"Beyond Appetite":

Examining Identities and Motivations of Foodies through Food Visuals on Instagram

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Abstract

Food has long been recognized as the way that people assign identities to themselves and others. As social media grows more pervasive, foodie culture and a characteristic or social media users to share pictures of food and meals they consume online have been introduced. The goal of this study was to examine behaviors, identities, and motivations of 18-30 years old "foodies" through the food visuals they choose to post on the social media platform Instagram. The study aims to explore the significant food photo categories on Instagram, foodies' motivations for sharing food photos online, and the correlation between foodies' photos, identity styles, and motivations. The results of the study show that these young foodies tend to use smartphones to take photos of food while they eat out. Self-satisfaction and seeking fame and positive feedback are two major factors that motivate foodies to share their food photos. In addition, there are some significant correlations that occur between food photo-characteristic & identity styles and food photo-characteristic & motivations. The findings can be a stepping stone for future research exploring the relationship between food, humans, and social media with a wider perspective.

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Introduction

Food has long been more than just fuel for our body (Connolly, 2015). Humans have also assigned rules and meanings to things related to food, such as what time of the day people should eat, who sits where at the dining table, the order in which the food is served, and what kind of utensils should be used for each dish (Civitello, 2011). Civitello demonstrates that food is a fundamental part of expressing traditions and culture. For example, Thanksgiving would not have the same significance for some people in the U.S. without the traditional holiday feasts that include turkey, mashed potatoes, and pies on a dinner table. These foods are symbols of the holiday season for those who practice this tradition.

Food is also recognized as central to self-identity. According to Bisogni, Connors, Devine, and Sobal (2002), identity is "generally considered to involve the mental self-images that a person assigns to himself/herself based on everyday interactions with people, groups, and objects" (p. 129). The authors argue that food can construct both social identities (ones that are related to collective groups, such as cultures, traditions, roles a person occupies) and personal identities (perceptions of one's own attitudes, feelings, and behavior). As Rene Redzepi, a Danish chef and co-owner of the Michelin 2-star restaurant *Noma* once said, "When we put food into our body, food becomes who we are."

Researchers have investigated the relationship between food and self-identity for some time. One particular study (Bisogni et al., 2002) sought to explore how people manage their identities through their food choices. The researchers found the presence of identities reflected in their participants' daily or preferred diets and the extent to which they enacted these identities through eating. Different and specific types of identities related to eating emerged during the interview process; for example, some identities related to eating practice (e.g., "picky eater"), others to personal characteristics (e.g., "health-conscious eater"), and additional links were made between reference groups and social categories (e.g., "peasant eater¹") (Bisogni et al., 2002, pp. 131-133).

An additional place to look at the connection between food and identity is within "foodie culture." Foodie culture is made up of people who pay great interest to food, and it has become a focus for scholars of consumption (e.g., food critics) and material culture (e.g., fine dining) (Solier, 2013). The widest practice of contemporary foodie culture is *photographing food*. Connolly (2015) claims that the overarching reason for sharing food photos is to generate engaging conversations and moments of delight and joy for like-minded members of foodie culture. Smartphone technology elevates this foodie practice to a widespread phenomenon. Indeed, capturing food photos before a meal has become irresistible among people who identify as foodies (Connolly, 2015). This practice includes many different forms (e.g., photos, video, articles).

As computer-mediated communication via social media has expanded, new methods of identity representations through food visuals have merged. According to Zhao, Grasmuck, and Martin (2008), the main reason people post photographs, profile information, and wall content on social media is to achieve "self-presentational goals" (Zhao, Grasmuck, & Martin, 2008). Social media allow users to create alternate selves and express their "hidden self-aspects" (McKenna, Green, & Gleason, 2002). Users can also create their *ideal* selves and share them (Manago, Graham, Greenfield, & Salimkhan, 2008). Thus, not only are foodies creating conversation

¹ A term *peasant eater* refers to a person who prefers hearty and delicious, yet simple, kind of food, in contrast to luxurious and expensive meal of others (Bisogni, 2002, p. 133).

among like-minded groups, people who have interests in food may also share food photos in order to create their ideal selves as foodies on social media.

There are many cross-disciplinary studies about social media and food choice, yet only a few have touched on food-related posts on social media and their relationship to selfidentification and other motivations specifically. This study therefore seeks to examine identities and motivations of college-age foodies through regularly shared food posts on Instagram. Prior to detailing the methods of this project, the next section reviews the literature on personal identities and social identities, food and identity, and the characteristic of foodie culture on social media, as well as the self-presentation on and motivations for posting about food on social media.

Literature Review

Personal Identities and Social Identities

Identities can be categorized into two types: personal identities and social identities. Personal identities are "categories of humanity" that people recognize themselves to belong to (e.g., personality), whereas social identities are assigned by others who recognize individuals as a part of their group (e.g., gender, occupation, social status, and roles) (Watson, 2013). Identities are determined based on dimensions, whether it is an "individual-collective" dimension (personal identities) or a "display" dimension (social identities) (Koski- Jännes, 2002, p. 186). Identity formations begin with the transformation of a public persona into the private world of individuals. Some identities are developed to better fit an individual's experience and then become a part of the personal sense of identity (Koski- Jännes, 2002, p. 186). Personal identities are therefore the product of the process of identity formation, whereas social identities are the self-presentations people create in public (Harré, 1983)

Food and Identity

Cultural identity. There is a strong relationship between the concepts of food and identity, both on a large and individual scale. Food is often viewed as central in creating a sense of collective belonging in prescribed social identities (Fischler, 1988). Rice, for example, is commonly associated with Asians as a staple food, whereas pasta is central to many Italian dishes and, therefore, the Italian identity. Unique foods in each region and country develop into specific "cuisines." Some are indigenous to the region, and some are introduced. So, whereas pasta is central to Italian cuisine, it was first introduced to Italy via China and the Chinese tradition of wheat noodles. Observing cuisine can, therefore, reveal people's national ethnicity, history, religion, a way of life, geography, the climate where they live, etc. (Civitello, 2011).

