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"How does it make you feel?"

A visual content analysis of emotions portrayed in
consumer brands' images on social media

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<u>Abstract</u>

The rise of Social Network Sites (SNS) has had a huge impact on the field of public relations in that brands must now consider online branding as part of their strategy. This is a growing area of interest in both academia and practice as we strive to learn more about how to use the new platforms most effectively. In particular, SNS have encouraged the social role of brands and allow consumers engage directly with brands. This kind of engagement is a growing area of interest as brands interact with their customers directly and strive to stand out in the competitive online environment.

In particular, the rise of image-sharing SNS mean that more brands are using visual content to convey their identity and engage consumers. It has been argued that the choice of such content is largely anecdotal and that brand managers tend to use their intuition when selecting material. This study aims to gain some theoretical understanding of how different types of content affect engagement and hence how brands can most effectively use visual content. The emotional aspect of engagement is of particular interest, therefore the study will examine whether the emotional content of images uploaded have an effect on engagement. The study will take a quantitative approach, using both content analysis and statistical analysis to determine the relationships between image content and engagement.

The results of the research suggest that the content of images, including emotional content, have an impact on engagement, however do not fully explain engagement. The inclusion of brand name for images had a substantial effect on factors

accounting for engagement, suggesting that the brand name is of more importance than the actual content when it comes to engagement –the importance of an image coming from a particular brand is higher than the actual content of the image itself consumers will like a certain brands' posts regardless of the content. Overall, this research offers early insight into the factors affecting engagement in terms of the visual content that brands post on SNS.

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1. Introduction

The rise of Social Network Sites (SNS) in the last two decades has opened the door for online marketing, leading to more brands feeling the need to be present where consumers are taking notice. Using media to develop and maintain social networks is not a new concept, but doing so online continues to be a growing area of interest (Lange, 2007, p.363); SNS have changed the landscape for brand management and the scholarship must keep up with this revolution.

SNS also offer brands the opportunity to share media with consumers - Percy and Rossiter (1992) claim it is important from both a practical and theoretical perspective to understand the dynamics involved in brand awareness and note how visuals can stimulate response to a brand. It appears, however, that findings surrounding visual content sharing on social media are mostly anecdotal. Having a deeper theoretical understanding of this field can provide a base for future work on content shared online in both practice and the growing field of academic research.

This thesis will focus on consumers' engagement on SNS, in particular in relation to the visual media that brands post. The aim of the research is to contribute to the existing literature on visual branding, particularly in the online environment.

To carry out the study, images posted by consumer brands online will be categorised based on their content to see if particular content proves to encourage more engagement than other. These categorisations will be mutually exclusive and relate solely to what is depicted in the image, and *not* the composition or

accompanying textual caption. In addition to the literal content, this study will also consider how engagement is effected by the emotions portrayed in the same images. The factors that account for engagement in this research will be the number of likes, as well as the number of comments, considered separately. The author acknowledges that there are ranges of features that may also contribute towards engagement, such as tagging friends in comments or having an image shared by an influential person, however this would require analysing thousands of comments and users, which is far beyond the scope of this study. We can consider that likes and comments offer an adequate demonstration of how engaged fans are with an image. The consumer brands selected for the study are all from the women's fashion industry. The study will also take a range of other features into account, such as hashtags, competition posts and tagging other users, as controls. Although many consumer brands are attempting to attract new followers, the nature of this research means that only existing followers will be considered.

The research will contribute to the growing area of public relations that focuses on brand management in the online arena, as well as the rising level of interest in how images can effectively be used by brands. It aims to offer theoretical grounding for choices made by brand managers when it comes to selecting certain media content.

1.1 Problem Statement

Research on the impact of SNS on marketing began over a decade ago, but with little focus on image-sharing. It has been argued that the communication world is dramatically moving in a digital direction (Weber, 2007); the "he dynamic […] and

real-time interaction enabled by social media significantly changes the landscape for brand management." (Gensler et al., 2013, p.242) and consequently brings with it a number of challenges and opportunities. It has already been argued that online social media is 'dramatically changing public relations' (Wright and Hinson, 2008, p.1) and will continue to be an increasingly important factor for brand managers to consider (Palmer and Koenig-Lewis, 2009, p.171). Weber (2007) argues that those who understand this transformation will be the ones who communicate more effectively with consumers.

We live in a visually intensive society, bombarded with a steady flow of visual messages coming from all forms of media daily (Lester, 2013, p. xii). In particular, we can note the growing popularity of sharing images on social media and the increase in users of image-based SNS such as Pinterest, Tumblr and Instagram, further highlighting the increasingly important role of visual content in public relations (Debroff, 2014). The importance of a brand's visual identity is highlighted by a number of scholars (Aaker, 1996; Fill, 2009; Rowley, 2009), however when it comes to the public uptake of the messages behind images, scholarship surrounding this field is lacking (Joffe, 2008, p. 84). If SNS can be used as a tool for strengthening brand awareness, the important contribution of visuals cannot be overlooked, particularly as brands are presented with new opportunities to creatively convey their identity. As consumer brands compete with each other for consumers' attention online, each one wants to be 'worth' following ("Social Media", 2012, as cited in Chen and Yazdanifard, 2013). But what does this mean?

There is no shortage of anecdotal evidence that image-sharing by brands is on the rise, including a number of blogs on, for example: the benefits of visual content

marketing, how images drive the most engagement and how visual content creation is becoming an integral part of marketing (Bradley, 2014; More, 2014; Piombino, 2012). Further, Instagram – an image-sharing SNS - has become one of the fastest growing since its creation four years ago (SimplyMeasured, 2013). Despite this, academia has not yet caught up with the new ideas surrounding visual media. Along with noting the way images dominate SNS, it is important to understand visual messages (Lester, 2013, pg. xii) For this reason, there is gap in the research concerning the visual content that brands use on social media and how this can increase engagement with consumers.

