; Children; Flowers	Apparel; Clothing; Human; Person; Pants; Footwear; Shoe; Officer; Military uniform; Military; Jeans; Denim; Coat; Overcoat; Captain; Blossom; Flower; Plant	Police; Rescue; Picket; Drag race; Street; Race (competition); Calamity; People; Competition; Battle; Offense; Child; Vehicle; Climate change; Accident; Law enforcement; Action; Road; City; Marathon	Event; Person; Man

Figure 11.

Human-led	Amazon Rekognition	Clarifai	Google Vision
Me Too; Hands; Friendship; Support; Solidarity; Grey; Art; Pebble;	Cushion; Path; Sponge; Pillow	Desktop; No person; Easter; Color; Texture; Egg; Cutout; Design; Vintage; Illustration; Retro; Decoration; Food; Nature; Isolated; Shape; Pattern; Abstract; Still life; Two	(no suggestions)

Figure 13.

Image recognition anomalies

Some images that received a wide range of useful and relevant labels from all three IR tools also prompted a number of anomalies, ranging from unexpected levels of detail to curious misidentifications – for example, Figure 14 shows examples of both from Amazon Rekognition. This snowy scene from the Aalborg City Archives image set received numerous tags related to Christmas, snow and trees, but also 'abies' – the exact genus of the tree depicted, and a completely incorrect identification of the star as a 'ceiling fan' (Figure 15).

Figure 15. Anomalies suggested by Amazon Rekognition Photo: Marlene Lauritsen depicted in the Amazon Rekognition interface.

Google Vision similarly suggested an unexpectedly specialist label for Figure 16, from the Finnish Museum of Photography image set. The suggestion of 'Felidae' –the biological family name for cats – implies that the Google Vision algorithms have been trained with datasets tagged with scientific naming conventions for fauna. Whereas Amazon Rekognition, with its suggested tag of 'abies' but not 'felidae', suggests its algorithms were trained more on flora than fauna.

Image recognition and social media

With the collecting of photographs posted on social media being a core area for investigation in the CoSoPho project, it was useful to establish how the IR tools dealt with images placed within social media platform inter-

Figure 14. Photo: Marlene Lauritsen CC-BY.
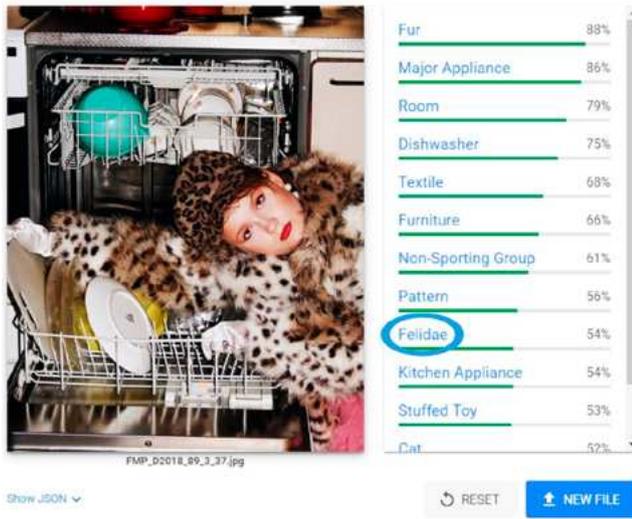
Figure 16. Anomalies suggested by the Google Vision API Photo: Lotta Sulin 2018, The Finnish Museum of Photography, depicted in the Google Vision interface.

faces. Both the Finnish Museum of Photography and Nordiska Museet image sets contained typical examples of use. Figure 17 depicts Instagrammer Irja Leino at the Helsinki Art Museum, with the text and a number of hashtags providing context, however, none of the IR tools were able to interpret this. Both Amazon Rekognition and Google Vision were able to identify polka dots, but not that it was taken in a museum, that the interface was Instagram or even that the image was a selfie – a vernacular type of photography it was expected IR tools would be able to pick up on (Figure 18).

Similarly, Figure 19 (next page) depicts Sophia Kniberg posting about *Knytblus* – a viral event expressing solidarity in Sweden (see Chapter 6.1) – in a Facebook interface with text and emojis. As with Figure 20, none of the tools recognised it as a selfie or the social media platform on which is was created.

Figure 17. Photo: Irja Leino 2016, The Finnish Museum of Photography.

Human-led	Amazon Rekognition	Clarifai	Google Vision
Selfie; Mirror; Art; Exhibition; Museum; Spots; Polka dot; Instagram	Person; Human; Texture; Polka Dot; Toy; Doll	Illustration; Vector; Desktop; People; Business; Person; Design; Man; Pattern; Symbol; Art; Graphic; Portrait; Make hole; Abstract; Sign; Modern; One; Hole; Image	Text; Yellow; Font; Pattern; Design; Poster; Adaptation; Polka Dot; Graphic design; Person; Pants

Figure 18.

Sophia Kniberg is at 📍 Lovön.
April 13 at 9:09am · 🌐 ▾

Äger ingen knytblus men vit buff duger väl?! This one's for you, Sara #Danius #knytblus #knytblusförsara #backasaradanius 💪😊👍

Figure 19. Photo: Sophia Kniberg, CC-BY-NC.

Human-led	Amazon Rekognition	Clarifai	Google Vision
Selfie; Facebook; Knytblus; Outdoors; Emoji	Clothing; Apparel; Human; Person; Face; Outdoors; Female; Smile; Nature; Portrait; Photography; Photo; Girl; Text; Scarf; Sleeve; Coat; Mountain; Woman; Accessories; Glasses; Accessory	Portrait; People; Woman; Winter; Person; Girl; Smile; Adult; Child; Man; Face; Young; Scarf; Cold; Season; One; Happiness; Pretty; Fun; Beautiful	Woman; Person; Clothing; Face; Chin; Nose; Forehead; Adaptation; Human; Photography; Organism; Photo Caption; Smile

Figure 20

Image recognition and artistic photography

A number of the images collected through the project had purposefully artistic qualities, which posed similar challenges to the symbolic and conceptually driven images collected on *#MeToo*. Figures 21 and 22 are from Aalborg City Archives and the Finnish Museum of Photography image sets respectively. The IR tools showed mixed results with such artistic images. Figure 21 depicts cyclists riding through an underpass whilst taking part in a race. The cyclists are moving quickly and are shown in a blur, but to the human eye, the bikes and the cyclists are quite clear. None of the three IR tools suggested anything to do with cycling – instead brickwork, home décor and urban-related labels were suggested. Whilst brickwork and urban-related labels may be valid tags, the real focus of the image was completely misunderstood.

However, the IR tools performed particularly well with Figure 22, which is purposefully and playfully framed to trick the eye. All three IR tools suggested labels referring to the image depicting a window with a wintery scene and a painting or piece of art. Amazon Rekognition and Google Vision prioritised the terms 'painting', 'picture frame' and 'art', whereas Clarifai gave more weight to 'snow', 'winter' and 'window'.

Conclusions

Image recognition, although an increasingly accurate tool, is still not perfect. The analysis of suggested labels for a relatively small set of images showed that whilst

Figure 21. Photo: Mads Nørmark Andersen CC-BY.

Figure 22. Photo: Konsta Linkola 2018, The Finnish Museum of Photography.

images depicting nature and landscapes scored highly, there were a number of issues with images that required context, were visually influenced by interfaces like social media platforms or were deliberately abstract. In attempting to answer the question of whether AI can catalogue digital photographs as they are collected, this testing suggests that the technology is not yet good enough to do so for the subjects and types of photography museums/archives want to collect and represent. However, the technology is potentially useful as a form of secondary access-widening keyword tool.

The idea behind the CoSoPho web app (Chapter 7) is that users contribute their own metadata when uploading images. This provides an opportunity for photographers to have a stronger say in the shape of the catalogue record, and the archive and museum to get a better understanding of the context and reasoning behind the photographs uploaded. In a 2007 paper on democratising indexing, or keywording processes, Pauline Rafferty and Rob Hidderley describe three levels of indexing: expert-led, author-led and user-led, in which the information professional is the expert, the creator is the author and members of the public using platforms such as Flickr are the users (Rafferty and Hidderley 2007, 399). In the context of this project the museum/archive professional might be seen as the 'expert', the photographers uploading the images as the author, and thus user-led could be replaced by AI-led.

Elisabeth Boogh, reflecting on *Samtidsbild* – a digital photography collecting project that pre-dates CoSoPho – describes how the photographers who were asked to write their own captions and keyword their images when uploading them used words that were not compatible with the museum's formal classification system

and often referred to emotions, for example 'sad' and 'hopelessness' (Boogh 2013, 65). This type of keywording is in line with Klavans et al.'s findings that there were very few similarities between the words used in tagging images of art objects associated with museums and of images not associated with museums. They noted that a significant amount of tagging is done for personal benefit rather than public benefit (Klavans et al. 2011, 3). Boogh argues that this proved to be both a good and bad outcome, reflecting the ways in which people use photography today, but also made the images unsearchable within the museum's collections management system (Boogh 2013, 65). Following Rafferty and Hidderley's three-tiered model, the negative aspects of the tagging described by Boogh could be compensated for with the 'expert-led' cataloguing that could use the formal classification systems of the museum/archive. However, this solution faces practical issues of its own – the museum/archive collections information systems are generally only set up to record information from one perspective. This is an issue Fiona Cameron has been discussing for some time, arguing that existing documentation systems are ill-suited to seeing objects as polysemic entities (Cameron 2005, 84; Cameron and Robinson 2007, 171). For this multi-layered form of documentation to really work, there is a further requirement to understand where best to record this information in existing documentation systems.

Although this case study suggests that IR tools do have potential secondary uses in museum/archive cataloguing processes, institutions considering using these technologies need to be fully aware and acknowledge the limitations and potential biases of the tools they are working with. Before signing up to use any AI, due diligence must be undertaken to understand the potential for unintended offence and reinforcement of algorithmic prejudice. This issue did not form a large part of this study and should be an area that is explored further before the technology is used to help describe our cultural collections. Even within our small dataset, the IR tools misgendered people (Figure 17) and suggested some potentially uncomfortable labels for images, such as 'sexy', 'eerie', 'nude' and 'vicious' for Figure 23.
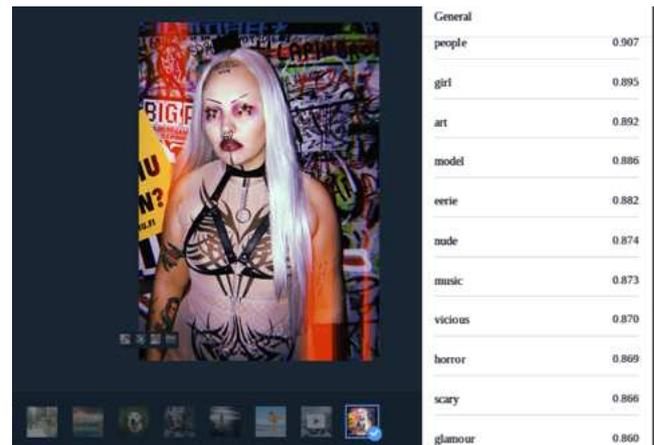
Figure 23. Photo: Ruska Sarén, 2018, The Finnish Museum of Photography.