Due to differences in climate, geography, and available resources, regional cuisine develops in conjunction with history and characteristics of people from each location. Food can represent diversity, hierarchy, and organization, yet, it also emphasizes the differences between cultures and whoever eats in a different way (Fischler, 1988). As Civitello (2011) states, every group uses food to show their distinctiveness by saying that, "[w]e eat this, they [another region, ethnic group, country] eat that," (p.viii), which sets them apart from other groups. The way people drink tea, whether they take it with sugar and cream along with a sandwich in the afternoon, engage in a green tea ceremony, or sip mugs of "holiday spice," depends on whether they are in England, Japan, or the United States. The relationship people have toward food and identity (religious, ethnic, national) is very closely bound with culture and self-representation (Civitello, 2011).

Social and personal identity. Food has also long been recognized as contributing to the personal identity of self and others by considering the type of foods they like or dislike, preferred

methods of preparation, and what is considered "edible" (Bisogni et al., 2002, p. 129). Given that people interpret the type of food they consume as a factor that constructs their biological, sociological, and psychological images, it is directly related to the assignment of social identities. In the context of French history, for example, the different ways people eat reflect their heritage, region of birth, social status, and health. These social identities all exist within a larger cultural identity. Aristocrats during the reign of Louis XIV (1661–1715), flaunted their wealth by throwing extravagant banquets every other day, while peasants on the streets had crumbs of stale bread ("Food in France," n.d.). Bisogni et al. (2002) also suggest that many social identities related to eating described by their study participants are derived from the measurement of self against the standard of others, which reveal self-judgments and the way they feel about being judged by others.

Bisogni et al. state further that the self-images individuals develop can be signified by their food choice. As people view food and eating as representations of their social self-images (Bisogni et al., 2002), they may also express their personal identities through eating behaviors and diets. Identifying oneself as a "salad lover," for example, reveals more than the preference of salad over another kind of food: It also is thought to show health-consciousness, self-control, and willpower, which are valuable traits in certain societies (Peterson & Lupton, 1996).

Identities related to eating can be changed according to self-images people acquire through their life milestones and experiences (Bisogni et al., 2002). In Bisogni et al.'s study, an increased range of desired foods in one's diet can usually be seen in people as they age. One of the participants in their study said that she was never fond of Chinese or Mexican food when she was young, though she came to like them and even cook these cuisines at home as she grew older. Therefore, it is not necessary that specific food-related identities would accurately represent people's image for their entire life.

Foodie Culture on Social Media

As noted, people may identify themselves as a "foodie" according to their interests in food (Delong, 2006). Being a "foodie" became a substantial self-identity used widely in postindustrial modernity (Zycherman, 2013, p. 1). Zycherman presents the term "foodie" as "an identifier, particularly among the middle and upper classes in westernized countries, to refer to someone who is interested in food beyond the normal quotidian practices of eating and cooking" (p. 1). Santich (2007) suggests that, for a foodie, cooking, eating, and drinking are more than simply consumption: They also view food-related activities as "an intellectual activity" and "a reflective activity" (Richards, 2002, p. 21).

Many foodies consider the food, the ambiance, and the reputation of the chef as a major reason to dine out (Watson, Morgan, & Hemmington, 2008). According to research on eating out, most people place more importance on the action as a social activity and less on the food itself (Hanefors & Mossberg 2007; Warde & Martens 1998). Watson (2013), however, suggests that people in the foodie culture value the food and experience of eating as "the justification for the social interactivity" (p. 22): eating out. Foodies are willing to reserve a seat at certain restaurants months in advance (Mesure, 2007; Yee, 2005a) or even travel across the world to have a meal cooked by a particular chef (*The Independent*, 2006). Foodies examine, critique, comment, and engage with foods throughout their dining experiences in different ways, including posting restaurant reviews, writing entries on a food blog, or taking pictures of their food. Most of these activities now occur online, especially on social media platforms.

On many such platforms, foodie culture has become a phenomenon. The ease of posting pictures on social media, including Facebook, Twitter, and Instagram, showcases food-themed posts online and have become indicative of this era. As of December 2013, the hashtag "foodporn" generated 18 million results, and a month later, there were over 20 million posts with the same hashtag on Instagram (DeMello, 2013). As Teich said, "a steadily growing foodie culture, paired with perpetual access to social media, has given new life to amateur food photography" (DeMello, 2013, p. 16).

Foodie culture may seem frivolous, but it can be tied deeply to identity. Tucker Shaw, the food critic for *The Denver Post*, spent a year photographing every meal he had in 2004 and published the photos in his book *Everything I Ate: A Year in the Life of My Mouth*. Shaw writes that the pictures are incredibly personal. By looking at them, Shaw recalls feelings that related to who he was with and what happened at the moment of those pictures. These food pictures set off memories and emotions in a way that journals could not capture (Murphy, 2010).

Conspicuous foodie. Recently, researchers came up with the term *conspicuous foodie* to describe people who present their gourmet status publicly and want other people to know about their food, both home-cooked and eaten out (Westbrook, 2016). The term conspicuous foodie is defined by measuring "the Gourmet Indicator" and "the Social Media Trailblazers" or the frequency of sharing photos on social media (Westbrook, 2016, p. 28) (See Appendix A). Influencing by the rising of foodie as a fashionable status and characteristic to publicize live life on social media, sharing food photos on Instagram, in particular, has become the characteristic that is widely practiced by conspicuous foodies (Westbrook, 2016).

Instagram and Self-presentation

People use social media to connect. Instagram is considered as the primary social media platform that has become a venue of visual self-expression through photos. There are 500 million users in total on Instagram, and 55% of Instagram users are 18 to 29-year-olds (Mediatrix Team, 2016). Instagram allows users to communicate their experiences through both "choice of photo subject" and "ways they choose to manipulate and present them" (Weilenmann, Hillman, & Jungselius, 2013, p. 1843). As photograph choice is made by the user, Instagram users intentionally develop their own self-presentation on this platform (Walther et al., 2001).