A number of scholars have looked at the different meanings of design principles in images - such as colour, distance and composition (Kress and Van Leeuwen, 1996; Lester, 2013; Van Leeuwen, 2005; Zakia, 2002), as well as blogs covering, for example, the most effective use of these principles for creating engagement on social media (Groner, 2013). Despite this, there is a lack of extensive academic literature on types of image content and how they are perceived by consumers, particularly in the online environment. McQuarrie and Mick (1991, p.51) have also discussed the issue: "the visual element is understood to be an essential, intricate, meaningful and culturally embedded characteristic of contemporary marketing communication" – over twenty years later, we continue to explore the persuasive power of images in branding. Further, it is pointed out that, despite the central role of images in brand management, a number of marketers might choose an image based purely on intuition (Wang and Peracchio, 2007, p. 205). The analysis of consumer behaviour is "central for marketing success, especially since most potential customers are using the internet and different online socialising tools"

(Vinerean et al., 2013, p.77).   It is essential that we further understand this impact of visual material on the public uptake of messages (Joffe, 2008, p. 84).

1.2 Research Questions

The aim of this research is to determine how different types of images posted by consumer brands on social media encourage engagement. In order to investigate these relationships, the following research questions were developed:

RQ1: How do different categories of images posted by consumer brands on Social Network Sites affect engagement?

RQ2: Does the emotional content of images posted by consumer brands on social media have an effect on engagement?

2. Theoretical Overview

2.1 Impact of SNS on Branding

The concept of using SNS as part of branding strategy cannot be ignored as more people interact with brands in the online context. SNS have been defined as:

"web-based services that allow individuals to (1) construct a public or semi-public profile within a bounded system, (2) articulate a list of other users with whom they share a connection, and (3) view and traverse their list of connections and those made by others within the system. The nature

and nomenclature of these connections may vary from site to site." (Ellison and Boyd, 2007, p.211).

2.1.1 Social Media Revolution

SNS have been labelled as causing 'revolutionary' changes in the way brands communicate with customers (Hoffman and Novak, 1996), however in order to keep up with these changes, we must fully understand how to use them most effectively (Weber, 2007). In the context of advertising, Pustylnick (2011) highlights that brands cannot have a uniform approach on social media, with no differentiation from traditional strategies. Rather, SNS offers brands the opportunity to share 'non-advertising' messages about the product, serving as a tool for strengthening brand awareness. Considering this, we cannot ignore the important role of SNS in branding – even those brands that are not present on social media experience its impact as they too are being mentioned in the online environment. Despite Taylor and Kent's (2010, p.207) assertions that the 'claims outweigh the evidence' in the success of marketing on SNS, more brands are using these online platforms not only to reach out to potential consumers (Chen and Yazdanifard, 2013), but also as they "feel the pressure to engage where customers are paying attention" (Baird and Parasnis, 2011). Though much work has been done on how individuals use SNS, academics are increasingly looking at how businesses can use them, including how brands can use them to display their identity (Fill, 2009; Gensler et al., 2013).

2.1.2 Building relationships on SNS

One of the key ways that social media is changing the dynamics of public relations is how it obscures the lines between consumers' personal networks (Gensler et al., 2013, p.250). When a brand's messages are mixed among posts by friends and family, consumers may converse with and treat the brand as though they are another friend. This consequently extends the role of the brand in consumers' networks to a social one, an aspect that is largely ignored in the existing literature (Gensler et al., 2013, p.250). However, it has been noted by a number of scholars that the web is an ideal channel for brands to build relationships with consumers (De Valck et al., 2009; Schlinke and Crain, 2013; Tzokas and Saren, 2004). SNS have created revolutionary changes in the way that companies communicate with consumers – "marketing is no longer one-dimensional, but a two-way communication process engaging a brand and an audience" (Drury, 2008, p. 275). SNS have given organisations an opportunity to have a 'face' in this brand-consumer relationship, which may allow them to be perceived as more trustworthy by consumers (Chen and Yazdanifard, 2013, p.5).

2.1.3 Creating a brand community on SNS

Edgell and Hetherington (1996, as cited in Palmer and Koenig-Lewis, 2009, p.170) argue that 'social relations shape the experience of consumption'. They focus on the idea that by joining a brand community, we link ourselves to other 'tribe' members. This is an important aspect of online brand communities, as consumers choose to be a part of certain communities (Gensler et al, 2013, p.250). As a brand's identity can actually create meaning in consumers' own lives - they *want* to belong - it is an optimal arena for dialogue to thrive (Johansson, 2010, p.17). Brand

communities connect consumers and although the nature of these connections varies across different platforms (Ellison and Boyd, 2007), we can consider that traditional brand community research on motivations for joining can also be used to study the online environment (Gensler et al., 2013; Naylor et al., 2012). According to Mangould and Faulds (2009), a desire to meet like-minded people can be utilised by brands to create and maintain communities for consumers, particularly as the connections are completely visible. This relationship between the brand and the consumer is visible to other consumers who share this connection as a public list of (Ellison and Boyd, 2007). This visibility on SNS can make these associations more 'impactful' (Gensler et al., 2013, p.250) and allow consumers to not only take meaning from the brand itself, but also from other consumers.

