

ARE YOU INSTA-WORTHY? A QUALITATIVE ANALYSIS ON THE NEGOTIATION OF
INSTAGRAM IMAGES BY COLLEGE-AGED WOMEN

By

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To my mom, you are stronger than you know

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Thank you for everything, Daniel. You are the reason this thing is finally finished. I want to thank my incredible friends from the bottom of my heart, I have no idea what I would do without you. A big shout out to Big Island Bowl. Thank you for letting me sit in your store for hours and hours. A very special thank you to my chair, Dr. Goodman, and my committee members, Dr. Treise and Dr. Walsh-Childers.

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Abstract of Thesis Presented to the Graduate School
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By

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College-aged women are at increased risk for developing eating disorders, and are also one of the primary demographics of Instagram users. With images being widely used to depict unrealistic and unattainable body types, this thesis aimed to discover if there is a connection between eating disorder risk and Instagram usage through individual interviews and a photo sort activity with undergraduate women. Indeed, Instagram images depicting flawless, toned bodies, created body comparisons. These comparisons, however, are complex and not necessarily negative. Findings show a transition from thin ideals to fit ideals. In addition, this thesis provides details of how college-aged women use Instagram, such as liking a picture, posting a picture and commenting on a picture. Future research should focus on monitoring these behaviors in real-time on their own feed.

CHAPTER 1 INTRODUCTION

When Essena O’Neill, a 20-year-old Australian social media star with half a million Instagram followers, surprised her fans by quitting social media, she explained her reason for leaving candidly, “I was addicted to what others thought of me... I just want younger girls to know this isn’t candid life, or cool or inspirational. It is contrived perfection made to get attention” (McNeal, 2015, para. 11). O’Neill is not the only one to express her distress on social media, “I am forever judging myself by my social media performance,” writes a reporter from BuzzFeed (Seidlinger, 2015, para. 13).

Social media platforms, in particular the platform Instagram, are used to socialize and share, the new place to “see and be seen.” Whether you are out with friends, on vacation, or even eating at a restaurant, posting a picture is expected. As the Instagram mantra goes, “Pics or it didn’t happen” (Silverman, 2015, para. 1). However, not just any shot will do for Instagram. Angles, lighting, posing and filters all play a role in Instagram photos, creating a world that is similar to our own but still unattainable in reality. As Fagan (2015) writes, “Checking Instagram is like opening a magazine to see a fashion advertisement, except an ad is branded as what it is: a staged image on glossy paper. Instagram is passed off as real life” (para. 21). The perception that Instagram is a depiction of reality is especially concerning considering that the use of social media negatively affects self-esteem and body image, two factors prominent in the development of an eating disorder (e.g., Fardouly & Vartanian, 2015; Fitzimmons-Craft et al., 2012; Shroff & Thompson, 2004; Keery et al., 2004; Berg et al., 2002; Thompson et al., 1999). Given that connection, this thesis aims to discover how college-aged

women negotiate Instagram images to better understand how they perceive Instagram images and if there are potential negative implications to body satisfaction.

Eating Disorders and Body Dissatisfaction

To explore the potential negative impact of Instagram, it is essential to first understand eating disorders. Eating disorders are defined as “extreme emotions, attitudes, and behaviors surrounding weight and food issues” (“General Information,” n.d, para. 1.; “Anorexia Nervosa,” n.d.), and are most commonly found in young women in their teens through early twenties (Mayo Clinic Staff, 2016). Furthermore, full-blown eating disorders typically begin between 18 and 21 years of age (Hudson, 2007).

The three most common types of eating disorders--anorexia nervosa¹, bulimia nervosa², and binge eating³--each have severe implications. For instance, up to 20% of those suffering from anorexia nervosa will die from their disease (“Anorexia Nervosa,” n.d.), and those that develop anorexia between 18 and 21 are twelve times more likely to die of the disease than any other cause of death (Bulik, Sullivan, Weltzin & Kaye, 1995; “Get the Facts on Eating Disorders,” n.d.). Recurring binge and purge cycles of bulimia nervosa can result in imbalances in the body that affect major organs, such as the heart (“Bulimia Nervosa,” n.d.) and could lead to death. Binge eating disorder, the most common eating disorder in the United States, also has negative effects such as

¹ Anorexia nervosa is an eating disorder “characterized by abnormally low body weight, intense fear of gaining weight and a distorted perception of body weight (Mayo Clinic Staff, 2016, para 1).

² Bulimia nervosa is an eating disorder characterized by “the ingestion of an abnormally large amount of food in a short period of time, followed by an attempt to avoid gaining weight by purging what was consumed” (Ekern, 2016, para. 1)

³ Binge eating is an eating disorder “characterized by recurrent episodes of eating large quantities of food very quickly” often associated with guilt and shame afterwards. Typically, purging is not used in binge eating disorder and binge eaters are often obese. (“Binge Eating Disorder Overview and Statistics”, n.d.).

diabetes and heart disease (“Binge Eating Disorders,” n.d.). In addition to physical consequences, eating disorders have the potential to increase the likelihood of substance abuse, such as drugs and alcohol and suicide (Kaye, n.d.).

While the mortality rate for eating disorders is certainly a concern, this thesis focuses on the factors that may lead to eating disorders, rather than the eating disorders themselves. Disordered eating can refer to several behaviors often shared with diagnosed eating disorders including dieting, binge eating, skipping meals and the use of laxatives (“Disordered Eating and Dieting,” 2015, para. 1). Severity and frequency of these behaviors differentiate a diagnosed eating disorder, which would occur more often, and disordered eating (“Disordered Eating and Dieting,” 2015, para. 1).

There are several factors that contribute to disordered eating behaviors. One factor is biological, such as an imbalance of the chemicals that control hunger and appetite (“Factors that May Contribute to Eating Disorders,” n.d.). Research is attempting to discover if these biological factors are genetic (“Factors that May Contribute to Eating Disorders,” n.d.). Secondly, the role of interpersonal factors, such as negative personal relationships, can contribute to disordered eating behaviors. These negative relationships can include being the recipient of bullying or physical or sexual abuse (“Factors that May Contribute to Eating Disorders,” n.d.). Also, psychological factors such as depression and anxiety can contribute to the development of an eating disorder (“Factors that May Contribute to Eating Disorders,” n.d.).

The final factor, sociocultural, is most relevant to the present research. Sociocultural factors are frequently observed in eating disorder research because

“interpersonal and media influences are widely regarded as the source from which body image attitudes emanate” (Cafri, Yamamiya, Brannick, & Thompson, 2005, p. 421). A meta-analysis of sociocultural factors (Cafri, et al., 2005) revealed that the perceived pressure to be thin could be associated with body image. This pressure to be thin can be described as the glorification of thinness and the way society places value on this ideal body (“Factors that May Contribute to Eating Disorders,” n.d.). The sociocultural depiction of this ideal body is especially concerning, as bodies are “known, understood and experienced through images” (Coleman, 2008, p. 163). Indeed, research has shown that exposure to and comparisons with sociocultural ideal images lead to body dissatisfaction and internalization of the thin ideal, predictors of disordered eating behaviors (e.g., Cafri, et al., 2005; Stice & Shaw, 2005; Thompson & Stice, 2001).

However, much of this evidence is based on traditional media. A large amount of reliable research makes the connection between traditional media exposure to body dissatisfaction (e.g., Tiggemann, Polivy & Hargreaves, 2009; Levine & Murnen, 2009; Grabe, Ward & Hyde, 2008; Harrison & Cantor, 1997), particularly the static images in magazines having a significant impact on increased eating disorder symptoms and decreased body esteem. Less is known about the influence of social media despite it being the highest consumed media by undergraduate women (Bair, Kelly, Serdar, & Mazzeo, 2012, p. 400), its “constant stream of imagery” that reinforces “obsessions, comparisons and competitions” (Rojas, 2014, para. 8), and the social pressures to be involved on the platform. Thus, the next section explores social media usage among young adults to understand their behaviors better.

Connecting Social Media

According to Statista (2015), “80% of Internet users in the United States had a social networking profile” (“Most popular social media websites,” 2015, para. 2), and social media sites can expect more than 200 million users by 2019 (“Most popular social media websites,” 2015, para. 2). Facebook remains one of the most used social media platforms across all age demographics; however, other image-based platforms such as SnapChat and Instagram are becoming increasingly more popular among younger demographics (Guimarães, 2014).

Among users 13-24 years old, SnapChat was reported to be the most used platform, followed by Facebook and Instagram (“Reach of Leading Social Media and Networking Sites,” n.d.). While Instagram may not be the most used platform, it was ranked as the most important platform within this demographic (“Reach of Leading Social Media and Networking Sites,” n.d.). In addition, 60% of online adults ages 18-29 use Instagram, with females using the platform more than men (Duggan, 2015; Vermeren, 2015).

The importance of Instagram is also shown in how often it is accessed. Mobile devices offer constant engagement with social media applications with young adults spending nearly 200 minutes per day on their devices (“Reach of Leading Social Media and Networking Sites,” n.d.). Of these 200 minutes, they access their text messaging apps the most, followed by Instagram (“Reach of Leading Social Media and Networking Sites,” n.d.).

Given that Facebook has remained one of the most popular platforms, it has been the focus of numerous effects studies (Malik, Dhir & Nieminen, 2016; Cohen & Blaszczynski, 2015; Nesi & Prinstein, 2015; Fardouly & Vartanian, 2015; Tiggemann &

Slater, 2013). However, as demonstrated by the above statistics, there is a need to better understand other social media websites and the impact they can have on this demographic, specifically with the image-based platform Instagram.

Not only is Instagram centralized around images, but it quite literally offers filters for which you can adjust your photos, enhancing or muting colors in more than 15 different ways. These filters do not necessarily correct blemishes or enhance physical features, but they do have the potential to make an individual look more attractive with better lighting (i.e., making eyes look brighter). Given that Instagram is primarily image-focused and that images have the power to demonstrate thin ideals, and the additional capability to edit and enhance photos, it is important to understand Instagram and its potential influence on young women (Holland & Tiggemann, 2016).

Therefore, this thesis proposes the following research questions based on the previous research that has provided evidence that there could be a relationship between utilizing the social media platform Instagram and body image. In addition, much of the literature on social media effects is quantitative, lacking understanding of how individuals use and negotiate images on social media platforms. This thesis explores how college-aged women, who are top consumers of Instagram and at-risk for disordered eating development, navigate through Instagram and how they evaluate the images they see. This thesis further seeks to gain descriptive information regarding the evaluation and negotiation of these images to better understand the potential impact Instagram may have on body dissatisfaction using the following research questions:

RQ1 A: What types of Instagram photos produce positive and negative feelings among college-aged females?

RQ1 B: How do college-aged females negotiate images and then behave when images produce positive or negative feelings?

RQ1 C: If Instagram photos have a negative effect, then why do they view them?

RQ2: Do college-aged females compare themselves with Instagram images? If so, what types of Instagram photos create upward and/or downward bod comparisons?

CHAPTER 2 LITERATURE REVIEW

Introduction

To begin to understand how photos on Instagram can lead to eating disorders and disordered eating, it is important to also understand the process that can lead to this detrimental disease. According to Richard Perloff's Transactional Model of Social Media and Body Image Concerns (2014), there are multiple steps involved in observing the effects of social media on body satisfaction. This literature review follows the progress of Perloff's model, first starting with internalization, an individual vulnerability factor. Next, gratifications sought from social media will be discussed, followed by uses of social media, in particular how photos are used. The mediating process of appearance comparisons will be reviewed, especially how these comparisons are made on social media. Finally, social media effects will be discussed in the form of overall negative effects and increases in body dissatisfaction.

Media Internalization

For the thin ideals displayed in the media to have an effect on disordered eating behaviors, a woman first recognizes an admiration for super slender physiques, criticism of non-ideal body types and increased pressure to diet and work out (Thompson & Stice, 2001; Hohlstein, Smith, & Atlas, 1998). This recognition often leads to ideal body internalization. Internalization means a woman buys into the outside ideal body pressures, reinforced by the media and peers, and internalizes these ideals, which in turn makes her discontent with her appearance if she does not meet this ideal (Fitzsimmons-Craft, Harney, Koehler, Danzi, Riddell & Bardone-Cone, 2012, p. 43). When women adopt this ideal for themselves, furthermore, it increases the risk that they

will develop disordered eating symptoms such as bingeing and purging behaviors (Fairweather-Schmidt & Wade, 2016; Stice, 2001).

In fact, research supports this internalization of ideal images and the internalization's negative effects. For example, a study among adolescent women sought to find what factors most contributed to eating disorder pathology (Wilksch & Wade, 2010). A prominent factor is internalization, with the study showing over-assessment of weight can be predicted by high levels of internalization (Wilksch & Wade, 2010). Other evidence has supported the negative impact of mediated ideal body internalization (Wade, Wilksch, Paxton, Byrne & Austin, 2017; Fairweather-Shmidt & Wade, 2016; Field, Camargo, Taylor, Berkey & Colditz, 1999; Stice & Agras, 1998), which has been shown to double the likelihood that a woman will experience disordered eating behaviors (Wade et al., 2017; Fairweather-Shmidt & Wade, 2016).

Indeed, understanding internalization of the societal ideal is important due to the risk factors associated with this process. Understanding internalization is not enough to understand behavioral outcomes of Instagram use, such as engaging in disordered eating behaviors. There are several steps involved in the process of behavioral outcomes, with uses and gratifications serving as the intervention between internalization and behavioral implications (Perloff, 2014).

Gratifications Sought from Social Media

The next step in the Perloff model (2014) is to understand the motives for using media. This concept has been well-researched in regards to the implications it can have on body image and predict disordered eating behaviors. For example, college-aged women are motivated to improve themselves when they read magazines, particularly of the fashion genre (Thomsen, McCoy, Gustafson & Williams, 2002).

Perloff (2014) speculates that young women will be similarly motivated to use social media, particularly to “satisfy psychological appearance-gratifying needs and convince themselves they measure up to idealized others” (Perloff, 2014, p. 369). While gratification research in regards to social media is new, a few studies have explored this topic (e.g., Malik et al., 2016; Pai & Arnott, 2013; Wang & Tchernev, 2012; Bumgarner, 2007).

For example, in analyzing 19 college students across a 4-week period, Wang and Tchernev (2012) found that students have four main needs motivating social media use: emotional needs (relaxation or entertainment), cognitive needs (information or studying), social needs (personal and professional) and habitual needs (habits and background noise). Indeed, other studies have shown that these needs motivate social media usage (e.g., LaRose & Eastin, 2004) especially on Facebook (Park, Kee & Valenzuela, 2009). While these needs are sought using social media, they are often not fulfilled and gratified (Wang, Tchernev & Solloway, 2012).

This gap between what is desired and what is fulfilled has the potential to increase negative effects from using social media, particularly with eating disorder development. To fully determine these negative effects, psychological processes, such as appearance comparisons, will negotiate the potential impact using social media can have on body satisfaction (Perloff, 2014).

Photo Usage on Social Media

While social media platforms have several built-in functions, such as liking, commenting, sharing and posting, this research focuses on Instagram, a primarily image-focused platform. With this in mind, this section of the literature review focuses

on social media photo usage to better understand the potential effects they may have on young women.

Categories of Photos

To understand how Instagram photos affect college-aged women, it is important to understand the types of photos that exist on social media. For example, one study looked at Instagram feeds and created a list of the most common photo categories: self-portraits (i.e., selfies), friends, activities, caption photos, food, gadgets, fashion and pets (Hu, Manikonda & Kambhampati, 2014). Among the 800 images they examined, nearly half of the photos belonged to the selfie and friend categories. Activities were also among the most popular categories, accounting for more than 15%. The least popular categories included pets, fashion, and food.

“Thinspiration” is another type of image found on social media. This term refers to thin-ideal images that promote weight loss and encourage eating disorder behavior and found typically through the hashtag #thinspiration or #thinspo (Ghaznavi & Taylor, 2015). This content is similar to what is found in magazines, portraying too-thin bodies that are often impossible to achieve through healthy eating and exercise. Thinspiration images are on a majority of social media platforms, including Pinterest, Tumblr, Twitter, and Instagram.

In addition, the content of the photo matters as much as the category or type of image. For example, Bakhshi, Shamma, and Gilbert (2014) found that photos featuring faces had 38% more likes and 32% more comments compared to a photo without faces (Bakhshi, Shamma, & Gilbert, 2014). Age and gender were not found to impact engagement, but the content of the photos can be a large factor in determining a successful Instagram post.

Besides studies on content, others have looked at its potential for behavior change. In examining Pinterest, a platform primarily dominated by female users, Lewallen and Behm-Morawitz (2016) found that the more fitness boards a female user followed on Pinterest, the more likely she was to take extreme measures to lose weight. In an examination of thinspiration and “fitspiration⁴” websites, Boeapple and Thompson (2016) found that while thinspiration images glamourized thinness more than fitspiration did, user-generated messages on both types of images promoted some sort of guilt, such as guilt surrounding eating or missing a workout. Tillotson (2012) argues that this type of group-think behavior tries to normalize eating disorders, which can be incredibly dangerous.

Tiggemann and Zaccardo (2015) conducted an experiment with fitspiration images on Instagram. They found that fitspiration images inspired the participants to improve their fitness. However, the authors discussed that while this motivation exists, the toned and muscular body type featured in the photos is often still unattainable to the average female. Physical appearance, eating concerns and excessive exercise are typically found within these types of images (Boeapple, Ata, Rum & Thompson, 2016), which reinforces the need to obtain a specific body ideal among women.

While there are certainly image categories that have negative implications, one particular category of images, body selfies, have the potential to empower young women and help them project their own identity and realities (Tiidenberg & Cruz, 2015). These photos express a combination of how women experience their bodies in

¹ Fitspiration is “an online trend designed to inspire viewers toward a healthier lifestyle by promoting exercise and healthy food” (Tiggemann and Zaccardo, 2015, p. 61).

photographs taken by others and how they observe their bodies in mirrors (Tiidenberg & Cruz, 2015).

Posting Photos

Besides the types of photos posted and their effects, other studies have looked at photo posting behaviors on social media. Utilizing a survey that required daily Instagram use, Lee, Lee, Moon, and Sung (2015) discovered the most popular motives for posting a photo on Instagram were archiving, recording daily events, trips, activities, and self-expression. Regarding self-expression, “users utilize pictures of all sorts of things to present their personalities, lifestyles, and tastes... photographs are much better than texts for self-expression and impression management” (Lee, Lee, Moon & Sung, 2015, p. 555). Moreover, the authors stressed that what makes platforms like Instagram so powerful is that photographs give truth to user’s experiences whereas Facebook statuses are created with text and can be easily fabricated (Lee, Lee, Moon & Sung, 2015).

Posting photos of selfies, particularly selfies that focus on the body, offer self-expression as well. By posting photos of their bodies, women express how they want to see themselves and how others will see them (Tiidenberg & Cruz, 2015). However, with this empowerment comes a tension between body ideals and the pressure to “deliver more and more selfies or have to perform in specific ways to meet their audience’s attention” (Tiidenberg & Cruz, 2015, p. 95).

Appearance Comparisons

Used as a mediating process between social media use and social media effects, appearance comparisons are another important area to address in the image exposure-effects process. More specifically, researchers look at two types of comparisons—

upward and downward. Upward comparisons are made when a woman compares herself to an image of the thin ideal and the woman herself either fails to meet that ideal physically and/or mentally (i.e., she is larger than the ideal or believes she is larger than the ideal). Downward comparisons are made when the woman feels she is thinner or has a more ideal body than the subject of comparison (Festinger, 1954). Within college-aged women, comparisons are most evident in breast size, skin color, attractiveness, toes, body weight, and size of hips (Rudd & Lennon, 2000). Overall, researchers have found appearance comparison is a strong predictor of body dissatisfaction and disordered eating behaviors (e.g., Fitzimmons-Craft et al., 2012; Shroff & Thompson, 2004; Keery et al., 2004; Berg et al., 2002; Thompson et al., 1999). Moreover, appearance comparison with traditional media models and their resulting effects has been well documented (e.g., Homan & Lemmon, 2014; van den Berg, Thompson, Obrenski-Brandon and Coovert, 2002; Keery, van den Berg and Thompson, 2004; Thompson, Coovert & Stormer, 1999).

Indeed, these comparisons have been found on social media as well. Fardouly and Vartanian (2015) examined the type of appearance comparisons made on Facebook among college-aged women. The participants were found to make upward comparisons with distant peers-- someone the individual may know but does not socialize with regularly (Fardouly & Vartanian, 2015, p. 82) -- close friends, and female celebrities. The only category they did not make upward comparisons with was female family members. These comparisons, with the exception of female family members, led to increased body image concerns. Moreover, they found that of all the comparison types, close friends and distant peer comparison occurred the most often. Fardouly and

Vartanian (2015) speculated that peer comparisons happen more frequently because the content they are posting seems attainable to them, rather than posts by a celebrity.

Another study looked at depressive symptoms and negative social comparisons on Instagram (Lup, Trub, & Rosenthal, 2015). Among 18-29-year-old adults, it was found the more strangers a user followed on Instagram, the more negative comparisons a user made. The comparisons, furthermore, were not limited to appearance but activities such as vacations and social events. Vacation and social event photos triggered resentment, envy, and loneliness which are factors in developing depression (Lup, Trub, & Rosenthal, 2015).

Social Media Effects on Body Image

With an understanding that appearance comparison is an indicator of body dissatisfaction, which is a predictor of disordered eating behaviors (Vartanian & Dey, 2013), the next section of the literature review will examine the area where these comparisons are increasing: social media. The effects traditional media has on body dissatisfaction has been well documented (e.g., Tiggemann, Polivy & Hargreaves, 2009; Levine & Murnen, 2009; Grabe, Ward & Hyde, 2008; Harrison & Cantor, 1997), and as social media continues to gain popularity among young adults, a shift in examining online media effects is needed.

At present, there is limited research on social media or Internet usage, body dissatisfaction, and disordered eating. One study compared the effects of both traditional (magazines, television) and online (websites) media use among undergraduate women (Bair, Kelly, Serdar & Mazzeo, 2012). Of these media, high Internet usage was found to have an effect on body dissatisfaction, which can be attributed to the “seemingly endless supply of image-focused verbal and visual data on

the Internet” (Bair et al., 2012, p. 400). More recently, Blaszczynski and Cohen (2015) had undergraduate females participate in a study that compared magazine images to Facebook images. While the different medium’s images did not elicit a difference in body dissatisfaction, the researchers found that high Facebook usage was associated with a higher eating disorder risk (Blaszczynski & Cohen, 2015). Rodgers et al. (2013) conducted a survey on women’s internet use, internet addiction, and disordered eating. They found disordered eating was moderately associated with how much time respondents spent on social media.