AI is a technology that is continually improving, and museums/archives will find themselves being asked to consider how it can prove useful in their work. This case study has begun to investigate its suitability in cataloguing photography and the findings suggest that there are indeed potential uses. However, it also highlights that those potential uses have knock-on effects for documentation structures and raises ethical questions about the inbuilt subjectivity that might come with the technologies.

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Part IV: Conclusions

9. Connect to Collect: Conclusion

Elisabeth Boogh, Kajsa Hartig, Bente Jensen, Anni Wallenius

PHOTOGRAPHY COLLECTIONS have for a long time had a place in museum and archive collections, valued in different ways over times as art, scientific evidence, commodity or design elements in exhibitions. These collections will now further change character and status, and most likely be valued again in a new way as they are complemented with social digital photography.

Creating new collections of social digital photography is in many ways a direct continuation of existing photography collections in museums and archives. Visuality still continues to be an important reason for people to take, share and use photographs, as claimed by Gómez Cruz and Lehmuskallio (2016, 6). As the case studies of the Collecting Social Photo (CoSoPho) project show, it is evident that networked social digital photographs carry both a communicative and memory-making function, as photographs have always done. Dahlgren and Uimonen discuss this continuity in Chapters 1 and 3, respectively.

However, with the major shift in the production of photography in society, due to the evolution of technology, new communicative ways and the use of networked photographs on social media, the photograph has at the same time changed character to the extent that it calls for new work practices around collecting, selection/appraisal and dissemination. These changes, accelerated by new technology, will continue along with the evolution of photography. Through various case studies the CoSoPho project has identified how social digital photography has evolved over time, from an online activity in the identity-making of Finnish teenagers using the website IRC-Galleria in the early 2000s to an act of protesting against patriarchal structures in the *#metoo* and *#knytblus* social movements. Through the growing use of hashtags on social media, photographs have become connected, as in the case of the Stockholm terrorist attack where photography on social media became part of the spontaneous memorials, and as in the case of *#Christmasinaalborg* where the hashtag is used for celebration and festivities, and for sharing values.

The case studies emphasise that the social digital photograph is a complex and elusive entity, characterised by its abundance, ephemerality and the immediacy of consumption through online sharing. At the same

time they present museums and archives with unprecedented opportunities to document contemporary social life and digitally-mediated photographic practices, which highlight the importance of these institutions as collectors of social digital photography, visual communication, social interaction and memory-making that takes place on social media (Chapter 3).

Research questions

To address the anticipated challenges of collecting social digital photography the project has been structured around three initial research questions: firstly, the effect of social digital photography on work practices and policies; secondly, the implications of the social digital photograph as a complex assemblage on current collections databases and interfaces; and thirdly the challenges of adopting participatory and inclusive methods in the creation of photography collections. The research questions are answered here, building on the experiences in the project from collaboration between academics and museum/archives staff, in the crossroads of theory and practice, by extensive reading throughout the project, and through insights reached through the 11 empirical case studies. The conclusions from the project are also drawn up in the Recommendations (Appendix).

Q1: How can data collection policies and practices be adapted to create relevant and accessible collections of social digital photography?

The CoSoPho project has observed the need for some immediate changes in collecting practices due to the characteristics of the social digital photograph and evolving technology and photographic practices. These changes should be reflected in collecting policies.

Some of the most significant changes that will enable successful collecting initiatives are to establish and support small teams with multiple competences within the organisation, or the possibility to use external competences using multiple methods, to ensure collection of relevant contextual information, developing strategies for successful engagement initiatives and ensuring a safe and transparent process for contributors. Digital skills are essential as technologies, online networks and photographic practices are in constant flux and will continue to change, therefore museums and archives must keep vigilant, ready to adjust to new developments.

As mentioned above, an ongoing discussion in the museum/archives field will be required to recognise the photograph both as a medium of value and an object category in itself, as well as a complex assemblage dependant on and interacting with text, sound, image and video. Regardless of point of view, collecting of photographs will need to be considered together with other types of media.

Legal and ethical issues require special attention as social digital photographs are born and shared in networked environments run by commercial actors that provide their own terms and conditions. Museums and archives should, by keeping the collections accessible, strive to set up no further barriers. One way to do this is to use open licences to allow for further access to photography collections. At the same time there are laws and regulations that need to be considered, such as GDPR and copyright law, as well as further national laws that might affect the terms and conditions of a collecting initiative.

It is the experience of the CoSoPho project that the adoption of work practices embracing digital technology, social media skills and participatory methods is also relevant on a broader scale within museums and archives. Collecting social digital photography is therefore a matter of concern for all museum or archives as it can help the institution to achieve overall goals of participation and inclusion, developing into a democratic arena for knowledge production and dissemination. Updating strategy documents with the mission and objectives of the institution to also include born-digital collecting is central.

Besides adjusting collecting policies, routines and practices around acquisition and appraisal/selection processes also need attention. A significant trait of social digital photography is the huge number of photographs produced and shared daily, and the question of selection or appraisal may seem overwhelming. Well-grounded and appropriate decisions can be made by following the already established collection and appraisal policies and criteria for selection of the museum/archives. Policies must be adjusted to accommodate the social digital photograph, which is often of lesser technical quality and may exist in other file formats and sizes than digitised analogue photographs. Social digital photographs are in many cases a repetition of what others' have photographed and shared. Instead of choosing specific images to collect, the sheer volume of similar content might indicate significance and new narratives might emerge from big data analysis of collections.

Access to collections needs to be addressed in collections policies as this affects both licensing and technology as well as engagement and participation.

Q2: How can digital archives, collection databases and interfaces be relevantly adapted – considering the character of the social digital photograph and digital context – to serve different stakeholders and end users?

The focus of research in the CoSoPho project has been on developing a tool for collecting social digital photography, allowing for a smooth experience for people collaborating with museums and archives in producing content for the collections. Conclusions from this work include the imperative need for user-friendly experiences, lowering the threshold for participation and providing a safe and secure environment for contributing photographs to museums and archives.

The technical quality of social digital photographs is secondary to the information provided by the image content and context of the photo, and hence preservation standards should be adapted to allow for low-resolution images with smaller file sizes common to social digital photographs. Collection databases should be customised for multiple voices, with allowances made for metadata provided by contributors or collaborating communities. Metadata fields need to be adjusted to fit additional context or metadata specific for social digital photography, to ensure its future value as source material. In the near future, collections management systems will also need to consider born-digital collections as big data, allowing for interaction with collections in new ways.

Throughout the project, collecting has been regarded as separate from dissemination of current museum/archives collections, for practical reasons. Furthermore, the focus has been to examine the social digital photograph on its own, not as photographs among dig-

itised analogue photography. Some testing has been carried out with interfaces connecting collecting with dissemination to examine the user experience of contributing photographs to museums/archives. Results indicate that accessing uploaded photos is important for the contributor. The project recommends further experimentation around merging of collecting and disseminating social digital photography, as well as digitised photography collections.

The CoSoPho project has further experimented with image recognition as a potential automatic feature to be included both in collection databases and online collecting tools to enhance usability and findability of collections. The conclusion is that these tools cannot yet be employed as a primary means of cataloguing as they are too inaccurate, but also because they risk adding bias to collections in ways that cannot easily be monitored by museum/archives staff. Further testing and experimentation is recommended, however, as image recognition may well be used semi-automatically as a secondary source of metadata.

Prototyping an open-source online web app for collecting social digital photography is one of the major outcomes of the research project. Different methods of collecting have been tried in the case studies with more or less success, either through using existing online tools or by asking contributors to send images by email or USB sticks or collecting through a hashtag using traditional methods. A conclusion from the project is the need for an online collecting tool that makes it an easy and smooth process for photographers to contribute.

The web app *Collecting Social Photo* is downloadable from GitHub[1] and can be used freely across the museum and archive sectors. It is 'mobile first' as this is the most frequently used camera today, and the primary means of accessing the Internet for the majority of people. The web app allows collecting initiatives to be set up and is easy to use by staff and contributors alike.

Robust strategies for migrating (between platforms if necessary) and secure storing of born-digital image files and metadata must be established and implemented.

Q3: How can museums and archives change their role when collecting and disseminating, to increase user influence in the whole life circle of the vernacular photographic cultural heritage?

Collecting social digital photography situates museums and archives in the discussion around roles and missions. It parallels with theoretical discussions in the museum sector around informative versus performative operations – i.e. a more object- and fact-centred role versus a more process-oriented role – where museums not only critically reflect on their work but actively include audiences with participatory methods (Silvén 2004; Kirchenblatt-Gimblett 2005; Gustavsson 2018).

In the archives sector the growing interest in participation dates back to the mid-2000s where projects enabling participation opened up for "archival practice around description, or 'democratisation', which would reveal a multiplicity of different perspectives, meanings and contexts around the record" (Benoit III and Eveleigh 2019, 2). Participation has mainly become a focus for the community paradigm of archives (Benoit

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1. The web app can be downloaded here: https://github.com/collecting-social-photo

III and Roeschley 2019, 161). Professor in Information Studies Isto Huvila has discussed the concept of participation and the diversity of ideas that are related to it in the context of archives. He identified three discourses; 1) archives and their management; 2) user engagement and empowerment; and 3) technology and its use (Huvila 2015, 24). This confirms that participation and also non-participation in the archives sector are regarded as a relevant concepts to discuss. In the CoSoPho project, all of Huvila's three discourses of participation have been touched upon.

As a consequence of adopting inclusive and participatory methods a human-centred approach with collaboration should be adopted at all levels of collecting and disseminating social digital photography. Outreach, collection and dissemination have to be strategically planned as a whole, requiring collaboration, curatorial expertise and collections management skills, and outreach and communication as the working processes merge. Staff need to be digitally literate and adept at using social media. External collaboration with researchers, non-profit organisations and commercial partners is also necessary in most cases.

The contributors of content – the photographers – should be the core focus of collaboration, as the photographs need to be collected in collaboration with them. The photographs are at risk of being deleted or lost within a short time span, due to technological failures, the affordances of social media and simply a lack of interest or preservations skills by the photographers themselves. The consequences of born-digital material are in general that archives and museums should be in contact with the producers from the creation of the records to be sure to acquire or collect the material relatively quickly. Collaboration is also necessary to capture context directly from the photographers themselves, which strengthens the value of the photographs as source material for future use and research.

Understanding the contributors' needs, problems and behaviours makes it possible to set up co-creative initiatives for collecting on more equal terms to develop sustainable collections. The goal should be to carefully balance the needs and benefits of the public alongside requirements for sustainable collections and long-term preservation.

However, when museums and archives consider encompassing social digital photography into the collections, the institutions need to be aware that not everyone participates in or even uses social media. Despite the fact that everyone has access to the same functions (sharing content, commenting and adding hashtags, etc.) and the same user interfaces, the results are diverse (Miller 2016). What we post on social media is affected by personal practices and trends in society and on social media, besides having access to and knowledge of technology. This, of course, causes gaps of information in the production of photographic heritage and as a consequence, the collections are at risk of continuing to be less representative. For this reason, it is essential that museums and archives use different models of outreach and participation when planning and setting up collecting initiatives. It is also important to describe and document the methods for future source criticism.

As with many terms used in this anthology, participation and inclusion are contested and subject to an ongoing discussion both in the museum and archives' fields (e.g. Benoit III and Eveleigh 2019). Defining what participation means is therefore a starting point

for any collecting initiative, as is setting up means of measuring success and evaluating engagement initiatives.