It has been argued that the rise of social networks has resulted in more personal marketing (Schlinke and Crain, 2013), allows dialogue and creates the opportunity for two-way communication (De Valck et al, 2009). We might even consider that the community aspect of SNS has moved the communication towards a many-to-many model as consumers interact with each other; SNS allows conversation between consumers in a way that cannot be done in traditional media (Mangold and Faulds, 2009, p.358). The consumer has become "an active participant in an interactive excercise of multiple feedback loops and highly immediate communication" (Hoffman and Novak, 1996, p. 66) – they have embraced the Internet to communicate with not only businesses, but also each other. In particular, consumers feel special when they are responded to and enjoy that their opinion is heard (Mangold and Faulds, 2009, p.363). As Fill (2009, p.513) points out, user-generated content (UGC) is an increasingly important aspect of SNS and he urges marketers to use this material to listen to what the customer wants. This

has a considerable impact on how brands are managed - it has been argued that the rise of social media means that managers have lost their role as the creator of brand stories (Gensler et al., 2013) and must give up some of their power as authors in order to give consumers a voice (Muniz and O'Guinn, 2001); this phenomenon whereby customers begin to dictate what the brand is labelled as the 'brand image trap' (Aaker, 1996, p. 69). Gensler et al. (2013, p.244) believe that the construction of brands 'can be interpreted as a collective, co-creational process involving several brand authors who all contribute their stories', meaning brands can benefit from coordinating these consumer stories with their own. If we consider community building as one of the key factors in adding value to business, then brands should make the most of these opportunities on SNS (Culnan et al, 2010).

2.2 Engagement on social media

Communicating with both other consumers and the brand itself might be considered a way of demonstrating engagement with a brand. A number of scholars agree that engagement is difficult to define, particularly in the online environment (Calder et al., 2009; Hollebeek, 2011; Mollen and Wilson, 2010). Existing understandings of its meaning focus on the interaction aspect, for example, as a "vehicle for creating, building and enhancing consumer relationships" (Brodie et al., 2013, p.105). It is also labelled as a type of 'commitment' intended to communicate brand value and strengthens one's investment in a community (Mollen and Wilson, 2010). Calder et al. (2009) argue that rather than linking engagement directly to behavioural usage, instead it comes from how users experience a website – or, in this case, a brand on SNS. As an

emergent theme in the literature, engagement in the online environment it is somewhat under-explored (Brodie et al, 2013; Mollen and Wilson, 2010)

Consumers attach importance to the opinion of others when making purchase decisions and SNS make these visible (De Valck et al 2009); it has even been claimed that members of brand communities attach more importance to each other than to the brand itself (Muniz and O'guinn, 2001). Engagement between consumers offers security that there are like-minded people and signals communal values (Vinerean, 2013). Engagement is also about social enhancement and this approval by other members based on contributions is an important aspect (Dholakia, 2004). An applicable example taken from offline brand communities is 'rituals', which are acts of public recognition to demonstrate affiliation (Muniz and O'guinn, 2001, p.421). Their online equivalent could be acts such as liking, commenting, sharing or tagging friends in a brand's post. Baresch et al. (2011) note that 'likes' on some SNS sites are becoming more important for business, despite being difficult to assign concrete value to. Further, 'engagement' – considered as 'likes' and 'comments' in this instance - among the top brands on the image-sharing SNS Instagram has grown by over 350% in the last year, and 'likes' account for over 99% of engagement, suggesting more and more consumers are interacting with brands (SimplyMeasured, 2013). De Vries et al. (2012) looked at how liking and commenting can signal the popularity of particular posts and contribute towards the brand story. An additional noteworthy attribute of 'likes' and 'comments' is their ability to demonstrate affiliation with the brand. These acts of engagement are public and therefore not only displays to other members of the brand community, but also to the individual consumers' friends. They also serve

the purpose of aligning the consumer as a certain 'type' of person; they can use the brand to display their own identity.

2.3 Visual Identity

According to Aaker (1996, p. 68), brand associations are driven by brand identity, which is "a unique set of brand associations that the brand strategist aspires to create or maintain". Belk (cited in Aaker, 1996, p. 99) believes that brands can become a symbol of a person's self-concept and offer a means for consumers to express their own self-image. Visual identity is considered an important element when it comes to the perception of a brand (Fill, 2009, p.395) and we can consider symbols – including visual imagery – to potentially be the foundation of a brand strategy (Aaker, 1996, p.84).

2.3.1 Image Content

While much academic work focuses specifically on advertising images, rather than the visual material used on SNS, we can utilise ideas from the field; Rowley (2009, p.365) found that a brand's visual identity online is consistent with visual identity through other channels. For Kaplan and Haenlein (2010, p.63), the goal of content communities – such as SNS - is for members to share media, making them an attractive place to include visual branding. Additionally, Chiu et al (2012, p.265) note that we must be concise in sharing messages – longer texts require processing a lot of information, whereas visual messages provide easily available information. If we consider the fast-paced online environment, where we are exposed to a huge amount of both textual and visual information, this is of particular importance as

consumers do not necessarily have the time or patience to absorb overly detailed stories. Davison (2009, p.884) points out that visual branding is where visual arts, marketing and everyday image come together. This considered images online may be more spontaneous and less 'edited' than those used in advertising campaigns and therefore may bring a more 'authentic' feel to the brand.

De vries et al. (2012) offered early insight into the kind of content brands should create to stimulate user-generated stories and engagement, finding that the vividness and interactiveness of brands' Facebook posts boost the number of likes and comments. Even Instagram has issued its own "Handbook for Brands" as part of its blog series, which offers tips on creating engaging content through cases studies (2012). The topic of visual content has been addressed in two theses of note; the first looks at how different types of brands use varied strategies on the image-sharing SNS Instagram, including a categorization of different types of brands and their marketing strategies (Aan't Goor, 2012). A further bachelor thesis of particular interest for this study is by Bergström and Bäckman (2013), whose research looks at how Instagram builds and maintains customer relationships, in addition to looking at the 'topic' of the image in relation to interaction, which provided some insight into the topic of the current thesis.