It is not only the time spent on social media sites that is associated with disordered eating behaviors, but the content that they spend their time viewing. Meier and Gray (2014) sought to discover if high Facebook usage led to increased internalization of the thin ideal. The researchers surveyed middle and high school girls to better understand how girls adopt Facebook appearance ideals for themselves (Meier & Gray, 2014). Total time spent on Facebook had no relationship to internalization; rather, it was time spent on photo activities that increased thin-ideal internalization. The researchers believe that young women with high body dissatisfaction and high thin-ideal internalization frequent photos on Facebook more to “reinforce or exacerbate existing body image issues” (Meier & Gray, 2014, p. 202).

Theoretical Frameworks

The literature review suggests that when women are exposed to the thin ideal, an internalization of thin ideals and body comparisons occur, which may result in body dissatisfaction, a predictor of disordered eating behaviors. The transactional model of social media and body image concerns, social comparison theory, and uses and gratifications theories all help explain these processes. The first, the transactional model

of social media and body image concerns, will serve as a guide in understanding the process from viewing Instagram images, to body dissatisfaction, and to the possible development of an eating disorder. The second framework, which is a part of the transactional model, is social comparison theory. Social comparison theory will be used to understand the types of comparisons the participants make, and the transactional model will be used to understand the effects of the comparisons. The third framework uses, and gratifications, is also a part of the transactional model and will be used to understand the reasons and rewards for using Instagram, an area lacking in the literature.

Transactional Model of Social Media and Body Image Concerns

Developed by Richard Perloff (2014), the transactional model of social media and body image concerns combines social psychological and communication theories to create a first of its kind framework to understand the effects of social media among women. Perloff (2014) confirms that previous research has already provided evidence that the mass media have detrimental effects on body satisfaction and sought to give direction to future research with his model. The model, pictured in Figure 2-1, takes several factors into account when describing the effects of social media on body dissatisfaction and potential development of disordered eating behaviors.

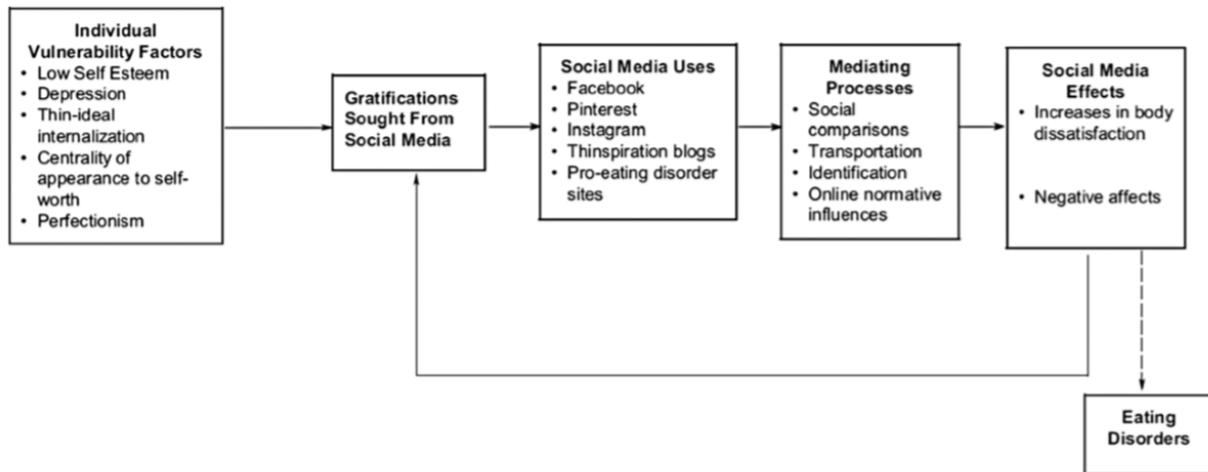


Figure 2-1. Transactional Model of Social Media and Body Image Concerns (Perloff, 2014, p. 386)

The model begins with individual vulnerability factors such as low self-esteem, depression, and thin-ideal internalization, because “media rarely exert simple main effects or occur in isolation” (Perloff, 2014, p. 367). Indeed, the literature on social media effects has shown that personal vulnerability factors do play a role in how severe these social media effects can be (e.g., Blaszczynski and Cohen, 2015; Meier & Gray, 2014).

Once a person has at least some of the individual vulnerability factors, a loop begins starting with gratifications sought from social media to social media use to mediating processes to social media effects. Perloff (2014) describes this loop as a woman using image-focused social media like Instagram for gratifications, such as validation of her body image. In search of this validation, they will spend a large amount of time on the platform, influencing a string of psychological processes such as social comparisons. These comparisons frequently lead to upward comparisons that result in body dissatisfaction. Seeking more validation of their body image, a woman will

continue to use social media in hopes of fulfilling that gratification, ensuing an endless loop of negative effects. Most notable about this model is that it does not assume that an eating disorder is immediately developed and is a “host of complex social, emotional and personality processes” (Perloff, 2014, p. 368).

Uses and Gratifications

Because uses and gratifications and social comparison are vital to Perloff’s model (2014), both theories are explained in in additional detail. Developed in 1974 (Blumler & Katz), uses and gratifications describe how active audience members satisfy needs using media. These needs may be for information, community involvement, relaxation or escape. Active audience members search for media that specifically fulfill these needs. They are aware of what media to use and the result that media usage will return (Blumler & Katz, 1974).

In terms of uses and gratifications, it will help understand what participants use Instagram for and what they enjoy about the application. The researcher hopes to discover if young women use Instagram to specifically seek out harmful images, or if as Andsager (2014) argues, they instead come across them unintentionally and still suffer harmful consequences. The lens of uses and gratifications will be useful in examining the reason for using the platform and the gratifications sought from using the platform, and if those gratifications are fulfilled.

Social Comparison Theory

Social Comparison Theory (Festinger, 1954) remains, in essence, an explanation of how individuals compare themselves with others who have like attributes or attributes that are culturally desired such as the ideal body (Perloff, 2014, p. 369; Tiggemann & Zaccardo, 2015). There are two types of comparisons made—upward and downward.

Upwards comparisons are when the individual feels they fall short of the body type in the image they are comparing themselves with, while downward comparisons are when the individual feels they exceed the body type in the image.

While these comparisons occur, we can also assume the audience viewing the images is active (Festinger, 1954). With this, we understand that unlike traditional media, the user is active in a two-way communication process when using social media. For example, if an upward comparison is made, the user may unfollow an account as a coping or protection strategy. Many social media platforms, such as Instagram, offer the flexibility to choose viewing content in the form of following, unfollowing, liking and commenting. With this in mind, the research will discover if any coping mechanisms exist when making upward comparisons, such as unfollowing a user. Also, this theory offers an opportunity to blend past research together and form a new direction to understand Instagram effects.

In addition to the original theory, motives for comparison may also reveal themselves in the research. Understanding these motives may provide further detail into the comparisons that are made. There are three motives for social comparison: self-evaluation, self-enhancement and self-improvement (Martin & Kennedy, 1994). The definitions for each are provided below:

- Self-evaluation — “an individual's judgment of value, worth, or appropriateness of his/her abilities, opinions, and personal traits” (Martin & Kennedy, p. 365).
- Self-enhancement — “an individual's biased attempts to maintain positive views of him/herself to protect or enhance self-esteem” (Martin & Kennedy, p. 365).
- Self-improvement—“an individual's attempts to learn how to improve or to be inspired to improve a particular attribute ” (Martin & Kennedy, p. 365)

Research Contributions

The literature demonstrated several main areas to investigate. First, many of the studies use quantitative research, and there is a need for descriptions of lived experiences in regards to using Instagram and viewing photos on Instagram. Second, Facebook is the platform primarily investigated when looking at social media effects (Malik, Dhir & Nieminen, 2016; Cohen & Blaszczynski, 2015; Nesi & Prinstein, 2015; Fardouly & Vartanian, 2015; Tiggemann & Slater, 2013). There is a need in the literature to add different platforms, especially those that are image specific such as Instagram. Images, more than moving videos such as film or television, are assumed to have more of an impact due to the largely Photoshopped images that show just how unattainable the thin ideal is (Arroyo, 2015). Similarly, Instagram offers a very similar platform for displaying unrealistic images with its various filters, and third-party editing sites that allow users to adjust photos in the same way an ads or magazines would. With evidence showing the negative impact of magazine images (e.g., Tiggemann, Polivy & Hargreaves, 2009; Levine & Murnen, 2009; Grabe, Ward & Hyde, 2008; Harrison & Cantor, 1997) this researcher felt it especially important to focus on Instagram. Unlike magazines, there is pressure to be constantly connected through social media.

Lastly, to understand how Instagram images affect body satisfaction, we must first understand how and why it is used. Once this is discovered, we can then understand what types of appearance comparisons are being made with these images. These comparisons can be understood through the types of accounts they follow and the types of pictures they make appearance comparisons to most often. Currently, there are no studies that combine the different types of image categories found on social

media and compared them to each other to discover which causes the most body dissatisfaction. Overall, this thesis also hopes to fill in the gaps of why college-aged women use Instagram, what they use it for, what type of content they post, what type of content they interact with, and their overall feelings regarding how Instagram impacts their own body ideals.

Research Questions

To discover how college-aged women negotiate Instagram images, the following research questions will be examined:

RQ1 A: What types of Instagram photos produce positive and negative feelings among college-aged females?

RQ1 B: How do college-aged females negotiate images and then behave when images produce positive or negative feelings?

RQ1 C: If Instagram photos have a negative effect, then why do they view them?

RQ2: Do college-aged females compare themselves with Instagram images? If so, what types of Instagram photos create upward and/or downward body comparisons?

CHAPTER 3 METHODOLOGY

Overview

This thesis used individual interviews with a photo sorting activity to answer the research questions. One of the primary reasons for using qualitative research in this thesis, as opposed to quantitative, is that there is a gap in the literature regarding descriptive data. In addition, a core area of the research questions is to understand how college-aged women use Instagram and how the meanings assigned to the photos can potentially lead to decreased body esteem. Understanding meaning is a core attribute of qualitative research, for to understand behavior the researcher must be able to “uncover meaningful object’s in people’s words and understand those objects from the perspective of the people being studied” (Morrison, Haley, Bartel-Sheehan & Taylor, 2002, p. 19). The method, individual interviews, will be explained in detail later in this chapter.

Choices within Methodology

Participant Demographic Rationale

This study looked at college women aged 18 to 24 attending a large southeastern university. This age group was chosen for several reasons. First, the literature supports that female undergraduate students are at high risk for disordered eating and weight management (Schwitzer & Choate, 2015; Schwitzer, 2012; Berg, Frazier & Sherr, 2009; Striegel-Moore, Rosselli, Perrin, Debar, Wilson, May & Kraemer, 2009). Specifically, “6% of women on campuses report problems with anorexia or bulimia, 25% to 40% report moderate eating, weight, and body shape–related problems such as body image worries, weight management behaviors, and out-of-control eating”

(Schwitzer & Choate, 2015, p. 74), and 40% participated in disordered eating at least once per week (Berg et al., 2009). Second, 50% of undergraduate women report being dissatisfied with their physical appearance (Grabe, Ward & Hyde, 2008; Bearman, Presnell, Matinez & Stice, 2009; Monteath & McCabe, 1997). Third, undergraduate females have been found to compare their appearance to media images that result in body dissatisfaction (e.g., Bair, Kelly, Serdar & Mazzeo, 2012; Tiggemann, Polivy & Hargreaves, 2009; Levine & Murnen, 2009; Grabe, Ward & Hyde, 2008; Harrison & Cantor, 1997). Furthermore, time spent on social media photo activities may have even more potential for higher body dissatisfaction (Blaszczynski & Cohen, 2015; Meier & Gray, 2014).

In addition to recognizing that this demographic has greater incidences of disordered eating behaviors, this choice was also made because the researcher had access to students at the large southeastern university. However, graduate students were excluded in this study due to their theoretical training that likely desensitizes them to the media effects issues and makes them more critical than the average person.

Furthermore, this study excluded international students and individuals who have lived in the United States for less than 17 years because their immersion in another culture and exposure to that culture's body ideals could impact the results. For example, in a comparison of Chinese, Korean and American students, Jung and Forbes (2007) found that American college women had the lowest body dissatisfaction of the three. Also, an analysis of 26 countries revealed that there are indeed differences in the ideal female body across 10 world regions (Swami, Frederick, Aavik, Alcaclay, Allik & Anderson, 2010).

Individual Interview Rationale

Qualitative research was necessary to add to the literature and gather descriptive data. There are multiple methods for conducting qualitative research, and through examining the goals of the study, interview format was determined best. Individual interviews were chosen for the purpose of obtaining descriptive responses and the opportunity to step into the mind of the participants and experience Instagram as they do themselves (McCracken, 1988). The in-depth interview is meant to gather “descriptions of the life-world of the interviewee with respect to interpretation of the meaning of the described phenomena” (Steiner, 1983, p. 174).

There are several reasons why individual interviews were chosen over focus groups. While focus groups provide collective information about an experience within a similar group, individual interviews provide richer data about this experience that was most valuable due to the lack of descriptive data on this topic (Creswell, 2013). Furthermore, focus groups are typically a better option when there is potential for individuals to be uncomfortable talking about a specific topic. While the interview discussed sensitive information related to body ideals and comparisons with those ideals, the topic of social media was appealing to this particular age group and did not foresee issues with participant discussion. Finally, a group setting was eliminated because the most important concepts related to this topic, such as why they use Instagram and body ideals, would not be discussed in detail. In addition, the photo sort in a group setting could present issues with participants not agreeing on photos causing specific feelings, as this is highly personal.

Despite in-depth interviews being the preferred method, the researcher was aware of the challenges associated with this method. Some of these challenges include

participant behavior, following instructions, dealing with sensitive topics, and phrasing questions to ensure questions are not leading (Creswell, 2013, p. 172). Additionally, interviews are especially time-consuming and can be emotionally taxing depending on the topic and behavior of the participant. To combat these challenges, informed consent form given to all participants covered appropriate areas that would make the participant comfortable. A priority was made to notice misunderstandings in questions and probe answers that were not fully developed by the participant. An area that causes most distress in interviews is equipment malfunction. The researcher came prepared with two methods for recording audio: the researcher's phone and a recording device rented from the College of Journalism and Communications.

There are several ethical issues that also arise regarding interviews, including protecting the anonymity of the participant. Since these interviews were conducted face-to-face, there was no anonymity and this was specified to the Internal Review Board. The participants were also given an option to choose an alias for the individual interview to protect their identity. Additionally, due to the sensitive nature of some of the topics, compensation was given at the beginning of the interview to ensure that the participant was aware that even if they wanted to leave the interview due to discomfort, compensation was guaranteed.

Photo Sort Rationale

The photo sort activity is central to the research. An area of the literature that needs exploring is how Instagram is used in real-time by college-aged women. Short from observing each feed, a photo sort was the way to gather immediate reactions to and feelings about real Instagram images. Additionally, the photo sort was a way to control the images that were seen into organized categories with the same images for

each participant, something that would be very difficult to measure in a real Instagram feed.

Photo sorts are known as a projective technique, which is useful in collecting descriptive and meaningful data (Hofstede, van Hoof, Walenberg & Jong, 2007) and for breaking barriers in communication that may prevent the participants from revealing their true feelings (Hussey & Duncombe, 1999). It is frequently used in marketing research to discover the meanings of brands because “people typically do not have the standard vocabulary to extensively discuss and explain their views on the image or personality of a certain brand or product” (Hofstede, et al., 2007, p. 301). This is a similar situation with Instagram, for it is likely that individuals rarely discuss and explain the images they are viewing and how it makes them feel. The specific sorting technique used will be an association, which in this research involves connecting the research object, Instagram images, with words that describe their feelings from the images (Hofstede, et al., 2007).

Phase 1: Creating Instagram “Feed”

To replicate an Instagram feed that would be seen by a typical 18-to 24-year-old college student and thereby increase this study’s ecological validity, the researcher used a three-step process to create a realistic feed. First, the researcher found image categories from social media literature (Tiggemann & Zaccardo, 2015; Hu, Manikonda & Kambhampati, 2014) and narrowed them down to those that represented the more body-focused image categories. These included: friends, activity, selfie, fitspiration, thinspiration and celebrity. The goal was to gather enough photos so that two photos per category would be represented in the photo sort activity during the individual interview.

Instagram Photo Gathering Survey

Next, a survey was distributed to 18-to-24-year-old college women using Qualtrics to gather images from the friends, selfie, activity and fitspiration categories. The survey was distributed through the researcher's personal Facebook page with a message to share the survey link. The researcher posted the message and link as a status and encouraged friends and family to share. The researcher distributed the survey in this manner because she wanted to ensure that during the actual study's photo sort activity the participants were not able to recognize or identify the individuals in the photo. This inability to recognize individuals in the photos was important in terms of privacy and to prevent participants' reactions being based on knowing the individual in the picture. Because the vast majority of the researchers Facebook friends are from the Northeast, this method helped eliminate the aforementioned problem. However, as an added safeguard, the researcher included criteria to the survey that eliminated University of Florida students. The post was shared more than 29 times and received more than 20 comments. Family and friends tagged individuals who they believed met criteria for the survey. Individuals were not compensated for participating in the survey.

The survey began by asking demographic questions to eliminate those who did not qualify. To participate in the survey, the participant needed to be female, within 18 to 24 years old, enrolled in a university and must have lived in the United States for at least 17 years (see Participants section above for an explanation of the requirements). Once they met the criteria, they were instructed to upload one photo per category. The categories for the survey included four out of the six categories selected for the study: friends, selfie, activity and fitspiration. Category definitions based on previous researchers' definitions (Hu, Manikonda & Kambhampati, 2014; Tiggemann &

Zaccardo, 2015) were provided to give respondents a common definition for each category. The categories and their associated definitions can be found in Table 3-1.

Table 3-1. Image Category Descriptions

Category Name	Category Description
Friends	Please upload a photo from your feed that contains at least two individuals.
Activity	Please upload a photo from your feed that shows an individual (or individuals) participating in an outdoor or indoor activity such as a concert, social gathering, special event or travel.
Selfie	Please upload a photo from your feed that shows an individual taking a self-portrait. This will contain one person.
Fitspiration	Please upload a photo from your feed that shows an individual engaged in exercise, dressed in exercise gear, or participating in a healthy lifestyle.

The participants were also instructed to find photos that focused on the body. Photos also were not required to have a face so they could be below the head. This specification was necessary to ensure that the photos were of the body.

A total of 56 responses was gathered with the survey with a total of 19 images uploaded to the friend's category, 16 uploaded to the activity category, 16 uploaded to the selfie category and 18 uploaded to the fitspiration category. Not every participant uploaded a picture per category so the numbers are not the same in each category. Moreover, many of the photos uploaded did not match the category description despite providing definitions to participants. For example, one participant uploaded the same picture for each category.

In particular, two categories were problematic. The selfie category was defined as “an image of oneself taken by oneself using a digital camera especially for posting on social networks” (“Definition of Selfie,” n.d.). However, many participants uploaded

photos of just their faces rather than their entire bodies, which was in the directions. Bodies were needed in the selfies because this study is testing body image so selfies with the entire body were necessary. In addition, some participants uploaded photos of their entire body, but the photos were taken by someone else. The second area they had difficulties with was the activity photos. The most common issue among the activity photos was the similarities it had with the friend category, which was not foreseen by the researcher. For example, while the photo may have demonstrated a group of individuals partaking in an activity, such as hiking, the researcher decided this was too similar to the friend category description. This was likely due to the description of the activity category, which did not specify the number of people that should be in the photo.



Figure 3-1. Example of photo uploaded to activity category and removed due to friend category similarity

Because of these two problematic categories, two solutions were created. For the selfie category, another selfie image was requested of participants who were going to rate these images. Regarding the activity category, as many photos were excluded as possible that could be confused with another category. An example of a photo that was removed can be found in Figure 3-1 because it was too similar to the friend category, regardless of obvious hiking activity in the photo. From here, the researcher began to evaluate the images uploaded and selected the three photos per category that best matched the description of friends, activities, and fitspiration. The images were evaluated based upon quality, category description and appropriateness.

Category fit was not the only issue. Some photos were pixelated, out of focus or were unable to retain quality when cropped if taken at a distance, so these were eliminated as well. Overall, 60 photos were eliminated that participants provided. There were several reasons why so many photos were eliminated. First, as described, they simply were not enough that were high quality. Second, the instructions may not have been clear enough to participants. First, with the activity and fitspiration categories, it should have been noted that only one individual was to be in the picture. This detail would have been helpful because when more than one person is in the image it can be confused with the friend category, as demonstrated in Figure 3-1. In addition, a more precise selfie description would have benefited the participants, as this was the category that participants struggled with the most. Indeed, instructions to have a picture that displayed the entire body was included, however, an example picture may have been helpful in this instance. Another possible explanation for the lack of “correct” selfie

photos could be confusion about the term. It seems in this group, selfie means a photo of the face rather than the body.

Researcher-Gathered Instagram Photos

The researcher gathered the remaining two categories for the photo sort-- thinspiration and celebrity. Thinspiration photos were chosen due to the sensitive nature of thinspiration images. Thinspiration images are often pro-eating disorder, and many of the hashtags are banned and give a warning when searched. Since the photo gathering participants were not screened for eating disorder symptoms, it was not ethical for participants to search for them. Due to the large amount of resources documenting top Instagram accounts, as well as current news focusing on celebrity, it was not necessary to have the students select celebrity accounts.