Towards the future: what next?

The CoSoPho project has benefited greatly from hands-on empirical work in close collaboration with academia during its three-year lifespan. The result is a thorough insight into the challenges and benefits of collecting social digital photography, as well as recommendations attempting to cover policies and the major areas that require adaptation and development. The project team is aware that there are several different ways of implementing work practices in different institutions, large and small, national, regional or local, museums and archives. The level of success is dependent on resources, skills and institutional support, as well as the ability to adopt agile and human-centred work methods. On the opposite side of the scales, not collecting at all will mean that valuable historical sources will be lost for the future.

Collecting social digital photography is about navigating in a difficult landscape affected by laws that are often left to single staff members to interpret. There are new ethical considerations when the distance is short, or non-existent, between collecting and disseminating. In addition, adopting social media as a means to collect, through engagement or even through institutionally 'owned' Facebook groups or Instagram accounts, can be criticised as social media is many ways filled with contested arenas for social and commercial exchange. There is also a growing awareness of personal data as a commodity to be traded and sold, though as the Privacy Paradox shows (Barth and de Jong 2017),

this does not deter people from posting, although it might indicate the somewhat problematic relationship users have with social media.

The CoSoPho project calls for ongoing discussions in the museum/archives sector about the role of social media services in collecting contemporary social digital photography. The general view of social media such as Facebook and Google has become more critical while the CoSoPho project has been running. A consequence of the criticism of social media companies has meant a growing number of people only use the services for private purposes – their lack of transparency, the aspect of surveillance, and the use and transfer of big data have been particular themes for discussion (Svenskarna och Internet 2019). The use of social media for political propaganda and impacting elections has shaken trust in them. Annoyance has also been expressed as social media platforms like Instagram have come to have an increased focus on business and advertising, which potentially keeps people away.

Simultaneously, regardless of the criticism, significant parts of society – ranging from politics and warfare to social movements and celebrations – are expressed and communicated through social digital photography and shared through social media. New business models and trade structures are developed through social media, which in turn contributes to new art forms and body expressions building on the characteristics of these services. All of these new entities are relevant for documenting and collecting for the future.

In the CoSoPho project the team has not been interested in the commercial social media companies and platforms per se, which means that criticisms of specific social media services have just underlined the importance for archives and museums to follow the users to

where they are and to where expressions of individual and societal processes are articulated – and to also document when the choice of platforms change. In this setting museums and archives can also offer a complement to commercial social media, to preserve and share photographs for the future.

The CoSoPho project has detected a growing awareness among archives and museums that social digital photography in all its complexity should be regarded as cultural heritage. New collecting initiatives have in recent years been performed around the world and many institutions are now considering collecting. Implementation of new collecting methods will require various efforts, and small steps in experimenting and having a curious approach are a good start. Perhaps most importantly, continuous collaboration and knowledge sharing between archives, museums, academia and users of social media is needed to enable collection of social photography as sources for future history and memory.

So, let us Connect to Collect!

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Appendix

Recommendations for Collecting Social Digital Photography in Museums and Archives

About the recommendations

The recommendations are aimed at policy makers and professionals in museums and archives, but they will also be useful for other heritage organisations as well as academia. They address the process of collecting social digital photography as cultural heritage and as archives, and they relate to current work practices around collecting of photography, including issues such as audience engagement and implementation of new work methods as well as collection tools.

The recommendations build on both theory and practice, the latter emerging from case studies performed in the research project *Collecting Social Photo* (CoSoPho, 2017–2020). The project was a collaboration between museums, archives and academics in the Nordic countries, with the goal to produce recommendations for collecting social digital photography as contemporary visual heritage and archives.

In the CoSoPho research project the term social digital photography has been used to emphasise the social aspect of this type of photography: it is produced, consumed and collected through digital tools and channels and often shared on social media. The term also encompasses those images produced through smartphones and not shared through social media.

The recommendations position museums and archives as alternative platforms, away from corporate structures, for collecting and safeguarding the digital photographic heritage of individuals, communities and societies.

Structure
The Introduction (1) frames the need for the recommendations and gives a background. Then a description of Social Media and their affordances (2) follows. Section three is a Toolkit (3) for institutions wishing to initiate collecting projects. The recommendations end with general Guidelines (4) for collecting social digital photography, supporting the practical toolkit.

Website
http://collectingsocialphoto.nordiskamuseet.se

1. Introduction

> In the heritage and government sectors, also, social media is only beginning to take shape as a cultural artefact and official record.
>
> (Day Thomson, 2016)

Contemporary social digital photography provides insights into everyday life and personal narratives as well as social and political movements, in a way that is missing in most historical records, and the value of this photography has been recognised by scholars of several different disciplines such as Pang, Khiun Liew and Chan (2014), Miller (2015), Besser (2016) and Uimonen (2019). By collecting these photographs, museums and archives have the opportunity to bring new perspectives and voices into collections.

At the same time, collecting social digital photographs differs in many ways from collecting analogue photography. One main reason is that, rather than being a fixed material object, the social digital photograph needs to be considered as something fluid or liquid, as a work in constant progress, a by-product of communication (Serafinelli 2018, 159; Jurgenson 2019, 22, 17). As a consequence, despite being produced in vast numbers, these photos are at actual risk of vanishing due to the affordances of social media services, personal practices or technological failures.

Photographs today are highly dependent on the networks they are shared through: commercial social media platforms. These are services designed for corporate and personal content sharing and networking, neither supporting acquisition by collecting institutions nor archiving personal content in perpetuity,[1]

but rather containing these photographs in what could be described as black boxes. Social digital photography therefore presents challenges to existing theories and work practices for collecting photography, practices that build on analogue media that are often passive, performed retrospectively and rarely in collaboration with the photographers themselves.

As a consequence of the shifting nature of photography, of the controlled social media platforms, and also considering legal and ethical aspects as well as the benefits of collaborating with the contributors of photographs, the toolkit and guidelines are primarily aimed at collecting directly from the photographers themselves. This is done by allowing uploading of photographs or screenshots one at a time or in a batch from users' mobile phones or computers and allowing uploads of entire Facebook or Instagram accounts.[2] Social media can be used for collecting,[3] but here they are primarily recommended as channels for communication, engagement and dialogue. The social media services used will vary over time as users' practices evolve and change.

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1. Social media platforms (such as Facebook, Twitter, and LinkedIn) do not have any contractual obligation to preserve user data for the long-term. They are also not liable for any data loss. https://dpconline.org/docs/knowledge-base/1689-preserving-social-media-applying-principles-of-dp/file (Accessed Jan 25 2020).
2. Users can download their own accounts on Facebook and Instagram from the services themselves. These files, media files and .json files can be acquired by museums and archives. One example of such collecting has been conducted by the National Library of New Zealand: https://natlib.govt.nz/collections/donations/donating-digital-items/facebook-archive-project (Accessed Oct 22, 2019).
3. Social media can be used for outreach or actual collecting, either through institutional accounts or through downloading of personal accounts.

The CoSoPho project has undertaken several case studies to test approaches to collecting social digital photography, along with an online survey and the development of a prototype. These efforts are described in the anthology *Connect to Collect* (2020). Based on the conclusions from the case studies the recommendations focus on the policies and practices of museums and archives, with the aim of promoting successful and sustainable collecting and engagement with social digital photography.

2. Affordances of social media

Social media services have become a central part of our lives in the past 15 years. They are widely used, but in different and often unequal ways (Miller 2017; Burgess, Marwick and Poell 2018, 2). They let users create, upload, post, send, receive, and store content and they comprise arenas wherein social digital photographs are shared in vast numbers. However, as Serafinelli describes, their affordances go well beyond mere photography (2018, 55). They intermingle commercial, public and personal contexts (Burgess, Marwick and Poell 2018, 3). Social media services, such as those most frequently used for photo sharing – Facebook, Instagram and Snapchat – also in turn affect users' habits of posting and even choosing image content. Photo sharing sites can be said to be "spaces where general visions and experiences emerge as a consequence of mutual photo-exchange" (Serafinelli 2017, 51).

The two major services examined in the CoSoPho project, Facebook and Instagram, have privacy settings that allow the user to choose whether to publish their content openly to all or shared only with friends. Snapchat has similar privacy settings. The services get permission to use the users' content once they have accepted the terms and conditions. However, the users retain full rights to their content and are free to share it with museums and archives as well. Information about geolocation may be collected by the services when images are shared. A more precise location may be collected through GPS, wireless networks, cell towers, Wi-Fi access points, and other sensors.[4]

Through cookies, information about how users interact with the services is collected. Snapchat will for

example collect details about how the service has been used, information about the device, such as web browser type and language, but also access times, pages viewed and IP address as well as pages visited before or after navigating to the Snapchat website.

Snapchat's servers are built to automatically delete all images, so-called Snaps, when viewed by all recipients. The servers are built to automatically delete unopened Snaps after 30 days and they are set up to automatically delete unopened Snaps sent to a group chat after 24 hours.

Facebook, Instagram and Snapchat all have memory features allowing for, in different ways, saving of uploaded content. This means that a user can choose to save images in Snapchat, rather than letting them by default be deleted by the service. The services also allow for the user to download their own content, a form of self-archiving – as described in the DCP report *Preserving Social Media: applying principles of digital preservation to social media archiving*.[5] What can be saved and downloaded varies. When a person downloads their data from Snapchat, information about their use of the app is retrieved, as well as links to images intentionally saved in the app by the user.[6] Facebook has in recent years substantially increased the ease of downloading the users' own information.[7] A specific date can be chosen for downloading all content, such as photos and videos.

The affordances of social media, such as how images are posted, viewed, shared and saved, as well as means of communication between users, can potentially affect how images can be collected by museums and archives.

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4. https://www.snap.com/en-US/privacy/privacy-policy (Accessed Dec 15, 2019).

5. https://www.dpconline.org/docs/technology-watch-reports/1486-twr16-01/file (Accessed Dec 15, 2019).

6. https://www.snap.com/en-US/policies (Accessed Dec 15, 2019).

7. https://www.facebook.com/help/1701730696756992?helpref=hc_global_nav (Accessed Dec 15, 2019).

3. Designing a Collecting Initiative: A Toolkit

This toolkit describes the process of creating a collecting initiative aimed at collecting social digital photography. It is designed around a manual process, rather than automated harvesting of images directly from online platforms such as Instagram. The toolkit focuses on collecting through a dedicated service, in this case the prototype web app for collecting social digital photography developed within the CoSoPho project. Throughout the text, references will be made to case studies performed within the project. The toolkit is suitable for both local and national institutions, working on small scale collecting initiatives as well as large projects with a national or international scope.

The structure of the toolkit follows the main principles of agile project methods with a design focusing approach. It is divided into four main parts, a discovery phase, defining a concept and value proposition, drafting a first version and testing, and ending with the performance of the initiative along with planning for the next step.

