

Shaping Organizational Image-Power Through Images: Case Histories of Instagram

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Abstract – Popular genres of social software increasingly act as regularized discourse within organizations. Recently, image-intensive social software applications have seen rapid adoption as another communicative genre within the ecology of the contemporary organization's social software strategy. These social software genre ecologies may help organizations actively shape what Faber calls *image-power*, the organization's self-conscious, self-reflective management of public perception and the concomitant shaping of patron identities. This paper proposes and then explores a qualitative coding schema for understanding organizational implementations of Instagram within a prominent news organization, a non-profit, and a for-profit retailer.

Index Terms – Humanizing, image-power, Instagram, photo sharing, Pinterest, qualitative, social software.

INTRODUCTION

The proliferation of social software applications in professional environments is widening the scope of public communicative genres with which savvy organizations must contend [1]. Indeed, these public genres, previously seen as inconsequential or largely informal, increasingly function as regularized discourse within organizations [2, 3]. Managing an organization's Facebook page, Twitter profile, and YouTube channel—among many other options—is no longer a peripheral practice in a strategic communications plan; instead, it is central to fostering both internal identity and external image [4, 5]. Within the last two years, social software applications that explicitly leverage mobile affordances (such as Foursquare and Path) and image sharing (such as Instagram and Pinterest) have seen rapid adoption among individuals and organizations alike. Image-intensive applications, in particular, are central to the social software genre ecologies [6] that may help organizations actively shape what Faber [7] calls *image-power*, the organization's self-conscious, self-reflective management

of public perception and the concomitant shaping of patron and audience identities.

The mobile photo sharing application Instagram has been at the forefront of popularizing image-intensive social software. The adoption of Instagram among professional organizations is significant in that it signals a mobile, visually predominant, ostensibly organic mode of sharing organizational image which differs qualitatively from professional photography in the support of branded communication. As part of an organization's social software genre ecology, Instagram, quite simply, uses images to communicate vision. In this way, Instagram becomes a crucial mediating genre in the shaping of organizational image-power.

In the following sections, I detail Faber's notion of image-power, and I consider the affordances of Instagram within that context, describing in turn my analytic frame for exploring social software genres as regularized discourse. I then propose a qualitative coding schema for understanding typified organizational implementations of Instagram. As I discuss below, this schema was developed over several months of archiving and analyzing Instagram posts from organizations in very different sectors. After describing the development and testing of this schema, I apply the schema to case histories of Instagram use within a prominent news organization, a non-profit, and a for-profit retailer to show how organizations are shaping image-power through the strategic sharing of images.

IMAGE-POWER AND SOCIAL SOFTWARE

“Organizational image,” Faber argues, “can be seen to be a component of corporate ethos” [7]. Organizations must dynamically shape their public image through a variety of communicative and mediating genres even as groups and individuals outside of organizations form their own perceptions of the organization's image. “Powerful organizations,” Faber contends, “are able to influence the ways in which others view them” [7]. This ability to shape external perceptions of organizational image is at the center of Faber's notion of image-power. Faber argues that a “powerful organization is able to manufacture an

external image that will stick in the minds of consumers, competitors, and other stakeholders within a given sector” [7]. Organizations must work to achieve alignment between their internal identity—how they see and think of themselves in everyday practice—and external image—how *others* perceive the organization in everyday practice.

Indeed, the production and distribution of images are central to shaping both internal identity and external image. In contemporary organizations, such images may take many forms—graphics, logotypes, the public persona of a key figure represented in popular and trade media, videography, and photography—in many genres and venues. But developing and maintaining image-power is not only a function of alignment between organizational identity and image, but the strategic, self-reflective ability to actively shape external perceptions of organizational image. Image-power, therefore, is *discursive*—it is comprised of communicative and mediating genres and “created strategically using specialized discourse, visuals, sounds, and other forms of . . . rhetoric” [7]. It is through the communicative genre ecology of a given organization that external image is developed and disseminated, and the extent to which an organization is said to maintain image-power may be realized through its “ability to reproduce, alter, create, or otherwise influence the way other people perceive images” [7].

Social software genres are increasingly important to contemporary organizations that wish to strategically reproduce and maintain image-power. Moreover, the growth of image-intensive social software applications has brought photographs to the forefront of a savvy organization’s communication strategy, and Instagram is a company that is currently leading the way. Launched in 2010, Instagram provides a mobile photo sharing application that allows users to shoot an image, quickly process that image by adding one of several pre-defined filters and borders (many of which add a vintage and nostalgic flair while diminishing imperfections), and then share the image to the Instagram community and other social software properties (such as Facebook, Twitter, and Flickr).