Considering the fact that Instagram is used commonly by people in the age range of college students, this study focuses on people in this generation. Additionally, an article in *The Sunday Times* suggests that there is a growing of foodie culture even in the student lifestyle, despite the fact that foodie culture is often associated with a professional class with greater disposable income (Atkinson, 2013). Taking photos of food and sharing them on social media is now common practice around college campuses. Therefore, looking into college students' food visuals on social media is particularly relevant. The findings of this research project are useful for understanding what motivates people to post food photos on social media and what those photos represent about their sense of self, their values, and their sense of community. The research findings can be a launch pad for future research exploring the relationship between food, humans, and social media more broadly.

Motivations

Most of the people's action are driven by motivation (Ryan & Deci, 2000). Richard et al. (2000) suggest that people vary, however, in their number and type of motivations. The types of motivation refer to the reasons people perform actions. In Guay, Vallerand, and Blanchard (2000)'s Situational Motivation Scale (SIMS), the researchers categorize motivations into four

different types: *Intrinsic motivation*. Performing an activity for the pleasure and satisfaction derived from conducting the activity; *Extrinsic motivation* is the goal of performing the activity is extended beyond performing the activity itself (e.g., financial incentive, fame, avoid negative consequences); *Identified regulation* refers to the idea that action is performed, not for the pleasure of performing, but as the mean to achieve something else (e.g., volunteer to lead the project in order to get a promotion; this is counted as a sub-category of extrinsic motivation); and *Amotivation*, where no motivation is associated with the performing activity. Researchers found that intrinsic motivation is related closely to education, learning, and academic achievements (Ryan & Stiller, 1991). Most different types of motivation, however, fall into the category of extrinsic motivation (Ryan & Deci, 2000). Whereas the classic literature views extrinsic motivations as a contrast to intrinsic motivation (e.g., deCharm, 1968), there are some types of extrinsic motivation that represent active states.

Even though previous study (Sledgianowski & Kulviwat, 2009) suggests that enjoyment (intrinsic) motivates the behavior of social networking site users, Westbrook (2016) mentions that there are four extrinsic drivers that influence the behavior of conspicuous foodie (those who present themselves gourmet status both online and offline): rise of the fashionable status as a foodie, importance of social media, trend to publicize life to the public, and the view of food as method to express desirable lifestyle. Therefore, it is interesting to explore which type of motivation that mainly influences foodie's enthusiasm on posting food photos online.

Research Questions

Many researchers have touched on the topic of identity and motivation in social media, yet there are only a few that study the relationship between individuals' identities and their motivations via food on social media. The goal of this study is to examine the relationship

between college foodies (18-30-year-olds)' self-identities and their motivations through food visuals on Instagram. As mentioned, there is evidence related to how people use food as an expression of selves (Bisogni et al., 2002), and whereas the connection of identities and food is well-known, what has changed are the medium and methods of expression. As many may have seen, the rise of social media lead to the expansion of foodie culture, facilitated by new methods of self-expression through food visuals online. The research seeks to answer these following questions:

RQ1: What are the types of food photos shared by young foodies on Instagram?

RQ2: What kind identities (other than *foodie*) associate with the behavior of sharing food visuals?

RQ3: What motivates young foodies to post different kinds of food visuals?

RQ4 Is there a correlation between people's identities and motivations with the food photos they post?

Method

Participants

As the study aimed to consider the views and posts of a specific group called foodies, a nonrandom selection method² and network sampling³ were used to select participants. These two methods are preferred methods for interpretive research, where the aim of the study is to understand the way meaning is constructed in a particular group of people (Merrigan & Huston, 2009). An online questionnaire was distributed among the researcher's network on Facebook as well as identified foodies on Instagram that provided contact information in their bios. An

 $^{^{2}}$ Nonrandom selection method is the selection process where the vast-variety of population is not ensured to be presented in the resulting data (Merrigan & Hutson, 2009).

³ In *network sampling* or *snowball sampling*, each recruited participant brings in additional people (based on their network) into the study (Merrigan & Hutson, 2009).

advertising poster about the study was also distributed around the University of Washington Seattle campus to find respondents for the research. The study received 33 responses in total.

To verify that participants met pre-set criteria, an online eligibility screening was conducted. All potential participants were asked to rate the level of their interests in food from the scale of 1-10 at the beginning of the online questionnaire, with 1 being "no interest" and 10 signifying "very strong interest." They were also asked about their activities on Instagram and their frequency on posting food photos. Only 20 people who rated their interest in food to be 6 or higher and actively post at least 1-2 or more food photos per month on Instagram were selected, and others who did not meet the criteria were directed out of the study.

Participants were therefore 20 college students or anyone in similar age (male 20%; female 80%). Their mean age was 21 and ranged from 18-24 years. Participants were selfidentified as foodies (they actively post at least one food photo, without self, per month on Instagram and rate their level of interest in food to be 6 or more from the scale of 1-10) and share food posts regularly on social media. This study used an online questionnaire and direct observation of communicative behaviors on participants' Instagram food photos for collecting data.

Procedures

Survey. The online survey consisted of two measures. The first measure was a revised version of Berzonsky's Identity Style Inventory version 3 (ISI3; Berzonsky, 1997) (see Appendix B). The ISI3 categorizes people's responses into four different categories: *information-orientation* (introspective, explorer, actively seek out self-relevant information), *normative-orientation* (close minded, conforming to the expectation and normative standard), *diffuse-orientation* (avoiders, reluctant to confront personal problems and decision), and

commitment (a complex variable measuring other three identity styles) (Sullivanat, 2011) (See Appendix D). Categorization is based on the extent to which participants think the perspectives or statements on the measure represent who they are, scored on Likert-type scales of 1 (Not at all like me) to 5 (very much like me).