Discover what to collect and from whom	Define the collecting initiative
Explore the topic, possible stakeholders and methods. Gather insights through research and ideation. Vision and purpose User research Define possible solutions	Analyse results from ideation process. Decide which methods and tools should be used. Define a concept Define a value proposition, answer the question 'What's in it for me?' for all stakeholders User journey mapping
Develop a draft initiative – test	**Deliver the initiative – evaluate**
Produce a prototype for the concept User testing Refine and iterate	Launch the collecting initiative. Outreach Monitor and participate Responsive approach Monitoring the online tool Evaluate Scale or end initiative

Discover what to collect and from whom

Vision and purpose

The topic for an initiative to collect social digital photography is usually decided by:

- Strategic and collecting plans
- Opportunities evolving through existing external collaboration
- Response to sudden significant events

A collecting initiative for social digital photography should be justified with reference to how it fits in with the institution's collecting strategies or plans, as well as current resources in terms of funding, staff and digital tools, to ensure support from management and shared understanding between colleagues.

At this stage, legal and ethical implications of the chosen topic need to be addressed:

- Should the collected photographs be public as soon as contributed or made available only for research?
- Are the photographs of a sensitive nature (to contributor or others)?
- Do the collected photographs comply with current legislation (national archives laws, GDPR, copyright, etc.)?

The decision of whether to make the collected photographs public or not should preferably be made with the community from whom the institution wishes to collect. This aligns with recommendations from the American project *Documenting the Now*, advising collaboration from the beginning (Bergis, Summers and Mitchell 2018).[8]

User research

The next step is to identify individuals and communities to collaborate with and collect from, as well as potential partners who can help reach and engage the in-

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8. Documenting the Now had a focus on collecting social media content created by participants of African-American activism in response to police shootings.

tended contributors. User research focuses on users' motivations, behaviours and needs through observation techniques, task analysis, and other feedback methodologies. In short, it is the way to understand the impact of collecting initiatives on various stakeholders. There are several methods[9] to get to know the audience, and some basic knowledge to look for is:

- Is the community/audience group familiar with museums/archives?
- Do they perceive museums/archives to be trustworthy safe spaces?
- Are they familiar with online services and social media, and to what extent do they feel comfortable uploading photographs online?
- What value does the collecting initiative bring to all stakeholders?
- What level of participation is appropriate for this specific collecting initiative?

Define possible solutions for collecting initiatives

The solutions for the specific collecting initiative and which social digital photography to collect and from whom are defined by the overall goals – what the institution wishes to achieve. At this stage, museums and archives should be equipped to collect digital single image files and metadata delivered as text.

Collecting with consent

Collecting social digital photography is primarily done by facilitating contributions consented to by producers

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9. For example: https://www.usability.gov/what-and-why/user-research.html

of photographs themselves. This is recommended as the often-short life span of these photographs puts them at risk of being deleted or lost. For copyright and ethical reasons collecting with consent from contributors is recommended. Collection of relevant contexts can also be achieved by collaborating with the photographers.

Collecting with consent requires:

- Participation from the photographers
- A technical infrastructure or service where photographers can upload images themselves[10]
- Terms and conditions regulating how the uploaded content can and will be used in the future
- The possibility for contributors to decide individually whether their content should be available publicly or not

Collecting photographs

A goal should be to collect the best possible quality of images, however social digital photographs tend to have lower technical quality than digitised analogue photos or born-digital photographs produced for purposes other than social media use. The content of the image overrides technical quality. It is recommended to collect:

- The original photograph from mobile phone/camera

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10. Photographs can of course be delivered by email or USB, but this toolkit suggests using the web app Collecting Social Photo, available for downloading at GitHub.

- A screenshot of the same photo posted on social media, preferably with text such as captions and comments

Collecting context

To capture necessary context for the collected photographs it is recommended to use a mix of methods, such as:

- **Additional surveys**
  Additional surveys can be used at a later stage in the collection process to provide more context for collected material. Surveys can provide deeper understandings of photographic practices, as well as identify possible contributors to interview. They can also lower the threshold for participation at the initial stage of collecting, as too many questions and tasks for the contributor at the first encounter with the museum/archives might deter them from participation.

Examples from CoSoPho case studies: The 2017 Stockholm Terrorist Attack: Rapid Response Collecting; Collecting Viral Campaigns: #metoo and #knytblus

- **Interviews, with or without photo-elicitation**
  Interviews can be performed in different ways, either in person on a one-to-one basis or as a group discussion, or as suggested in digital ethnography, by asking the interviewee for their preferred choice: by telephone, on Skype or similar services, through email or chat. A useful method when interviewing about photography

and photographic practices is photo-elicitation, which uses photographs as a basis for discussion. The photographs can trigger meanings and interpretations the interviewer could not have anticipated (Lapenta 2011, 202).

Examples from CoSoPho case studies: Family Living – The True Story: Collecting from Facebook; Insta-Suomi: Documenting Finnish Instagram; Collecting IRC-Galleria: The Pre-History of Finnish Visual Social Media; Södertälje: Searching for Diversity and Representation on Instagram; Collecting Viral Campaigns: #metoo and #knytblus

- **Participatory observation and production**
  Digital ethnographic methods such as participatory observation and production can be used for engaging communities or individuals to contribute to a collecting initiative, as well as for documentary purposes. Observations give an overall sense of content and tonality of online interactions and conversations, which can be combined with actively adding content to create trust and participation on equal terms between the institution and the audiences. It is a reflexive process where the staff member produces empirical knowledge through encounters with online communities. For clarity and ethical reasons, it is important to always refer to the museum or archive when communicating online.

Examples from CoSoPho case studies: Family Living – The True Story: Collecting from Facebook

- **Photo documentation**
  Photo documentation builds on museums' tradition of documentary practices and can give further context to the collected photographs.

Examples from CoSoPho case studies: The 2017 Stockholm Terrorist Attack: Rapid Response Collecting; Collecting Viral Campaigns: #metoo and #knytblus

The viral events or campaigns in two of the CoSoPho case studies were closely connected to physical demonstrations on the street. The photo documentation made by museum photographers added value to the contributed social digital photographs, by connecting them to the physical demonstrations and providing a framework for the online events or campaigns.

- **Complementary collection of physical objects**
  Collecting objects/artefacts has traditionally been the main operation of museums. Photographs have been collected as objects in their own right but have also functioned as supportive documentation for physical objects, as context and evidence. However, as revealed by the CoSoPho project, the value of photography collections equals that of collections of physical objects, especially when it comes to social digital photography. Today the online and offline worlds have merged and collected physical objects and collected social digital photography complement each other.

In the viral campaign *#knytblus* people protested against the forced resignation of the first female Permanent Secretary of the Swedish Academy, Sara Danius, due to her reaction to sexual misconduct. The bow blouse (knytblus) was a signature garment for Danius and people posted images online of themselves wearing a bow blouse. Nordiska Museet acquired a blow blouse, partly designed by Danius, with the motivation that the garment had become a symbol for women's rights. The collected social digital photographs from the online viral campaign enhanced the importance of the garment and vice versa.

Rapid response collecting was used in two of the CoSoPho case studies. Experience shows that having discussions around these types of events before they happen helps with pointing out that mandate is important, clear responsibility, close collaboration with the communications department, ability to monitor and respond as well as having rapid internal discussions around potentially sensitive content.

Rapid response collecting

Rapid response collecting – where museums and archives respond with short notice to events in society – stands out from ordinary or everyday collecting of social digital photography.

Rapid response requires setting up a collecting initiative with very short notice, and most often puts pressure on staff, who work under stressful circumstances. At the same time the rapid response is also necessary to document and collect from events that have a short lifespan. Overall work routines and technologies need to already be in place before starting the collecting initiative. Using agile work methods while collecting enables refinement of new work practices.

Outreach and engagement methods

Establishing a work plan for how to reach out to and engage organisations, groups and individuals is the next step, once the topic, methods, stakeholders and collaborating partners have been identified. In all CoSoPho case studies online communicative campaigns in social media were launched to spark attention and to motivate participation in both online and physical events. Other engagement methods have included exhibitions and social events. As exhibitions and programme activities need to relate to the museum's and archives' overall planning, and online campaigns fall into the domain of many institutions' marketing and communications strategies, this section should be discussed internally between staff working with communication and collection.

Using social media services

Speed is a factor in the online environment, regardless of whether collecting is long-term or a rapid response initiative. The need for speed should therefore be handled in outreach as well as in the collection strategy of the museum/archives. Ideally, the institution 'never sleeps' during campaigns. However, speed can become an issue when cooperating with external partners, who might not necessarily agree with the need or reason to react quickly.

As social digital photography is most often produced and shared on social media, these services can be used for the following purposes:

- **For research, and for identifying events and communities to collect from**
  Requires monitoring and research around everyday topics and viral events, for identifying communities to cooperate with, possibly recruit respondents for further collection and to discuss selection with. Monitoring can take place openly by following a hashtag/geotag, or by directly monitoring media, organisations and individual accounts.

Examples from CoSoPho case studies: Södertälje: Searching for Diversity and Representation on Instagram; Family Living – The True Story: Collecting from Facebook; Collecting Viral Campaigns: #metoo and #knytblus; Aalborg: The Image of a City seen through the Multiple Gazes on Instagram; Insta Suomi: Documenting Finnish Instagram; #weloveaalborg: Hashtagged Sentiments about a City on Instagram;

#mygandrup: Collaboration towards a Contemporary Social Image of a Small Town

- **As a platform to collect from**
  This can be done by setting up dedicated accounts run by the museum/archives, asking for permission to download single posts from accounts, or asking users to download their entire accounts (as some social media services allow) to donate to the museum/archives. Hashtags are often a way to target collecting from a certain event or topic as they naturally create frames for conversations online, where photography is specifically used.

Examples from CoSoPho case studies: #Christmasinaalborg: The Options of a Longitudinal Case Study; The 2017 Stockholm Terrorist Attack: Rapid Response Collecting; Collecting Viral Campaigns: #metoo and #knytblus; #weloveaalborg: Hashtagged Sentiments about a City on Instagram; #mygandrup: Collaboration towards a Contemporary Social Image of a Small Town

- **As a platform for dialogue**
  This can be focused at engaging in dialogue around specific topics, to ensure transparency around collecting, to discuss the way collecting is done, etc. Thus, social media services can become platforms for co-curation of collections. Again, hashtags are strands of conversation that museums and archives can join.

Examples from CoSoPho case studies: Insta Suomi: Documenting Finnish Instagram

- **For long-term engagement, and to inform and communicate**

  The purpose would be to raise awareness about the collecting initiative but also to build trust for the museum/archives as an institution to collaborate with. The long-term dialogue would also serve as a way to motivate contributors to donate photos, as well as inviting them to physical events.

Examples from CoSoPho case studies: #weloveaalborg: Hashtagged Sentiments about a City on Instagram; #Christmasinaalborg: The Options of a Longitudinal Case Study; #mygandrup: Collaboration towards a Contemporary Social Image of a Small Town

Engagement activities

Active engagement of audiences in connection with collecting is not only recommended but a prerequisite to motivate and create incentives for participation. There are numerous methods for engaging audiences and communities to participate and choosing which ones would be suitable depends on whom to approach, the level of participation demanded and what type of material is to be collected. At its simplest form engagement can be used to spark attention from audiences and communities and create incentives to participate.

As engagement activities are not only useful for collecting photos, but also benefit the museum and archives at large by raising their visibility and position in the community, these activities should be co-planned within the institution by staff working with marketing/communication, exhibitions, education and programming.