To gather the celebrity images, a list of the top followed celebrities on Instagram ("Top 100 Instagram Users by Followers," 2016) was initially consulted. From the list, the top five female celebrities from the list were randomized in a Excel spreadsheet in an attempt to remove celebrity bias from the researcher's selection. The first randomization displayed Beyoncé and Kim Kardashian. However, due to the age difference between these celebrities and the participants, two celebrities were randomly selected again in an attempt to have at least once celebrity within the participants' age demographic. This was due to the researcher's belief that they should have similarities with at least one celebrity. For example, both Beyoncé and Kim Kardashian have had children, something that the typical enrolled college student likely cannot relate to. This could also impact the way they talk about their (the celebrities') bodies. The second randomization displayed Selena Gomez and Kylie Jenner, both within the same age demographic. Each individual celebrity's Instagram account was visited to select a

photo to use in the photo sort. The criteria used for choosing the celebrity images was that it had to include their face so the participant could recognize it was a celebrity, it had to include their entire body, and it should appear to be a photo from a photoshoot or staged. Ideally, the photo was to come across as staged or a photoshoot in an attempt to differentiate the photo category. Two to three photos of each celebrity were chosen and shown to fellow graduate students. The goal of the study, along with the criteria listed above (face included, photoshoot), was described while displaying the photos. The graduate students assisted with narrowing down the photos. Both photos chosen showed the celebrity in a bathing suit because it showed their body more than fully clothed images.

To gather the thinspiration photos, several hashtags were used on Instagram to find photos for this category, including #proana, #promia, and #thinspiration. The hashtags that resulted in the final photos were #thinstagram and #skinnygirls. The criteria for choosing these images were two-fold. First the image showed the body from the neck down because this study was more body-focused making faces unnecessary. Second, images had to show intense slenderness such as bones were obviously protruding, like ribs, and exceptionally thin arms and legs. Consultation with fellow graduate students was not done for selecting these final photos due to the sensitive nature of this category. There was certainly no lack of photos that matched this criteria, and the decision on the final two photos was made because they were more tame than other photos matching these criteria and hashtags. While students who scored for an eating disorder were eliminated, it was decided that showing some of these more

extreme photos could create distress. This turned out to be the right decision, as the photos that were chosen did initiate feelings of concern.

Photo Review Survey

The next stage in choosing photos for the photo sort involved whittling down the samples. Using three photos for the categories of friends, activities and fitspiration, the researcher used an online survey to gather feedback on the images (outlined below) and choose the final two images for each of the aforementioned categories. The photo review survey was emailed to all 24 individuals that provided their contact information during the original photo gathering survey. Of the 24 participants that were contacted, four filled out the photo review survey. Participation was likely low due to the lack of compensation for participating in this second part, especially since the first survey also did not include compensation for participation.

The survey was divided into three parts. First, three photos from the friends, activities and fitspiration categories were set up to be randomized in Qualtrics. Randomization of these questions was used to eliminate the potential of an unintentional third variable, such as the order of the photos, that might influence the results. Three statements, which constituted the three category descriptions, were listed under each photo. For example, “this picture shows an individual engaged in exercise, dressed in exercise gear, or participating in a healthy lifestyle”. However, the definitions of the categories were adjusted from the descriptions provided in the original participant survey. These adjustments were made to provide additional clarity as discussed between the researcher and the supervisor since there seemed to be some confusion regarding matching photos to categories in the initial survey. Thus, more details were deemed necessary in an attempt to avoid confusion. For example, “please upload a

photo from your feed that contains at least two individuals” was changed to “this picture shows at least two individuals and the individuals in your opinion are friends.”

Respondents then were instructed to rate each photo on a seven-point Likert scale from strongly agree to strongly disagree for each of the three category descriptions.

The next section of the survey requested that the participant upload an additional selfie photo with the directions, “Please upload an additional selfie image. This picture must be of the entire body. It does not need to include a face. You can upload it here or email to deavenf@ufl.edu.” Out of the four participants that uploaded a selfie photo, only one participant uploaded a photo matching the selfie description provided by the researcher. Again, the misunderstanding of the term “selfie” was likely the reason behind the lack of matching photos. Photos that were eliminated were of the face only rather than including face and body.

The third part of the survey was a ranking activity. All nine photos from the first part of the survey were displayed and participants were asked to rank the top three (out of 9) that best matched the provided category description. The ranking activity was intended to provide additional support for the selected images per category, ensuring that the final two selected were the best fit.

Final Photo Selection

To determine which two photos best matched the category description, the researcher first went through and selected the photos that had 100% agreement in terms of the participants’ rating of the top three that best fit that category. The only category that all participants unanimously agreed upon was the friend category. In regards to the activity category, there was a problem. Participants sorted the photo displayed in Figure 3-2 into both the activity and fitspiration category. Because the

photo's category was unclear and not mutually exclusive, the photo was eliminated. One of the three images for the thinspiration category were not agreed upon, so this photo was removed from that category leaving two photos to use for thinspiration. After the elimination of activity and fitspiration photos, Likert scales and rankings coordinated with the top photos for fitspiration and activity. The photo elimination process and Likert scales provided the same top two photos for the fitspiration and activity categories and were used in the individual interview.



Figure 3-2. Eliminated photo

In regards to the selfie images, only one participant provided an image that matched the description during the photo review survey. Because gathering selfie photos failed twice, researcher had to find images that fit on her own. Selfie photos were found by searching Instagram using #selfie and choosing an image that showed the entire body of the individual and was taken by the individual. These selfie images were not tested with the target audience for two reasons. First, the selfie photo was

found with the selfie hashtag, ensuring that the image chosen was defined as a selfie in terms of Instagram.. In addition, the researcher is well-versed in social media and felt confident that the two final selfies were accurate representations. Finally, during the photo sort, multiple participants noted that she had seen images similar in her own feed which assured the researcher of her choice. The final photos selected can be found in Appendix D.

Phase 2: Individual Interviews and Photo Sorting

A screening survey was used to gather participants for the individual interview and ensure they met eligibility criteria. The first criterion was demographic. The participants had to be a female, between the ages of 18 to 24, enrolled as an undergraduate student at a large southeastern university, and must have lived in the United States for at least 17 years.

The second criterion was related to eating habits because it was necessary to exclude individuals with eating disorders for ethical reasons. To test for this, the Eating Disorder Attitudes (EAT) test (Garner, Olmsted, Bohr & Garfinkel, 1982) was utilized. EAT is “the most widely used standardized self-report measure of symptoms and concerns characteristic of eating disorders” (“The Eating Attitudes Test,” n.d.). The participants were required to answer a total of 25 questions such as “I am terrified of being overweight.” The participant then answered the question based on a six-point scale from always to never. The scoring was as follows: if always is selected, they earned three points; usually two points and often one point (Garner et al., 1982). A function in Qualtrics made it possible to add the points to the questions. Anyone scoring a 19 or higher was eliminated from the pool and given a recommendation to contact the

Health and Wellness Center at the University of Florida because this is the score for eating disorder risk and symptoms (Garner et al., 1982).

The third criterion was overall knowledge about using Instagram because participants who were familiar with the platform will provide insightful responses. This section featured three different social media types of scales. First, the Facebook Intensity Scale (Ellison, Steinfield & Lampe, 2007) was utilized. The questions utilized a five-point Likert-attitudinal scale that ranged from strongly disagree to agree strongly. Since the questions were Facebook centered, for example, “Facebook is part of my everyday activity,” the word Facebook was replaced with Instagram. The scale consisted of a total of six questions.

Second, two questions were asked regarding how many Instagram followers she had and how many Instagram accounts she follows. According to Statista (“Average Number of Instagram Followers of Teenage Users,” 2015), the average teenager had at least 100 followers on Instagram. It was important that the participant followed enough individuals on Instagram that the photo sort was applicable for them, so the participant needed to follow at least 101 accounts to participate in the individual interview.

Finally, a criterion was created to find out how often the participants used Instagram. To do this, information was utilized from the Pew Research Center to create a scale that measured usage from never to several times a day (Thompson, Purcell & Raine, 2013). This seven-point scale was used for four questions that focused on Instagram interaction, for example, “How often do you post on Instagram?” The participant must have met minimum requirements for interacting with Instagram on a semi-regular basis. For the purpose of this research, semi-regular includes: scrolling

through the application at least once every few weeks, commenting and liking photos at least once every few weeks and posting at least once a month.

A screening survey was created in Qualtrics and distributed through three methods. The first method targeted female-oriented student groups, specifically the Association for Women in Sports Media, Being a Girl (B.A.G.), and Florida Women in Business and Advertising Society. These student groups were contacted through their individual pages on Facebook or an individual website. Second, three colleges were emailed (College of Arts, College of Health and Human Performance, and College of Public Health and Health Professions) with a request to send the survey link to their undergraduate students. Finally, the survey was distributed in a journalism class.

Once a participant met the minimum requirements for Instagram usage, she was asked to provide her contact information if she wished to participate in the individual interview. Compensation for the individual interview was advertised as a \$20 Amazon gift card. Through these distributions, a total of 115 participants took a screening survey. Of the 115, 30 qualified for an individual interview. Thirteen individuals were eliminated due to demographic data, meaning they did not fit the criteria of a female, University of Florida undergraduate student that has lived in the United States for at least 17 years. Eleven individuals were disqualified due to her EAT score, meaning she scored above a 19 and therefore met the criteria for an eating disorder. Fourteen participants were eliminated due to her limited Instagram usage, as specified in the criterion for Instagram. Forty-seven participants started the survey, but did not complete. There are two theories regarding the lack of survey completion. First, many participants stopped during the EAT questionnaire, perhaps because of discomfort.

Second, the rest of the participants stopped during the social media questions, likely due to the length of the survey.

Phase 3: Individual Interviews and Photo Sort

If the participant was eligible for an individual interview, she was contacted via email asking if she was still interested in participating. If she was a mutual date and time were agreed upon, and a room was reserved. Nine out of ten of the interviews were conducted in conference rooms in the researcher's building on campus. One interview was conducted in the science library at a large southeastern university in a study room reserved by the researcher. The participants were recorded with a voice recorder and the researcher's phone. A photograph of her photo sort was taken at the end of the interview once she left the room. No photographs or video contained the participant. All ten interviews took place on a large southeastern campus during the week of January 16 to January 20, 2017. The interviews lasted from 45:54 to 60:53 minutes with the average length being 50:57 minutes. The first two interviews were pretests. However, no large adjustments or reconfigurations were needed, so they were included in the results.

In addition, before the first interview was conducted, the researcher participated in a bracketing interview to ensure the researcher's bias and background would not reflect the individual interviews and analysis of results (Hein & Austin, 2001). To complete the bracketing interview, the researcher recruited a fellow graduate student who had completed a qualitative research class. This graduate student acted as the interviewer, with the researcher as the participant, and asked questions from the interview guide to the researcher. This was especially important as the interviewer has a personal connection to the topic with a family member that suffers from an eating

disorder. By participating in the bracketing interview, the researcher recognized her personal investment and was then able to analyze the results of the individual interviews without application of personal bias and expectation.

Interview structure. The in-depth interview was semi-structured and followed an interview guide that focused on the following themes: social media usage, perceptions of body standards, photo activity, discussion of photo activity, and impact on body esteem (Steiner, 1983). The structure of the interview can be found in Figure 3-3. Each section of the interview is highlighted below.

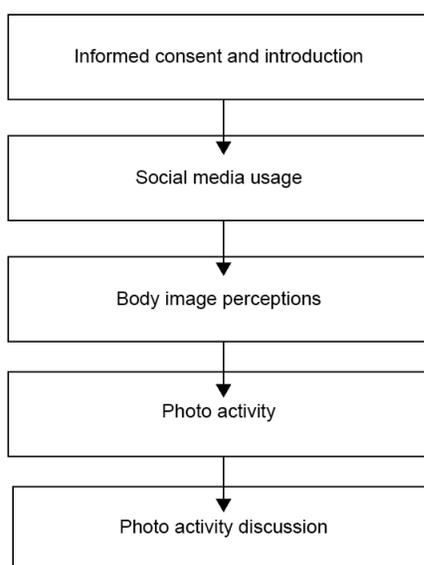


Figure 3-3. Interview structure

Social media usage was examined first, with questions asking the participant about her usage of social media and eventually her usage of Instagram (see Appendix E for interview guide). Example questions include: “Describe how you use each social media platform”, “Tell me about who you are on social media,” and “Who do you follow on each platform?” The goal of these questions was to gain a general view of how she uses and interacts with the platform on a daily basis.

The second area discussed was the respondent's perceptions of body standards, with questions such as her personal body ideal, from where she learned this ideal, and where she sees this ideal. The goal of these questions was to understand personal, peer and societal body ideals, an important part in understanding comparisons. Example questions included: "Describe to me what the societal ideal female body looks like", "What influences this ideal body in society?" and "How do you compare yourself to the ideal body in society"? Next, respondents participated in the photo sort activity.

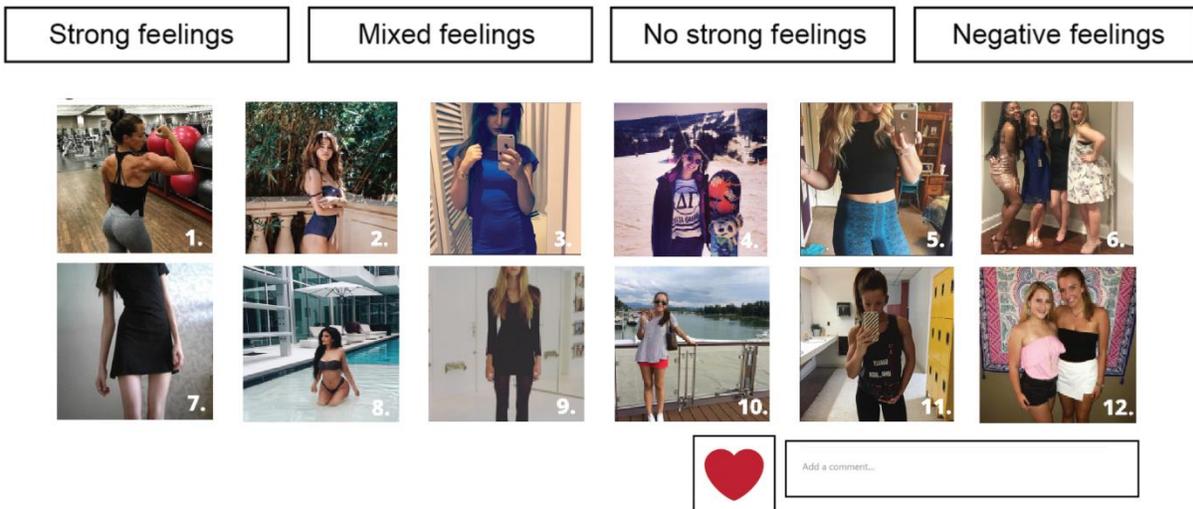


Figure 3-4. Photo Sort Set Up. 1) Fitspiration, 2) Celebrity, 3) Selfie, 4) Activity, 5) Selfie, 6) Friends, 7) Thinspiration, 8) Celebrity, 9) Thinspiration, 10) Activity, 11) Thinspiration, 12) Friends

The 12 photos were previously randomized to ensure that no two categories appeared next to each other, for example, an activity photo next to an activity photo. Each photo had a number on it to help ease conversation. Also, the photos were printed in black and white, to prevent any sorting based on the colors in the images. The photos were set up exactly the same each time, spread across the table with six photos per row. The one instance this varied was during the interview conducted in the science

library. The photos were still set up in numerical order but were placed in three rows rather than two due to lack of table space.

To begin the photo sort, the researcher explained the directions while setting up the photos. The objective of the photo sort was first described, which was to place the photos in the most relevant feelings category. The participant was unaware that the photos belonged to particular image categories, such as friends, selfies and activities. In addition to photo categories, feeling categories were also provided. The participant could sort photos into the following feeling categories: positive feelings, negative feelings, mixed feelings and no strong feelings. The participant was then instructed to first sort the photo into the most relevant feeling category, but that she could change the feeling category upon discussion if need be.

These categories were chosen so that the participant could identify her feelings on a broader scale, while details regarding those feelings were discussed in the post-photo sort discussion. The participant was also given the option to “like” or “comment” on a photo to simulate a typical Instagram feed. Liking a photo on Instagram is symbolized with a heart icon, which was printed out on 12 sheets of paper and cut out individually so the participant could like any of the pictures they categorized. Since likes on photos and statuses signify success and popularity (Bakhshi, Shamma & Gilbert, 2014), it was important to understand why the participant would like the photos, particularly if she chose photos that gave her negative feelings. The participant was also given the option to comment on any of the photos, a function of Instagram that was also important to add to not only replicate the feel of a real feed but to gain descriptive information about commenting on Instagram as well.

In introducing the photo sort, participants were offered unlimited time to sort their photos into feeling categories. The researcher also confirmed that liking and commenting on a photo was not mandatory to the activity. On average, participants took three minutes to complete the photo sort. The participant was typically silent a majority of the time while sorting, while the researcher occupied herself with reviewing the previous responses and writing notes. Sometimes during the photo sort the participant and researcher indulged in light conversation.

The discussion following the photo sort sought to discover the meaning the participants attributed to the photos and how they believe Instagram contributes to body ideals among themselves and her peers. After the photo sort discussion, the interview concluded with a note to contact the university health and wellness center in case the topics discussed during the interview made her feel negatively about herself or her body.

Interview Analysis

The analysis of the interviews was completed in the following steps. First, audio recordings of the interviews were transcribed by a professional transcriber. The digital recordings were uploaded to a private folder to which the transcriber only had access. Also, the participant's alias was used in all discussion. As the transcriptions were being completed, the researcher created a code book utilizing theory-driven codes (DeCuir-Gunby, Marshall & McCulloch, 2011) These theory-driven codes were created based on the theoretical frameworks of the research. A description of these codes can be found below.

Table 3-2. Theory driven codes

Code Name	Code Description
Positive Instagram feelings	This would include any statements that she positively associates with Instagram. These positive feelings may be toward specific images, features or types of content she enjoys. This could also include positive effects from using Instagram, such as motivation.
Negative Instagram Feelings	This would include any statements that she negatively associates with Instagram. These negative feelings may be toward specific images, features or types of content she enjoys. This could also include negative effects from using Instagram, such as addiction or negative body effects. Annoyance is also included as a negative feeling.
Upward Body Comparisons with Instagram	An upward comparison will be evident when she feels she falls short of a body type displayed on Instagram. This does not include comparisons to societal body ideals. This strictly includes upward comparisons on the Instagram platform. This excludes comparisons with any other type of mainstream media, ex. television, or social media, ex. Facebook.
Downward Body Comparisons with Instagram	A downward comparison will be evident when she feels she exceeds the body type displayed on Instagram. This does not include comparisons to societal body ideals. This strictly includes downward comparisons on the Instagram platform. This excludes comparisons with any other type of mainstream media, ex. television, or social media, ex. Facebook.
Upward Body Comparisons with Mainstream Media	An upward comparison will be evident when she feels she falls short of the body type displayed within the mainstream media including television, advertisements, and celebrities. This encompasses the comparisons to societal ideals. This does not include Instagram but may include another form of social media. This can also include any additional comparison, such as to models or peers.
Downward Body Comparisons with Mainstream Media	A downward comparison will be evident when she feels she exceeds the body type displayed within the mainstream media including television, advertisements, and celebrities. This encompasses the comparisons to societal ideals. This does not include Instagram but may include another form of social media. This can also include any additional comparison, such as to models or peers.

Table 3-2. Continued

Code Name	Code Description
Interaction with Instagram	Interaction with Instagram includes liking and commenting on the platform. This includes statements regarding the type of content she like and comments on. The motivation for this interaction should also be included.
Uses and Gratifications	Any statement that explains why she uses Instagram and what she uses Instagram for. This includes reasons for opening up the app and scrolling through.

As suggested by DeCuir-Gunby, Marshall & McCulloch (2011), a review and revision of the codes were made, in addition to discovering if there are any data-driven codes. First, the researcher coded four transcripts using the theory-driven codes, discovering that there were several data-driven codes that should be included. They can be found in Table 3-3.

Table 3-3. Data driven codes

Code Name	Code Description
Peers Usage of Instagram	This include statements of how she uses Instagram compared to her peers. This also includes statements of how her peers use Instagram. How her peers react to specific images should also be included.
Following/Unfollow	This includes statements discussing who she follows on Instagram and who follows her on Instagram. This section will also include reasons to follow/unfollow. The motivation for following/unfollowing to be included.
Posting Photos	This includes discussing the type of content she posts on Instagram, the criteria for posting a photo on Instagram or the motivation behind posting a photo on Instagram. This also includes discussion of photo filters and editing. Any mention of getting second opinions on photos should be included. The timing of posting photos, such as Insta Prime Time, should be included here.

The researcher updated the codebook and recruited another coder to ensure validity. The coder was a first-year graduate student who had completed a qualitative

research class and had lived in the United States her entire life. Utilizing the codebook with the theory and data-driven codes, both researcher and coder coded four of the 10 interviews. Once both parties had coded the interviews, the researcher and coder met to discuss coding and verbally went through the four transcripts. The coder and researcher agreed on a majority of codes and themes throughout the transcripts. Through this discussion, the coder and researcher agreed that some codes could be condensed and added. Table 3-4 shows the final list of codes that were used to examine the transcripts.

Table 3-4. Final coding categories

Code Name	Code Description
Positive Instagram Feelings	This would include any statements that she positively associates with Instagram. These positive feelings may be toward specific images, features or types of content she enjoys. This could also include positive effects from using Instagram, such as motivation.
Negative Instagram Feelings	This would include any statements that she negatively associates with Instagram. These negative feelings may be toward specific images, features or types of content she enjoys. This could also include negative effects from using Instagram, such as addiction or negative body effects. Annoyance is also included as a negative feeling.
Upward Body Comparisons	An upward comparison will be evident when the she feels she falls short of a body type displayed on Instagram. This includes comparisons to societal body ideals, peer ideals, and self-ideals. This comparison can happen on social media platforms, such as Instagram, or within mainstream media, such as magazines. Comparisons in daily activities and real life should also be included.
Downward Body Comparisons	A downward comparison will be evident when the she feels she exceeds the body type displayed within social media platforms, such as Instagram, or within mainstream media, such as magazines. Comparisons in daily activities and real life should also be included.
Interaction with Instagram	Interaction with Instagram includes liking and commenting on the platform. This includes statements regarding the type of content she likes and comments on. The motivation for this interaction should also be included.
Uses and Gratifications	Any statement that explains why she uses Instagram and what she uses Instagram for. This includes reasons for opening up the app and scrolling through.