Originally developed for Apple’s iOS platform, Instagram released a version of the application for the popular Android platform in early April, 2012. Current estimates suggest that there are over 30 million registered accounts. As a mobile application, Instagram has proven to be extremely successful with users and developers alike; Apple named Instagram its 2011 “App of the Year.” Instagram’s popularity shows no signs of diminishing; in fact, Facebook recently agreed to acquire Instagram for a reported \$1 billion in cash and stock [8]. Such a move is especially salient for organizations that use both Instagram and Facebook since the acquisition potentially widens the scope and audience for Instagram posts.

Instagram leverages many of the key affordances of other popular social software genres, including a reverse-chronological timeline, liking and commenting features, and asymmetric follower relationships. Like tweets or status updates, Instagram photos often act as pivots for social interaction between users and organizations. In this way, professional instantiations of Instagram can help shape an organization’s image through the strategic sharing of Instagram photos. It is important to stress that Instagram strongly depends on the affordances of mobile and ubiquitous computing. Instagram is not a web-based application; it is currently designed to be used only from mobile devices, a characteristic that encourages certain forms of posting and interaction that are discussed in more detail below.

Like any social software application, Instagram strongly *mediates* an organization’s attempts at shaping external image. Researchers calling on activity theory have posited volitional, goal-directed, tool-mediated interaction as a key to human activity. Nardi contends that “Activity theory proposes a strong notion of *mediation*—all human experience is shaped by the tools and sign systems we use. Mediators connect us organically and intimately to the world” [9, emphasis in original]. In fact, the objects with which we interact bring along rich and complex histories and norms that, in part, govern their use. “Tool mediation,” Kaptelinin argues, “is a way of transmitting cultural knowledge” [10], a way of shaping human activities, often in typified, regularized, and yet localized ways.

North American genre theorists working from the perspective of activity theory have explored the development and maintenance of communicative genres as regularizing and stabilizing mediators of everyday human interaction [see, for example, 11, 12, 13 and 14]. Spinuzzi’s work in particular addresses the role of genres in mediating human activity. He argues that most users of computing technologies operate within several genres that constitute an *ecology*—“an interrelated group of tools that you use to jointly mediate your activities” [15]. Organizations increasingly leverage social software ecologies through what Spinuzzi calls *compound mediation*, “the ways that people habitually coordinate sets of artifacts [or tools] to mediate or carry out their activities” [13].

Seeing social software genres in an ecology of compound or joint mediation highlights the ad hoc, “idiosyncratic, divergent understandings and uses of artifacts and the practices that surround them as they develop within a given cultural-historical milieu” [13]. I have found the analytic framework of genre ecologies—based in activity theory’s strong notion of mediation—to be especially useful for exploring the discursive practices inherent in organizational implementations of image-intensive social software genres. I turn now to the methodology used in this study, and the proposed schema.

METHODOLOGY

Given my analytic framework and an abiding interest in the ways that organizations are using image-intensive social software to shape image-power, I set about systematically archiving Instagram posts from organizations in three sectors: news media, non-profits, and for profit businesses. The overriding methodological approach was the qualitative content analysis of a purposeful sample of organizations in these sectors [16]. My goal at the start of this project was to simply determine some general patterns of Instagram use that might give researchers in professional communication a framework and starting point for better understanding and analyzing an image-intensive social software application as one genre among many mediating organizational image. Through several months of archiving and analyzing Instagram posts in three sectors, I developed and tested a qualitative coding schema (discussed in the following section) that may be applied by professional communication researchers as start codes for investigating particular organizational uses of Instagram.

The collection and archiving of Instagram posts began in early November, 2011 as I chose over 15 organizations to follow for a two-week period. During this time, my goal was simply to find a purposeful sample of representative organizations in the three sectors noted above; I eventually chose to conduct more systematic collection, archiving, and analysis of three organizations that seemed to be taking strategic advantage of Instagram's affordances: NPR news, Heifer International, a global non-profit focused on sustainable solutions to ending hunger and poverty, and ModCloth, an online-only vintage clothing and accessory retailer.