- **Gamification**

  A method used in some of the CoSoPho case studies was competitions. These competitions resulted in photographs being collected and winners awarded a prize or exposure at physical exhibitions. Traditional offline exhibitions with photos curated from campaigns have also been arranged with some success. Participants have found it highly motivating to have the chance to be curated and take part in a traditional photo exhibition.

Examples from CoSoPho case studies: #weloveaalborg: Hashtagged Sentiments about a City on Instagram; #Christmasinaalborg: The Options of a Longitudinal Case Study; Södertälje: Searching for Diversity and Representation on Instagram; #mygandrup: Collaboration towards a Contemporary Social Image of a Small Town

In the case study #weloveaalborg: Hashtagged Sentiments about a City on Instagram organising an exhibition also functioned as a community-building social event, where photographers met other persons only known by their Instagram-name and winners proudly invited friends and family.

- **Instawalks and Instameetups**

  At Instawalks and meetups people get together to photograph and share images of a common subject on Instagram. They function as community-building efforts supporting sociality among

photographers and strengthening the relationship with the collecting institution.

Examples from CoSoPho case studies: #Cristmasinaalborg: The Options of a Longitudinal Case Study

- **Physical meetups**
  Creates visibility for the collecting initiative and can be used to recruit participants, to openly discuss principles for curation, and to discuss the social media services and practices in general.

Examples from CoSoPho case studies: Insta-Suomi: Documenting Finnish Instagram; Collecting IRC-Galleria: the Pre-History of Finnish Visual Social Media

An open event, organised as a loosely-structured group interview where people discussed and shared memories, was the starting point of the case study Collecting IRC-Galleria: the Prehistory of Finnish Visual Social Media. Two guest speakers representing the IRC-Galleria community moderated the power balance of the event. The event was communicated on Facebook and Instagram.

Participation on different levels

Inclusive, participatory methods are a prerequisite when collecting social digital photography for several reasons, such as being able to collect sufficient context from the photographers themselves, collecting with consent according to agreed terms and conditions and to ensure photos are collected in time, before they are deleted or lost due to the ephemeral nature of such photos.

Though the term participation itself is contested within the museum/archives sector, the CoSoPho project chose to depart from the four levels of participation – contribution, collaboration, co-creation and hosted initiatives – described by Nina Simon (2010, 187). In some of the CoSoPho case studies the different levels were interwoven/mixed or developed during a collecting initiative.

- **Contribution**
  The most basic form of participatory collecting initiative is to provide a space for uploading content selected by the contributors themselves. This can be done by allowing for content to be donated through email or setting up a simple form on the museum website or producing a custom-built service for collecting. This is the simplest way to open up for anyone to contribute to the common visual cultural heritage. Contribution is most likely the first step for museums/archives to take when embracing inclusive methods around collecting. Especially in the case of rapid response collecting, more elaborate forms of participation can be more difficult to achieve, unless solid work routines are in place.

Example: The CoSoPho project recognised the need for purpose-built tools for collecting early on and therefore decided to produce an open source prototype web app that any museum/archive could use for collecting. This web app allows for the contributor to be in control over which photos to upload and which context to provide.[11]

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11. The web app can be downloaded from GitHub.

- **Collaboration**

  In the collaborative model, users and other co-operating partners are invited to serve as active partners in the creation of collecting initiatives that are originated and controlled by the museum/archives. The model offers possibilities and resources for archives and museums to reach out where they would not manage to do it on their own. It also provides useful feedback in designing the collecting initiative, to ensure it becomes relevant to the contributors.

Examples from CoSoPho case studies: #mygandrup: Collaboration towards a Contemporary Social Image of a Small Town; #weloveaalborg: Hashtagged Sentiments about a City on Instagram; Family Living – The True Story: Collecting from Facebook

- **Co-creation**

  In this level of participation "community members work together with institutional staff members from the beginning to define the project's goals and to generate the program or exhibit based on community interests" (Simon 2010, 187). Here the producers of the social media photographs actively take part in shaping the project. Such a relationship requires trust between the memory institution and producers/users. At the same time, it can ensure motivation and shared responsibility.

Examples from CoSoPho case studies: Collecting the IRC-Galleria: the Pre-History of Finnish Visual Social Media; Social Media Diaries: Documenting Visual Practices with Social Media Users; Insta Suomi: Documenting Finnish Instagram

- **Facilitated or hosted collecting initiatives**

  "Hosted projects are ones in which the institution turns over a portion of its facilities and/or resources to present programs developed and implemented by public groups or casual visitors" (Simon 2010, 187). When designing collecting initiatives this could imply handing over a collecting tool to a community that can shape the collecting initiative themselves, with some levels of support from the museum/archives. Here the impact of the museum/archives needs to be further discussed, in terms of for example shaping the end result by providing standards for long-term preservation, or metadata. This model requires trust and a willingness to compromise.

Examples from CoSoPho case studies: #mygandrup: Collaboration towards a Contemporary Social Image of a Small Town

Technology

There are a number of methods for collecting social digital photography in an online environment. This toolkit focuses on setting up infrastructures where communities can contribute to collections, more or less on their own terms.

The CoSoPho project has recognised the following methods of collecting:

- One-to-one communication with contributors, delivery by email or USB to the museum/ar-

chives – a method suitable for a limited amount of photos

- Commercial services for surveys with purpose-built forms
- Museum/archives websites with purpose-built forms (f.ex. Wordpress, Drupal)
- Purpose-built services for online collecting, where terms and conditions can be built into the process and from where contributions can easily be acquired into the collections management system

A structured form is preferred over email or USB, as they open up opportunities for the contributor to directly upload information about the photographs, an otherwise resource-demanding task that might not be possible to achieve for museum/archives staff. The forms need to be accompanied by agreement forms for terms and conditions to ensure the acquisition of and future use of the photographs as part of the institution's collections.

Define the collecting initiative

Concept

The possible solutions for collecting social digital photography, the chosen topic, methods for collecting, outreach and participation, and choice of tools for collecting should now be drafted into a concept. Discussions, internally and with collaborating partners, should indicate the choice activities and time frame of the collecting initiative. The concept is a first blueprint of how the collecting initiative should be performed.

Value proposition

As a foundation for the concept, a value proposition[12] should be produced. This means responding to the stakeholder's question: 'What's in it for me?' – why should someone contribute their photos to the museum's/archives' collections. On a very basic level, the value proposition must be relevant and clear about what the collecting initiative brings to all stakeholders, the museum/archives, the contributors and to the end users.

In co-creative projects the question of 'What's in it for me?' has been negotiated beforehand. In the other models of participation emphasising relevance has to be part of the planning:

- Is it motivating enough to promise that the material becomes part of the cultural heritage/archives?
- Are there other engagement initiatives that can help motivate participation?
- Is the initiative easy enough to perform for the museum/archives staff?
- Is the potential collection in line with the museum's/archives' mission?
- What do engagement initiatives bring in terms of goodwill for the institution?

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12. There are established design methods for digital services that can be used when drafting collecting initiatives, as was the experience of the CoSoPho project, such as http://www.leanservicecreation.com. Here several of the terms used in the proposed design of collecting initiatives are explained.

Perhaps above all, the relevance must be clear to the contributors for them to accept the terms and conditions. It is essential that they understand how collections can be used by the institutions and by others, especially when an open licence is encouraged.

User journey mapping

A useful method for understanding how the concept can be relevant and how it will be perceived by the users/contributors is *user journey mapping*, which allows the museum/archives to map the steps through the collecting process and predict possible steps that can cause problems, such as malfunctioning tools or incomprehensible content online. This method has not been specifically developed for collecting social digital photography, but as collecting now becomes a public experience, looking at user journey mapping for public museum experiences becomes relevant.[13]

If the museum/archives fail to communicate the relevance, purpose and intent of use of the collecting initiative the reaction might be negative. This happened in the Stockholm terrorist attack collection in 2017 where the museum reached a completely new audience, unfamiliar with the museum's mission, resulting in some people questioning why a museum would want to collect personal photographs from a tragic event.

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13. A relatively recent example is the experience mapping carried out by London's Victoria and Albert Museum: https://www.vam.ac.uk/blog/digital/designing-a-new-welcome-experience-at-the-va

Develop a draft initiative – test

Prototyping

The next step is producing a draft/prototype for the collecting initiative, once the concept and value propositions are in place. Testing can be performed with a small group of people, preferably representatives of stakeholders.

The draft/prototype initiative might consist of a small number of components, such as:

- Communicative content for outreach
- A paper prototype of the digital form for uploading content
- The full terms and conditions text
- Fictive activities of acquisition where staff examine collected metadata to see if it brings enough context to the collection

User testing

The following is recommended to test with users:

- Communicative content that will inform and motivate contributors to donate their photos. Is the information transparent enough? Is it informative enough? Is it engaging to the extent that people will contribute?
- Digital services that will be used for uploading of content – are they functioning as intended? Do they pose problems for users at some points? Are they comprehensible? Are they perceived as trustworthy?
- Terms and conditions – are they understandable?

When using rapid response collecting there is no time for user testing, which suggests staff must be comfortable about the process and have clear workflows in place beforehand to avoid creating experiences that negatively affect the collecting initiative. This is also a good reason for adopting agile work practices and using a responsive approach to adapting the initiative as the event unfolds.

Refine and iterate

After the concept has been prototyped and tested on users it should be refined and iterated according to test results.

Deliver initiative, evaluate and iterate

The actual delivery – the public facing activity – of a collecting initiative for social digital photography involves:

- Outreach, to inform and communicate
- Active participation by staff to monitor and engage in dialogue
- A responsive approach, to adjust activities depending on responses from stakeholders
- Collecting through an online tool
- Evaluation
- Decision to scale or end initiative

Outreach

To build a communicative campaign for collecting social digital photography and engaging audiences in becoming contributors, the museum/archive must:

- create content that sparks dialogue and contributes to a trustworthy conversation
- collaborate internally between staff working with communication and collection
- plan for content creation and engaging dialogue with contributors throughout the initiative

Though it is time-consuming to produce content for online campaigns, communicating the collecting initiative online is necessary, and can be the starting point for fruitful dialogue with audiences and contributors. To ensure content is engaging, bringing skills like storytelling to communicative efforts is encouraged, as pointed out by Faherty (2019), among others.

Active monitoring and participation

As mentioned above, the use of social media services will enable staff to actively monitor and participate in social media, and in the conversations online, regarding both the topic and the collecting initiative.

Responsive approach

Regardless of whether the collecting initiative is long-term or rapid response, a responsive approach will en-

sure the best possible result as activities can be adjusted according to the responses of users or events as they unfold.

Monitoring the online tool for collecting

Just as monitoring of online activities and dialogue with stakeholders/users and contributors is central, so is monitoring of the tools in use. If the tools fail and it is not possible to solve the issues with short notice, a decision to end the initiative should be made, as insufficient or faulty tools discourage people from contributing.

Other reasons for monitoring are to ensure no inappropriate or ethically sensitive content is uploaded and published, and to be able to respond to issues discovered by users of the tool, or simply to support users in the uploading process.

Evaluate

Once the collecting initiative is finished it is time to evaluate all efforts and results.
Suggested areas to evaluate:

- Outreach efforts (Did the online campaign reach the intended audience? Did it spark negative reactions? How was this handled?)
- Methods for collecting and documentation (Could the material have been collected more effectively through other methods? Was enough

metadata collected? Did additional documentation provide intended context?)
- Use of staff resources (was the workload reasonable for the staff? Were there unexpected circumstances affecting the staff negatively, beyond what could be expected?)
- Performance of collecting tools (Were there issues with the tools used for collection?)
- Quality of collected material (Is there enough metadata? Is the collected material representative of what has been shared for example through a hashtag?)
- Did ethical issues occur that were not anticipated? How were they handled?