2.4 Emotions in Advertising

"*Emotions have been viewed as a universal set of internal processes that are largely hardwired, arising when an event that is relevant to the concerns of an individual occurs*" (Darwin, 1896, as cited in Aaker and Williams, 1998, p.241)

Emotions and their impact on both brand attitude and motivation have long been tied to advertising theory (Aaker and Williams,1998; Albers Miller and Stafford, 1999; Morgan et al., 1995). Further, emotional bonding plays a role in engagement (Mollen and Wilson, 2010). Both scholars and practitioners acknowledge the importance of choosing 'the right stimuli that are likely to elicit the appropriate emotions in the target audience' (Rossiter and Percy, 1991, p.100).) However, it has been argued that the use of emotional appeal in advertisements is not always linked to academic theory, but rather intuition (Cotte and Ritchie, 2005, p.24), resulting in scope for further research in this domain.

If, as Kuhl (1986, cited in Morgan et al., 1995, p.39) suggests, emotions are one of the primary sources of motivation (and thus attitude), then we can consider the importance of emotions in a brands promotional material. Hupp et al (2008, p.73) highlight the contribution of using emotions in the marketing field, arguing that "emotional stimuli can act as catalysts to intensify engagement and thus influence the effects of advertising on the customer's mindset". Therefore, looking at how emotions are used in a brand's online content is particularly interesting as we would expect some effects on engagement. In relation to building brand strength in particular through advertising, feelings and emotions are seen as an important factor (Fill, 2009, p.500) and can be one effective way for certain brands to market their products (Rossiter, and Percy, 1991). Kastenholz and Young, (as cited Mehta and Purvis, 2006) believe that when it comes to 'liking' advertisements (in the traditional sense), there is a link to emotional response – whether this is apparent online is an interesting topic to delve into. Ibeh et al. (2005, p. 356) argue that the brands that "excel in creating favourable emotional associations with their customers, through effective branding" gain advantage over competitors -

emotions can be a factor in differentiating brands and also influence consumers' long-term commitment to particular brands (Keller, 2008, cited in Hupp et al., 2008, pg.73). In addition, emotions may be related closely to the 'self-expressive' benefits that consumers find in particular brands, whereby they use the feelings elicited by the brand to portray their own identity. (Hupp et al., 2008, p.101)

2.4.1 Emotions and Visual Content

The relationship between emotions and visual content has also been highlighted, not only in the context that emotions play a role in processing images (Hupp et al (2008, pg. 74), but also in the way that viewers perceive visual messages:

"*the most salient distinction between the relative effects of textual/verbal versus visual messages concerns their emotive impact. Visuals are thought to send people along emotive pathways where textual/verbal leaves them in a more rational and logical pathway of thought*" (Joffe, 2008, p.84)

If we consider that the strongest brand identities include emotional benefits that 'add richness and depth to the experience of owning and using the brand' then we see the importance of consumers' feelings in engaging with a brand (Aaker, 1996, p.97). Research on the relationship between engagement and visual content remains limited; "scattered findings provide first insights into what content firms may generate to stimulate consumer-generated brand stories" (Gensler et al., 2013, p.248). In this sense, the authors are looking at how consumers can contribute to – and hence interact with - the brand story. Berger and Milkman (2012) found that

'positive' content is shared more often than 'negative' content. This research aims
to contribute to this gap in the existing literature.

3. Conceptual Framework

3.1 Social Media Strategy

While there is 'little doubt that social media has become an increasingly important
element of marketing activity' (Palmer and Koenig-Lewis, 2009, p.171), it is
important that brands have a distinct strategy when posting content on SNS
(Schlinke and Crain (2013). Waters et al (2009) maintain that a brand cannot simply
be present by having an account; instead, being active on social media requires
careful planning, research and regular updates. Coyle and Thorson (2001) argue
that there is an obvious demand for knowledge in academia for coordinating
successful brand activity online and whilst a need for strategy is apparent,
theoretical reasoning behind certain choices is lacking somewhat in the
scholarship. Mangold and Faulds (2009, p.358) point out that the importance of
SNS in shaping consumer-to-consumer conversations has not received extensive
coverage and hence may not be fully understand by brand managers and hence
included communication strategies.

3.2 Existing Frameworks

Despite this, scholars have developed some theoretical frameworks for
understanding how brands can communicate online. Simmons (2007) created a

strategy called the "Four pillars of 'i-Branding'"; these consist of customers, content, marketing and interactivity, which ultimately should target the audience with a unique message. 'Interactivity' may also take the idea of engagement into account and his inclusion of 'content' refers to *what* is posted and how this can be successful. Kaplan and Haenlein (2010) take an alternative view, breaking down online strategy development into a number of important points, including: choosing the platform carefully, aligning activity across media, including media plan integration, being active, being interesting and being unprofessional. Their latter two points bring up the question – what does it mean to be 'interesting'? This might be considered as relating to engagement, in that consumers show interest and interact positively with the material that a brand offers. Their inclusion of 'unprofessional' broaches the issue of how different types of content might appeal differently to in the offline context.

Percy and Rossiter (1992) created a model of particular interest that relates content to the motivations of the consumer. Though related to advertising strategies, it could be applied to the online environment and is relevant for the current research as the strategies take the consumer's involvement into account. The model distinguishes between different types of products and how the consumers' involvement with the product will affect the type of strategy used. These strategies consider motivations and apply the appropriate approach – either informational for negative drive reduction or a transformational approach for positive drive enhancement, as can be seen in Fig.1.1 It also includes high and low involvement in the purchase decision of the product or service and how this relates to 'brand attitude strategy'.