Since Instagram has only a rudimentary web-based user interface, I used Webstagram to view individual posts. Drawing from the Instagram application programming interface, Webstagram accurately displays metadata, comments, likes, GPS data, and photo filters for each individual Instagram post in a browser window. Using DEVONthink's web archive file format (which preserves full web pages, including design and layout), I systematically collected and archived every NPR post from December, 2011 to April, 2012 (N=53), every Heifer International post since the organization began its Instagram account in September, 2011 to April, 2012 (N=36), and every ModCloth post from December, 2011 to April, 2012 (N=206), resulting in a total sample of 295 posts across three organizations in three sectors.

First cycle coding methods occurred progressively—I used descriptive and process coding techniques to analyze posts on a daily and/or weekly basis, as they occurred, refining my understanding of how these organizations were using Instagram by writing three analytic memos during this period. During progressive coding, I refined my focus to conscious, volitional, and goal-directed

mediation discernible in the content and contexts of each post; through such analysis I determined that process coding practices were most appropriate for this study. As Saldaña notes, process coding is a technique that “uses gerunds (-ing words) exclusively to connote action” in observed phenomena [17]. Process coding techniques also focus on the consequences of actions and interactions [17]; given the apparent use of Instagram to shape organizational image, process coding is especially useful for surfacing organizational actions and some of the results of those actions.

In further refining my approach, process codes yielded the most fruitful insights across the three analytic axes I deemed most readily discernible: the content of a given photo, the organization-defined written description of that photo, and the interactions (or lack thereof) between the organization and audiences through comments on a given post. In my analysis of the sample, I also closely traced three key descriptive codes: the popularity of a particular photo (defined by a propriety Instagram algorithm), the filter chosen by the user, and whether or not GPS data was enabled for a given post. These descriptive codes are useful for adding context to the key process codes described in more detail below.

Still other axes for analysis are possible, including audience commentary and cross-talk, the specific content of user commentary, and image tagging practices, to name but a few. I chose not to trace and analyze these analytic axes for two main reasons: first, given the aims of this project and its intentionally restricted scope, detailed analyses of photo composition practices, filter selection, and user cross-talk was simply not in my purview; second, and more importantly, I did not feel that I could credibly interpret how an organization decided to compose a photo—its explicit agentive intent—without triangulating that interpretation with other forms of data (such as observations of, or interviews with, the user composing the photo). As I discuss in the following section, by choosing to focus primarily on process coding across the axes of photo content, photo description and tagging, and direct interaction with audiences I was able to discern typified actions that serve as indicators of the active shaping of image-power across the sample. Detailed analyses across different analytic axes may be performed in more robust studies, where the following schema may act as a reliable starting point.

ORIENTING AND HUMANIZING: A SCHEMA FOR ANALYZING ORGANIZATIONAL IMPLEMENTATIONS OF INSTAGRAM

After reflecting upon and refining first cycle coding through analytic memos, I developed a schema consisting of six process categories that were prevalent across the sample, and that appear central to the shaping of organizational image-power:

TABLE 1. CODING SCHEMA FOR INSTAGRAM USE IN ORGANIZATIONS

Process Category	Description	Instances
Orienting	Post provides audiences with a recognizable landmark or artifact that acts as a pivot related to organizational image; also includes tagging practices	210
Humanizing	Post explicitly humanizes organizational identity by featuring a member of the org, or <i>performs</i> the organizational identity at human-scale; also: images of food, pets, or music as moves in humanizing the organization's everyday	127
Interacting	Post displays explicit interaction with audiences, through an image itself, or in the comments thread	50
Placemaking	Post involves an organization "placing" their identity within specific material locations as a way of reinforcing the organization's core image	93
Showcasing	Post involves the direct display of consumer products or goods for sale	93
Crowdsourcing	Post includes the broad solicitation of feedback, participation, or other engagement with the organization through Instagram or another organization property	37

When applying the schema, I emphasized the relationship between the content of the image itself (the first axis of analysis) and the primary code to be applied. Secondary and tertiary codes were then applied where applicable, based on consideration of the other two analytic axes (photo description and tagging, and direct interaction with audiences). In order to determine the viability of this schema for other researchers, I tested interrater reliability across 20% of the sample. One rater was trained during a 20-minute session by collaboratively viewing and coding 15 posts—five from each organization. The rater was instructed to code in a stepwise sequence across the three analytic axes noted above: photo content, photo description and tagging, and direct interaction with audiences. After this brief training session, the rater coded a total of 59 posts on her own (10 from NPR, 7 from Heifer International, and 42 from ModCloth). Using Cohen's Kappa to take into account agreement by chance, Table 2 indicates that the rater reliably applied the coding schema.