Scale or end initiative

Once the evaluation has been carried out, informed decisions can be made about whether to scale the initiative or end it if satisfactory results have been achieved. Scaling could involve extending the initiative, enhancing outreach efforts, engaging additional collaborating partners or adding other methods to complement collected material with further context.

If satisfactory results have been achieved then ending the collecting initiative is the next step, which requires communicating the decision through appropriate channels, disabling uploading through the form and moving on to acquiring the collected material and making sure that it is placed in the proper repositories (collection management systems etc.).

4. Guiding principles

These guiding principles summarise the three areas the CoSoPho project have found are most impacted by social digital photography, and that require attention in new collecting policies.

A human-centered approach

Ethical human-centred work practices are required when considering the needs and behaviours of all stakeholders in a collecting project, from engagement of contributors using inclusive methods, to building relationships with collaborating partners, to designing tools and interfaces for contributing and accessing collections.
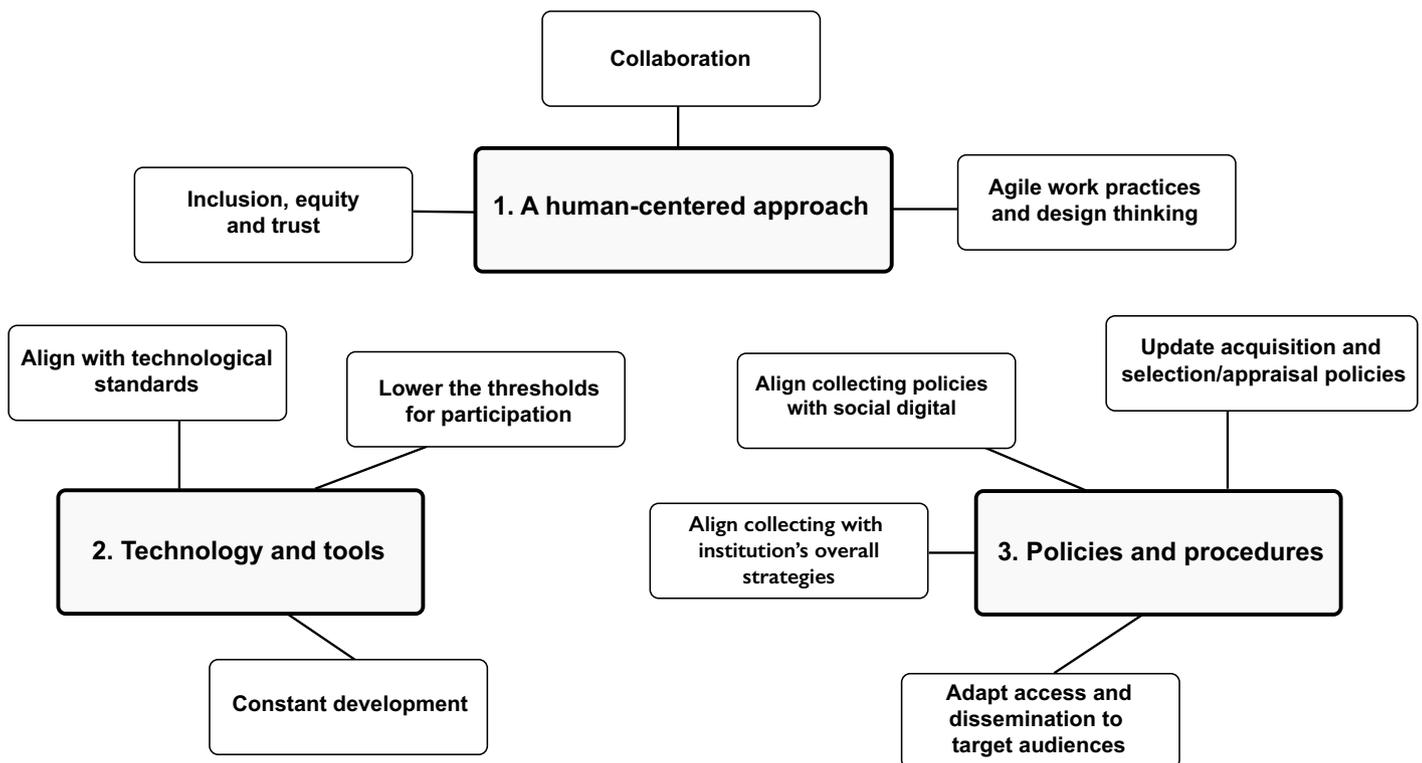
Guiding principles for collecting social digital photography.

There is no law obliging museums and archives to collect everyday social digital photographs in the Nordic Countries,[14] except if the photos are considered public documents and therefore should be collected according to the archives law.[15] This means the user should be informed and motivated in other ways, through audience engagement and inclusive methods. An outreach and engagement strategy needs to be in place to obtain the required relationship between the stakeholders and a successful result, i.e. collected photographs, as Lenstra (2017) among others have emphasised.

There are other reasons for using inclusive methods. As described by Silvén (2010, 141–142):

> Collecting, field research, and collections management have become a public interface, a channel whereby a museum can communicate with its users, and become an arena where they can meet in a joint quest for knowledge and multi-faceted understandings. In parallel, collecting and collections management have turned into emancipatory tools for groups who want to make their imprint onto the public creation of history, particularly indigenous peoples and minorities.

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14. There is also no law for collecting analogue photographs, unless they are considered public documents.
15. Sweden: https://www.riksdagen.se/sv/dokument-lagar/dokument/ svensk- forfattningssamling/arkivlag-1990782_sfs-1990-782 (Accessed Jan 25 2020).
Denmark: https://www.sa.dk/wp-content/uploads/2014/10/Arkivloven-lovbekendtgoerelse-nr-1035-af-21-aug-2007.pdf (Accessed Jan 25 2020).
Finland: https://www.finlex.fi/sv/laki/ajantasa/1994/19940831 (Accessed Jan 25 2020).

Participation is therefore to be regarded both in a social and political sense but also in an educational sense, as suggested by Rössig and Jahn (2019). As collecting and collections evolve into arenas for participation and co-creation, the conclusion is that outreach, collection and dissemination have to be strategically planned as a whole and aligned with the museum's/archive's collecting policies, involving discussions around ethics and equity, access and reciprocity and power-sharing and balancing imbalances, as well as the individual's active role in the learning process.

Working with people and organisations should always be the starting point for collecting social digital photography. Contemporary collecting means collecting from the photographers themselves using inclusive methods to open up multivocality and facilitate a more democratic development of heritage and archives collections. In this way, participatory collecting processes as well as dissemination of these photos has the potential to contribute to the museum's/archive's goals of creating social impact. To achieve this, collaboration often needs to take place in several directions, between institutions and the public, between and within institutions, and in collaboration with public and non-profit sectors as well as commercial partners.

The CoSoPho project acknowledges that the definitions of what participation actually means in the context of collecting are fluid and open to constant contestation and debate, as claimed by Flinn and Sexton (2019, 174). The term implies handing over power or control, or in some cases never performing control, as in non-mediated community archives (Benoit III and Roeschley 2019, 160). However, in practice mediated participation is most often used on a very basic level,

where the museum/archive is more of a facilitator rather than actually handing over control, a discussion also raised by Rössig and Jahn (2019).

I. Inclusion, equity and trust

Regardless of which level of participation is achieved, the people contributing with photos should be at the very core of collaboration, to allow for the ethical co-creation of heritage on more equal terms and to ensure equity and trust. Understanding needs, problems and behaviours of communities and individuals is therefore a foundation for relevant collecting initiatives, which in turn requires institutions to let go of some control and ensure transparency around collecting projects.

Understanding participation and its impact on collecting initiatives "is not only a question of power-sharing but also of mutual enrichment through new perspectives and mutual learning. The main focus is on creating an added value for all sides by offering opportunities for participation" (Rössig and Jahn 2019). To achieve added value for all stakeholders the museum/archive needs to:

- Achieve and maintain a close understanding of structures and contexts that can affect participation positively or negatively
- Create a relevant and engaging dialogue, through carefully planned engagement initiatives, with communities from whom the museum/archive wishes to collect
- Invite communities to become active co-facilitators and co-curators of joint collecting and engagement initiatives

- Encourage new roles for curators and archivists as community facilitators, rather than gatekeepers
- Continue the dialogue with communities around access and dissemination and through this build trust long-term with stakeholders

II. Collaborate internally and externally

Developing collecting initiatives, regardless of scale, requires strategic collaboration between internal and external stakeholders as well as with users. A starting point is internal cross-departmental collaboration, as collecting and outreach merge into a joint activity. Several competences are required, such as digital skills, social media and audience engagement skills, curatorial expertise and collections management skills. In small organisations this might require collaborating with partners who can bring in the skills needed.

The contributors of photos should be the core focus, with understanding their needs, incentives, problems and behaviours being central to this. The goal should be to carefully balance the needs and benefits of the public alongside the long-term preservation requirements of the social digital photography being collected. To successfully collect from a community, collaboration with stakeholders and ambassadors[16] from this community is recommended.

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16. Engaged community members that can help reach the intended audience.

III. Adopt human-centred work methods, such as agile and design thinking

Design thinking is a useful method for the human-centred approach and consequently also offers ways of understanding the needs and behaviours of audiences and target groups as well as collaborating partners:

> "Design thinking is a non-linear, iterative process which seeks to understand users, challenge assumptions, redefine problems and create innovative solutions to prototype and test.The method consists of 5 phases—Empathize, Define, Ideate, Prototype and Test and is most useful when you want to tackle problems that are ill-defined or unknown."
>
> (Interaction Design Foundation 2019)

Once the collecting project has been defined it can be further developed, scaled and refined through iterative cycles, using agile work methods. Agile[17] means quick and easy workflows that are responsive and can adapt to changes during the work period (Vermeeren, Calvi and Sabiescu 2018; Sarvas, Nevanlinna and Pesonen 2017; Nilsson and Ottesen Hansen 2018; Hegley, Tongen and David 2016). Agile is used to emphasise the need for:

- Cross-departmental small teams with multiple competences, of which digital competences are central

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17. Agile methods derive from software development and are a human- and results-focused approach aimed at responding to a rapidly-changing world. They are centred around adaptive planning, self-organisation, and short delivery times, and are flexible, fast, and aim for continuous improvements in quality.

- Starting small and scaling the collecting initiative based on experiences along the way
- A responsive work practice, using iterative cycles, allowing for quick responses in a rapidly-changing environment
- Performing user research to deliver value to all stakeholders and audiences
- Regarding the collecting initiative as a working product, a prototype or even MVP (Minimum Viable Product) that should be evolved in iterative cycles
- Performing ongoing evaluation and being prepared to make adjustments after each iterative cycle to get the most effective results; making new decisions based on recent evaluation
- Supporting experimentation with new approaches by providing safe spaces within the organisation to explore, fail and learn to reach the desired goal

Experimenting with online engagement, with new collecting interfaces or new forms for collaboration is where new work practices are developed and implemented. By creating safe spaces for staff to evolve collecting practices, where exploration is encouraged, failure is allowed, and strong support is delivered from the management, museums and archives will be better equipped to work in a constantly-changing environment.