Type of decision	INFORMATIONAL Negative drive reduction	TRANSFORMATIONAL Positive drive enhancement
LOW INVOLVEMENT (trial experience sufficient)	• aspirin • light beer • detergents • routine industrial products	• soda • regular beer • snacks and dessert • cosmetics
HIGH INVOLVEMENT (search and conviction required prior to purchase)	• housing • professional calculations • cars (print) • new industrial products	• vacations • fashion clothing • cars (television) • corporate image

Fig. 1.1 – Four main strategies for brand attitude based upon type of motivation and type of

decision (Percy and Rossiter, 1992)

Their model incorporates the idea that emotions play a role in advertising for certain products - the transformational motives are argued to be most effectively served by emotions (Percy and Rossiter, 1992). This highlights the role of consumers' emotions when experiencing not only a brand, but also certain products. A key characteristic of the model is that in relation to consumers motivation, it considers both cognitive (logical) and affective (emotional) approaches. As seen in Fig.1, the product 'fashion clothing' has been highlighted as this will be the brand type being studied for this research. This falls under the high-involvement/transformational category, meaning that the strategy would utilise a transformational approach, focusing on positive drive enhancement. We would therefore expect emotions to play a role in the advertising – or online branding – for these types of brands.

3.3 Categorisation

In order for online activity to be successful, Kaplan and Haenlein (2010, p.66) suggest to 'be interesting'. Whilst on the surface this may seem like an obvious statement, we must question what it means to do so. Schlinke and Crain (2013, p.86) argue that brands must consider "what is the type of content that is important?" Their solution is to offer a 'relevant' story, as well as keeping content unique; for a brand to strengthen their online presence in an environment where everyone is competing to get noticed, they must make their content difficult to imitate (Ibeh et al, 2005, p.357). Additionally, regular presence and active participation on social media gives the notion that the brand is 'alive' and keen to interact with its consumers (Chen and Yazdanifard, 2013, p.2). Importantly, online branding should provide relevant content, not simply 'brash product placement' (Drury, 2008, p.275) – but what is classed as relevant? As McNely (2012, p.3) points out, we require a framework for a better understanding of visual content. The following section will outline themes that are apparent in the literature surrounding the content of images that are used in branding:

3.3.1 Lifestyle

As highlighted previously, a brand can be seen as a means for consumers find others who are like-minded and share similar interests (Muniz and O'guinn, 2001). Many consumers value the brand not for its functional attributes, or to find products (Palmer and Koenig-Lewis, 2009, p.170), but as an identity that they can project (Aaker, 1996). Images posted by brands on SNS can create the emotional associations with their identity and how it might depict a consumer's lifestyle - or

the lifestyle that they wish to have - and in this way, the brand identity is transfers into meaning in the consumers' own lives (Gensler et al. 2013). Whilst this 'lifestyle' will be represented in various ways by different brands, Kress and Van Leeuwen (1996) capture the symbolic nature of this in what they call the 'general essence' and its associations. Although it is a difficult concept to pin down, visual material could be considered an excellent means to portray the lifestyle associated with consumer brands.

3.3.2 Promotional

Consumers like to feel special and one means to do this is to offer unique content that only a follower – or 'member' of the brand community – has access to (Mangold and Faulds, 2009, p.363). Offering promotions, discounts and competitions to the brand community not only makes them feel exclusive, but has also been found to attract new followers (Boyd, 2006). We may see this type of content while looking at consumer brands, as perhaps there are certain products that they want to push

3.3.3 Product and logos

Despite claims that content should be relevant and not 'brash product placement' (Drury, 2008, p.275), images of the products often feature on brands' SNS pages, perhaps in association with other categories, such as lifestyle. Another more direct form of branding would be to include the brand's logo. Davison's (2009, p.887) observations about the blurring boundaries between brands' logos and icons demonstrates how prominent certain logos, and even specific brand colours, have

become. Levin et al.'s (2001) study, for example, found that consumers' brand recall is higher when exposed to logos over traditional advertisements. Based on these findings, we would expect to see logos included in some images, both as the main focus and also in combination with other categories.

3.3.4 People

The qualities that a brand wants to be associated with can also be demonstrated through using people in connection to the brand. Gensler et al. (2013) suggest that 'humanising' content can generate more favourable consumer attitudes. Fill (2009, p.509) argue that having a spokesperson for a brand can increase credibility and proposes four types – the celebrity, the chief executive, the expert and the consumer. These all offer varying positive perspectives and can be seen as reliable sources of information. Aaker (1996, p.84) also argues that a 'symbol' can be a person, such as an employee. Kahle and Homer (1985) found that physically attractive celebrities were more successful in promotion – this may be due to their appearance being a source of information in relation to the brand, i.e. attractive people use this product. Interestingly, Percy and Rossiter (1992, p. 171) note that for high involvement, transformational products – such as women's fashion - people must identify personally with the product as portrayed in the advertisement and not merely 'like' it (in the traditional sense). This suggests that the way people are used in images in relation to the product is important – consumers may relate more to 'everyday' people using a brand's products rather than the 'experts'. One new phenomenon gracing brand profiles is the increasing popularity of 'selfies', close up images taken by the user, often of themselves; it has been found that more brands are using selfies so we would expect these to feature (Griner, 2014).

Based on credibility and once again, consumer emotions, we would expect that people will feature heavily in images, including those in any of Fill's (2009) categories.

3.3.5 Exclusive Content

Ideas surrounding the side of social media that concerns self-disclosure includes references to Goffman's 'frontstage' and 'backstage', demonstrating the public and private sides of the company (1959). The things that consumers would not normally get to see can be related to the 'backstage' exclusive content that makes consumers feel 'special' (Boyd, 2006; Mangold and Faulds, 2009). Particularly with global consumer brands, we would expect some visual content that depicts scenes that the 'regular public' – or those not following their social media accounts – do not get a glimpse of. This might include backstage of events, invite-only events or behind-the-scenes making of products or advertising. These types of images might explain just one reason why they might be worth following (Boyd, 2006).