Berzonsky (1997) reported ISI3's internal reliability and mean/variance estimates (based on *N* of 618) for the informational (*alpha* = .70, *M* = 35.16, *SD* = 5.50), normative (*alpha* = .64, M = 29.43, SD = 4.83), diffuse/avoidant (*alpha* = .76, M = 24.90, SD = 6.15), and commitment (*alpha* = .71, M = 36.94, SD = 6.02) scales. Given that Nunnally (1978) has suggested that scales with internal consistencies in the .70 to .80 range are acceptable for research, the ISI3 is perceived as a generally valid measure for this study. The ISI3 measure for the present study (ISI3-Foodie) was modified by removing statements in order to increase the Cronbach's *alpha* of the informational orientation scale. The coefficient *alphas* from the measure of this study still reflected lower reliability than those in Berzonsky's (1997) report (informational: *alpha* = .68; normative: *alpha* = .58; diffuse/avoidant: *alpha* = .73; commitment: *alpha* = .62), however. After completing the identity style measure, participants were asked to fill out an open-ended question asking about two identities that best reflect the type of person they are. This question was added on for a qualitative assessment of central identity.

The measure used to assess motivation was the Situational Motivation Scale (SIMS; Guay, Vallerand, & Blanchard, 2000). This measure explores reasons/motives that stimulate participants' decision on performing a certain activity and is assessed with Likert-type scales of 1 (correspond not all) to 7 (correspond exactly) (see Appendix C). As noted, the SIMS organizes people's responses into four different categories: intrinsic motivation (performing an activity for a personal enjoyment or pleasure), identified regulation (behavior is personally important to oneself; perform not for the pleasure, but as a means to an end), external regulation (performing an activity to be rewarded or to avoid the negative consequences), and amotivation (no apparent motives in performing activity). The measure's instruction was modified in order to ask the participants about their motivation for posting food photos.

Guay et al. (2000) reported SIMS' internal reliability estimates (coefficients *alpha*) were intrinsic motivation = .95, identified regulation = .80, external regulation = .86, and amotivation = .77. The SIMS meets Nunnally (1978)'s criterion (coefficients *alphas* in the .70 to .80 range) and is considered as a reliable measure for this study. Similar to the identity measure, the SIMS measure was modified by taking out statement 13 in intrinsic motivation and statement 11 in external regulation in order to increase the Cronbach's *alpha* for both scales. The reliability of the motivation measure in the present study was still lower than those in the original scale (intrinsic motivation: *alpha* = .77; identified regulation: *alpha* = .71; external regulation: *alpha* = .63; amotivation: *alpha* = .66). As with the ISI3, the SIMS measure was followed by a question for a qualitative assessment on motivations. Participants were asked to provide one personal reason that motivates them to post food-related photos on Instagram.

Coding of posts. Direct observation of the participants' food photos was also conducted as a part of the data collection. With consent and permission from the participants who completed the survey, 10 of food photos posted by each participant during November 2016 – April 2017 on Instagram were randomly collected and imported to *Atlas.ti*, a software program commonly used for qualitative texts, visuals, and video analysis. The goal of the observation was to identify characteristics of the food photos.

To create the list of codes for food photos the food posts were examined by the author and coded for the primary characteristics that appeared to differentiate the photos and text. After the first round of coding, which included many more codes, the lists of codes were revisited by the author and her advisors and categorized into ten groups. These ten categories are ones that can be assigned towards all the food photos. To keep the frequency of occurrences accurate, the author made sure that all the photos are assigned to only one sub-codes from each category (except expression & association and relational connections, which can occur in both photos and text). Here are the ten categories of codes:

- *Photo quality*. This category is coded based on the origin of the food photos. There are two sub-codes: non-professional (taken by smartphone) and professional (taken by pro camera).
- 2) *Setting*. This category is coded based on the place where the photo was taken. There are four sub-codes: home, restaurant, café/bakery, and others.
- Timeline. This category is coded based on the month each food photo was shared on Instagram. There are six sub-codes: November, December, January, February, March, and April.
- 4) Eating occasion. This category is coded based on the occasion for eating as assessed from the environment of the photos and its captions. There are five sub-codes: daily home-cooked, daily store-bought, eating out, celebration, and unidentified.
- 5) Expression and Association: This category is coded based on the expressions that occur in food posts, mostly in the caption and comments. There are three sub-codes: positive association (associate experience or person with food posts positively), positive expression (positive comments for food in photos), and positive expressionnot food (positive comments for the photos, but not about food)

- 6) *Photo content*. This category is coded based on elements in the photos. There are four sub-codes: food only, include other, include self, and no food in the photos.
- 7) *Type of food*. This category is coded based on the type of food in the photos. There are four sub-codes: meal, dessert / snacks, drinks, and fruits / veggies.
- Food description. This category is coded based on whether the caption describing food in the photos. There are two sub-codes: food description - yes and food description - no.
- 9) Relational connections. This category is coded based on the relational connections between food photos and other concepts. There are 12 sub-codes: relation with blogging, advertising, business, community, family, healthy, holiday, relationships, socialization, sports, brand and travel.
- 10) Location. This category is coded based on whether the participant tag the location where the photo was taken. There are two sub-codes: yes location tag and no location tag.

After finishing the coding process for all the posts, frequencies of occurrence for each code were calculated for each participant.

Results

RQ1: Instagram Food Photo Codes/Categories

In order to find the common characteristics of foodie's food photos on Instagram, all the 200 food posts were coded into each category were analyzed based on the frequencies of occurrence. Thus, there were eight particularly common codes: post that tag the photo's location, post that has the caption describing the food in the photo, photo of a meal, photo of food only, photo that was taken on February 2017, photo at restaurant, photo while samples were eating out,

and non-professional photo taken by smartphone that emerged most frequently in each category (See Appendix E). However, there were no significant codes emerged in the category of expression and association and relational connection in this part of the analysis.

The two most prominent categories (included in 90% of all the photos) are nonprofessional photos and photos of food only. More than half the posts tag the location and describe the food that was in the photos. The tendency to post food photos while eating out at the restaurant was also highlighted. The results also showed that, between November 2016 and April 2017, people posted food photos most frequently during February 2017.