Table 3-4. Continued

Code Name	Code Description
Peers Usage of Instagram	This includes statements of how she uses Instagram compared to her peers. This also includes statements of how her peers use Instagram. How her peers react to specific images should also be included.
Following/Unfollow	This includes statements discussing who she follows on Instagram and who follows her on Instagram. This section will also include reasons to follow/unfollow. The motivation for following/unfollowing to be included.
Posting Photos	This includes discussing the type of content she posts on Instagram, the criteria for posting a photo on Instagram or the motivation behind posting a photo on Instagram. This also includes discussion of photo filters and editing. Any mention of getting second opinions on photos should be included. The timing of posting photos, such as Insta Prime Time, should be included here.

Once these additions and revisions were made, the coder and researcher sat together to discuss where these changes applied. During these discussions, 100% agreement was reached. The results of the coding and the overall themes found throughout the interviews are presented in the next chapter.

CHAPTER 4 RESULTS

This chapter presents the results of the qualitative investigation into how college-aged women negotiate Instagram images. A total of 10 interviews were completed in an attempt to answer the research questions. To best outline the findings of the research questions, this chapter will be divided into the following sections. The first section will provide a summary of the interview participants and her background. The next sections will provide a detailed analysis of each of the research questions. Within each analysis of the research questions, themes related to the research question will be highlighted, with specific examples from the interview participants. The chapter will conclude with a summary.

Participants

Each of the participants completed a screening survey in order to participate in the individual interview. Each name below is an alias chosen by the participant and is not the participant's real name. All participants identified as female and are undergraduate students at the University of Florida. All participants identified as being White, a topic that will be reviewed in the discussion section. Due to the nature of the interview questions, each individual that participated in the individual interview scored below a 19 on the EAT test, ensuring she is not at high risk for developing an eating disorder. All participants had at least 100 followers on Instagram, followed at least 101 accounts and interacted with Instagram on a semi-regular basis. While these criteria are present for each participant, individual backgrounds are listed below to provide the reader with a thorough review of these young women. A summary chart of the participants can be found in Appendix I.

Olivia is a 21-year-old senior. Olivia has more than 400 Instagram followers and follows more than 400 accounts. She posts on Instagram a few times a month and scrolls through the feed several times a week, including activities such as commenting and liking. While she does not feel strongly about being out of touch if she hasn't logged in, she does feel included in the Instagram community.

Julia is a 21-year-old junior with more than 400 Instagram followers. She also follows more than 400 Instagram accounts. While Julia scrolls through her Instagram several times a day, she only posts a few times a month. Even with Instagram being a part of her daily activities, Julia comments on a photo once every few weeks. However, Julia likes a photo several times a day.

Samantha is a 21-year-old senior with more than 400 Instagram followers. Of the 400 Instagram accounts she follows, she likes and comments on photos several times a week. While she scrolls through Instagram several times a week, she posts a photo several times a month. She feels a part of the Instagram community and feels out of touch when she hasn't logged into Instagram.

Kellie is a 19-year-old junior. She has 151-200 followers and follows 101-150 accounts. She agreed that Instagram is a part of her daily activities, scrolls through the app several times a day, and finds herself commenting and liking a photo about once a day. While she is active daily, she posts a few times a month. She feels out of touch when she does not log into Instagram and feels a part of the Instagram community.

Chloe is a 20-year-old junior. Chloe has more than 400 Instagram followers and follows more than 400 accounts. Chloe agrees that Instagram is a part of her daily activities and posts on Instagram several times a week. Her interaction with Instagram

includes scrolling through the app several times a day and liking or commenting throughout the day. She feels out of touch when she doesn't log into Instagram.

Sarah is a 19-year-old sophomore with more than 400 Instagram followers and follows more than 400 accounts. While she posts on Instagram a few times a month, she scrolls through her feed about once a day. She likes a photo several times a day, but reserves comments for about once a week. She does not necessarily feel out of touch when she does not log into Instagram, but she feels like she is a part of the Instagram community.

Lauren is a 21-year-old junior with more than 400 Instagram followers and follows more than 400 accounts. When Lauren scrolls through her feed about once a day, she most often interacts through liking photos. She comments on photos less frequently, about once a week. Lauren agrees that she is a part of the Instagram community and feels out of touch when she hasn't logged in for a while.

Elizabeth is a 19-year-old sophomore. She has 151-200 Instagram followers and follows 301-400 accounts. She posts a few times a month, but scrolls through the app about once a day with interaction such as liking and commenting. She feels a part of the Instagram community but does not feel out of touch when she hasn't logged in for a while.

Lynn is a 18-year-old freshman. Lynn has 201-250 Instagram followers and follows 151-200 accounts. While she scrolls through her feed several times a day, she posts a photo only a few times a month. In addition, she interacts with Instagram through commenting and liking at least once a day. Lynn believes that Instagram is a part of her daily routine and feels out of touch when she has not logged in for a while.

Emma is a 22-year-old senior. Emma is the only participant to identify as white and Hispanic/Latino. She has more than 400 Instagram followers and follows more than 400 accounts. Even with this large number of followers and accounts followed, she does not agree that Instagram is a part of her daily life. While she only posts a few times a month, she scrolls through her feed several times a week and interacts through liking and commenting several times a week as well. She disagrees that she feels a part of the Instagram community and does not feel out of touch when she hasn't logged in.

RQ1 A: Feelings Associated with Instagram Images

RQ1 A asked: What types of Instagram photos produce positive and negative feelings among college-aged females? To analyze this question, the researcher broke it down into positive feelings among images on Instagram and negative feelings among images on Instagram in the table found in Appendix J.

Positive Feelings

Positive feelings toward specific images revealed themselves during the photo sort especially. This section will discuss each photo that was sorted into the positive category and why she sorted it that way. Overall, positive feelings category had more photos sorted in it than any other feelings category.

Positive Feelings Toward Friends Photos

Photos 6 and 12 belonged to the Friends category. All 10 participants sorted photo 12 in the positive feelings category, and 9 out of 10 participants sorted photo 6 in the positive feelings category. When asked what made these images create positive feelings, the participants all agreed that the individuals looked "happy" and that it could easily be a picture she would see on her feed of her own friends (so the images were relatable).

“They look like they could be pictures of my friends. Totally normal. They look like they're having fun, they're going to a party, enjoying their lives, looking good as hell.” (Emma)

“The women look happy, and look like they were doing something fun, and that they were just having a good time.” (Julia)

“I mean a nice time with friends. They look like they're nice. That's probably like a typical picture my friends would post or something like that.” (Kellie)

“This is like four friends and they all look so happy... they look like they're going out or something and having a good time. They just look like a normal group of friends.” (Chloe)

However, there were contradictions present when discussing these photos. While there is little doubt she felt positive toward these photos, some comments hinted that they were suspicious of the photos. Chloe was suspicious that an individual in photo 6 was posing: “they're all looking at the camera, why would she possibly be looking over there”? Julia almost put photo 6 in the positive feelings category, however, she felt the “sincerity wasn't there”. Thus, these photos perhaps invoke positive feelings not solely because they are genuine, but because this type of photo is common on their feed.

Positive Feelings Toward Activities Photos

All participants sorted both activities photos in the positive feelings category. Similar to the friends' category, the appreciation for the pictured people's perceived happiness and the atypical location seemed to be the prime motivators for these positive feelings.

[Image 4] She's enjoying herself. She doesn't look like she's trying to grab anyone's attention for the wrong reasons. (Chloe)

I really liked these, they're just so happy. They're probably in places they don't live so they're doing something cool. (Sarah)

[Images 4 and 10] went on some sort of vacation from what it looks like because they're both very touristy photos and vacations are fun and it's fun to see people around you having fun. You always like to see people around you happy. And they just look very happy to be having a good time and not doing school work. (Lynn)

Positive Feelings Toward Selfie Photos

Only 30 percent of participants sorted selfies into the positive feelings category. Emma and Elizabeth sorted photo 3 into the positive feelings category, while Lynn sorted both photos into the positive feelings category. An appreciation for their outfits and exuded confidence were their motivators for placing these selfie photos in the positive feelings category.

[Photo 3] I feel like she feels confident, like those kind of photos where you feel really confident with your outfit, so I feel happy for her that she feels that way. (Elizabeth)

[Photo 5] That girl is happy about her outfit and she has really cute pants on. There's nothing bad about the photo. I don't feel like there's any objectification of her. She's just saying 'Look at this cute outfit I got.' (Lynn)

Positive Feelings Toward Fitspiration Photos

Regarding fitspiration photos, both were sorted in the positive feelings category four times, with Lynn, Samantha and Julia sorting both in the positive feelings category. Kellie placed photo 1 in the positive feelings category, and Lauren placed photo 11. These photos seemed to create positive feelings due to an appreciation for the photographed individual's perceived effort in achieving their body and fitness level.

[Photo 1] You see the girl at the gym and she's happy about the gain she's making. She's trying to be healthy. (Lynn)

[Photo 1] It's showing she probably worked pretty hard to get muscles. She just looks fierce you know, that gives me pleasure to see women doing that. And then number 11, seeing her at the gym shows a fierceness attitude, I like that. (Julia)

People post a lot of pictures like this, like at the gym and stuff. It's a way of showing their progress and what they do. It could be motivating and motivate themselves. (Samantha)

Positive Feelings Toward Celebrity Photos

Only one participant placed a celebrity photo into the positive feelings category. Samantha sorted the celebrity photo of Selena Gomez into the positive feelings category because she thought she looked “nice” and it was a “model picture.” There was no mention or recognition that this was a celebrity.

Positive Feelings Toward Thinspiration Photos

Only one participant placed a thinspiration photo in the positive feelings category. Olivia placed photo 7 in the positive feelings category. Olivia made no mention of her weight but rather placed the photo in positive feelings due to her “cute outfit.”

Positive Feelings Summary

Photos that produce positive feelings appeared to have the following in common: perceived happiness, appreciation for look (such as fitness or an outfit), and sincerity. Perceived happiness was shown mostly in images that depicted people smiling, such as the friends and activities photos. These provided the strongest positive reactions, and many mentioned she liked these photos because they seemed realistic and relatable, like something on her own feed. In regards to appreciation for a look, such as the selfie, celebrity, thinspiration and fitspiration photos, these did not provide the strongest positive reactions but demonstrate that appearances do matter to these young women whether it is a body type or an outfit.

Besides how she sorted individual photos into positive categories, additional concepts not specific to a category were found in terms of what made something positive for the respondents. The first such concept was “meaningful” or “sincere”

photos, as brought up by Kellie, which was a theme throughout the positive photos even if not mentioned by name. Seemingly genuine, happy photos provided the most positive feelings and were considered “meaningful.”

I just like it to seem natural, at least try to make it seem normal you know? I just like seeing people happy with friends. I know a lot of that is posed or whatever, but it's just nice to see that people are doing well... just some kind of originality, you know, just be yourself. (Kellie)

They look like they're friends. They look like they're sincere, so that's why I put it in on the positive. I guess sincerity is the main factor in all of these pictures (positive category). (Julia)

Certainly, sincerity is important in photos that evoke positive feelings, but as demonstrated with photo 6 (friends), participants were suspicious of posing and were able to easily recognize it. Perhaps the reason they did not place in the negative feelings category, as they did with other photos they determined were posing, was because this is something they do with their own friends in photos. This was not explicitly discussed, but posing and “staging” with friends is more acceptable than a celebrity doing so.

Mixed Feelings

The mixed feelings category existed so that participants had a location to sort photos which they could not conclusively place a positive or negative feeling with. This proved to be a category that the participants did rely on.

Mixed Feelings Toward Selfie Photos

Four out of the 10 participants sorted the selfie photos in the mixed feelings category. Sarah, Samantha and Olivia sorted both in the mixed feelings category, while Lauren only placed photo 5. While they were categorized as mixed feelings, the primary emotions for the selfie photos in this category were negative. Annoyance and confusion

were the two primary emotions among these photos. Participants also described these photos as “weird,” which in the context of this research seems to mean that they do not understand the purpose of them.

[Photo 5] She's cut out of most of her outfit and only showing the middle. That's another mirror selfie type thing. Which, when I was younger I did. It's just like a weird pose, but a lot of people do it. Whatever floats your boat. (Olivia)

These are just annoying pictures to me. I mean they're not bad, but selfies are just annoying to me. You're just taking a selfie of yourself to show off something. (Sarah)

I just don't really know why they're posting them. Kind of weird pictures. (Samantha)

Mixed Feelings Toward Fitspiration Photos

Photo 1 was sorted into mixed feelings by Emma and Lauren. Both fitspiration photos were sorted into the mixed feelings category by Elizabeth, Chloe and Olivia. The fitspiration photos placed in the mixed feelings category demonstrated emotions of envy and some confusion as to the purpose of the photo.

[Photo 1] It's mixed feelings because she has such a nice butt and I have severe butt envy. (Emma)

[Photo 11] She's feeling herself and her legs are so nice, I wish! (Emma)

[Photo 1] If she were trying to show that she's working toward a goal of being healthy, then I would get that, but I'm not sure she's just like trying to encourage positivity or what she is doing. (Elizabeth)

Mixed Feelings Toward Celebrity Photos

Eight out of 10 participants sorted a celebrity photo into the mixed feelings category. Photo 2 was sorted into the mixed feelings category by Emma, Sarah, Chloe and Julia. Photo 8 was sorted into the mixed feelings category by Lauren. Olivia, Lynn and Elizabeth sorted both celebrity photos in the mixed feelings category. Conflict

between who the celebrity personality was and what they are trying to portray in the photo led to more negative feelings regarding the celebrity photos.

[Photo 2] I love Selena, but she can be a bit problematic at times, but whatever Selena, feel yourself. (Emma)

[Photo 2] I'm just not sure what she's doing. Is her bathing suit coming off? I mean she doesn't look bad or anything. (Chloe)

[Photo 2] I'm not a fan of her. Celebrity pictures are annoying to me, especially if it's very posted like that. [Sarah]

Number 2 and number 8 are both celebrities and they're both sexualized photos. That makes me have mixed feelings about them. I know the media will do that, but that doesn't mean I can't be upset about it. [Lynn]

[Photo 2] I have mixed feelings about just because it's pretty played out, tries to look sexy, with the shoulder strap hanging off her arm. Like I said, she probably wouldn't look like that if it wasn't for this photo. It's trying to be a little sultry. (Julia)

Mixed Feelings Toward Thinspiration Photos

Four out of 10 participants sorted thinspiration photos in the mixed feelings category. Lynn and Olivia placed photo 9 in the category, Lauren placed photo 7 and Kellie placed both photos in the mixed feelings category. The mixed feelings toward the thinspiration photos were indeed best suited for the negative feelings category. Concern over the body type of the individuals, as well as recognition that this is a pro-eating disorder photo, were the two main emotions when reviewing these photos.

[Photo 9] This picture is very similar to the types that go around with threads of anorexia/bulimia. You shouldn't support or post pictures insinuating that that's a good thing. I didn't put it under negative feelings because I don't know what it is, so I would need to know what it was in context. If that's what it was, it would definitely be negative feelings. But this person just looks like Taylor Swift naturally, that's fine. So that one I would need context to judge adequately. (Lynn)

[Photo 7] I really don't understand the picture because her face isn't in it. It could be like an ad for clothing. She looks really skinny. (Kellie)

[Photo 9] I try not to be too judgmental because I'm really skinny, and people make comments to me for that. I'm not even unhealthy or anything, it is kind of scary how she's posed. I feel weird about it. (Kellie)

Mixed Feelings Summary

Sorting photos into the mixed feelings category appeared to be a strategy for trying to figure out the purpose of the photo. Not understanding the purpose of the photo often led to annoyance and dislike of the photo, with sometimes an acceptance of a “you do you” attitude. Thus, it seemed that these mixed feelings were because of an initial liking of the photo, whether it be liking the celebrity or liking their fitness level, and then annoyance, or even comparison that resulted in negative feelings. Elizabeth and Sarah both noted that “showing off” is annoying for both the fitspiration and Selena Gomez image. It seemed that “showing off” meant a display of the body in a way to get attention or likes. Emma, however, touched upon admiring the fitspiration photo but then realizing that her own body did not look that way and becoming envious. Thus, mixed feelings overall appeared to be a path from initial positive feelings to negative feelings.

No Strong Feelings

The no strong feelings category provided a location for participants that could not conclusively place an emotion with the photo. In addition, this served as the “neutral” option for the participants.

No Strong Feelings Toward Selfie Photos

Six out of 10 participants sorted selfie photos into the no strong feelings category. Lauren and Chloe sorted photo 3 into the no strong feelings category, and Emma and Elizabeth sorted photo 5 into the no strong feelings category. Julia and Kellie sorted both photos into the no strong feelings category. While the selfie photos were sorted into the no strong feelings category, the descriptions given by the

participants were more negative than neutral. However, these negative feelings did not seem strong. The reasoning behind the negative undertone for these photos appeared to be the inability to see the participant's face, as well as "not getting the photo" or it "not showing anything". In other words, not knowing the photo's purpose yet again created negative emotions.

[Photo 3] I didn't feel much about it because I don't really know her. If I knew her I probably wouldn't like it. It doesn't really have much of a feeling. Same thing with number 5. I couldn't see her face or anything.
(Julia)

[Photo 3] She's looking down, like you should be looking into the camera so that everyone can see you. It's just not really showing anything. (Chloe)

[Photo 5] There's no face. If I can't see a face then I feel weird and no connection to it directly. I don't know what they're getting across.
(Elizabeth)

[Photo 5] It's not a good picture. I don't like people who cut their faces off in pictures. I don't really get it. The outfit's not really that great. (Kellie)

No Strong Feelings Toward Fitspiration Photos

Three out of 10 participants sorted fitspiration photos into the no strong feelings category. Sarah sorted both photos into the no strong feelings category, and Kellie and Emma sorted photo eleven into the category.

[Photo 11] I don't really like pictures like that. It looks like she's like in a bathroom or something. Try harder and take a better picture. It didn't really catch my attention. If I saw this on my feed I would just scroll right past.
(Kellie)

No Strong Feelings Toward Celebrity Photos

Only one participant, Lauren, placed a celebrity photo in the no strong feelings category. While this photo was sorted as no strong feelings, Lauren did indicate that because this individual is a celebrity she can have professional photos taken to make

her look good. She did not mention jealousy or anything outwardly negative, but these emotions were certainly not neutral as she mentions.

[Photo 2] It just doesn't give me any feelings. You go girl, you are famous and you can have someone take pictures of you like that. That could be a magazine cover and it wouldn't faze me. (Lauren)

No Strong Feelings Toward Thinspiration Photos

Seven out of 10 participants placed thinspiration photos in the no strong feelings category. Lynn, Elizabeth, Sarah, Samantha and Chloe placed both photos in this category. Julia placed photo 9 in this category. Indeed, participants lack of understanding of purpose behind the photo continued to prevent sorting photos into a positive feeling category.

Unless I was on a streak of liking, I wouldn't like these. They're not annoying tome, they're just not something that I really like or have any feelings toward. (Sarah)

[Photo 9] It just didn't make me feel a certain way. She's just standing there. I did think she looked a little thin and kind of lonely. (Julia)

I didn't know if they were trying to advertise a boutique or something. I see a lot of people post pictures for stores and stuff, but they don't bother me in any way. (Samantha)

No Strong Feelings Summary

Even though the name of the category evokes thoughts of neutrality, many participants used this category for photos that leaned more toward negative emotions. The responses to these photos continued to show evidence that purpose is essential to a photo being liked, understood and well-received. These negative emotions were not strong and the researcher suspects that the participants were uncomfortable with putting so many photos in the negative feelings category. In addition, the researcher

believes that because she could not understand the purpose of the photo, she could not pass full judgement and place it in the fully negative category.

Negative Feelings

The final photo sort category was negative feelings. While participants utilized mixed feelings and no strong feelings to also demonstrate slightly negative or unfavorable feelings, the main negative feelings category was strictly utilized for strong negative feelings.

Negative Feelings Toward Selfie Photos

Chloe was the only participant to sort a selfie photo in the negative feelings category. These negative feelings seemed to be due to the perceived attitude of the individual in the photo.

Not only is her face not showing but she's just showing half her stomach and then her phone. I literally don't see any purpose whatsoever. I just really hate it. I think a big part of it is because she looks like she is going to stick her tongue out. I would unfollow her. (Chloe)

Negative Feelings Toward Celebrity Photos

Only one celebrity photo was sorted into the negative feelings category. Six out of 10 participants sorted photo 8 into the negative feelings category, Emma, Sarah, Kellie, Chloe, Samantha and Julia. As previously noted, recognition of a celebrity and their persona affected how these photos were received and often led to negative reactions. In addition, lack of clothing led to the sorting of the celebrity photos.

She's just half naked and not looking at the camera. Maybe if her bathing suit was covered a little more I wouldn't have such negative feelings. I just think if you want to have a picture of yourself that's fine, but why'd you have to post it? (Chloe)

I have negative feelings because it's Kardashian. She's just trying to give an image that she's rich and famous and has the ideal body shape, but it's just not true. Her hair, the hips, all of it isn't real. (Julia)

I just think this is clearly super posed. It's probably like a professional photo shoot. I just I hope no one's really looking at her body and trying to attain that through natural means, because it's a little goofy in the picture to me. I don't get it, because she's in a pool, trying to act casual, but I bet if her hair even got a little bit in the water she'd freak out. It doesn't even seem natural. You are trying way too hard, please stop. (Kellie)

Negative Feelings Toward Thinspiration Photos

Three out of the 10 participants sorted a thinspiration photo into the negative feelings category. Julia sorted photo 7 into this category, Lauren placed photo 9, and Emma placed both photos into the negative feelings category. Recognition that these photos depict an unhealthy and unrealistic body type led to the sorting of these photos.

[Photo 9] She looks like she could be a model, but this is like the whole thigh gap trend and that is so damaging. It's really rare to naturally or unnaturally have a thigh gap. (Emma)

[Photo 7] It made me feel sad. The girl in the photo looks very, very thin. A little bit sickly, just cause like her elbows poking out and I've just seen a lot of these photos on Instagram where they're in recovery. I'm just so glad that those people had received help, but I know others will post pictures like this and continue to do that, so that makes me feel a little upset, thinking about. (Julia)

Negative Feelings Summary

Overall, seven out of 10 participants placed a photo in the negative feelings category; however, unlike many of the other categories, this was typically restricted to one or two photos. As evident in the interviews, negative feelings were much more personal and stronger than positive feelings. While not having a sincere and evident meaning in the photo has certainly been discussed as having negative implications, the negative feelings category served as a location for photos that not only lacked meaning but also generated feelings of anger and sadness.