3.3.6 Humour

Humour has long been used as a communication strategy in advertising and is often an important ingredient in brand stories. Whether this translates from advertising into online marketing strategies is under-studied, however if it increases brand liking in this offline context, we might consider it be employed in visual branding on SNS as well (Chiu et al, 2012, p.266). Humour can make the brand appear 'friendly' and sends an emotional-based message (Fill, 2009, p.520). In Instagram's own handbook for brands (Instagram, 2012) they suggest avoiding

images that are 'over-staged or serious', a point also touched on by Kaplan and Haenlein (2010, p.66), who believe that the social media strategy should be 'unprofessional'. Therefore we would expect some images to use humour as a means to appear approachable and personal.

3.3.7 Sexual

Behind the common saying 'sex sells' is an area of research surrounding how sexuality is used in advertising. Reichert et al. (2012) found that using sexual imagery for products or services that required low-involvement was the most prevalent strategy used. Although the product or service is an important factor to take into consideration, images with a sexual nature are also classed as emotion-based messages and therefore may also influence products in Percy and Rossiter's (1991) high-involvement, transformational category (Fill, 2009, p. 520). Looking at women's fashion brands, therefore we would expect sexual imagery to be featured to an extent.

3.3.8 Nostalgia

When Aaker describes a brand as a symbol, he also notes the use of history in identity building (1996, p.235). This use of a brand's heritage in the development of its story can be successful, and once again uses the emotional route to reach consumers. Chiu et al (2012, p.272) point out that brands can build their identity through incorporating their history into the brand story. This can also be a visual process and allows users to see images that may be exclusive – again, potentially providing feelings of being 'special' as community members. With a weekly

'Throwback' hashtag on Instagram, whereby users submit past photos, as well as being another means to produce content that is unique to each brand, we would expect this theme to occur on SNS.

3.4 A framework of image categorisation

Over a decade ago, it was argued that that there is "little consumer marketing theory available for differentiating and organising a variety of pictoral stratograms" (Malkewitz et al., 2003 as cited in Phillips and McQuarrie, 2004,p.113) and with the rise of SNS bringing an increasing number of visual messages into daily life, we can revisit this claim.

Based on the above theory and ongoing themes in the literature, a framework was developed to categorise the images for this research. Two separate groups of categories have been developed, the first focusing on the literal content of the image – what is in the picture? - and the second on the emotion associated with the image.

3.4.1 Content Categories

The diagram in Fig.1.2 offers a visual representation of the literal content categories in the framework. The categories have been developed from the themes outlined in Chapter 3.3, as well as using ideas from Bergström and Bäckman (2013) who also began to explore the 'topic' of images. The below nine categories are intended to be comprehensive and will also be considered mutually exclusive for the purpose of this study.
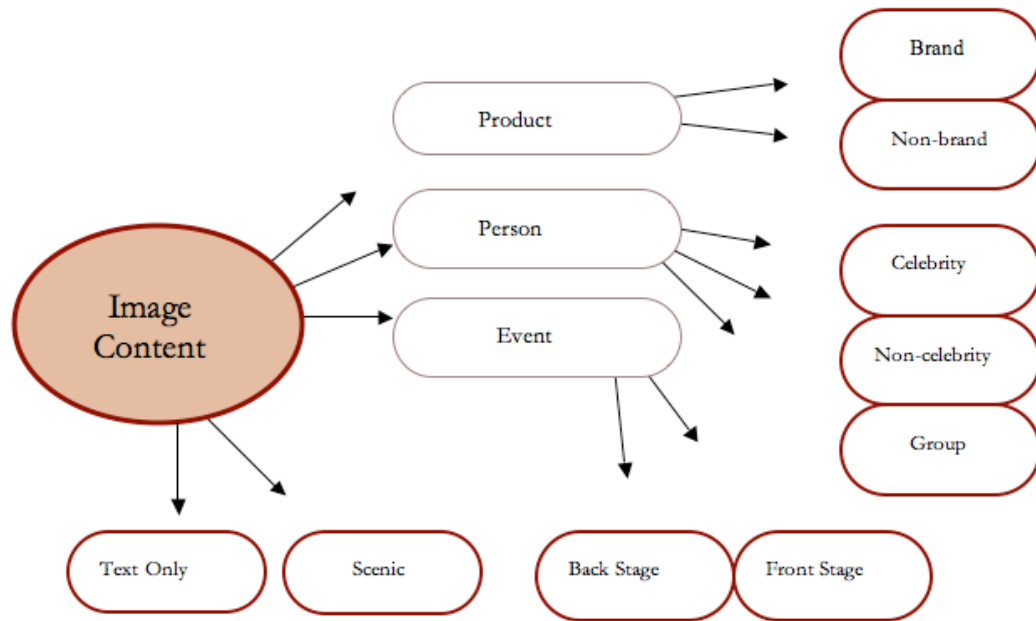
Fig 1.2 Framework for categorising image content

Product: The framework incorporates product as two separate factors - those that belong to the brand and those that do not – the former is expected to be much more prevalent as the brand aims to promote its own products.

Person: Including people in branding images is a common theme in the literature and therefore an important category to consider. This framework includes three sub-categories; these distinguish the 'celebrity' from the 'non-celebrity', as previous literature suggests these are identified differently with. The final category under 'person' is a group of people, i.e. more than one person. A group of celebrities would be categorised under celebrity as this would be the most prevalent theme.

Event Based on findings surrounding exlcusive content, events portrayed by the brand are separated into the categories 'Front-stage' and 'Back-stage' to distinguish from the behind-the-scenes content. These events could include those organised by the brand as well as sponsor events they are involved in.

Other Two other categories are included in the framework: text-only and scenic. Text-only refers to images posted that are actually predominantly text. Scenic includes scenes that are not specific brand-related events, but scenery or landscape.