RQ2: Identity Styles and Sharing Food Photos on Instagram

According to the participants' open-ended answers for the identity qualitative assessment where they provide two identities that best describe who they are, foodies' reported identities can be categorized into five different groups as follow (from most to least common):

- Attitudes (n = 18): Participants reported their identities by describing self-attitude (e.g., whimsical, perfectionist, adaptable, indecisive, optimism).
- 2. Personal characteristics (n = 7): Participants chose identify themselves with personal characteristics (e.g., honest, caring, empathetic, broad-minded, caring).
- 3. Socialization (n = 7): Participants reported their identities by describing how they socialize with people (e.g., funny, charismatic, friendly, introverted, extroverted).
- Action (n = 6): Participants reported action-based identities (e.g., athletic, hardworking, communicator, service).
- 5. Emotion (n = 2): Participants reported identities related to emotions (e.g., sensitive, passionate).

RQ3: Motivations for Sharing Food Photos on Instagram

According to the participants' open-ended answers for the motivational qualitative assessment, foodies' reported motivations can be categorized into five different motivations as follow (from most to least common and one person can state more than one type of motivation):

- Self-satisfaction (n = 14) (intrinsic motivation): Posting food photos as a hobby or for one's own pleasure (e.g., "Sharing photos to preserve memory and share info."; "I like looking at food photos and videos on Instagram so I thought it would be fun to start my own")
- Fame/positive feedback (n = 7) (external regulation): Posting food photos in order to receive incentives related to fame or positive feedback from friends on social network (e.g., "To share my delicious meals with everyone and gets likes")
- Benefit others (n = 3) (identified regulation): Posting food photos to benefit others in some way (e.g., "help other people to make healthy choices"; "bring more awareness to restaurants I enjoy, and help others searching for places to eat around Seattle.")
- 4. Engagement in foodie community (n = 2) (identified regulation): Posting food photos as a mean to engage in foodie community (e.g., "Food is such an amazing thing that brings people together and I think that's why I like being a part of that community")
- 5. Financial incentive (n = 1) (external regulation): Posting food photos in order to be rewarded financially (e.g., "Every time I posted a pic of a dish from a specific restaurant that restaurant would then thank me via DM [direct message] and even

give me a coupon or free meal at their restaurant [which has basically become my incentive to continue posting food pics])"

RQ3: Identities, Motivations, and Instagram Food Photo Codes

To analyze the third research question, the food visuals coding data, along with the results from two measures on the survey (identities and motivation assessments), were analyzed with 2-tailed Pearson correlations to find relationships among food visuals, identities, and motivations of foodies.

For identity and food posts, significant positive correlations ($p \le .05$) between diffuseorientation identity style and food photo categories related to food photos taken at home (r = .65), posted in January (r = .50), and related to home-cooking (r = .78) were found. Two significant negative correlations between information-orientation identity style and food posts related to food business (r = ..45) and photos without food (r = ..65) were also found in this analysis.

There were also negative marginal correlations ($p \le .10$) occurred between diffuseorientation identity style and food photo categories related to store-bought food (r = -.41), unspecified settings (r = -.40), and tagging location (r = -.41). Two marginal negative correlations between information-orientation identity style and food posts related to travel (r = -.43) and hashtags that are widely used on Instagram (r = -.38) were also found as a result (see Table 1).

For motivations and food posts, the analysis revealed significant positive correlations ($p \le .05$) between external regulation motivation and food posts related to sports (r = .46) and photos that did not identify the eating occasion (r = .52). There was also a positive correlation between intrinsic motivation and food posts (r = .45).

Marginal correlations between motivations and food photos characteristics were also found. The result of this analysis showed that external regulation is marginally correlated with eating as a celebration (r = .43). There were also marginal correlations occurred between intrinsic motivation and food photo categories related to photos with food description (r = .39), using hashtags to get likes (r = .38), and negative marginal correlations with the association of brands (r = .38) (see Table 2).

Discussion

This section presents the discussion and analyses of food photo categories, identities of college foodies, and motivations of sharing food photos on Instagram based on the results from online survey and collected Instagram food posts.

Food Photo Codes on Instagram

Results of this study shows that most of the photo characteristics these foodies shared on Instagram concern non-professional quality photos that are taken by smartphone. This result supports the concept of *social photography*, photographs posted on the social media designed specifically for using with smartphone (e.g., Instagram). The easy accessibility and function of social photography influences individuals to share their everyday life experience (related to food) and creates the "new contexts of social visibility and connection" (Vivienne & Burgess, 2013, p. 282). Smartphones appear to facilitate the expansion of foodie culture and foodies' selfpresentation.

Another significant characteristic is the photos of food only and photos while samples were eating out. Posting photos of food that does not include self or other people allows the focus to be on the food itself, and it also allows foodies to represent their strong interest in food specifically. As for the photos while samples were eating out, it can be understood that eating out, for these young foodies "is less about socializing over enjoyable food than about enjoying food as a way to socialize" (Ottolenghi, 2013). As Ottolenghi (2013) asserts, they also tend to keen to tweet, photograph, and share photos of the food to create later conversation on social media. The photos analyzed in this study showed the foodies to engage less in capturing home cooking and more when eating out. There is no concrete explanation for the more common occurrence of food posts on February except perhaps that some of the participants started their accounts in February 2017. Therefore, the number of food posts represent on each month may not be meaningful.

Identities of Foodies

Main findings. Based on the result, it is distinct that all the correlations between diffuseorientation identity style and food photos characteristics are mostly positive, only some of negative marginal correlations were presented. On the other hand, the correlations between information-orientation identity and food photos characteristics occurred to be all negative. Based on the frequency of correlations that arose, diffuse-orientation identity style is considered as the most common identities linked with food posts. It could be interpreted that avoiders tend to represent themselves indirectly by using food photos and social media as a tool.

Diffuse-orientation (avoider). As seen in the results, there were significant and strong correlations between diffuse orientation identity style and home-cooking (r = .78) and home-setting photos (r = .65) suggesting that those with a more diffuse orientation identity style, which involves with the tendency to procrastinate and avoid until consequences or rewards force one to take an action (Berzonsky, 1989), tend to post more photos related to home-cooking than foodies with lower scores for this identity. It may be that foodies who have more diffuse orientation identities are also more likely to post about things that occur in more known surroundings.