Technology and tools

Digital tools for collecting that are adapted to users' behaviours and needs and therefore enabling participation and collaboration, following the policies and procedures of collecting

and long-term preservation standards, constantly developed to remain relevant and useful, will provide a sustainable infrastructure for contributors, staff and audiences to interact around collections of social digital photography.

The CoSoPho project recognises that museums and archives have become adept at working with digital tools for managing and sharing existing collections. However, as technology has developed, the types of collections museums and archives acquire have also developed. Social digital photography, as just one example of this, poses challenges to established museum and archive acquisition methods as well as existing collections management systems. Born-digital material requires rapid collecting and requires tools for uploading[18] and adding metadata.

As photographers themselves are encouraged to make contributions, the tools must be trustworthy and manifest the institution's intentions around participation, they must be user-friendly, facilitate the collection of relevant context to the collecting initiative, deal with rights, terms and conditions as well as privacy issues and give the option for the contributors to see their uploaded material immediately to ensure transparency, either publicly or when logged into the service. The tools must also be compliant with the museum's/archive's collections management systems in terms of access, storage of metadata and long-term preservation of image files.

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18. Rather than emailing or delivering on USB. Using online tools is a way to ensure a smooth workflow, manage informed consent through terms and conditions and reduces staff efforts of adding metadata and the content to the collections management system.

While tools do exist, for example *Giv det videre*, *Minnen* and *Samtidsbild*,[19] they have often been designed for specific projects or institutions. *Minnen* is an exception that allows for multiple museums to use the tool with multiple collecting initiatives. A major reason for the CoSoPho project developing a new prototype web app, *Collecting Social Photo*, is that many institutions do not have a tool for collecting. The CoSoPho web app has therefore been developed as an open source online collecting tool for social digital photography for use across the museum and archives sectors. Another equally important reason has been to closely examine the entire process of collecting photographs and the relations between contributors and museums/archives.

The CoSoPho web app carries the basic functions of an image uploading tool. It is adapted to the needs of museums and archives – such as being able to launch a collecting initiative with a few simple steps and collecting image files and contextual information as well as EXIF data – and at the same time tries to meet the needs of contributors such as low thresholds, incentives to use the web app and transparency around the collecting project. Additional features were discussed in the project, such as uploading of video, sound and documents, and implementing image recognition tools.

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19. Giv det videre, http://www.givdetvidere2017.dk, is a Danish site for sharing stories and images, led by, among others, the City Archives of Aarhus. *Minnen*, http://www.minnen.se is a Swedish site for sharing stories and media files, produced in collaboration with Kultur-IT and the Norwegian Norsk Folkemuseum, with the Norwegian equivalent http://www.minner.no. http://www.samtidsbild.se is a site developed by the Stockholm County Museum aimed at collection of born-digital photography.

To further adapt the use of technology in online collecting, always aligning to the users' and institutions' needs, the CoSoPho project recommends ongoing exploration of and experimentation with emerging and future technologies. This will allow museums and archives to ensure a sustainable and up-to-date collection of digital social photography. With this comes responsibilities of ensuring that the use of these technologies is ethical, and that ongoing discussions in the sector are held around possible use of, for example, facial recognition in heritage collections. Discussions around possible integration of collecting tools and collections management systems should also be developed.

As stated above, collecting and collections now have the role of arenas where museums and archives can communicate with their users, meeting "in a joint quest for knowledge and multi-faceted understandings" (Silvén 2010). However, existing collections databases generally do not allow for multiple voices. This means that primarily it is the museum/archive staff who can edit records, and there are often no metadata fields for content supplied by the contributor or collaborating communities, especially ones that would be given equal weighting to the content produced by the museum/archive. There have been efforts in the museum and archives sector at user tagging, but so far there have been no extended efforts to include multiple voices around descriptions of images and objects, separating and properly attributing multiple knowledges around a photograph or an object.

For tools aimed at online collecting the CoSoPho project recommends the following:

IV. Use technology to lower thresholds, not create barriers

A collecting tool needs to accommodate easy set-up of collecting initiatives, both for long-term and rapid response collecting. The tool needs to have low barriers to use, both for the public and for museum and archive staff. This might mean making a compromise around the level of metadata and context collected.

The tool must:

- Provide a relevant, useful and comprehensible user experience from mobile phones as this is the camera most frequently used today,[20] and the most frequently used tool when accessing the Internet.[21] The photographers uploading must feel that it adds value and makes sense to contribute with the photos of their choice and the uploading process must be easy to understand.
- Enable the collection of enough context/metadata enriching the photograph to ensure its value as source material. Information like geolocation, time and date can be automatically retrieved through the image's EXIF information. To engage contributors to add more metadata further development of both engagement methods and user interfaces must be explored.[22]

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20. https://www.statista.com/chart/5782/digital-camera-shipments/ (Accessed Nov 11, 2019)

21. According to the Swedish statistics report *Svenskarna och internet* 2019, 95 % of Swedish internet users use a mobile phone to access the Internet: https://svenskarnaochinternet.se/rapporter/svenskarna-och-internet-2019/allmant-om-internetutvecklingen/

22. The tool might be developed to further accommodate content specifically asked for by the museum/archive, for example responses to topical questions or uploading of other types of media files.

- Allow for additional metadata to be added by staff members, contextualising the photo and/or collecting initiative.
- Facilitate the collection of file formats and metadata that fit the collections management system as well as digital preservation standards,[23] and be aware of the potential "massive number of images entering … collections with a lack of consistency among the content" (Besser 2016).
- Ensure a safe procedure for contributors. Collecting should always be performed with informed consent, following policies for handling personal data, IPR and sensitive material.[24] Safe also means transparency around collecting from the museum/archive, and how it differs from commercial platforms such as Google, Facebook or Instagram. As a default CoSoPho recommends publishing collected material immediately, for transparency and for creating incentives to contribute. However, depending on the topic, options should be available to send images directly to the archives, not being available to the public for a set period of time as agreed upon in the terms and conditions.
- Open for deeper participatory experiences and collecting initiatives facilitated by communities from which the museums/archives wish to collect. This could mean handing the tool over to a community who can frame the initiative themselves, in dialogue with museum/archive staff. This could also mean developing personal spaces in the tool where the contributors get an overview of their uploaded material, where they can communicate within communities, with museum/archive staff and also suggest and even set up collecting initiatives.
- Preferably be hosted by and/or developed by companies or organisations that collaborate closely and long-term with heritage institutions. For short-term and initial initiatives, commercial tools can be used, but for long-term and sustainable collecting purpose-built tools must be used.

V. Align with current digital preservation standard formats

Collecting social digital photography requires reassessment of standards that museums and archives currently follow in working with photography collections. The typical social digital photograph raises issues around small image files and reduced image quality and museums and archives need to adjust their standards accordingly.

Expectations within these institutions were raised in the era of digitisation of analogue material, when size could be controlled, and the end results were often large files of 20–80 MB or more. Previously, guidelines for collections management of analogue photographs also recommended primarily acquiring photographs of good image quality, as in the 2006 publication, *Photographs – Archival Care And Management* (Ritzenthaler and Vogt-O'Connor 2008, 80).

An implication of bringing in multiple voices in col-

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23. Such as: https://www.dpconline.org/handbook/institutional-strategies/standards-and-best-practice

24. Besides terms and conditions and privacy policy the museum/archive might consider developing a white paper for transparency such as Documenting Now: https://www.docnow.io/docs/docnow-whitepaper-2018.pdf

lections and archives is that it affects the institution's work with often very standardised metadata and file formats, which should be accounted for when producing policies for collecting social digital photography (Besser 2016; Wagner 2017).

The CoSoPho project recommends:

- Accepting all image file sizes but request the highest available resolution. Accepting low-resolution screenshots and images downloaded from social media services.
- Accepting any image quality if the topic, image content, EXIF data, captions, likes and comments justify collecting.
- Accepting all preservable image file formats recommended by the Library of Congress, as social digital photography can occur in many different formats, such as Jpeg, Gif and Png.[25]
- Accepting metadata files.

VI. Continue to develop the collecting tool

Both photographic practices and technology are constantly evolving. Therefore, museums and archives should be well-acquainted with the tools that could assist in their work. As mentioned earlier, collections management systems and archival repositories are already in use, and how a merging of collecting tools with current collections management systems could be done should be considered, either by evolving collections management systems to become more versatile or by connecting collecting tools with collections management systems through APIs and automatic migration.

For single institutions it is virtually impossible to develop new tools and to keep them up-to-date. Therefore, collaboration between institutions as well as with commercial partners is necessary for bringing collecting tools into mainstream service for museums and archives. Collaboration is also necessary to boost resources around research and monitoring and developing practices for online collecting of other media formats.

Through collaboration, the implementation of new technologies such as image recognition may be possible. There is still a need for further exploration and experimentation in this field to understand possible benefits as well as ethical and political implications, as described by Crawford and Paglen (2019). On the positive side, it can help enrich the metadata for each image and make images more findable; on the negative side, it can bring and enhance bias into the description of the collection.

The CoSoPho project has experimented with image recognition technology and found that its use as a primary means of cataloguing is inadequate,[26] however its use as a secondary tool for enriching metadata to increase access may be implementable with further testing. The project recommends that museums and ar-

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25. Recommendations by Library of Congress: http://www.loc.gov/preservation/resources/rfs/RFS%202019-2020.pdf. This is partly supported by the Swedish National Archives (Jpeg, Tiff and Png): https://riksarkivet.se/rafs?item=106

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26. As the algorithm for image recognition needs further training it can bring existing biases in collections to describe new collections: https://www.excavating.ai/?fbclid=IwAR0qnvRYRjSsPQgoXhUjjkMW9NzOk-PvoAdKIPYD63VI-PETkh2qUXIj-69A

chives continue to experiment in this vein to understand how this and other new and emerging technologies could best be used.

Policies and procedures

Adapting collecting policies to fit social digital photography means considering contemporary photographic practices, legal, ethical and practical aspects of online collection and dissemination, as well as strategies for inclusive methods and the re-consideration of existing criteria for selection and appraisal.

Museums and archives are guided by established policies, procedures and work practices that help support ethical, legal and sustainable approaches to collecting. The new challenges brought on by social digital photography do not change the fact that museums and archives still need to follow collecting policies and procedures, but rather, they also need to explicitly consider the specific requirements of this material in the development of future collecting, appraising, describing and preserving processes.