Anger was reserved for the selfie and celebrity photos with some noting the photo was “dumb” and “silly,” particularly because of her portrayal of an unrealistic body. Elizabeth recognized the photo as blatantly “encouraging that you have to...look sexy or look thin.”

That’s the signature ‘makes me look skinny, makes my hips look big.
That’s very unnecessary to me. (Sarah)

How clothed an individual is in a photo is also reason for negative feelings. Photos that display scantily clad women, even if they represent some body ideal, are not seen as positive or motivational. This is exemplified in photo eight. While only seven out of the ten participants sorted photos into the negative feelings category, six out of those seven placed Kylie’s photo in that category. As Chloe describes, “it feels inappropriate or like, scandalous, like over the edge.” Samantha also noted that she disliked images where “girls don’t respect themselves,” such as not wearing enough clothing in an image. Third, the negative feelings described in the photo sort were not related to how it made her feel about her own body, but rather the content of the photo itself. If a photo is blatantly staged or if she is confused as to why it is being posted, negative feelings will be attributed to them.

Another negative feeling, sadness, was also displayed. Feelings of sadness were reserved for the thinspiration images. Participants recognized that these body types are not healthy, but that they are also seen as desirable in some cases, such as having the figure of a model. Overall, while the negative feelings category was reserved for the strongest of these type of feelings, mixed feelings and no strong feelings categories also contained images that created negative feelings in participants.

RQ1 B: Negotiation of Instagram Images

RQ1 B asked: How do college-aged females negotiate images and then behave when images produce positive or negative feelings? To negotiate is to find a way through, and this section of the results will attempt to explain how college-aged women find their way through the constant feed of Instagram images. To properly explain this research question, this section will first begin with a discussion of how college-aged women received Instagram images through how they themselves receive the images and how their peers receive the images. To explain the behavior associated with positive and negative feelings toward images, the researcher looked past the photo sort and into other sections of the interview to discover what drove interactions with Instagram from these feelings. This interaction includes liking and commenting on a photo.

Reception of Images

A key part of understanding how college-aged women negotiate Instagram images is understanding her worldview, particularly how Instagram images are received within this audience. To demonstrate this, discussion of how her peers receive and understand these images will be discussed first. Next, her own understanding of these images will be presented.

Peer Reception

Participants frequently noted that they were not confident in her peer's ability to negotiate Instagram images, specifically that all of her peers are much more inclined to compare their body types to those seen on Instagram. First, the participants noted that her peers are indeed "buying into" the thin ideals presented.

They think everything's real. The reason that they strive to look like something is because they think it's so real, but they have to keep up on so many things. They're just so artificial and not real. You can do anything you want to a picture. (Chloe)

I think people are aware [of portraying an ideal], but they will go along with it because they want to be a part of it. They want to look that way [the ideal] as well and they compare themselves, but they will never look good because they care too much about what people think. (Kellie)

The interviews also revealed what these ideal bodies look like. Participants agreed that the celebrity and fitspiration photos would produce body comparisons within her peers. Chloe and Julia noted that the celebrity photos, especially photo eight, would create body comparisons with her peers due to her (the individual in the photo's) lack of clothing. This perception that Instagram has a greater impact on their peers is known as third-person effect (TPE). TPE "relates to people's tendency to perceive that mass-media messages have only minimal influence on them but greater influence on other people" (Tsfati, para. 1, 2011). Thus, the participants felt that these images wouldn't influence them but would others. While the fitspiration photos were discussed as having potential for body comparison, they also have the potential to make their peers feel guilty.

The gym pictures [Photos 1 and 11, fitspiration] will make them think 'oh I should go to the gym now'. (Sarah)

However, this guilt may be fuel for motivation as Sarah later explained. In addition, other participants noted that not all of their peers are easily duped. Lynn and Elizabeth especially spoke out that their friends have reasonable goals and do not buy into the thin ideal. These thin ideals were best evidenced in the celebrity and fitspiration categories.

I feel like most of my friends are comfortable with where they're at. I don't think any of my friends want to be very skinny. (Elizabeth)

I am happy to say that my friends just want to be healthy... most of them go to the gym to stay healthy rather than trying to achieve some body goal. (Lynn)

The researcher believes the reason for this disparity to be the characteristics of the friend groups in general. While it was not specifically measured, there were participants that mentioned their sorority involvement. The participants with sorority involvement had less confidence in their peers, while those who noted academic achievements and club involvement were confident that their peers did not interpret Instagram as promoting achievable ideals.

Participant Reception

Indeed, understanding how her peers buy into the thin ideal and compare to Instagram images is important. However, most critical is understanding how the participants themselves described comparing to Instagram images. Throughout the photo sort, particularly within the positive feelings category, participants repeated that the individuals in the photos looked happy, so it made the participants feel happy. This is further demonstrated by comments made by participants in the photo sort.

[Positive feelings category] They all look very happy and like they're having a good time. When I see someone thoroughly enjoying themselves, it's typically because they work relatively hard and it's nice to see them rewarding themselves. People deserve that. (Lynn)

[Photo 10- Activity] She's encouraging you (the girl in the photo) to sort of live in the moment and be happy with even the littlest things. (Elizabeth)

It is evident that while photos were received positively, there is concern by the researcher that these are not accurate perceptions of the individual's happiness. While Julia was the only participant to openly admit to photos on Instagram making her feel "bitter", it was her description of photos depicting vacation and traveling that initiated these feelings and potentially shed light into deeper readings of these images. The

researcher realized that one participant certainly does not speak for all; however, photos in the activity category were consistently placed in the positive feelings category, even with Julia. Indeed, it did appear that reception of Instagram images among participants may have more negative implications than the majority of participants let on.

Motivations for Interactions with Photos

Besides looking at her negotiations, the researcher also looked at her interactions (i.e., liking and commenting) with photos. It begins with interactions with positive feeling photos and then looks at negative feeling photos.

Positive Feelings Motivate Interaction

During the photo sort, photos that were sorted into the positive feelings category received the most likes; however, commenting varied. Beginning with liking, likes were almost unanimously used to show support of another individual. As Lynn said, “I typically like it [the photo] ‘cause I love them [the person], and I want them to feel happy that they get their likes.” Kellie also agreed that she likes photos to show support, “I mostly like all of their pictures, ‘cause it’s like ‘hey it’s my friend.’” This show of support was to demonstrate friendship more than to approve of a certain “look” or activity.

Chloe, however, had different thoughts on liking a photo. She felt that liking was an automatic, thoughtless activity.

Subconsciously when your scrolling through, I don’t even know how I like a picture and then not like a picture... I just think ‘oh I know this person, I am going to like their picture.’ So, like even when it’s loading, you see the little circle in the middle of the picture, I’ll go like it. But then in my head, I’m like ‘wait, did I even see the picture?’

Therefore, liking is more unconscious and involves little thought. It is more of a common courtesy, akin to a “hello” or “how are you?”. Commenting, however, took a bit more effort and motivation.

How and when she would comment varied. Lynn discussed scenarios in which she would comment on photos in the photo sort. For example in photo 4 (activity), the photo of the individual snowboarding, Lynn mentioned she would have commented a personal story from a time she was snowboarding. For photo 5 (selfie), she would have made a positive comment about the pants in the photograph.

Emma also discussed how she would comment on the photos if these were individuals she knew.

If this was just a random stranger I wouldn't comment on it [Photo 6-Friend], but if my friends dressed like that I would comment 'Aww, cute'. For this one [Photo 4- Activity] I would comment 'OMG, where you at?'

Although three participants said she would comment, seven said she wouldn't. The main reason she wouldn't comment in the study was because she didn't know the people in the photos showing the importance of having a relationship with the pictured person and commenting.

For me at least, I only comment on things that my friends are in or like, if it was a cool adventure that I... would like to do with a friend, I'd comment their name, tag them in it so that they could see it also. (Olivia)

It's hard for me to say what I would comment because I don't know any of these people personally. (Sarah)

While the researcher anticipated liking and commenting on photos in the negative feelings category, both liking and commenting were revealed to be interactions specific to positive feelings toward Instagram images. However, it is important to highlight that liking was more of an unconscious action. This was especially concerning

due to conversations relating to the importance of how many likes a photo receives, with some participants noting that they have friends that will remove a photo if it does not receive enough likes. Thus, these discussions demonstrated that liking may be perceived as support and acceptance of a photo, but in reality, liking represented more of the polite thing to do when recognizing a username. The real or “authentic” show of support and acceptance appeared to be commenting within this demographic.

Negative Feelings Motivate Interaction

Though there were photos sorted into the negative feelings category, it was not the interactions that were evident but the lack of interaction. Not one individual placed likes or comments on any of the photos sorted into the negative feelings category. Instead, a few participants discussed unfollowing or blocking the photos that elicited negative feelings. For example, Chloe said she would not only unfollow this account if she saw it on her feed but “straight up block” photo eight.

Although only one person said she would block one of the photo sort photos, unfollowing was discussed throughout the overall interviews with most participants. The overall reason for unfollowing accounts was overuse of “unnecessary” posts. Unnecessary, in the context of these discussions, meant the content had no meaning or purpose to the participant’s life so she could not relate to the person’s posts. Lynn purged celebrities on Instagram she did not have an interest in anymore, and Julia mentioned unfollowing someone because she disagreed with something they posted. Increased use of advertisements also lead participants to unfollow accounts. In regards to the photo sort, Sarah described photo 8 (celebrity) as “absolutely unnecessary”.

RQ1 C: Why Do College-Aged Women Look at Instagram Images?

RQ1 C asked: If Instagram photos have a negative effect, then why do they view them? Throughout the individual interviews, it was clear that the photos that were put into the negative feelings category were not photos she would see on her feed. A majority of the participants mentioned that she did not follow celebrities, who elicited the predominant negative reactions. Because most wouldn't have the celebrities in her feed, the following section alters how to address the research question. Instead of asking why students view negative eliciting photos, it looks at the why she views and uses Instagram photos in general and her criteria for successful and unsuccessful photos.

Checking-In

Throughout the interviews, it was clear that each social media platform served a specific purpose and was to be used for specific reasons. One of the first reasons for opening and using Instagram is to check in on friends.

You can see what's going on in people's lives. It's pictures, so I mean a lot of people post there every day. You can kind of see what's going on. It gives you a little look [into their day-to-day activities]. (Kellie)

It's a way to keep younger people, not a lot of my older family members have it, kind of updated in things that go on in my life. (Sarah)

I use it [Instagram] a lot more now because I want to keep updated on what my friends are doing. (Lynn)

Furthermore, participants talked about the difference between Instagram and other photo-driven social media sites, specifically Snapchat. Kellie mentioned, "When I'm really bored, I'll look through a bunch of pictures forever." Sarah confirmed, "It's easier for me to use Snapchat (to get immediate updates from friends) than to scroll through Instagram." Thus, Instagram was more time-intensive than other sites.

Inspiration and Motivation

Others said she uses Instagram, in part, for inspiration. This inspiration assists in determining what she posts and what she hopes to one day post. In addition, Instagram inspiration may come from content, such as recipes.

I like sharing ideas. I use it for food and things, so I like to get inspired or congratulate people on their accomplishments or whatever they may be. (Julia)

I like the quality of photos on Instagram. People take really nice photos and I think of those as my 'goals'. (Elizabeth)

A lot of time it gives you an idea when you're going to post something too, so you can see what everyone else is posting. (Chloe)

Indeed, it does appear that following what she observes in other posts is something she engages in. In addition to inspiration, Instagram also provides motivation to some participants. Four out of the ten participants noted that they follow fitness accounts for motivation and inspiration.

I follow a bunch of fitness accounts and gyms for motivation. (Chloe)

I follow girls that have exercise videos and meal plans. (Olivia)

[Fitness accounts] motivate me because I understand the perspective they are coming from. (Kellie)

Discussions about inspiration and motivation certainly gave insight into why college-aged women use Instagram. However, the researcher noted that finding inspiration from fitness images on Instagram did have implications for comparisons, which will be discussed in RQ2.

Significant Events and Important Photos

Participants agreed that they expect to see "important" "milestone" photos on Instagram, which Sarah defined as "significant events." This concept was known as being "insta-worthy", a term used by the participants.

You wouldn't post an Instagram picture [of] you studying at the library, but you would probably post one of you cheering on the Gators in the sidelines. (Sarah)

At an awards ceremony in high school, I received a medallion and mine was called 'The Broken' because I got hurt a lot and I was on crutches. It made sense that everyone was posting pictures of their medal. It was appropriate because it was a memorable experience, it was a milestone. (Lynn)

I take the coolest pictures at big events. During the week I'm studying and doing work and nothing really exciting. (Olivia)

Thus, mundane, day-to-day activities do not belong on Instagram. Rather, it is more of a scrapbook for significant events that have meaning to the person posting and to her friends and family.

Moreover, Instagram etiquette seems to be that you don't over-post significant events. Facebook was overwhelmingly the location for multiple photos, while Instagram continues to be the location for those milestone photos. As Samantha said, "I guess I kind of get annoyed if someone posts multiple pictures in minutes of what they've been doing." Posting too frequently is also seen as preventing potential likes, and it is encouraged that you post during "prime Insta-time".

I probably post about two times a week, because then people won't think I'm gone. They won't get as many likes if I post too consecutively. (Julia)

Usually if you scroll through your feed you can see if like this person has had their picture up for like, sixteen minutes and they have 40 likes, it's a good time to post a picture. (Olivia)

Searching for Photos

Besides what she expects to see of her friend network, the women discussed the type of content she specifically *sought* out on Instagram, which fell into three categories. The first was related to fitspiration. Kellie used the Explore page on Instagram to find fitspiration accounts. While she searched for these types of accounts, she did not follow

them, specifically because the content they posted often urged followers to purchase their products. To avoid this, she simply searched for the accounts when searching for inspiration and motivation rather than follow. The second type was more behaviorally-motivated. Olivia mentioned that she only searches for accounts, such as other people, when she is really bored. Finally, one participant sought out recipes.

RQ2: Appearance Comparisons

RQ2 asked: What types of Instagram photos cause upward and downward body comparisons among college-aged females? To fully explore this research question, body ideals will be discussed, emphasizing what society tells college-aged women to look like, and what she perceives the ideal to be. This section also explores comparisons as they occur on Instagram with herself and her peers. This research question concludes with additional insight found related to behaviors on Instagram.

Societal Body Ideals

Throughout the interviews, the participants were asked to describe the ideal societal body, what her peers believed to be the ideal body, and her ideal personal body. In regards to societal ideals, several participants referred to Victoria's Secret models as the current thin ideal, citing that being tall and thin was seen as beautiful. Another celebrity that embodied this ideal was Taylor Swift. However, Lynn felt there was a body ideal shift going on in the U.S.

We're in a transition period right now from Taylor Swift to Kylie Jenner. So, right now, it ranges from Taylor Swift to Kylie Jenner. If you had asked me two years ago, I would have said Taylor Swift. Ask me probably a year from now the answer would probably be Kylie Jenner.

The Kardashian clan, of which Kylie is a part, was also cited as displaying the ideal body type-- curvy, tan, and with no cellulite. Celebrities were cited when explaining

the current societal ideal as well as explaining her peers' ideal body as well. Kellie noted seeing her peers embodying this ideal.

I mean you see a lot of girls are always trying to push their butt out in pictures and everything... It seems very trendy because I think (because of) Kim Kardashian. I feel like that that whole thing really escalated this.

Participants were also asked where she frequently sees the ideal bodies. As mentioned previously, participants frequently mentioned the Victoria's Secret Fashion Show as a provider of this thin ideal. While there was a consensus that the mass media, such as television, portrayed the thin ideal, Instagram was also counted as a conduit of an unattainable image by all participants. Chloe explained where these ideal images are displayed:

I mean it's everywhere, it's literally everywhere. Every magazine you look in, you scroll through Instagram, famous celebrities, the Kardashians... anything you can think of like TV and movies. It's been like that for so long. It's just been the ideal for so long.

While these ideals are seen frequently, majority of participants realized that these ideals are not realistic. Julia commented:

I don't think it's realistic. I think that people are different, very different. That everyone has different shapes and sizes, and I feel like if you are taking care of your body and you're getting physical activity and things and whatnot, you're treating yourself right. I think that's more of an ideal body. I don't think that the curvy, that ideal really exists without some type of surgical thing, or just being very extreme dieting... I just don't think it does.

[Victoria's Secret model body type] It's not realistic. If only they [society] knew what went on behind the scenes. It's so unhealthy and unrealistic. (Chloe)

Fit Body Ideals

However, when approaching how her peers wanted to look, a theme of fitness and health emerged. Olivia mentioned that her peers idealized a fit body, describing it

as “Fit. Like, working out to get the muscles and the tight core.” Lynn explained her friend’s priority to be healthy:

I am happy to say that my friends just want to be healthy... they’ll go to the gym twice a week just to stay healthy rather than trying to achieve some body goal.

I think as long as you’re healthy, that’s what the standard has become.
(Sarah)

Indeed, fitness and health were used interchangeably in the conversations with participants, and there was an emphasis on health being a priority rather than attempting to match an ideal. However, this fit body also translates to a lack of fat, which still embodies a flabless body ideal. Thus, when using the term healthy, it did appear that this meant flabless and at a low BMI.

In addition, this ideal was also evident in her own personal ideals. The women denied trying to be a specific weight or ideal. Instead, she emphasized how she felt internally about her body and viewed her body more from the perspective of what it could do rather than how it looked outwardly. Elizabeth explained her personal ideal:

I think my main goal is just to be healthy, like whatever weight I am. If it's a consequence of being an unhealthy eater, or not exercising enough, then I'll internalize that and say 'oh I should be healthier,' but I won't say like 'I need to lose these many pounds,' or anything like that. Just like... to tell myself to buy healthier foods and be more conscious of how much I'm exercising and everything.

Sarah also explained her personal ideal as healthy,

For me, as long as I feel like I'm healthy. Like sometimes I'll get away from exercising as much, and I'll feel myself like, start to feel kind of gross.

At this point I'm pretty comfortable with my body and what I look like now. I take care of myself and I'm pretty healthy. It's my ideal to just be healthy.
(Julia)

Unlike the curvy, “Kardashian” body type, this fit and healthy body type is seen as much more attainable. Many participants added that the societal ideal demands plastic surgery or unhealthy eating habits, and while a fit body demands hard work and dedication, it is possible.

I don't really think it [the societal ideal] is realistic. I feel like if you are taking care of your body and you're getting physical activity, you're treating yourself right, I think that's more of an ideal body. I don't think that the curvy ideal really exists without some type of survey very extreme dieting. (Julia)

If you work hard enough at it, then it's realistic. (Olivia)

Certainly, the fit, flabless body has taken hold as personal ideals. However, despite acknowledging that this body type is attainable through hard work, it frequently became a body type the participants associated with guilt, aspiration and in some cases, motivation. This comparison will be discussed in the comparisons section of this chapter.

Comparisons on Instagram

Besides her thoughts on body ideals, there was also an exploration of her comparisons with Instagram images. All participants varied on the amount of comparisons she made. To properly explain the types of comparisons that occur on Instagram, specific examples will be used. In addition, motivations behind these comparisons will also be discussed. All three motivations are summarized again below:

- Self-evaluation — “an individual's judgment of value, worth, or appropriateness of his/her abilities, opinions, and personal traits” (Martin & Kennedy, p. 365).
- Self-enhancement — “an individual's biased attempts to maintain positive views of him/herself to protect or enhance self-esteem” (Martin & Kennedy, p. 365).
- Self-improvement—“an individual's attempts to learn how to improve or to be inspired to improve a particular attribute ” (Martin & Kennedy, p. 365)

Comparisons in the Photo Sort

Six out of 10 participants said that she compared herself to photos displayed in the photo sort. All agreed that the fitspiration images, photos 1 and 11, were the source of that comparison.

[Photo 1] has certain goals I Have in mind about having more muscle. (Julia)

It [the photos] make me feel that I should work out more. (Samantha)

They [the photos] remind me that I should be more fit. (Elizabeth)

However, just because the participants did not clearly state that the fitspiration photos created comparisons, it does not mean that these comparisons were not evident throughout the conversations. For example, Olivia sorted both fitspiration photos in the no strong feelings category but did imply they made her feel a little self-conscious. In addition, when viewing photo 11, Emma said, "Her legs are so nice. I wish!"

It is apparent that while a fit body may be attainable, it does trigger upward comparisons. These comparisons do not necessarily result in negative feelings, as motivation was also discussed as a result from viewing the images. These comparisons are demonstrated by self-improvement motivation, meaning that while they compare to these images and the attributes in the photos (legs, arms), they are inspired and motivated to go to the gym and work out in an attempt to improve themselves.

[Photo 11] gives me inspiration to have toner arms. (Lauren)

I'm like 'Good for you! You look great!' you know? It can be motivating. Like if I don't feel like going to the gym, and I'm looking on Instagram, my fitness page kind of gives me a little more incentive to cook something or just do it... They kind of give me a little bit better inner motivation than anything. (Julia)

In addition to self-improvement, two other motivations are also evident in these discussions. Self-evaluation is certainly visible with comments on the direct impact the photos have on their fitness status. Self-enhancement was demonstrated through their positive comments for the women in the pictures, such as “good for you” and “you go girl.” With all three motivations present in these upward comparisons, it is apparent that these comparisons are quite complex. This complexity is intertwined with an appreciation for the toned, healthy body, a desire to achieve it, and guilt for not currently having it. While complex, this is certainly not totally negative. Improvement, especially improving body health, is especially important to longevity and quality of life.

Based on these findings, it is possible that this healthy and fit body is truly becoming a much more attainable ideal, motivating college-aged woman to eat healthy and exercise rather than restrict her diet. However, when discussing her peers, the societal ideal played a much larger role.

Peer Comparisons

While the above comparisons were mentioned, participants overall insisted that her peers were more likely to compare themselves with Instagram images because they interpreted it as real life. This is yet another example of the third-person effect, which “relates to people’s tendency to perceive that mass-media messages have only minimal influence on them but greater influence on other people” (Tsfati, para. 1, 2011). The celebrity photos, photos 2 and 8, gathered the most responses for which images would ignite comparisons with her peers.