The strong correlations between diffuse orientation, January (r = .50), and blogging (r = .55) are also interesting correlations found in this study. There are no certain reason supporting why people with diffuse-orientation tend to post more food photos in January. Though, given that January is viewed as commonly associates with holiday season that involves a lot of home-cooking, it could be that food photos on January has indirect relationship with diffuse-orientation through home-cooking. Blogging is also understood as indirectly significant to diffuse-orientation identity style. Given that blogging is an activity that usually take place at home, it may correlate to diffuse-orientation characteristics (avoiding people, staying at home). Therefore, it correlates to diffuse-orientation identity style and the home-setting photos at the same time.

All marginal correlations related to diffuse-orientation identity style were happened to be negative. These correlations are related to store-bought (r = -.41), unspecified setting (r = -.40), and photos with location tag (r = -.41). Interestingly, when compare the marginal negative correlations to the significant positive ones, the codes are contradicting to each other (i.e., home-cooked vs. store-bought, home-setting vs. unidentified setting, and home-setting vs. location tag-no need to tag location when at home).

Information-orientation (explorer). Negative correlations between informationorientation and food photo categories were very prominent in the result of both strong and marginal correlations. Strong negative correlations in this identity style were related to food photos associate with business (r = -.45), relationships (r = -.48), and photos that do not contain the actual food in it (r = -.65), which means explorers tend not to post food photos that related to food business, implication of close relationships (romantic or friendship), and post more photos that involve the actual food in it. The reason these characteristics do not occur in food photos information-orientation people is hard to predict due to many factors that could potentially play the role (e.g., food photo trends during times or activities samples involve in).

Marginal negative correlations between information-orientation and food photos with the association of travelling (r = -.43) and commonly used hashtags (r = -.38) were presented. Curiously, it was strange to see explorer type of people who actively seek out information tend not to post food photos taken while they travelled. However, Travelling is also not the only method people with information-orientation use for approaching to or seeking out information. Therefore, travelling may not be associated closely to the information-orientation foodies. Similar case also applies to explorers and widely used hashtags on Instagram where evidences are not concrete enough to support this correlation.

Identity Qualitative Assessment. In the identity qualitative assessment (open-ended answers), most foodies chose to present their identities by describing self-attitudes (n = 18) more often than describing personal characteristics (n = 7), socializing approaches (n = 7), action-based identities (n = 6), and emotion-related identities. Given that in all the five identities subcategories listed above, attitude is generally perceived as the most prominent and easy to detect by surroundings. Hence, it is natural for people to self-identify based on how they see themselves or the type of person they have been told that they are (Watson, 2013).

Motivations

Main findings. Based on the frequency of significant correlations occurrences, the type of motivation that most commonly associate with food photo categories is external regulation (get reward) and intrinsic motivations (enjoyment), which suggests that one person may obtain more than one type of motivation for sharing food photos. Strong correlations are significant in external regulation and intrinsic motivations. On the other hand, identified regulation and

amotivation are correlated with only marginal correlations. These findings show that sharing food photos on Instagram associate more with external and intrinsic type of motivations.

External Regulation (Reward). The correlation between external regulation motivation and photos with the relation of sports (r = .45) indicates that foodies who post food photos with the influence of external factors (e.g., post photos in order to be rewarded financially or receiving fame) tend to have interest or engage in sports-related activity. McNeill & John Wang (2005)'s study found that elite sports players in Singapore are identified with the high level of external motivation for engaging in sports activity in school setting. Therefore, it is possible that people with external motivation use food photos as a method to express their sports interests on social media.

People with higher external regulation motivation were also more likely to share food photos that could not be specified what kind of eating occasion in which they were involved in (r = .52). Given that people with external motivation share photos in order to get rewards, it can be assumed that they tend not to tie the photos to personal experience but rather be unspecific about the food photos they post for business purpose (e.g., advertising for the restaurant).

Other than being unspecified about the eating occasion, external regulated foodies marginally share the food posts as celebrations for sports or national holidays (r = .43). This marginal relationship is associated with the significant correlation between sports and posting food photos for rewards and supports the suggestion that external regulated foodies has more the interests in sports than those in other types of motivation.

Intrinsic motivations (enjoyment). Intrinsic motivation was significantly correlated with the food posts that include positively associations (r = .45). This relationship indicates that foodies who perform an activity to experience pleasure of sharing the photos tend to positively

associate food with other positive aspects they experience in life. For example, one of the sample members posted a photo of bubble tea with the caption "Bubble tea in Rome is perfect for this sunny day." According to this context, she associates her positive aspect toward a sunny day with the food in the photo to represent that she was having a good time.

Marginal correlations of photos with food description (r = -.39) and using hashtags to promote posts and get likes (r = -.38) were also related to intrinsic motivation. Describing food in detail is one of the way intrinsic motivated foodies demonstrate interests toward food and sharing food photos on Instagram. The example of food description is "Can't wait to taste the grilled eggplant and asparagus. I made sure to add some pasta for carbs and chicken for protein (hidden beneath the veggies!)." For the using of hashtags to promote food posts, although it may seems to oppose the characteristic of intrinsic motivated people who perform activity for the enjoyment rather than receive fame / reward. Due to the fact that one person may obtain more than one motivations for sharing food photos, it is possible that these group of intrinsic motivated foodie may hold an extrinsic motivation as well.

The only negative marginal correlation in intrinsic motivation was related to brand, which means the higher the intrinsic motivation, the less likely for ones to post food photos with the relation of brand (e.g., business, food, clothing brand). Given that intrinsic motivated foodies share food photos for their personal pleasure, it is likely that the business approaches or advertisement through branding will associate in their food photos.

Identified Regulation. The result showed that identified regulation was marginally correlated to positive association. Given that foodies with identified regulation view sharing photos as a method / mean to their goal, they tend to positively associate the food photos with experiences or people (similar to the example in intrinsic motivation).

Amotivation. The negative marginal correlation between amotivation (no motivation associated with the activity) and description of food in the photos was presented, which means people with no motivation in posting food photos are more likely to not describe the food in photos in detail. Without motivation for sharing food photos, amotivated people may not engage themselves or contribute to the activity as much as people with extrinsic, intrinsic, and identified regulated foodies normally do.