TABLE 2. INTERRATER RELIABILITY ACROSS 6-CODE SCHEMA

Process Category	Simple Agreement	Cohen's Kappa
Orienting	91.5%	.82
Humanizing	93.2%	.862
Interacting	100%	1
Placemaking	91.5%	.781
Showcasing	93.2%	.841
Crowdsourcing	96.6%	.838

By attending to the instances of each category across the sample (see Table 1), we can see that orienting and humanizing moves were predominant. The organizations in the sample frequently provided images that invited audiences to orient themselves to key landmarks or artifacts central to the organizational image. For example, a Heifer International photo of a pig (<http://instagr.am/p/LHRFP/>) reinforces one aspect of the organization's central mission, which is to provide livestock to the needy as a sustainable means for alleviating poverty and hunger. For audiences familiar with Heifer's mission, the photo serves as an orienting artifact because it allows audiences to align their personal identity and charitable interests with concrete instantiations of the organization's image. In another example, a black and white ModCloth photo shows a close-up shot of vintage black and white high-heeled women's shoes (<http://instagr.am/p/IyCfKYQFpk/>). Here,

the black and white photo filter, close-up composition, and shoe design all reinforce ModCloth's organizational image of vintage taste, providing audiences with a clear artifact through which they might orient their own sense of fashion and style.

Many posts also show how Instagram was used to humanize organizations and to place the organization in specific physical locations. A blurry, grainy NPR photo of correspondent David Greene at work on the Trans-Siberian Railway (<http://instagr.am/p/XGx6g/>) serves to both humanize the organization by foregrounding one of its contributing members and to reinforce the organization's image as following news stories through all parts of the earth. Photos of pets and food also serve a humanizing function; numerous ModCloth photos of baked goods (<http://instagr.am/p/X-uSO/>) and pets—"ModDogs" (<http://instagr.am/p/eNLPX/>)—provide audiences with everyday glimpses of what it is like on the "inside." These posts frequently elicit commentary from ModCloth devotees suggesting the sometimes fervent desire to be a part of the organization.

Finally, organizations used Instagram to engage audiences through direct interactions, through crowdsourcing moves, and in the case of ModCloth, through showcasing moves that invite consumers to incorporate a given look or style into their own identities by making a purchase of ModCloth merchandise. In the following section, I examine case histories of each organization as a way of better understanding their predominant photo sharing practices and the ways they each use Instagram to potentially shape organizational image-power.

CASE HISTORIES OF INSTAGRAM AND IMAGE-POWER

In this section, I describe in more detail the findings I gleaned from applying and holistically analyzing the coding schema for Instagram posts from NPR, Heifer International, and ModCloth. For each organization, I provide an overview of Instagram use patterns, a discussion of predominant practices within the organization, and commentary on overall themes relevant to the organization's attempts to shape image-power via mobile photo sharing.

I. @npr

National Public Radio was one of the first major organizations to adopt and creatively use Instagram. As such, the NPR account is currently followed by almost 150,000 Instagram users. Its Instagram profile indicates that NPR's visual media department manages the account. To date, NPR has published 260 photos; the sample under consideration for this study, therefore, comprises 21% of the organization's total output to date. Given NPR's large following and international stature, a few trends from analysis of the sample are unsurprising. For example,

NPR posts frequently generate vigorous commentary among other Instagram users; in a stretch of posts composed during the thick of the 2012 Republican Presidential primaries, users often debated politics from predictably binary viewpoints. Additionally, 39 of the 53 posts in the sample—some 73%—were deemed "Popular" by Instagram's propriety algorithm, increasing the chances that larger audiences than just those who follow the account would view such photos. NPR, therefore, is well positioned to shape its organizational image-power through photo sharing practices on Instagram.

The most prominent process code applied to the NPR sample was *orienting*, with 39 instances from 53 posts. Not all of these instances were the primary category, but as a news organization, it makes sense that NPR's account would consistently post images that provide audiences with landmarks and artifacts related to newsworthy items central to its organizational image. *Placemaking* was also a predominant move by NPR; photos often amount to organic dispatches from the road—following presidential candidates, placing the organization at a prominent site such as the supreme court, or displaying photos from NPR headquarters. But NPR also frequently foregrounds its human contributors, the individuals whose work supports the organization. A candid image of NPR's "official piano tuner" (http://instagr.am/p/IzpFjYOI_I/) shows a behind-the-scenes member of the organization, while an image of reporter Liz Halloran at a cafe in New Hampshire (<http://instagr.am/p/d8DvC/>) *humanizes* the work of national journalism.