If they’re not comfortable with their bodies, whether friends or celebrities, any of those things would make them uncomfortable because that’s what their ideal the body is, and they’re upset that person has it and they don’t.
(Lynn)

I think a lot of people use it in the wrong way. A lot of girls try to make themselves look different than how they really look, and it gives other girls a bad idea of body image. It's about the way they look at other girls, and they want to look like that, and it just leads to a bunch of other things. I think that a lot of people abuse it, and just use it to make them someone they're not. (Chloe)

Comparisons on the Explore Page

Kellie mentioned she used the Explore page on Instagram to discover fitness advice, which led to photos with which she compared herself. However, she described these comparisons as motivational, another example of the self-improvement motivation.

I will compare myself to people that I actually think worked for it and are in shape because I'll be like 'you know, I should be doing that. (Kellie)

In addition, Samantha mentioned the Explore page as being a place where she saw the most images to which she compared. Like Kellie, Samantha also compared to fitness images; however, images of people engaging in activities such as going to the beach triggered comparisons.

There are a lot of girl bloggers who are in different countries just sitting by pools or on the beach. It makes me think 'I wish'. (Samantha)

These comparisons were motivated by self-evaluation, which as Samantha describes above, have her comparing her own life (her activities, travel) to those she sees on Instagram. This upward comparison makes her think 'I wish', but it also makes her think 'I should' in order to achieve this life, or as the motivation describes, this self-worth.

Posting Photos

Although this study looked at several specific research questions, there was additional, illuminating information not addressed by any of the research questions. Specifically, the participants talked at length about posting behaviors, so this section reviews those findings because it contributes to the importance of Instagram in the lives of college-aged women.

Timing

One of the first criteria for posting a picture to Instagram was timing, particularly the proper time to post a photo. Some participants were aware of a “Prime Insta Time,” which is a time of day where getting a large number of likes was most likely. Chloe mentioned that while she was never concerned about posting a photo during a specific time, her friends were. She said,

I'll Instagram every day, I don't care, but some people are like 'oh I can't Instagram, I just Instagrammed yesterday'. I'm like, 'whatever.' People who care about likes and stuff, they think the more sparingly they do it [post, they'll get more likes].

In addition to the timing of the day, the women considered timing between posting photos. For example, Lynn discussed the concept of waiting certain periods of time before posting and the guilt she felt when she didn't post frequently enough.

I'm like 'I should probably post something,' because I haven't posted something in two months. I had to cut like over two feet off of my hair over the summer, and I was like, 'it's been a month. I haven't posted a picture of this, and it's been a month, I should probably do that'. (Lynn)

Samantha also commented on the timing of posting a photo. She took time differences into consideration if she were traveling abroad and wanted to post a photo, she would wait until it was daytime in the United States. Another guideline in posting photos was an expectation for you to be in the photo, and the inclusion of oneself was a

point of differentiation between Instagram and other social media sites that allowed photos.

There is a mentality that everything you have to post on Instagram has to be of you. More than like other things, and that's annoying. Like, I'm fine taking a picture of myself, whatever, but like why does the picture I have to post have to include me? ... It's just a weird mentality. Like people do post pictures that they're not in, like of their dog or like nature, but like if it's a picture of people you're expected to be in that group of people. Like if you go volunteer or go to church or go out to like a club or something... I have pictures I might post to Instagram, but I'll post somewhere else because it just doesn't have me in it. It's not a bad thing, but the picture is still important. I'll probably post it on Twitter or Facebook depending... I recognize that that's (Instagram) not the place for it. (Lynn)

However, not all participants put such thought into her posting. Kellie mentioning that she posts whatever she wants and doesn't care much about likes or content of the photos. She mentioned that she used to put effort into what she posted, but does not anymore and focuses on images that make her laugh and her artwork. She does, however, post the occasional selfie, "I mean when I post a picture of myself it's usually 'cause I'm like 'oh I look good, why not? People haven't seen me in a while.'"

"Looking good" is another criterion for posting photos, as Chloe mentions, "You want to post photos where you think you look good." But there is a difference between thinking you look good and knowing you look good. It was common for participants to get feedback from friends on potential posts prior to posting. For example, Sarah mentioned she had sent pictures to friends,

Not necessarily to approve, but I have sent a couple and been like 'I like these both, which one do you think is better?' Or if I had one filter on one and one filter on the other, but I've said like 'Is this Instagram-worthy?'

Similarly, participants also expressed second guessing images before posting them, particularly selfies.

If it's like a selfie, I go 'Do I really like this picture? Do I want to put this picture out there? Do I?' so I just question that way more than I do just posting some potatoes (food)... but I typically don't second guess if it's me with other people. (Julia)

If you were to Instagram a selfie, it's risky. I'd send it to a friend. The most that I get sent to me are solo pictures that people are more nervous to post of themselves. (Chloe)

While it was important to the participants that a photo looks "good" (i.e., of high-quality, represents them well), only two participants, Chloe and Emma, discussed that they alter their photos with filters. Chloe mentioned that she uses an application called VSCO to edit her photos. However, these mentioned photo filters were not used to alter appearance but rather fix to color in photos and make them more vibrant.

Whether it was finding an ideal time to post or ensuring the very best photo is posted, it was clear throughout the interviews that participants were more concerned with her photos portraying *an accurate version* of themselves than posting photos that will receive the most likes. In terms of the interviews, an "accurate" version of themselves meant that her online presence and accounts were the same as her "real world" presence.

Summary of Analysis

Overall, there were several key findings. First, there were specific categories of Instagram images that resulted in positive and negative feelings. Pictures of friends and activities provided the most positive feelings among participants, gathering likes and comments. Celebrity photos, in particular the photo of Kylie Jenner (photo 8), created negative feelings among the participants. Many photos were classified as mixed feelings. For example, fitspiration images (photos 1 and 11) appeared to have caused comparisons but were read as motivational rather than shaming. Thinspiration images

and selfies had the least amount of emotional responses out of all categories, meaning that participants were generally indifferent.

Besides the category of the photo, there were also other attributes of Instagram photos that created negative and positive interactions and behaviors. When positive feelings were felt toward a photo, such as a photo of a friend “looking happy” or celebrating an accomplishment, likes were provided. If the occasion was especially big, or encouragement and support were deemed necessary, a comment will also be provided. For a photo to create positive emotions, there needs to be a purpose to the photo. Purpose is most demonstrated in the activity photos (photos 4 and 10), where it was clear to the participants what the individual in the photo was doing and her Emotions associated with that activity. Purposeful photos were also posted at opportune times, and posting too frequently was unfavorable.

Photos that showed scantily clad women were received as negative and would receive an unfollow instead of a like or comment. Photos that were obviously staged and ingenuine were easily detected by the participants, and while she may not immediately recognize those feelings as negative, her distaste for them was evident. Armed with the criteria for what they don't like to see on Instagram, the participants were conscious of the content they were posting, even if they said they posted whatever they wanted.

Upward comparisons were most evident in discussion about fitspiration photos (photos 1 and 11), while she stated her peers compared with celebrity images (photos 2 and 8) and fitspiration photos (photos 1 and 11). In addition, upward comparisons occurred on the explore page of Instagram. No downward comparisons were discussed

during the interview. In addition, all three motivations (self-evaluation, self-enhancement, self-improvement) occurred during these comparisons. Overall, the individual interviews provided insight into how college-aged women use Instagram that will contribute to areas of future research.

CHAPTER 5 DISCUSSION

Summary of the Study

The purpose of this study was to examine how college-aged females use Instagram and if this exposure influences appearance comparisons that resulted in body dissatisfaction, a predictor for eating disorders. To accomplish this, semi-structured interviews covered topics of social media use, body ideals and a photo sort activity intended to mimic an Instagram feed commonly used by females 18-24 years old. The main goal of this thesis was to discover what comparisons and emotions are attributed to using Instagram and if those comparisons and emotions could contribute to the development of an eating disorder.

To discuss the findings, the chapter will be presented in the following sections. First, an overview of contribution to the overall research goal will be discussed. Next, an overview of contribution to previous literature will be discussed. This includes the form of thin ideals, appearance comparisons and photos on Instagram. The next section will discuss contributions to the theoretical frameworks used within this study and how these lenses assisted with the interpretation of the study. Finally, the chapter concludes with a discussion of limitations and future research suggestions.

Contribution to Research Goal

This study sought to discover if body dissatisfaction is influenced by using Instagram, and the research provides support for a possible relationship between body dissatisfaction and Instagram usage. To fully examine how this research contributed to the overall research goal, two main functions of Instagram will be presented: looking at photos and posting photos. Looking at photos, or scrolling through a feed, and the

resulting comparisons will be discussed through evidence of the photo sort and individual interviews. The criteria for posting photos and the corresponding behaviors associated with posting will also be examined. Together, these conclusions lend insight into the role Instagram plays in the lives of college-aged women. The evidence presented in this section demonstrates that comparisons occur on the platform and that importance is placed on receipt of the images, such as comments and likes, creating a foundation for which future research may rely on to fully examine this topic.

Comparisons to Instagram Images

The photo sort was the most revealing in determining the types of feelings attributed to Instagram images, and in turn, their potential influence. There are two categories consistently sorted in the positive feelings category that the researcher believes has minimal influence on college-aged women. The friends and activities categories produced the most positive feelings out of all the photo categories almost unanimously. Nine out of 10 participants sorted the friend photos (photos 6 and 12) in the positive feelings category, while all 10 sorted the activities photos (photos 4 and 10) in the positive feelings categories. The feelings attributed to these categories appeared to be genuinely positive.

The researcher was most concerned with the negative feelings category, seeking to understand if these negative feelings were due to upward body comparisons. However, discovering which photos conclusively created negative feelings is not so simple to answer. This difficulty can be exemplified through the evidence that the mixed feelings category and no strong feelings category also seemed to result in negative feelings. For example, only one participant sorted a selfie photo, photo 5, into the negative feelings category. However, when placed in the no strong feelings category,

participants described not liking or “getting” photo 5. With this complication in mind, the researcher will not conclude negative feelings just by the number of individuals who sorted photos in the negative feelings category, but rather her comments associated with the photos in the negative, mixed and no strong feelings categories.

Two photos throughout the photo sort consistently produced negative feelings. Photo 8 in the celebrity category did not receive a single positive comment. However, it should be noted that the celebrity pictured in this photograph, Kylie Jenner, and her family are incredibly popular and tend to create strong emotions just due to who they are, in addition to what they look like. In addition, photo 9 of the thinspiration category did not receive positive feedback. While the comments toward photo 8 were much more impassioned with a strong dislike for the individual and how “fake” she is, the feelings associated with photo 9 were much more of concern due to her overt thinness.

Interestingly enough, both of these photos portrayed societal ideals described by the participants. Kylie Jenner, photo 8, embodies the curvy, flabless ideal, while photo 9 embodies the svelte, runway model ideal. These ideals are displayed in the extreme in both of these photos, resulting in the negative feelings.

There were indeed other photo categories that produced negative feelings. The selfie category, specifically photo 5 in that category, did not receive an overwhelming amount of negative feedback, but they were certainly not favorites among the participants. This is a category that exemplifies that negative feelings produced in this research were not necessarily focused on the body. For example, the photos in the selfie category received negative comments because participants did not “get” the photo, meaning the photo lacked purpose. The lack of purpose of a common theme

among photos that created negative feelings and was present in the celebrity, thinspiration, fitspiration and of course, selfie categories.

While lack of purpose was specifically described by the participants as creating negative feelings, evidence exists that there were photos that created negative feelings even though they were not expressed explicitly. These photos belong in the fitspiration category (photos 1 and 11) and while the comments were not overwhelmingly negative, in fact they received positive comments, this photo category does raise concern. Participants were found praising the bodies portrayed in the photos, recognizing the amount of work and time that these individuals put into their fitness. She noted that these photos were motivating, showing what she could potentially look like with a workout routine. This is perhaps, the most concerning part. She was aware that photo 8 (celebrity) is unattainable without plastic surgery and photo 9 (thinspiration) is unhealthy, but she believes that the fitspiration photos are possible through hard work and dedication. Indeed, comments such as “severe butt envy” and “I wish I had her legs” were mentioned during the photo sort.

The photo sort was not the only location where potential comparisons took place. During the interview portion, several areas regarding body comparisons on the platform emerged. Upward body comparisons also occur with accounts that she did not follow, such as photos found on the Explore page. Participants demonstrated that she could consciously and actively choose what content she sees on her feed, recognizing what types of photos make them feel negatively. Although she considers herself an active audience, she does not lend the same notion to her peers. She believes that Instagram does have an implication on body satisfaction, specifically with celebrity pictures. Also,

she believes her peers take Instagram too seriously, and while they may not completely believe Instagram represents reality, she believes her peers place their appearance on Instagram as a priority in comparison with herself.

Behaviors on Instagram

There were several behaviors observed during this study that seem exclusive to Instagram. The first behavior observed is the process of posting photos on Instagram and recognizing what to post. Posting on Instagram seems to evolve with age with much more “effort,” (i.e., posting what people will like most) being put forth in high school compared to college. Less effort, in regards to these participants, meant sharing what she genuinely wants to share, such as a meal at a restaurant or an area in which she was vacationing.

Time also played a factor in Instagram behaviors. Participants felt a need to post if she hadn't in a while, and many described a feeling of guilt when too much time elapsed between posts. In terms of expected frequency, once every few weeks seemed to be the general consensus and not posting for a few months led to a fear that no one will know what she were up to. Moreover, “what they were up to” didn't necessarily mean activities. It meant what you currently looked like, so a selfie would suffice.

In terms of photos one posted, one must “look good” in a selfie or other/group photo. However, posting a selfie was deemed “risky” in the sense that there was a risk of the photo not getting enough likes to please the user. While there was no general number of likes that was agreed upon among participants, some did mention that she has encountered friends removing selfies because it did not gather enough likes. Because of the perceived risk, many said she sought out second opinions. These second opinions typically came from texting friends several selfie options and having

them select the best one to post. The researcher believes that, no matter how little “effort” is put into posting on Instagram, that selfies in particular make the individual vulnerable. Selfies appeared to be validation that an individual is attractive.

Although there was second guessing and apparent risk in posting selfies, the same phenomenon did not exist among photos with friends or pictures of places and food. This is perhaps due to the focus of the picture not being on one individual.

Regarding “liking” in general, “liking” was an automatic action in the world of Instagram, especially if you knew the individual. It was viewed as the “polite thing to do”, a social pleasantry. One individual even mentioned that she doesn’t wait for the pictures to load, that if she saw the username and recognized it as a friend, she would like the image without really looking at it. Thus, “liking” a photo was a way to show support and to say “I’m seeing what you are doing” or “hello I’m here and I support you.” It served as validation that you are liked and that people care about you and your life.

Contribution to Previous Literature

How the research contributed to previous literature will be discussed in this section. Common areas of the literature review, such as the thin ideal, appearance comparisons, and photos on Instagram, will be reviewed with comparisons and notes to the research completed in this thesis.

The Thin Ideal

The participants did not see just one body type as ideal; rather, she discussed three ideals, which all intersected. The first ideal participants discussed was tall and slender, embodied in a Victoria’s Secret Model or Taylor Swift. This body type was largely seen as unattainable, but presented as desirable in society, particularly in advertisements.

The second ideal was slender with curves, such as having a larger butt and breasts. This ideal was personified through the Kardashians, specifically Kylie Jenner and Kim Kardashian. This body ideal was seen as even more unattainable, with suggestions that only cosmetic surgery could accomplish this body type.

The third ideal was healthy and fit. The healthy and fit ideal was embodied through fitspiration photos, which participants viewed mostly positively. These images elicited both motivation to become more fit and reach the illustrated goal and guilt for with not working out enough, both of which have already been exemplified in previous studies (Boeapple and Thompson, 2016; Tiggemann and Zaccardo, 2015). Another aspect to this ideal was the concept of being healthy and happy. Many mentioned that she did not use fitspiration or fitness as a means to reach an ideal body type. Rather, she said “just being healthy” was the goal, and this body type was attainable with effort and dedication.

All of these ideals are intertwined with similarities and in the end, are flabless. While there is a variation in terms of hip, waist and breast size, there is an emphasis on being tone. In other words, curves are acceptable, but there should be no jiggle. The main difference between these ideals was that the first two, the thin, model ideal and the Kardashian ideal, were seen as unattainable. However, the fitspiration ideal was seen as attainable to participants.

When discussing where she sees these ideal body types, there was a general agreement that it is seen across mass media and on Instagram. However, when it comes to Instagram, these ideals are rarely seen unless sought out by the individual. This was exemplified through the participants largely being conscious of the types of

accounts she follows and the reasoning behind following those accounts. In addition, she is conscious of what she unfollows, such as accounts that no longer reflect their interests. Because of this, she is not often exposed to the ideals. An exception to this is fitspiration, which was a category to which all participants mentioned being exposed.

Appearance Comparisons

Previous literature has shown that comparisons with images on social media platforms have largely resulted in negative emotions and increased body dissatisfaction (Fardouly & Vartanian, 2015; Lup, Trub, & Rosenthal, 2015; Haferkamp and Krämer, 2011). Comparisons throughout the research can be exemplified several ways.

First, among participants the fitspiration photos appeared to create the most upward comparisons, as they were seen as the most attainable. Fit body types were also much more “appreciated” by the participants, citing that they were more likely to compare themselves with these types of body types rather than super skinny body types. The reason given for this comparison was she believed the individual worked for that body and it made her feel that she should be working toward a fit body as well. However, as noted in the discussion of body ideals, this fit body type still follows several key characteristics of unattainable ideals: flabless and toned. Indeed, Boeapple, et al., (2016) and Tiggemann and Zaccardo (2015) found that fitspiration images are unattainable to the average female and while participants mentioned being motivated by these photos, they still reinforce the need for females to obtain a specific body type.

Another comparison discussed in previous research is the potential for images of friends and distant peers to create upward comparisons (Fardouly & Vartanian, 2015). However, the research did not find evidence that upward comparisons occur among these groups. Instead, images of friends and peers provided positive feelings that

included encouragement and support. Participants noted that the photos included in the friends and activities categories were photos she would likely see on her feed from her friends, reflecting an accurate representation of how she would respond to these photos on her own feed.

Regarding comparison with celebrities, Lup, Trub, and Rosenthal (2015) discovered that the more strangers or celebrities followed, the more negative comparisons occurred. However, the research found that the participants in the present study largely did not follow strangers or celebrities, although some participants followed more than 400 accounts. If random accounts (i.e., unknown individuals) were followed, they were likely due to the participant's interest such as baking or traveling.

While participants made conscious choices about who she followed and unfollowed, the Explore page on Instagram does not allow for such specificity. According to Instagram (2016) the Explore page consists of "posts are selected automatically based on things like the people you follow or the posts you like" (para. 1). Only two participants discussed the Explore page, however, both specifically mentioned that this is the location where she compares to images the most.

Photos on Instagram

With Instagram being a primarily image-based platform, significant research was provided in the literature review related to social media photo usage. To add to the importance of discussing photos on Instagram, bodies are often bodies are "known, understood and experienced through images" (Coleman, 2008, p. 163). In addition, previous studies have found photo activities create body dissatisfaction (Meier & Gray, 2014). The research conducted in this thesis sought to have them participate in just that, a photo activity.

Several areas were revealed in the photo activity and discussion. First, there are specific categories of photos that cause specific emotions. One study (Hu, Manikonda & Kambhampati, 2014) found that friends and selfies were the two most popular categories among Instagram photos, with activities a far third. The present study found that friends and activities were the most popular categories. Although she did not state that selfies were a popular category, participants did note that she would like and comment on selfies of friends to show support.

Another category of images, thinspiration, has been shown to be dangerous in normalizing eating disorders (Tilloston, 2012). Because of this, thinspiration images were used in the photo sort, however, these images did not create comparisons with participants. Instead, only one thinspiration photo, photo 7, received a positive comment from a participant, noting her dress rather than her body. Other participants noted that these images concerned them due to their thinness, with some recognizing that this depicted an unrealistic thin ideal. Thinspiration photos did not appear to be a concern among the participants.

Interaction with Photos

Interaction with photos on Instagram was described as commenting or liking, as sharing is not a function currently available on Instagram. Bakhshi, Shamma, and Gilbert (2014) found that photos with faces were typically more successful on Instagram, gathering more comments and likes than pictures without faces. This study also found that to be accurate. Photos that did not show faces confused the participants, making participants question what the purpose of the photo was. Besides confirming Bakshi's findings, this study further found meaning behind participants a specific facial expression, smiling. Participants interpreted smiling in the photos as

genuine, which created the positive feelings category. For the purpose of this research, genuine means depicting happiness and sincerity.

In regards to posting photos on Instagram, the present study's findings supported Lee, Lee, Moon, and Sung (2015) who found that images represented an individual's personalities and were utilized as a form of self-expression by posters. All participants felt that all of her social media platforms, including her Instagram, were representations of who she is as a person and that her feed shows highlights of her life. However, she was critical of images in the photo sort, such photo 5, selfie image, and photo 8, Jenner celebrity photo, because she felt the photos were staged and fake.

Contribution to Theoretical Frameworks

Social Comparison

Social comparison theory was especially useful in this study, and much of this study finding in terms of this theory was discussed above (i.e., appearance comparison section). In the review of the transcriptions, upward and downward comparisons were coded to gather an understanding of what types of comparisons were made on Instagram. Upward comparisons were described among fitspiration images with participants and celebrity images with peers. Downward comparisons were made several times during the span of the interviews. The most common type of downward comparison was made when the participant mentioned she was happy with her own body and felt no need to obtain the thin ideal.

This aspect of the theoretical model is most reflected in the interviews. It helped explain how college-aged women compared her appearance on Instagram and the types of images she compared herself to. This study can be counted among the other social media effects studies that successfully utilized the theory (Fardouly & Vartanian,

2015; Lup, Trub, & Rosenthal, 2015; Tiggemann & Zaccardo, 2015; Haferkamp and Krämer, 2011).

All three motivations were seen in the research (self-evaluation, self-enhancement, self-improvement). While self-evaluation, feeling self-conscious, was seen when she makes upward comparisons to fitspiration (photos 1 and 11) images, self-evaluation was most apparent when she looks at photos depicting travel and luxury. Self-enhancement was evident in the fitspiration comparisons as well. The participants were generous in their compliments and appreciation for these body types, recognizing the hard work that was put in to achieve the muscle and tone demonstrated in the photos. The last motivation, self-improvement, was also evident when discussing the fitspiration photos. Many participants were motivated by the women in the photos, and while they mentioned desiring certain attributes from the photos, such as legs or arms, they mentioned that if they went to the gym they could achieve this body type.