3.4.2 Emotion Categories

"Effective advertising does more than present practical reasons why. It invests the product with real emotional value" (Rothschild, 1987, p. 219), however this requires that the correct stimuli are selected (Morgan et al., 1995). There has been much scholarship focusing on creating a typology of emotional responses and there is certainly no shortage of lists (Aaker et al., 1988, p.2). It has been noted that there is no one all-encompassing list – all emotions cannot be captured within one model (Hupp et al., 2008). A number of different models have been used in consumer research such as Plutchik's (1991) and Izard's (1977 who select 'basic' emotions and then expand on these. The DES II, based on Izard's work (Richins, 1997, p. 128), is said to be used most frequently in consumption emotion research and will form the basis of the emotions used in categorising images in this thesis. It must be noted that authors have also typically added in their own emotions, where necessary to fit in with the research (Hupp et al., 2008). For this reason, the emotions categories used in this research will be those seen as most appropriate, based on the literature.

Of course, the effectiveness of using certain emotions is dependent on the kind of products or services being promoted (Geuens et al., 2011, p. 418) and therefore must be matched accordingly. If we take this into account in terms of the brand category being used - women's fashion brands –then we would expect positive emotions to be depicted in the images (Percy and Rossiter, 1991). Based on this, as

well as the fact that the images are posted on SNS - which is not a place for typical advertisements as much of the literature focuses on - we could consider that very few images would use negative emotions such as fear or shock to promote the brand (Cotte and Ritchie, 2005). Therefore, the emotions categories will exclude a break down of negative emotions, but will rather have one option 'negative'. There will also be a category 'no emotion' for pictures that do not elicit any particular emotion. The framework displayed in Fig 1.3 for categorising emotions incorporates the positive emotions expected to be associated with the brands, as well as the negative and 'no emotion' categories.
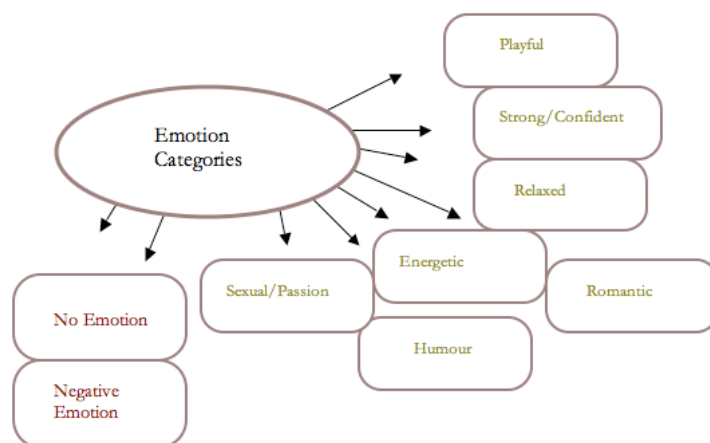

Fig 1.3 Framework for categorising emotional content of images

The frameworks depicted in fig 1.2 and fig 1.3 will be used to investigate the relationships between the image content and engagement.

3.5 Expected Results

Based on the existing literature and in particular, Percy and Rossiter's (1991) model in fig 1.1, we would expect that the same dynamic is driving engagement on SNS as in the offline environment and when it comes to high involvement transformational products, such as the fashion brands being used in this study, these are most effectively served by emotions. It has been argued that emotional bonding is a part of engagement, therefore a relationship between the two is expected. For this reason the first hypothesis is:

H1: The emotional content of images will have an effect on the level of engagement.

Further, the little research concerning the literal content of images suggests that consumers prefer certain types of images, such as 'exclusive' behind-the-scenes content or are influenced by brands having celebrity ambassadors. For this reason, the second hypothesis for this research is:

H2: The literal content categories of images will have an effect on the level of engagement

Although it has been argued that image choice by brand managers is often based on intuition, we would expect that some categories will be used more than others and arguably these will have higher levels of engagement as they have shown to be successful previously. The research indicates that the "Sexual/Passion" category may prove popular, as well as "Humour" as this depicts the brand as friendly and approachable.

The same can be said for the content categories – previous literature suggests that products will be featured heavily, as well as people being used to display brand

identity. Additionally, the 'Event (back stage)' images are expected to be successful as the literature suggests that consumers enjoy exclusive material. This might also include the 'sneak peek' in caption control, which will relate to behind-the-scenes images that are not visibly 'exclusive' at first glance – for example a product that has not been released yet.

Previous literature also suggests that liking is much more common and is also an way to demonstrate affiliation that commenting, therefore it is expected that like-engagement will be significantly higher than comment-engagement. This results in the final hypothesis:

H3: Like-engagement will be more prevalent than comment-engagement

4. Research Design

To investigate the relationship between image content and engagement, the images in the sample with be categorized according to the framework outlined in chapter 3.4. The data will be used to collect descriptive statistics and will be followed by statistical analyses to further understand these relationships. These will become dependent variables in separate regression analyses, with the intention of determining the relationships between the different categories of images and engagement.