NPR occasionally uses its account to *crowdsource* news and opinions, including, naturally, opinions about Facebook's recent acquisition of Instagram (<http://instagr.am/p/JP0DE-uI5k/>). Overall, it seems that NPR uses its Instagram account to shape image-power through the accretion of interstitial imagery—organic, behind-the-scenes, from-the-road posts that will not be visible in the final story, but that exist as evidence of the organization's everyday work and mission. For NPR, Instagram posts provide alternative perspectives on national and international news—quodidian viewpoints on newsworthy items of major significance. Given their large reach, NPR is able to shape image-power through these humanizing, orienting, and placemaking photos; in the process, these images mediate audience identities, giving them the opportunity to see the organization from an atypical perspective, an outcome prevalent across the three organizations discussed in this study.

II. @heiferinternational

Heifer International is a global non-profit organization based in Little Rock, Arkansas. The organization is primarily focused on sustainable solutions to ending hunger and poverty; when one donates to Heifer, one is providing not money but seed, livestock, and training to people in need. Heifer does not have the international

reach of NPR or the rabid brand following of ModCloth, but they are interested in leveraging social software to reach current and potential donors. Instagram seems especially well suited as a mediating tool for shaping image-power in the non-profit sector, since images may carry so much meaning and can so readily provide situational awareness of need. But it seems that Heifer is still developing its Instagram reach; it currently has just over 1,000 followers. Unlike the NPR account, none of Heifer's photos have been deemed Popular by Instagram's algorithm. Still, Heifer's Instagram account provides several examples of an organization actively working to shape image-power. For this study, every post since the account's inception was archived and analyzed.

Orienting and *placemaking* moves were the most prominent ways in which Heifer International attempted to shape image-power through its Instagram account. 34 of 36 posts included some kind of orienting artifact or landmark; this indicates an organizational awareness of the importance of providing images with which donors and potential donors might identify. Images of goats, ducks, and produce help orient audiences to the organization's central mission, while images of poverty-stricken areas in Haiti reinforce the organization's identification and association with those in need. Heifer's Instagram posts often place the organization in physical locations, cueing audiences into the material places and spaces where their work is carried out and needed. Photos taken from airplanes and on location in Peru and Haiti help Heifer create strong associations with its mission and external image.

While it seems clear that Heifer International deliberately uses Instagram to shape its external image-power, it is also potentially missing opportunities to extend its reach and develop relationships with new donors while strengthening its ties to existing donors. Because Heifer's followers are small in comparison to an organization like NPR, it can more easily engage in *direct interaction* with its supporters. Heifer was the only organization in this sample that never once interacted directly with another user through comments on its photos. By more actively engaging other users, Heifer might build goodwill and thus develop stronger ties with its audience. Additionally, only 9 posts actively *humanized* the organization; a viable argument can be made that a greater emphasis on humanizing would improve Heifer's ability to shape image-power. In the final case history, we will see how an organization that actively and repeatedly makes humanizing moves engages strongly with its audience.

III. @modcloth

Founded in 2002, ModCloth is an online retailer with offices in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania and San Francisco, California. ModCloth specializes in vintage and vintage-inspired alternative clothing and accessories, primarily for

women. ModCloth is especially active in coordinating a social software genre ecology. In addition to their primary website, ModCloth maintains an active blog, popular Tumblr, Twitter, Facebook and Pinterest profiles, and, of course, a successful Instagram account with almost 40,000 followers. To date (April, 2012), ModCloth has posted 428 photos; the sample under consideration for this study comprises 48% of these posts. Like the NPR account, many ModCloth posts achieve popular status through Instagram's algorithm; 152 of 206 posts in the sample—74%—were displayed on Instagram's popular page. When compared with an internationally renowned organization like NPR, this is somewhat remarkable. ModCloth has a much smaller follower base, has posted substantially more photos during the study period, and deals with qualitatively different subject matter. Yet these successes are strong indicators of ModCloth's potential to shape image-power, which it accomplishes primarily through three often interrelated moves: *humanizing*, *orienting*, and *showcasing*.