Motivation Qualitative Assessment. According to the open-ended answers, the most common type of motivations associates with the food posts is intrinsic motivation or posting for their own pleasure (n = 14). The result supports the claim in Sledgianowski & Kulviwat (2009)'s research stating that intrinsic motivation is the key that drives the behavior of social media users. Other two types of motivation that rank after intrinsic are external regulation (n=8) and identified regulation (n = 5). Interestingly, although n of each group in four extrinsic motivations (i.e., fame/positive feedback, benefit others, engagement in foodie community, and financial incentive) does not equal to a group of intrinsic motivation (self-satisfaction), when adding up all the four together, n equals to 13, which is almost equal to the number of people who share food photos with intrinsic motivation (n = 14). Therefore, this result suggests that intrinsic and extrinsic motivations are equally important factors that drive foodies to post food photos on Instagram.

Self-satisfaction and Receiving Fame and Feedback. The results from the motivation qualitative assessment (open-ended question) shows that most of the foodies in this study shared food photos for their own satisfaction and for receiving fame and feedback. According to the 20 participants' answers, most people started to share their food photos based on their personal interests and pleasures (e.g., personal food diary), though, the incentive started to shift as they

received positive feedback from people in their social media networks. The following statement of a participant support this claim:

I post these pictures and videos because it is fun for me to have a diary of all the good food I have eaten. My friends also have given me really positive feedback and say they enjoy seeing the pictures. It makes me feel good about myself.

According to the statement, the participant gained popularity from regularly posting food photos. Therefore, in this case, self-satisfaction and receiving fame and feedback are closely correlated, and both occurred as the foodie's motivation for sharing photos on Instagram (Utz, Tanis & Vermeulen, 2012).

Conclusion

This paper has presented research on the topics of food posts, identities, and motivations of young adult foodies on Instagram. The method of the research, including observations of food posts and online surveys, were used as strategies for the data collection. The results indicate that non-professional photos of food at restaurants taken by smartphones are the most common form of these foodies' photos on Instagram. Both extrinsic and intrinsic motivations are equally important factors that drive foodies to post food photos on Instagram. There were significant correlations between frequency of food photos categories, identity styles, and motivations. There were no correlations between foodies' identity styles and their motivations for posting food photos on Instagram, however.

There are some limitations to this study. As social media platforms are still an emerging target of study, there is a limited amount of literature on the topic related to the foodie culture and food visuals on social media, which affects the ability to support or explain the claims of the present study. The size of the sample and the challenges of finding participants is also another

issue to consider, and it affected the statistical power of the quantitative analyses. Given that foodies are people with particular interests related to food, many people who do not identify themselves as a member of this specific group were not counted as eligible to participate in the study. This factor limited the size of the sample and made it more challenging to find participants for the research.

Limitations in the data collection strategies also arose. Merrigan and Huston (2009) state that biased viewpoints or errors may occur in the data retrieved from self-reporting (e.g., questionnaires). There are many factors that might influence people to decide not to reveal their actual identities or even create specific images they assume the researcher would expect to see as a result (Merrigan & Huston, 2009). Future researchers should enhance the measurement of the constructs used in the survey by finding a new or modified measurement for an identity assessment given that the value of Cronbach's *alpha* should be higher than ones found in this study. Modifying the measure may allow researchers to find correlations between identity styles and motivations for sharing photos as well. Increasing the sample size would enhance the generalizability of the research outcome and solve the problem related Type II error in statistical analysis, which occurs when the sample size is not large enough. Future studies can also choose to explore different groups. For instance, instead of focusing on college foodies, researchers can examine correlations between food visuals and identities of foodies age over 30 who are active on social media.

Despite the limitations, the findings of this research are useful for understanding the relationship foodies have with photos of food and the correlations to their own identities, which is the area that has not yet been well-studied. Understanding more about the relationships between human identities and food visuals online also provides the possibility of wider interpretation and application of future studies. This research can be used as a groundwork for the study of foodie culture and human identities in further ways, such as recent backlash on the term "foodie" that has been discussed as overused in popular culture (Bittman, 2014).

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Appendix A

THE CONSPICUOUS FOODIE Food as an image-crafting tool



Source: Keyhole, Jan 2-9, tracking Twitter and Instagram

- The Conspicuous Foodie is created by measuring the core Gourmet Indicator (see Methodology) with the Social Media Trailblazers Indicator.
- The Social Media Trailblazers Indicator aggregates data from the Euromonitor International Global Consumer Trends survey on respondents who claim weekly or greater frequency for sharing photos and videos online, and who are frequent visitors to, or frequently active on social media sites. Full details can be found in the Methodology.

- With people who are active on social media peaking in Brazil and India, and people who are deeply interested in food peaking in the UK, US, France and Germany, the key overlap here is located in the US, UK, France and Brazil – locations where food bloggers/Instagrammers are plentiful.
- These are the core markets for the Conspicuous Foodie: markets where consumers – particularly millennials – are likely to blog, Instagram or post prolifically on social media about the food and their food-driven lifestyles.
- India is also of note, and there are a number of high profile food blogs emerging here, such as the Chennal Foodie and Rak's Kitchen.
- Crafting the right image is important for this group, whether that is eating out at the right places, or showcasing their own food in the best light – and whether that is for a wide audience, or for impressing a smaller circle of friends and acquaintances.

© Estiminitial International STRATEGY BRIEFING. THE GLOBAL IMPACT OF THE RISE OF THE CAN'T COOK GOURNET PASSPORT 25

Appendix A: This graph explain how the term *Conspicuous Foodies* was created based on the measuring of Gourmet Indicator and Social Media Trailblazers Indicator.

Westbrook, G. (2016). Strategy briefing: the global impact of the rise of the can't cook gourmet. *Passport*. Retrieved on May 25, 2017 from http://www.euromonitor.com/the-global-impact-of-the-rise-of-the-cant-cook-gourmet/report.