Indeed, upward comparisons occur when she looks at fitspiration images, however, these comparisons are complex and not necessarily negative. There is certainly concern over these comparisons, especially because individuals lose weight and gain muscle in different ways, but these young women are not mentioning limiting their diet or purging to obtain this body type. They understand that this body type is achieved by healthy means, such as working out and eating healthy, where the concerns lie however, is if they understand just how much work is involved.

Uses and Gratifications

This theory was used to provide a lens for understanding how Instagram is used and what it is used for. One of the main uses of Instagram is to check in on friends and get updates. These updates were typically from peers and not older family members, as

they did not have Instagram accounts. Instagram was more time intensive and was not usually used for a “quick” scroll through. If Instagram was being used to receive peer updates, a good amount of time was typically invested. The concept that Instagram is not used for quick updates can be attributed to it being used for milestones, significant events, or photos “with a purpose” and not for everyday posts.

One of the main concerns that of uses and gratifications describes is the concept of women using image-focused social media like Instagram for gratifications, such as validation of her body image. While attempting to validate this image, upward comparisons are made causing body dissatisfaction. Seeking more validation of her body image, a woman will continue to use social media in hopes of fulfilling that gratification, ensuing an endless loop of negative effects. This area of the theory-- seeking out images for validation-- was not evident in the study. In fact, she seemed very much aware of the types of accounts she follows and largely avoided accounts that would make her feel negatively about herself.

Overall Contributions

This study contributed to several areas of social media research. First, it accomplished the general need for Instagram research in the realm of social media platforms and their potential negative implications on women. Second, it also accomplished adding descriptions of lived experiences when using Instagram, including how they viewed specific types of photos. As far as the researcher is aware, there is no study that evaluates the different types of Instagram photo categories about how they make college-aged women feel about her body. This research began to fill the gap regarding which photos have the potential to cause the most body dissatisfaction,

fitspiration photos, which is helpful in determining which types of images can trigger disordered eating behaviors.

The impact on their body ideals, such as body comparisons, was discovered to occur on Instagram through fitspiration images. Celebrity photos, embodying the societal thin ideal, were perceived to cause the most body comparisons among her peers. Of most interesting discovery, was that most participants recognized that Instagram provided highlights of someone's life and was not interpreted as real life. However, she did not place this confidence in her peers, whom she believes to be much more influenced by thin ideals.

Participants noted that they do not follow, or care, for celebrities. According to participants, celebrities portray the societal ideal, but they are aware that this ideal is not attainable through healthy means. This awareness is incredibly encouraging, as are other findings. While the fitspiration body type is difficult to achieve, exercising and eating right are essential to a healthy body and mind. While comparisons were made with arms and legs shown in the fitspiration photos (1 and 11), it is not completely negative to want to achieve this body type. The findings do not discourage from exercising or having fitness goals, but rather encourage having fitness goals appropriate for body type, such as wanting to become stronger rather than obtaining a flat stomach.

Limitations

There were several limitations to this study. First, this is a small sample and cannot be generalized to all college-aged women. Also, this sample consisted of only women who identified as being white, leaving room in the literature for studies that observe other ethnic identities. Another potential limitation was that due to the EAT test, a score for disordered eating behaviors, the interview participants were at a perceived

low risk for disordered eating behaviors. However, the researcher was not aware of their body dissatisfaction level and future studies may want to measure this.

Future Research

There are several areas the researcher would like to recommend for future research. One area that that deserves future development is the concept of Instagram as a representation of self and real life. This was evident through two of the following examples. First, in the photo sort, photos of friends and activities received the most positive reactions due to their perceived happiness. Also, participants agreed that her Instagram account was an accurate representation of who she is in real life. However, this was contradicted when she discussed her peer's usage of Instagram and expressed concern over her peers take Instagram too seriously because Instagram does not represent what people are like in real life. In addition, the participant herself was suspicious of the reality of the photos, noting that posing and fake laughter may have been used to stage photos, such as the photo 6 in the friend category. These contradictions prove that future studies need to be done to discover just how real Instagram is perceived.

One final area for future research is discovering if these photo comparisons occur on her actual Instagram feed where she sees photos of people she know, rather than photos of people she does not as demonstrated in the photo sort. Throughout the interviews, comparisons, specifically when describing her body comparisons, occurred during the interview rather than the photo activity. For example, Julia stated the following during the interview:

I'm just looking at pictures and... it doesn't make me more motivated. It makes me more... bitter or jealous of certain things that are happening, like people going on vacation.

However, Julia placed both travel photos in the positive feelings category, citing that they looked happy and were having a good time. This an example of Julia recalling feeling negative toward photos on her feed of individuals participating in activities, but viewing images of strangers participating in activities did not have a negative impact. This future study could have participants keep track of photos on her feed that caused negative feelings to discover what type of image categories cause these feelings and the type of body types they display.

In addition, future researchers should be mindful that the findings pointed to an ideal body type that was not thin, but fit. The Victoria's Secret body type may have been described by participants as the societal ideal, but their own ideal falls within fitness and health, an important transition into the ideal body.

Some other areas for research include observing behaviors and becoming immersed in how they interact and use Instagram, by perhaps sitting with the participant and closely observing how they interact and use Instagram. In addition, looking at younger age groups would also be beneficial. This age group of college women have an awareness level regarding the reality of Instagram and societal ideals that younger age groups may not have.

Overall, continuing to analyze the potential impact of social media in relation to eating disorder development, particularly image based platforms such as Instagram, is essential. The mass media is no longer pushing body ideals, television commercials are replaced with social media gurus claiming the next best fitness routine or meal plan.

The platform they are getting this ideal is much more real, and much more personal, than ever before.

APPENDIX A PHOTO GATHERING SURVEY

1. Thank you for participating in this survey! I am a graduate student at the University of Florida in the College of Journalism and Communications. This survey is a part of my thesis that seeks to understand how college-aged women use Instagram.

The purpose of this questionnaire is to gather Instagram photos that will be used for the second phase of the study. You will be asked a few demographic questions, followed by a prompt to upload Instagram photos from your very own feed.

The goal of this questionnaire is to have a selection of real Instagram photos that will mimic a feed frequently seen by college-aged females in the United States.

The survey should only take 15 to 20 minutes. Before you begin this survey, please read the informed consent below.

2. Please read this consent text carefully before you decide to participate in this study.

Purpose of the research study.

The purpose of this survey is to gather Instagram photos. What you will be asked to do in the study You will be asked to provide demographic information and upload Instagram photos from your feed. Instructions for uploading photos will be provided.

Time required

10-15 minutes.

Risks and benefits

You have the option to provide your name and contact information. If you wish to provide the information to the researcher, your information will be kept confidential. There is a minimal risk that security of any online data may be breached. The survey host where you provided your contact information (Qualtrics) uses strong encryption and other data security methods to protect your information. Only the principal investigator will have access to your information on their server. The photos you choose to upload may be used in the final version of the thesis that will be made available on the University of Florida thesis and dissertation database.

There are no direct benefits to you participating in the study.

Compensation

There will be no compensation for participation.

Confidentiality

Your identity will be kept confidential to the extent provided by law. Your name and contact information will not be used in any report.

Voluntary participation

Your participation in this study is completely voluntary. There is no penalty for not participating.

Right to withdraw from the study

You have the right to withdraw from the study at any time without consequence.

Who to contact if you have questions about the study

Deaven Freed (Primary Investigator)
deavenf@ufl.edu
610.656.5660

J. Robyn Goodman, Ph.D. (Supervisor)
rgoodman@jou.ufl.edu
352.392.2704

Who to contact about your rights as a research participant in the study

IRB02
OfficeBox 112250
University of Florida
Gainesville, FL 32611-2250
Phone: 352.392.0433

- a. Agree
 - b. Disagree
-
3. Thanks for agreeing to participate! The next set of questions will focus on demographic information.
 4. Please indicate your gender identity:
 - a. Male
 - b. Female
 - c. Transgender
 - d. Gender nonconforming
 - e. Other gender identity (please specify)
 5. Please indicate your age:
 - a. Under 18
 - b. 18
 - c. 19
 - d. 20
 - e. 21

- f. 22
 - g. 23
 - h. 24
 - i. 25+
6. Are you a resident of Gainesville, Florida or a student at the University of Florida?
- a. Yes
 - b. No
7. What is your current class standing?
- a. Freshman
 - b. Sophomore
 - c. Junior
 - d. Senior
 - e. Graduate student (5)
 - f. I am not currently enrolled
 - g. Other
8. Once I have received several completed surveys, I will go through the images and choose a final set that will be used in the second phase of the study. I want to ensure that I have chosen photos that emulate a typical Instagram feed among college-aged women, would you be willing to provide your contact information to assist with choosing the final images? This would be about a 20-minute commitment within the next week or so and can be done via email.
- a. Yes
 - b. No

(If “Yes” is selected)

9. Please provide your contact information below:
- a. First name
 - b. Email
 - c. Phone number

(If “No” is selected)

10. No problem! I invite you to continue to the next part of the questionnaire where you will be prompted to upload Instagram photos.

11. Thank you for answering those first few questions.

In this next part of the questionnaire, I ask that you upload Instagram images from your feed that best match each category listed below.

If you are viewing Instagram through the app on your phone or tablet, I suggest that you take a screenshot of photos that are most applicable and upload the entire screenshot (no need to worry about cropping).

If you are viewing Instagram on your computer, you can take a screenshot of the entire screen using the following:

- PC: <http://www.wikihow.com/Take-a-Screenshot-in-Microsoft-Windows>
- Mac: <https://support.apple.com/en-us/HT201361>

You can also download an app for your browser called Lightshot that will allow you to crop the screenshot and upload as an image to your computer. You can download that here: <https://app.prntscr.com/en/index.html>.

There is no preferred way for you to upload the image, so please use the technique you feel most comfortable with. The photos you choose to upload must contain an image of a person, preferably focused on the body. It does not need to contain a face and can be below the head. You do not need to include the caption or the comments. The photos you upload will not be redistributed and will only be used for academic purposes. The photos may be used in the final thesis.

To begin uploading photos, please move on to the next question.

12. Category #1: Friends

Please upload a photo from your feed that contains at least two individuals.

13. Category #2: Activity

Please upload a photo from your feed that shows an individual (or individuals) participating in an outdoor or indoor activity such as a concert, social gathering, special event or travel.

14. Category #3: Selfie

Please upload a photo from your feed that shows an individual taking a self-portrait. This will contain one person.

15. Category #4: Fitspiration

Please upload a photo from your feed that shows an individual engaged in exercise, dressed in exercise gear, or participating in a healthy lifestyle.

APPENDIX B
FINAL PHOTOS FOR PHOTO REVIEW SURVEY

Category Name	Photo 1	Photo 2	Photo 3
Friends			
Activity			
Fit- spiration			

APPENDIX C
PHOTO REVIEW SURVEY

1. On a scale of 1-7, please rate how much you agree with each of the following statements about this image.

	1: Strongly agree	2	3	4	5	6	7: Strongly disagree
This picture shows an individual engaged in exercise, dressed in exercise gear, or participating in a healthy lifestyle.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
This picture shows least two individuals and the individuals in your opinion are friends.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
This picture shows an individual participating in outdoor and indoor activities or at a place where activities happen, such as a concert, landmark or engaging in travel.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

2. On a scale of 1-7, please rate how much you agree with each of the following statements about this image.

	1: Strongly agree	2	3	4	5	6	7: Strongly disagree
This picture shows an individual engaged in exercise, dressed in exercise gear, or participating in a healthy lifestyle.	<input type="radio"/>						
This picture shows least two individuals and the individuals in your opinion are friends.	<input type="radio"/>						
This picture shows an individual participating in outdoor and indoor activities or at a place where activities happen, such as a concert, landmark or engaging in travel.	<input type="radio"/>						

3. On a scale of 1-7, please rate how much you agree with each of the following statements about this image.

	1: Strongly agree	2	3	4	5	6	7: Strongly disagree
This picture shows an individual engaged in exercise, dressed in exercise gear, or participating in a healthy lifestyle.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
This picture shows least two individuals and the individuals in your opinion are friends.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
This picture shows an individual participating in outdoor and indoor activities or at a place where activities happen, such as a concert, landmark or engaging in travel.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

4. On a scale of 1-7, please rate how much you agree with each of the following statements about this image.

	1: Strongly agree	2	3	4	5	6	7: Strongly disagree
This picture shows an individual engaged in exercise, dressed in exercise gear, or participating in a healthy lifestyle.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
This picture shows least two individuals and the individuals in your opinion are friends.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
This picture shows an individual participating in outdoor and indoor activities or at a place where activities happen, such as a concert, landmark or engaging in travel.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

5. On a scale of 1-7, please rate how much you agree with each of the following statements about this image.

	1: Strongly agree	2	3	4	5	6	7: Strongly disagree
This picture shows an individual engaged in exercise, dressed in exercise gear, or participating in a healthy lifestyle.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
This picture shows least two individuals and the individuals in your opinion are friends.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
This picture shows an individual participating in outdoor and indoor activities or at a place where activities happen, such as a concert, landmark or engaging in travel.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

6. On a scale of 1-7, please rate how much you agree with each of the following statements about this image.

	1: Strongly agree	2	3	4	5	6	7: Strongly disagree
This picture shows an individual engaged in exercise, dressed in exercise gear, or participating in a healthy lifestyle.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
This picture shows least two individuals and the individuals in your opinion are friends.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
This picture shows an individual participating in outdoor and indoor activities or at a place where activities happen, such as a concert, landmark or engaging in travel.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

7. On a scale of 1-7, please rate how much you agree with each of the following statements about this image.

	1: Strongly agree	2	3	4	5	6	7: Strongly disagree
This picture shows an individual engaged in exercise, dressed in exercise gear, or participating in a healthy lifestyle.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
This picture shows least two individuals and the individuals in your opinion are friends.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
This picture shows an individual participating in outdoor and indoor activities or at a place where activities happen, such as a concert, landmark or engaging in travel.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

8. On a scale of 1-7, please rate how much you agree with each of the following statements about this image.

	1: Strongly agree	2	3	4	5	6	7: Strongly disagree
This picture shows an individual engaged in exercise, dressed in exercise gear, or participating in a healthy lifestyle.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
This picture shows least two individuals and the individuals in your opinion are friends.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
This picture shows an individual participating in outdoor and indoor activities or at a place where activities happen, such as a concert, landmark or engaging in travel.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

9. On a scale of 1-7, please rate how much you agree with each of the following statements about this image.

	1: Strongly agree	2	3	4	5	6	7: Strongly disagree
This picture shows an individual engaged in exercise, dressed in exercise gear, or participating in a healthy lifestyle.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
This picture shows least two individuals and the individuals in your opinion are friends.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
This picture shows an individual participating in outdoor and indoor activities or at a place where activities happen, such as a concert, landmark or engaging in travel.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

10. Please upload an additional selfie image. This picture must be of the entire body. It does not need to include a face. You can upload it here or email to deavenf@ufl.edu.

11. Please select the top three photos that are the best examples of the following description: This picture shows an individual participating in outdoor and indoor activities or at a place where activities happen, such as a concert, landmark or engaging in travel. You may leave all of the other images blank with no ranking or select "not in top three".

	1	2	3	Not in top three
Image:Activity 6	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Image:Fitspiration 4	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Image:Friends 1	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Image:Picture 1	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Image:Picture 4	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Image:Activity 7	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Image:Friends 3	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Image:Picture 5	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Image:Friends 2	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

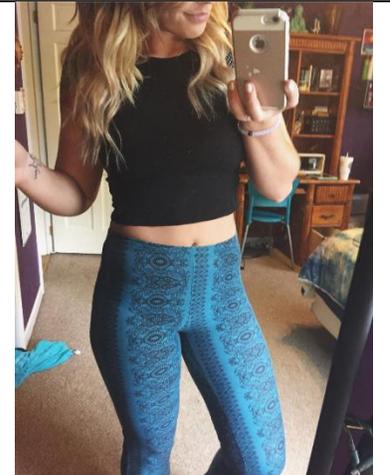
12. Please select the top three photos that are the best examples of the following description: This picture shows an individual engaged in exercise, dressed in exercise gear, or participating in a healthy lifestyle. You may leave all of the other images blank with no ranking or select "not in top three".

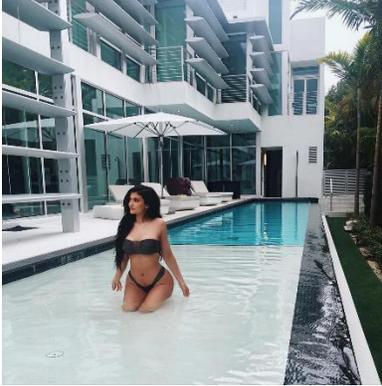
	1	2	3	Not in top three
Image:Activity 6	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Image:Fitspiration 4	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Image:Friends 1	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Image:Picture 1	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Image:Picture 4	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Image:Activity 7	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Image:Friends 3	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Image:Picture 5	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Image:Friends 2	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

13. Please select the top three photos that are the best examples of the following description: This picture shows least two individuals and the individuals in your opinion are friends. You may leave all of the other images blank with no ranking or select "not in top three".

	1	2	3	Not in top three
Image:Activity 6	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Image:Fitspiration 4	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Image:Friends 1	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Image:Picture 1	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Image:Picture 4	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Image:Activity 7	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Image:Friends 3	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Image:Picture 5	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Image:Friends 2	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

APPENDIX D
FINAL PHOTOS FOR PHOTOSORT

Category Name	Photo 1	Photo 2
Friends		
Activity		
Selfie		

Fitspiration	 A woman with her hair in a ponytail, wearing a black tank top with the text 'SHUT UP' and 'DUMP TRUCK' and black leggings, is taking a selfie in a locker room. She is standing in front of yellow lockers.	 A woman in a black sports bra and grey leggings is flexing her bicep in a gym. She is standing next to a row of red and black exercise balls.
Thinspiration	 A woman in a black, short-sleeved, knee-length dress is standing in a room. She is looking towards the camera.	 A woman in a black long-sleeved top and black leggings is standing in a room. She is looking towards the camera.
Celebrity	 A woman in a black bikini is standing in a swimming pool. She is looking towards the camera.	 A woman in a blue bikini is standing outdoors. She is leaning on a stone railing and looking towards the camera.

APPENDIX E SCREENING SURVEY

1. Thank you for participating in this survey! I am a graduate student at the University of Florida in the College of Journalism and Communications. The goal of this survey is to gather information regarding Instagram usage and eating habits among college-aged women. The results of this survey will contribute to a thesis for completion of a Master's in Advertising.

To begin, you will be asked several demographic questions followed by questions related to your eating habits. These questions will be followed by an inquiry into your usage of Instagram. Your answers and personal information will remain confidential.

Upon completion of the survey, you may be invited to participate in the second phase of this study, which will be an individual interview discussing social media. The overall goal of this study is to gain insight into how college-aged women use Instagram.

The survey should take 25-30 minutes.

Before you begin this survey, please read the informed consent below.

Thank you again for your participation!

2. Please read this consent text carefully before you decide to participate in this study.

Purpose of the research study

The goal of this survey is to gather information regarding Instagram usage and eating habits among college-aged women.

What you will be asked to do in the study

This survey will ask you about your eating habits, Instagram usage and demographic information. At the end of the survey, you may be asked to provide contact information for an individual interview.

Time required

This will require 25-30 minutes.

Risks and benefits

This survey involves questions regarding your eating habits which may cause personal discomfort. You may exit out of the survey at any time without consequence.

Your name and contact information will be used by the principal investigator to contact you if you choose to participate in an individual interview. There is a

minimal risk that security of any online data may be breached. The survey host where you provided your contact information (Qualtrics) uses strong encryption and other data security methods to protect your information. Only the investigator will have access to your information on their server. There are no direct benefits to you participating in the study.

Compensation

If you agree to participate in an individual interview, you will be given a \$20 Amazon gift card.

Confidentiality

Your identity will be kept confidential to the extent provided by law. Your results will only be known to the primary investigator and kept confidential.

Voluntary participation

Your participation in this study is completely voluntary. There is no penalty for not participating.

Right to withdraw from the study

You have the right to withdraw from the study at any time without consequence.