The CoSoPho project recommends the following:

VII. Align collecting policies with the challenges of social digital photography

The CoSoPho project emphasises the following areas to consider when adapting policies and procedures to social digital photography:

- A person, or a team (depending on the size of the institution) with multiple expertise and sufficient digital skills should be given a mandate to manage collecting initiatives

- Routines for outreach and engagement activities online need to be set up and made part of the collecting projects
- Active collecting is advised as the social digital photographs are at risk of disappearing, being deleted or closed into locked social media accounts
- Building capacity for rapid response collecting is recommended as contemporary topics might appear with short notice
- Use multiple methods for collecting since valuable context such as the user experiences of photo sharing and knowledge of the affordances of social media services might be gained through observation, interviews and documentation, parallel to the online collecting as this will support the use and value of social media archives in the future
- Set up policies for dealing with metadata and file formats as images are contributed by "a huge number of different individuals, each having their own approach to file formats, compression, file-naming conventions, metadata assignment, etc." (Besser 2016, 105)
- Include ethical considerations in the collecting policy, especially for the publishing of collected material
- Decide on terms and conditions as contributors will always need to consent to the collection. Consent concerns privacy issues as well as licensing of images and text for further use. The CoSoPho project recommends open licensing of images (see details below), however, depending on the nature of the collecting initiative, discussions with communities might result in collec-

tions not open to the public and only available to researchers
- Make sure the collecting policy aligns with the institution's overall privacy policy (and if relevant, GDPR), and that this in turn considers the collection of personal information to collections and archives.[27] The privacy policy will decide whether or not the institution can collect and disseminate photographs of people
- Online collecting requires proper digital tools and infrastructures – decide on which to use and how, and what metadata should be collected and added, either manually or semi-automatically

VIII. Align collecting policies with the institution's overall strategies

Consideration of the museum's or archive's strategic mission and goals is essential for any project. The expe-

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27. The General Data Protection Regulation (GDPR) has been interpreted differently in European countries. In Sweden, the archives law regulates collection of personal information. See The Swedish National Archives: https://riksarkivet.se/personuppgifter (Accessed Dec 30, 2019). In the museum sector there is no law regulating collection of personal information, however the Nordiska Museet states that collecting material of cultural historical value is done with the support of the public interest. Sensitive information is only processed in situations when the person clearly has disclosed this information or when there is public interest in preserving the information. The Nordiska Museet Privacy Policy https://www.nordiskamuseet.se/om-museet/integritetspolicy (Accessed Dec 30, 2019). In Finland, recommendations put together by a working group consisting of experts in the heritage sector (KAM-juridiikkaryhmä) work as shared, if not binding, guidelines for archives and museums: https://musiikkiarkisto.fi/kam/wp-content/uploads/2019/05/Tietosuoja-KAM-sektorilla-v1_0.pdf

riences of the CoSoPho project are that engagement activities and the inclusive nature of online collecting aligns with many institutions' overall goals, and that considering online collecting as a potential core activity for an organisation can help in meeting these goals. The CoSoPho project therefore recommends the explicit inclusion of social digital photography collecting in these documents. Conversely, the support of senior management and peer support in devising relevant and effective social digital photography collecting initiatives is equally important. Buy-in from management is also fundamental as online collecting initiatives require commitment from the institution, not just the collections manager or archivist.

IX. Update acquisition and appraisal/selection policies

Social digital photography is produced in huge quantities, and of varying quality, so establishing what to collect may seem a daunting task. Acquisition, appraisal and selection therefore requires special attention. A founding document for that is the institution's existing appraisal/selection policy and criteria.

The way collecting initiatives are designed will also shape the content that is uploaded. There is always a risk that contributors upload what they conceive will be suitable for a museum collection or archives. Being too specific will also eliminate content that might be of interest for the collections.

To effectively collect social digital photography, museums and archives should:

- Allow contributors to share what they consider important and of value

- Carefully design the collecting initiative to allow for open contributions, though the topic might be more or less specified
- Build on established criteria for selecting appropriate photos to be collected, such as the Swedish *Att samla och gallra fotografier* (2003), also discussed from a digital perspective in *Bilder för framtiden* (2013). Adapt existing criteria to social digital photography. The original criteria from 2003 are: documentary criteria (how well the photos document society, events, people, etc.), value as source material/provenance (presence of contextual information, representativity of people, places, events, etc.), artistic and photo historical criteria (representativity of technology and methods, uniqueness), technical criteria (image quality and technical preservation), and economic criteria (the cost of preserving the collected material, cost of deaccessioning)
- Ensure there is a clear understanding about the future use of the photographs. CoSoPho recommends using Creative Commons licensing to reflect the participatory and open nature of social digital photography, rather than more restrictive copyright agreements. Licences recommended are: CC-0 (photo can be used without restrictions), CC-BY (photographer's name must be mentioned), and CC-BY-NC (in some cases there might be a reason for not allowing commercial use). The original terms and conditions of social media platforms need to be considered as well, where relevant, as well as national legislation regarding the use of commercial images

- Allow for contributions not to be published but sent to archives only. This will enable collecting of content that is not suitable for publishing
- Update policies for collecting metadata and what contextual information is needed to ensure the value of the photograph as source material. Update or develop collecting tools to enable contributions of metadata
- Develop routines for transferring and storing metadata and born-digital image files into the museum or archive repositories. These routines depend on the technical infrastructures and transfer can either be done manually or automatically once collected content (metadata and image files) has been mapped to the collections database. Ensure requirements around acceptable file formats are appropriate, clear, and up-to-date (as per recommendation V)

X. Adapt access and dissemination to target audiences

Access should be considered both in terms of intellectual access (language, theory and practices as well as other non-physical barriers that exist in collections and archives) and digital access (available online and/or in reading rooms). As part of ensuring that collections of social digital photography remain intellectually accessible, museum and archive cataloguing processes need to be transparent and co-creative. This needs to be enabled and accounted for in the planning process of a collecting project.

Making collections accessible also means providing access to the digital content, the metadata and image

files. One important shift in dissemination of social digital photography collections is that dissemination is closely connected to collecting, as a means of creating transparency and to create incentives for contributions. This means creating digital access to social digital photography with the same platforms that are used to collect it.

To enable both intellectual and digital access to collections museums and archives should:

- Collaborate with contributors, allowing photographers to have a say in what is important about the context of the collection, beyond their own immediate description of their own photographs.
- Engage in conversations with producers of social digital photography to ensure future access and dissemination practices remain appropriate and useful to them
- In some cases, it might be necessary to set aside resources for public interfaces (online and/or in the museum or archive) that can present the collection in a thematic way to increase access and usability
- Make sure there are routines in place for delivering content from the collections to the public, including technical export functions

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Author Biographies

Elisabeth Boogh B.A. is Collections Strategist, with a focus on digital collecting at the Stockholm County Museum (Stockholms läns museum).

Elisabeth has a background as a photographer at a number of different museums, but since 2011 her work has focused on developing digital tools and strategies for working inclusively and in participatory ways with collecting in collaboration with the citizens of the Stockholm region. Previously she managed the project Images for the future/Bilder för framtiden (2011–2013) resulting in a set of recommendations on how to collect born-digital photography in Sweden.

Elisabeth's interest in museums lies in the convergence of inclusive community work, digital media, photography, collecting and collection management.

Anna Dahlgren is Professor of Art History at Stockholm University. She has published on different aspects of photography, including the digital turn, fashion and advertising photography, Nineteenth century print culture and albums, archives and museum practices. Recent publications include *Fashioned in the North. Nordic Histories, Agents, and Images of Fashion Photography* (Lund: Nordic Academic Press, 2020, editor), *Travel-*

ling Images. Looking Across the Borderlands of Art, Media and Visual Culture, in the series "Rethinking Art's Histories" (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2018) and *Representational Machines. Photography and the Production of Space* (Aarhus: Aarhus University Press, 2013, co-edited).

Lisa Ehlin has a PhD in Fashion Studies, connected to the Research School for Studies in Cultural History at Stockholm University. Her thesis, *Becoming Image: Perspectives on Digital Culture, Fashion and Technofeminism* was published in 2015. Her research focuses on digital image practices in the intersection between different media expressions, popular culture and historical perspectives. She works as a writer, researcher, editor and lecturer.

Kajsa Hartig M.A. is project manager for the Nordic project Collecting Social Photography (CoSoPho), 2017–2020, at the Nordiska Museet, Department of Digital Interaction. She is since 2018 also Head of Collections and Cultural Environments at the regional Västernorrlands museum.

Her interests are in digital transformation in museums, the impact of digital on work practices in collections management and public facing initiatives, as well as in audience engagement online using sustainable dialogue and inclusive methods. Through the CoSoPho project she has, together with the team, explored the challenges of digital on current work practices around photography collections, specifically the collecting of social digital photography in museums and archives.

Bente Jensen, M.A. is an Archivist at Aalborg City Archives, Part-time Lecturer in archives and cultural heritage studies at Aalborg University, Denmark after a period of time as Part-time Associate Professor.

Her interests include theories and methods of participatory archives and archives outreach. Bente has had a focus on visual digital archives for long in her practice as well as her research. She participated in the CoSoPho project, where she together with the team explored the challenges of digital on current work practices around photography collections and how museums and archives can collect social media photographs as digital visual heritage and sources for future research.

Arran Rees is a Doctoral Researcher at the School of Fine Art, History of Art and Cultural Studies in the University of Leeds, and board member of ICOM UK. His research looks into the implications of collecting born-digital material from social media platforms for museums and their collections management practices. Arran has worked in both curatorial and collections management roles for several years in museums across South Wales, and later at the Victoria and Albert Museum. His current research has seen him work with museums and archives in the UK, Denmark, Sweden, Finland, Australia and the USA.

Paula Uimonen, Associate Professor of the Department of Social Anthropology, Stockholm University, is specialized in digital anthropology, and the anthropology of art, literature, visual culture and transnationalism. She is a member of the steering group of the ECREA Visual Cultures Section and was co-initiator of the Nordic Network on Digital Visuality (NNDV). Paula has been principal researcher in the Collecting Social Photo project, investigating how museums and archives can collect social media photographs as digital visual heritage. In another project, Paula is researching African women writers in world literature, based on ethnographic fieldwork in Nigeria and Tanzania. Recent publications include: #MeToo in Sweden (2019), African women writers and digital infrastructure (2019), and mobile photography in Tanzania (2016).

Anni Wallenius, M.A. in Art History, works as Chief Collections Curator at The Finnish Museum of Photography (Suomen valokuvataiteen museo) in Helsinki, Finland. Anni is a member of the steering group of TAKO, Acquisitions, Documentation and Collection Collaboration Network for professionally managed Finnish museums. Through the CoSoPho project Anni has, together with the Nordic team and her colleagues at The Finnish Museum of Photography, explored the challenges and possibilities social digital photography brings for museums and archives. Anni's interests lie in developing sustainable methods and practices to bring photography collections, contemporary collecting and audiences together in meaningful, relevant ways.

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Connect to Collect

Approaches to Collecting Social Digital Photography in Museums and Archives

In a social digital world, the role of photography has changed dramatically. Today a large number of photographs are found on social media and the Internet, and many photographs are stored in smartphones. This change has profound implications for museums and archives. From being static, clearly delimited and regarded as memories, art or documentation, photographs have become intensely social and are often part of an ongoing online dialogue. They are born both social and digital.

Connect to Collect shares the results of the Nordic research project *Collecting Social Photo* (2017–2020), which has explored the collection of social digital photography in new and innovative ways. The anthology consists of four parts, starting with a conceptual framing, followed by the results from eleven case studies, using a variety of collection methods. New collecting interfaces are presented, including a prototype developed in the project. The last part is a set of recommendations and a tool kit for museums and archives.

A central purpose of *Connect to Collect* is to inspire future efforts. It points out how social digital photographs can be an important (re)source for history research and cultural heritage. It also discusses how such photography collections may be of considerable value to museums and archives in the near future: as a public arena for knowledge exchange, collaboration and interaction between institutions, contributors and the public.

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