Appendix B

Example Questions from Berzonsky's Identity Style Inventory Survey (ISI3)

Regarding religious beliefs,	I kn	ow basi	cally wh	at I be	lieve	and don't believe. (COMM)
(NOT AT ALL LIKE ME)	1	2	3	4	5	(VERY MUCH LIKE ME)
I've spent a great deal of tir	ne th	inking s	seriously	about	what	t I should do with my life. (INFO)
(NOT AT ALL LIKE ME)	1	2	3	4	5	(VERY MUCH LIKE ME)
I'm not really sure what I'n	n doi	ng in sc	hool; I g	uess th	ings	will work themselves out. (DIFF)
(NOT AT ALL LIKE ME)	1	2	3	4	5	(VERY MUCH LIKE ME)
r sheet, participants will bub	ble i	n the n	umber v	which i	ndica	ates the extent to which they think
	(NOT AT ALL LIKE ME) I've spent a great deal of tin (NOT AT ALL LIKE ME) I'm not really sure what I'm (NOT AT ALL LIKE ME) ndix B: Example questions of r sheet, participants will bub	(NOT AT ALL LIKE ME) 1 I've spent a great deal of time th (NOT AT ALL LIKE ME) 1 I'm not really sure what I'm doi (NOT AT ALL LIKE ME) 1 indix B: Example questions of Be r sheet, participants will bubble i	(NOT AT ALL LIKE ME) 1 2 I've spent a great deal of time thinking s (NOT AT ALL LIKE ME) 1 2 I'm not really sure what I'm doing in sc (NOT AT ALL LIKE ME) 1 2 I'm and really sure what I'm doing in sc (NOT AT ALL LIKE ME) 1 2 I'm and the set of th	(NOT AT ALL LIKE ME) 1 2 3 I've spent a great deal of time thinking seriously (NOT AT ALL LIKE ME) 1 2 3 I'm not really sure what I'm doing in school; I g (NOT AT ALL LIKE ME) 1 2 3 indix B: Example questions of Berzonsky's Iden r sheet, participants will bubble in the number w	(NOT AT ALL LIKE ME) 1 2 3 4 I've spent a great deal of time thinking seriously about (NOT AT ALL LIKE ME) 1 2 3 4 I'm not really sure what I'm doing in school; I guess th (NOT AT ALL LIKE ME) 1 2 3 4 indix B: Example questions of Berzonsky's Identity St r sheet, participants will bubble in the number which i	I've spent a great deal of time thinking seriously about what (NOT AT ALL LIKE ME) 1 2 3 4 5 I'm not really sure what I'm doing in school; I guess things

Berzonsky, M. D. (1992). *Identity Style Inventory Survey (ISI3)*. Retrieved from http://w3.fiu.edu/srif/ArchivedPagesJK/.../BerzonskyISI3.rtf

Appendix C

Example Questions from the Situational Motivation Scale (SIMS)

1. Because I think that this a	ctivity	is intere	esting							
(Corresponds not all) 1 2	3	4	5	6	7 (correspond exactly)					
5. Because I think that this a	ctivity	is pleas	ant							
(Corresponds not all) 1 2	3	4	5	6	7 (correspond exactly)					
7. Because it is something th	at I hav	ve to do)							
(Corresponds not all) 1 2	3	4	5	6	7 (correspond exactly)					
12. I don't know; I don't see	12. I don't know; I don't see what this activity brings me									
(Corresponds not all) 1 2	3	4	5	6	7 (correspond exactly)					
= .					- •					

Appendix C: Example questions of the Situational Motivation Scale (SIMS) by Frédéric Guay, Robert J. Vallerand, and Céline Blanchard. This measure explores participants' motivation on posting food photos on Instagram. From the scale of 1 (corresponds not all) to 7 (corresponds exactly), participants will choose the number which indicates the extent to which they think is accurate towards their engagement in posting food photos on Instagram.

Guay, F., Vallerand, R.J. & Blanchard, C. (2000). Motivation and Emotion. 24, 175. doi:10.1023/A:1005614228250 Appendix D

A Conceptual Illustration of Identity Styles



LEVEL OF COMMITMENT

Appendix D: A conceptual illustration of the identity styles. The comparable identity status is listed in parenthesis beneath each style.

White, J. M., Wampler, R. S., & Winn, K.I. (1998). The Identity Style Inventory: A Revision With A Sixth-Grade Reading Level (ISI-6G). Journal of Adolescent Research. 13(2), 223-245. http://dx.doi.org/10.1177/0743554898132007



Appendix E

Appendix E: The graph shows the eight sub-codes that most frequently emerged in each code categories

Identity Style	le Diffuse-or	rientation	Information-orientation		
Valu	r r	р	r	р	
Food photo categories					
Relation: blogging*	*0.549	0.012			
Setting: home	*0.646	0.002			
Timeline: January	*0.495	0.026			
Eating occasion: home-cooked	*0.780	0.001			
Eating occasion: daily-store bought	**-0.405	0.077			
Setting: others	**-0.398	0.083			
Tag location	**-0.406	0.076			
Relation: business			*-0.449	0.047	
Relation: relationships			*-0.475	0.035	
Photo content: No food			*-0.652	0.002	
Relation: travel			**-0.431	0.058	
Hashtag: Common used			**-0.384	0.095	

Table 1: Identities and Instagram Food Photo Categories

Note: * = Significant correlation ($p \le .05$); **Marginal correlation ($p \le .10$)

Type of Motivation	External R	xternal Regulation		Intrinsic Motivation		Identified Regulation		Amotivation	
Value	r	р	r	р	r	р	r	р	
Food photo categories									
Relation: Sports	*.465	.039							
Eating occasion: Unidentified	*.522	.018							
Eating occasion: Celebration	**.426	.061							
Positive Association			*.450	.047	**.396	.084			
Food Des: Yes			**.385	.094			**414	.069	
Hashtag for likes			**.381	.098					
Relation: Brand			**378	.100					

Table 2:Motivations and Instagram Food Photo Categories

Note: * = Significant correlation ($p \le 05$); ** = Marginal correlation ($p \le .10$)