Who to contact if you have questions about the study

Deaven Freed (Principal Investigator)
deavenf@ufl.edu
610.656.5660
J. Robyn Goodman, PhD (Supervisor)
rgoodman@jou.ufl.edu
352.392.2704

Who to contact about your rights as a research participant in the study

IRB02 Office
Box 112250
University of Florida
Gainesville, FL 32611-2250
352.392.0433

- b. Agree
- c. Disagree

3. Thanks for agreeing to participate! The next set of questions will focus on demographic information.
4. Please indicate your gender identity:
 - a. Male
 - b. Female

- c. Transgender
 - d. Gender nonconforming
 - e. Other gender identity (please specify) _____
5. Please indicate your age:
- a. Under 18
 - b. 18
 - c. 19
 - d. 20
 - e. 21
 - f. 22
 - g. 23
 - h. 24
 - i. 25+
6. Are you currently an undergraduate student at the University of Florida?
- a. Yes
 - b. No
7. Please indicate your class level:
- a. Freshman
 - b. Sophomore
 - c. Junior
 - d. Senior
 - e. Graduate student
 - f. Other _____
8. Have you lived in the United States for at least 17 years?
- a. Yes
 - b. No
9. Choose one or more ethnicity that you consider yourself to be:
- a. American Indian or Alaska Native
 - b. Asian
 - c. Black or African American
 - d. Hispanic or Latino
 - e. Native Hawaiian or Pacific Islander
 - f. White
 - g. Other _____
10. Thank you for sharing your demographic information. The survey will now ask you about your eating habits.
11. I am terrified about being overweight.
- a. Always

- b. Usually
 - c. Often
 - d. Sometimes
 - e. Rarely
 - f. Never
12. I avoid eating when I am hungry.
- a. Always
 - b. Usually
 - c. Often
 - d. Sometimes
 - e. Rarely
 - f. Never
13. I find myself preoccupied with food.
- a. Always
 - b. Usually
 - c. Often
 - d. Sometimes
 - e. Rarely
 - f. Never
14. I have gone on binges where I feel I may not be able to stop.
- a. Always
 - b. Usually
 - c. Often
 - d. Sometimes
 - e. Rarely
 - f. Never
15. I cut my food into small pieces.
- a. Always
 - b. Usually
 - c. Often
 - d. Sometimes
 - e. Rarely
 - f. Never
16. I am aware of the calorie content of foods that I eat.
- a. Always
 - b. Usually
 - c. Often
 - d. Sometimes
 - e. Rarely
 - f. Never

17. I particularly avoid food with a high carbohydrate content (i.e., bread, rice, potatoes, etc.)
- Always
 - Usually
 - Often
 - Sometimes
 - Rarely
 - Never
18. I feel others would prefer if I ate more.
- Always
 - Usually
 - Often
 - Sometimes
 - Rarely
 - Never
19. I vomit after I have eaten.
- Always
 - Usually
 - Often
 - Sometimes
 - Rarely
 - Never
20. I feel extremely guilty after eating.
- Always
 - Usually
 - Often
 - Sometimes
 - Rarely
 - Never
21. I am occupied with a desire to be thinner.
- Always
 - Usually
 - Often
 - Sometimes
 - Rarely
 - Never
22. I think about burning up calories when I exercise.
- Always
 - Usually
 - Often
 - Sometimes

- e. Rarely
 - f. Never
23. Other people think that I am too thin.
- a. Always
 - b. Usually
 - c. Often
 - d. Sometimes
 - e. Rarely
 - f. Never
24. I am preoccupied with the thought of having fat on my body.
- a. Always
 - b. Usually
 - c. Often
 - d. Sometimes
 - e. Rarely
 - f. Never
25. I take longer than others to eat my meals.
- a. Always
 - b. Usually
 - c. Often
 - d. Sometimes
 - e. Rarely
 - f. Never
26. I avoid foods with sugar in them.
- a. Always
 - b. Usually
 - c. Often
 - d. Sometimes
 - e. Rarely
 - f. Never
27. I eat diet foods.
- a. Always
 - b. Usually
 - c. Often
 - d. Sometimes
 - e. Rarely
 - f. Never
28. I feel that food controls my life.
- a. Always
 - b. Usually

- c. Often
 - d. Sometimes
 - e. Rarely
 - f. Never
29. I display self-control around food.
- a. Always
 - b. Usually
 - c. Often
 - d. Sometimes
 - e. Rarely
 - f. Never
30. I feel that others pressure me to eat.
- a. Always
 - b. Usually
 - c. Often
 - d. Sometimes
 - e. Rarely
 - f. Never
31. I give too much time and thought to food.
- a. Always
 - b. Usually
 - c. Often
 - d. Sometimes
 - e. Rarely
 - f. Never
32. I feel uncomfortable after eating sweets.
- a. Always
 - b. Usually
 - c. Often
 - d. Sometimes
 - e. Rarely
 - f. Never
33. I engage in dieting behavior.
- a. Always
 - b. Usually
 - c. Often
 - d. Sometimes
 - e. Rarely
 - f. Never
34. I like my stomach to be empty.
- a. Always

- b. Usually
 - c. Often
 - d. Sometimes
 - e. Rarely
 - f. Never
35. I have the impulse to vomit after meals.
- a. Always
 - b. Usually
 - c. Often
 - d. Sometimes
 - e. Rarely
 - f. Never
36. I enjoy trying new rich foods.
- a. Always
 - b. Usually
 - c. Often
 - d. Sometimes
 - e. Rarely
 - f. Never
37. Thank you for your participation. Please continue to the next set of questions regarding your Instagram usage.
38. About how many total Instagram followers do you have?
- a. 20 or less
 - b. 21-50
 - c. 51-100
 - d. 101-150
 - e. 151-200
 - f. 201-250
 - g. 251-300
 - h. 301-400
 - i. 400+
39. About how many total Instagram users do you follow?
- a. 20 or less
 - b. 21-50
 - c. 51-100
 - d. 101-150
 - e. 151-200
 - f. 201-250
 - g. 251-300
 - h. 301-400

- i. 400+
40. Instagram is part of my everyday activities.
- a. Strongly agree
 - b. Agree
 - c. Somewhat agree
 - d. Neither agree nor disagree
 - e. Somewhat disagree
 - f. Disagree
 - g. Strongly disagree
41. How often do you post on Instagram?
- a. Several times a day
 - b. About once a day
 - c. Several times a week
 - d. A few times a month
 - e. Once a month or less
 - f. Less often
 - g. Never
42. How often do you scroll through your Instagram feed (not including posting)?
- a. Several times a day
 - b. About once a day
 - c. Several times a week
 - d. A few times a month
 - e. Once a month or less
 - f. Less often
 - g. Never
43. How often do you comment on a photo on Instagram?
- a. Several times a day
 - b. About once a day
 - c. Several times a week
 - d. A few times a month
 - e. Once a month or less
 - f. Less often
 - g. Never
44. How often do you like a photo on Instagram?
- a. Several times a day
 - b. About once a day
 - c. Several times a week
 - d. A few times a month
 - e. Once a month or less
 - f. Less often
 - g. Never

45. I am not embarrassed to tell people I am on Instagram.
- Strongly agree
 - Agree
 - Somewhat agree
 - Neither agree nor disagree
 - Somewhat disagree
 - Disagree
 - Strongly disagree
46. Instagram has become a part of my daily routine.
- Strongly agree
 - Agree
 - Somewhat agree
 - Neither agree nor disagree
 - Somewhat disagree
 - Disagree
 - Strongly disagree
47. I feel out of touch when I haven't logged onto Instagram for awhile.
- Strongly agree
 - Agree
 - Somewhat agree
 - Neither agree nor disagree
 - Somewhat disagree
 - Disagree
 - Strongly disagree
48. I feel I am a part of the Instagram community.
- Strongly agree
 - Agree
 - Somewhat agree
 - Neither agree nor disagree
 - Somewhat disagree
 - Disagree
 - Strongly disagree
49. I would be sorry if Instagram shut down.
- Strongly agree
 - Agree
 - Somewhat agree
 - Neither agree nor disagree
 - Somewhat disagree
 - Disagree
 - Strongly disagree

50. Thank you for answering those questions! You have met the criteria for an individual interview. If you are interested in participating, please provide the following information so we may contact you. You will be given a \$20 Amazon gift card as compensation for your participation in the individual interview. Your name and contact information will be kept confidential by the researcher.

- a. First name
- b. UFL email address
- c. Phone number

APPENDIX F
INTERVIEW INFORMED CONSENT

Informed Consent: Negotiating Instagram Images Among College-Aged Women

Please read this consent document carefully before you decide to participate in this study.

-Purpose of the research study-

The purpose of this study is to examine perspectives of Instagram images and how these images can affect body dissatisfaction among female University of Florida students ages 18-24.

-What you will be asked to do in the study-

Once you have completed the sampling survey and match the desired criteria, you will be asked to participate in an individual interview. This individual interview will include questions regarding your social media use, your perception of societal body ideals and a photo sort activity.

-Time required-

An hour and a half to two hours to complete the individual interview.

-Risks and Benefits-

This study involves potential distress for participants who may suffer from eating disorders or body image issues. You can skip any question you don't want to answer, and you can withdraw from participating in the interview at any time without consequence.

Your name and contact information has been provided to the principal investigator (Deaven Freed) and co-investigator (J. Robyn Goodman, PhD). Direct quotes from the interview will be used in the final thesis, which utilize an alias rather than your given name. Your contact information and any identifying characteristics will be kept confidential by the investigators.

There is a minimal risk that security of any online data may be breached, but our survey host where you provided your contact information (Qualtrics) uses strong encryption and other data security methods to protect your information. Only the investigators will have access to your information on their server.

There are no direct benefits to you participating in the study.

-Compensation-

You will be paid \$20.00 compensation for participating in the individual interview. This will be made available in an Amazon gift card.

-Confidentiality-

Your identity will be kept confidential to the extent provided by law. During the discussion, your voice will be recorded. There will be no visual recording of your interview. A photo will be taken of your photo sort activity that is completed during the interview, but will exclude you or any identifying characteristics.

After the interview, the recording will be transcribed, where identifying information and characteristics will be removed.

Your real name will not be used in any report.

-Voluntary participation-

Your participation in this study is completely voluntary. There is no penalty for not participating.

-Right to withdraw from the study-

You have the right to withdraw from the study at any time without consequence.

-Who to contact if you have questions about the study-

Deaven Freed (Primary Investigator)

deavenf@ufl.edu

610-656-5660

3425 SW 29th Terrace Apt. A103

Gainesville, FL 3208

J. Robyn Goodman, PhD (Co-Investigator)

rgoodman@jou.ufl.edu

352-392-2704

2019 Weimer Hall,

Gainesville, FL 32611

-Who to contact about your rights as a research participant in the study-

IRB02 Office

Box 112250

University of Florida

Gainesville, FL 32611-2250

phone 392-0433.

Agreement

I have read the procedure described above. I voluntarily agree to participate in the procedure and I have received a copy of this description.

Agree to participate

Date: _____

Principal Investigator: _____ Date: _____

APPENDIX G INTERVIEW GUIDE

Introduction

Thank you for your time today, I'm really looking forward to our discussion. My name is Deaven Freed and I am a graduate student within the College of Journalism and Communications.

This afternoon, I am interested in your impression of images from the social media platform Instagram. I am going to begin with some general questions about your social media usage and perceptions of body image. We will then move to a photo activity where you will sort real Instagram images into categories. I will give you specific instructions when we get to that phase. The final phase of the interview will be discussing the photo sort activity. My main goal for this interview is to gain insight into how Instagram images are interpreted by young women.

The interview will last approximately one hour. This interview will be used for academic purposes only and will not be shared within anyone except the instructor. I will address you by your name during the interview, unless you wish otherwise. I will be using a recorder on my phone to record the interview, no video will be used. I will take a picture of the photo sort once it is completed as well. If you feel uncomfortable answering any questions, you have the right to not answer. You also have the right to leave at any time during this interview. Please feel free to ask me any clarifying questions during the interview. If you approve, please vocalize "yes".

Again, I welcome and encourage your opinions. My role this afternoon is to listen and interpret your answers as accurately as possible. At any point, I may ask secondary

questions to ensure I understand your statement, this may include asking you to give me an example.

Do you have any questions?

Let's begin.

Social Media Usage

I am going to start by asking you a few questions about your social media usage and what platforms you use.

- Tell me about the types of social media you use.
- How often do you use each of these platforms? Per week? Per day?
 - Is it different per platform?
- Who do you follow on these platforms?
 - Is it different per platform?
- What do you like about the platforms you use?
- What do you dislike about the platforms you use?
- How do you use each of the platforms?
 - Is it different for each?
- Do you think how you use social media is common for many women your age?

Perceptions of Body Standards

Thank you for your insight into social media. Now, I want to dig into some perceptions of body standards.

- Tell me what the ideal female body looks like to you.
 - Tell me about specific features; is there a height or weight?
- Where do you think this ideal body comes from?

- What features do you compare your own body with the most compared to this ideal body?
- Where do you see this ideal body?
 - Do you see it with celebrities? Which celebrity?
 - How about peers? On campus?
- If you find yourself comparing to more celebrity features, why do you think that is?
- If you find yourself comparing to more peer features, why do you think that is?

Photo activity explanation

Next, I am going to have you complete an activity. I am going to lay these photos out on the table in no particular order. I want you to sort the photos into a specific category relating to how the photo makes you feel. I have also provided likes and comments for the photos, place a like or comment on photos that you would likely like or comment on if this were your feed. Take as much time as you want and let me know when you are finished.

Discussion of Photo Activity

I want to talk a bit about the photos you sorted.

- Tell me about how you sorted these images.
- What about the photos causes these feelings?
- Why did you like or comment on the photo?
- Is there a particular image that affected you the most?
- Is there a particular image that affected you the least?
- How did these images make you feel about your body?

- Are you aware of these feelings as you scroll through your own Instagram feed?
- How do you believe Instagram has affected beauty standards among young women?
- Have you found Instagram to have an impact on how you feel about your body?

Conclusion

Do you have any additional comments to add?

Thank you so much for your time.

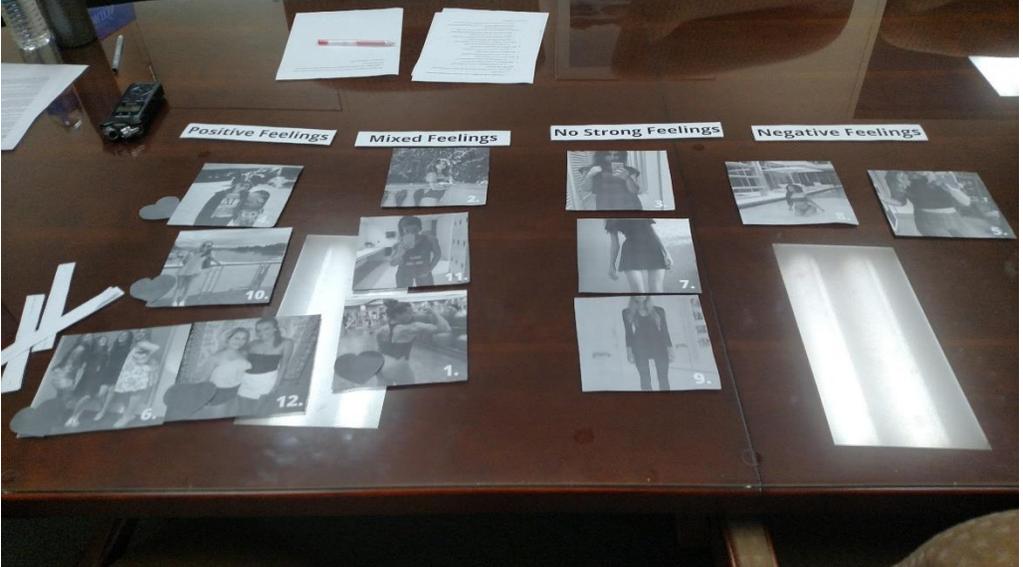
APPENDIX H
PHOTO SORT RESULTS

Participant Name	Photo Sort Results
Olivia	 <p>A photograph of a round wooden table with four categories of photo sort results: Positive Feelings, Mixed Feelings, No Strong Feelings, and Negative Feelings. Photos are numbered 1 through 12. There are also some white strips and heart-shaped cutouts on the table.</p>
Julia	 <p>A photograph of a round wooden table with four categories of photo sort results: Positive Feelings, Mixed Feelings, No Strong Feelings, and Negative Feelings. Photos are numbered 1 through 12. There are also some white strips and heart-shaped cutouts on the table.</p>

Samantha



Chloe



Kellie



Sarah



Lauren



Elizabeth



Lynn



Emma

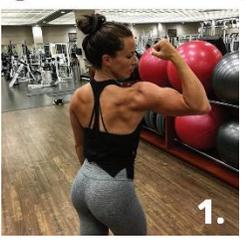


APPENDIX I
SUMMARY CHART OF PARTICIPANTS

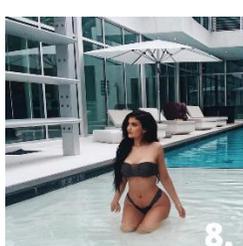
Participant name	Instagram followers	Accounts followed on Instagram	Posting habits	Scrolling habits	Liking habits	Commenting habits
Olivia	400+	400+	A few times a month	Several times a week	Several times a week	Several times a week
Julia	400+	400+	A few times a month	Several times a day	Several times a day	Once every few weeks
Samantha	400+	400+	Several times a week	Several times a week	Several times a day	Several times a week
Kellie	400+	400+	A few times a month	About once a day	Several times a day	About once a week
Chloe	400+	400+	Several times a week	Several times a day	Several times a day	About once a day

Sarah	400+	400+	Once a month or less	Several times a day	Several times a day	Several times a week
Lauren	400+	400+	A few times a month	About once a day	Several times a day	About once a week
Elizabeth	151-200	201-400	A few times a month	About once a day	Several times a day	About once a week
Lynn	201-250	151-200	A few times a month	Several times a day	Several times a day	About once a day
Emma	400+	400+	A few times a month	Several times a week	Several times a week	Several times a week

APPENDIX J
SUMMARY CHART OF FEELINGS TOWARDS INSTAGRAM IMAGES

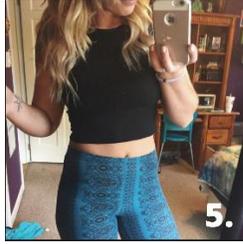
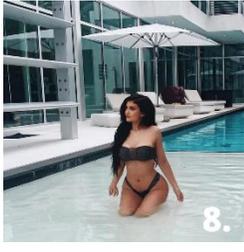
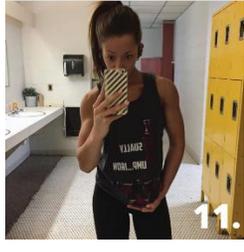
Emma			
Positive Feelings	Negative Feelings	Mixed Feelings	No Strong Feelings
 3.	 7.	 1.	 5.
 4.	 8.	 2.	 11.
 6.	 9.		
 10.			

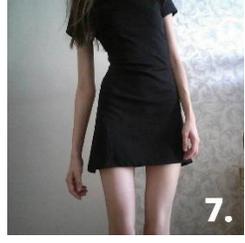
			
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Lynn			
Positive Feelings	Negative Feelings	Mixed Feelings	No Strong Feelings
			
			
			

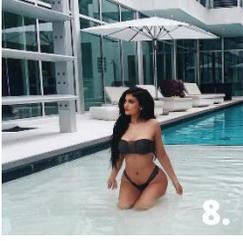
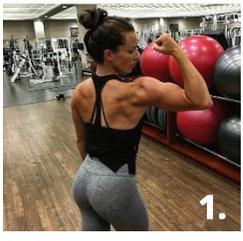
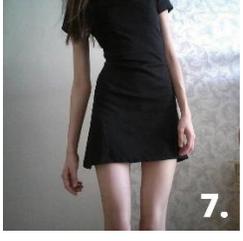


Elizabeth

Positive Feelings	Negative Feelings	Mixed Feelings	No Strong Feelings
 <p>3.</p>		 <p>1.</p>	 <p>5.</p>
 <p>4.</p>		 <p>2.</p>	 <p>7.</p>
 <p>6.</p>		 <p>8.</p>	 <p>9.</p>
 <p>10.</p>		 <p>11.</p>	
 <p>12.</p>			

Lauren			
Positive Feelings	Negative Feelings	Mixed Feelings	No Strong Feelings
 4.	 9.	 1.	 2.
 6.		 5.	 3.
 10.		 7.	
 11.		 8.	
 12.			

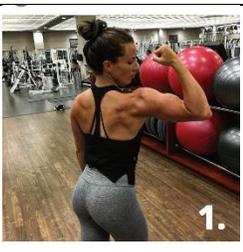
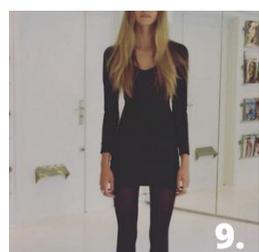
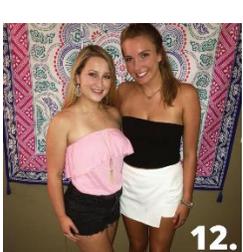
Sarah

Positive Feelings	Negative Feelings	Mixed Feelings	No Strong Feelings
 <p>4.</p>	 <p>8.</p>	 <p>2.</p>	 <p>1.</p>
 <p>6.</p>		 <p>3.</p>	 <p>7.</p>
 <p>10.</p>		 <p>5.</p>	 <p>9.</p>
 <p>12.</p>			 <p>11.</p>

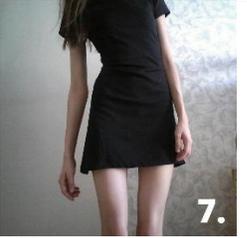
Kellie

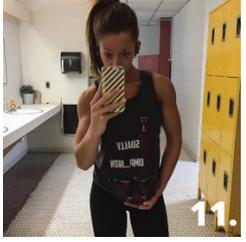
Positive Feelings	Negative Feelings	Mixed Feelings	No Strong Feelings
 <p>1.</p>	 <p>8.</p>	 <p>9.</p>	 <p>3.</p>
 <p>2.</p>		 <p>7.</p>	 <p>5.</p>
 <p>4.</p>			 <p>11.</p>
 <p>6.</p>			
 <p>10.</p>			

 <p>12.</p>			
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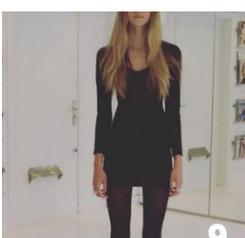
Chloe			
Positive Feelings	Negative Feelings	Mixed Feelings	No Strong Feelings
 <p>4.</p>	 <p>8.</p>	 <p>1.</p>	 <p>3.</p>
 <p>6.</p>	 <p>5.</p>	 <p>2.</p>	 <p>7.</p>
 <p>10.</p>		 <p>11.</p>	 <p>9.</p>
 <p>12.</p>			

Samantha

Positive Feelings	Negative Feelings	Mixed Feelings	No Strong Feelings
 <p>2.</p>  <p>1.</p>  <p>4.</p>  <p>6.</p>	 <p>8.</p>	 <p>3.</p>  <p>5.</p>	 <p>7.</p>  <p>9.</p>

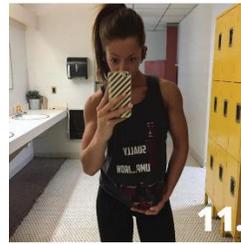


Julia

Positive Feelings	Negative Feelings	Mixed Feelings	No Strong Feelings
 <p>1.</p>	 <p>8.</p>	 <p>2.</p>	 <p>3.</p>
 <p>4.</p>	 <p>7.</p>	 <p>6.</p>	 <p>5.</p>
 <p>10.</p>			 <p>9.</p>
 <p>11.</p>			
 <p>12.</p>			

Olivia

Positive Feelings	Negative Feelings	Mixed Feelings	No Strong Feelings
 <p>2.</p>  <p>4.</p>  <p>6.</p>  <p>7.</p>  <p>10.</p>			 <p>1.</p>  <p>3.</p>  <p>5.</p>



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BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

Deaven's major was advertising. She came to the University of Florida to research eating disorders and while diving into research, found the world of health communication. She divided her time between graduate assistantships and health communication research projects. She received her master's degree in the summer of 2017.