Of its 206 posts, almost half (44%; 91 instances) explicitly *humanize* the organization. ModCloth Instagram photos routinely feature employees from all levels of the organization, and not surprisingly, these employees often visually and materially model the ModCloth ethos, wearing fashionable couture, hairstyles, and accessories in stylized ways. In almost every instance, these employees are named; for example, a recent post features the following description: "ModEmployee Erin looking lovely in front of all those orders getting ready to ship from our Pittsburgh Fulfillment Center!" (<http://instagr.am/p/JQp24oQFrP/>). This image is clearly a humanizing move, but it also orients the audience toward one of their ostensible desires: the procurement of goods with which they strongly identify.

One particular pattern in ModCloth's Instagram posts is the linking of humanizing moves to showcasing and crowdsourcing moves. For example, the description for another image reads: "Quality Control Specialist Kylee wearing the Heidkruger Boots and a #ModCloth sweater, How do you wear your #ModCloth? Tag your photos so we can see!" (<http://instagr.am/p/XrP2p/>). The image first *humanizes* the organization by clearly foregrounding Kylee, and the accompanying description begins by drawing attention to Kylee's identity as an employee. The description then indicates that Kylee is, in fact, wearing—and thus stylishly *showcasing*—ModCloth apparel that the viewer can buy. Finally, the description makes a *crowdsourcing* move that actually serves to enroll others in the shaping of ModCloth's organizational image. The combination of these three moves amounts to an effective practice of directly shaping image-power through images.

Not all of the humanizing posts that foreground ModCloth employees simultaneously make showcasing moves. In the sample, there are several photos of food and animals that belie a lively and fun working environment,

and there are also photos featuring employees who are not showcasing products that are sold by ModCloth. Instead, such posts often humanize organizational image-power by displaying actions strongly associated with the organization's ethos. The following photo, for example, shows a buyer engaged in thrifting, an activity privileged by both the organization and its followers (<http://instagr.am/p/JX3oBawFiq/>). ModCloth also makes frequent orienting moves through its photos, and in doing so, reinforces image-power around shared interests in vintage artifacts. Many such posts also strategically leverage one of Instagram's key affordances—the application of photo filters that add a washed out, vintage tone. In this case, the affordances of Instagram specifically support the image-power of an organization like ModCloth, whose business model is built on championing the nostalgic.

ModCloth's social software genre ecology effectively makes use of compound mediation as a marketing and branding strategy. One of the lesser first cycle codes excluded from the coding schema was *cross-promoting*, which only occurred 13 times in the full sample. 12 of those 13 instances, however, were found in ModCloth posts, where the organization actively encouraged its Instagram audience to visit other organization properties, such as Facebook or the ModCloth blog. In this way, we see indicators of an organization effectively shaping their image-power by mediating multiple social software genres simultaneously. Because of ModCloth's business, image-intensive social software is central to the genre ecology that helps them actively shape image-power.

IMPLICATIONS AND FUTURE DIRECTIONS

Obviously, the results of this study and the development of the proposed coding schema should be seen as an initial move toward better understanding how organizations are using image-intensive social software genres like Instagram to communicate organizational image and vision. Although the process coding schema developed and tested during this study was reliably applied by two independent raters, further work in refining the schema is necessary. More importantly, one exciting future direction would be the application of this schema to Instagram use within the context of a more thorough qualitative case study or ethnography of an organization's social software genre ecology. This coding schema may also prove useful in analyzing other image-intensive social software applications like Pinterest, but applying it in that manner will have to acknowledge and adjust for the specific mobile affordances of Instagram.

Each Instagram photo has the potential to act as a significant pivot for interaction among audiences of a savvy organization. One of the key analytic axes that I did not explore in this paper, but that will be important for others to examine, is how audiences interact around a

given post. Attending to such interactions in a more meaningful and granular way may allow researchers to trace engagement or rejection of an organization's external image. Additionally, while I have focused here on the conscious actions and mediations of three organization's Instagram accounts, I have only touched on metrics of engagement in a cursory way. While I collected and analyzed some key descriptive codes (measures of popularity and filter use, for example), I have mostly bypassed descriptive coding that might generate insights from an interpretive perspective on how each image works as a composition. I hope, therefore, that this schema and approach will prove useful as an initial step for other professional and technical communication researchers (and organizations) in determining the role that Instagram plays (or should play) in shaping organizational image-power.

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