5.1 Data Collection and Sampling

Pustylnick (2011) categorized SNS, including 'content' sites, which takes visual content into account and would therefore be the SNS of interest for this thesis. Although there are a number of SNS that allow image-sharing, this study will use

Instagram for data collection. Instagram is a photo-sharing platform, which, despite having been created in 2010, is already used by 71% of the world's most recognised brands (SimplyMeasured, 2013). Instagram offers users the opportunity to take, filter and share photos – and more recently videos – on their account feed and also share directly to other social media platforms. The platform has been incredibly successful, reaching 200 million active users by March 2014 and exceeding 20 billion photograph shared (Instagram, 2014). Instagram is useful for data collection in this particular study because the nature of its purpose as a visual platform and the number of brands and users make it a relevant and current SNS. Further, the data is all easily accessible (Neuman, 1991, p.265). The possible features include: adding a caption to images, commenting on images, 'liking' images, tagging other users in captions and images, direct messaging other users and 'regraming', whereby you share another user's image (there is no direct feature for this). Also of note is the occurrence of 'hashtags', where users can include certain words or phrases to group their images with others that share these. Instagram in particular offers a good platform for looking at emotions as, within the marketing context, emotions are said to have "fast onset, a short duration and high intensity", which is in line with what Instagram offers users (Hupp et al., 2008, p.75). Reactions to images are fast as the user scrolls between different images from different users and therefore brand images are integrated with posts from other followed accounts.

For this research, the population that is being studied is consumer brands on Instagram. It is unrealistic to examine every image uploaded by any consumer brand, therefore a representative sample of this population will be selected. The sampling frame for this study will be the top ten women's fashion brands on

Instagram, based on number of followers. These were chosen as women's fashion brands are highly representative in the top followed consumer brands on Instagram and, according to Percy and Rossiter's model (1992), are high-involvement, transformational products, therefore we would expect emotional strategies to be used. Choosing all brands from the same product sector allows a good comparison of image uploads as they have similar target groups, however we must consider sampling bias in that only women's fashion brands could be chosen. Fig.1.4 gives an overview of the number of followers for each brand selected, at the point of data collection (Source: Totems Analytics, 2014):

Brand	Number of Followers
Victoria's Secret	4,719,280
Forever 21	4,008,719
Louboutin	2,662,529
H & M	2,658,013
Michael Kors	2,367,725
Topshop	2,349,633
Louis Vuitton	1,967,575
Asos	1,815,715
Brandy Melville	1,712,086
Gucci	1,583,852
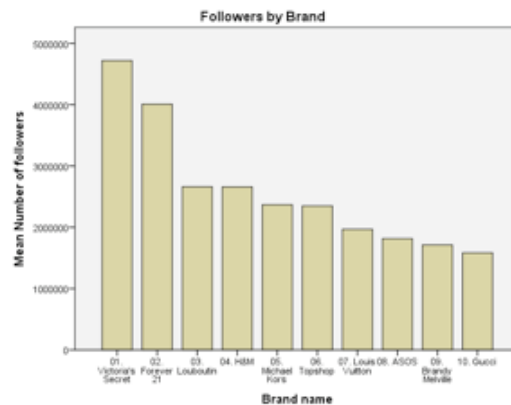
Fig. 1.4 Number of followers by brand

As some of these brands have thousands images uploaded, it is far beyond the scope of this research to analyse each one. Therefore, the units of analysis will be obtained through systematic sampling of the most recent hundred images uploaded. This is a form of probability sampling, whereby each image within this group of images has a chance to be selected, as the selection takes every 5th image. As different brands upload a different number of images each day, there is no periodicity and it means that one specific 'event' with many uploads will not

receive more coverage in the sample. Any videos which fall within the sample will not be included in the analysis, as it is purely image-focussed. Although the size of the sample depends on the nature of the analysis (Wright, 1979, p.30), for this research, 20 images from each of the ten fashion brands will result 200 units of analysis, which is expected to be sufficient for determining relationships between the variables.

4.2 Content Analysis

This study will use visual content analysis to answer the research questions. Content Analysis is defined as:

"Any technique for making inferences by objectively and systematically identifying specified characteristics of messages" (Holsti in Chadwick et al, 1984, pg. 239).

Within communication research, these 'messages' are typically seen as text-based, however a visual content analysis is also possible; the units of analysis in question would be individual images (Unerman, as cited in Das, 2009). This methodology is particularly useful in this instance as content analysis is a study of the message itself, separate from both the communicator and audience, meaning it is non-obtrusive (Kassarijan, 2004). It is typically used to answer questions, rather than collect descriptive data (Riffe, 1998) and is useful for analysing large amounts of data by reducing them to numbers. As this study aims to look at the influencing factors of images in relation to engagement, content analysis proves to be the most useful approach.

4.3 Coding

Stacks and Michaelson (2010, p.85) state that content analysis requires the creation of a category system that 'reflects the purpose of the research' – in this case, types of images and emotional content. The categories must be exhaustive and independent of each other. The conceptual framework used earlier suggested a number of themes as mentioned: lifestyle, direct marketing, humour, sexual, human, nostalgia, events and behind-the-scenes. These are not mutually exclusive categories, therefore we can use these ideas to create the codebook (Appendix 1)

In order to carry out a content analysis, a coding system is required. This is a set of rules that assign certain numbers to variable attributes, thus allowing a large amount of data to be reduced to numbers (Riffe, 1998, p.38). For this study, a codebook will be used to determine each image's category – if some appear to have elements from more than one category, the most prevalent will be chosen, so that each image is assigned to just one category. The reliability of categories is the "extent to which the instrument measures what it purports to measure – in content analysis, the categories and the content units enhance or diminish this" (Kassarjian, 1977, p.14). The objective requirement of content analysis means that different analysts should get the same results when applying the codebook (Berelon, 1954 cited in Kassarjian, 1977, p.14). ensuring maximum validity as individual interpretation should not occur at the interpretive stage, but rather the later, analysis stage (Riffe, 1998, p.37). To ensure this kind of validity, a second marker - a fellow Public Relations Master's student - will also categorise the images to minimize any subjectivity - any discrepancies will be discussed between the two coders (Kassarjian, 1977, p.14).

4.3.1 Discrepancies

There were some discrepancies between the coders; there were 9% differences for content and 14% differences for emotion, argued by Kassarijan (2004) as being an acceptable reliability score. The two coders discussed the images coded differently and came to an agreement on all 200 images.

4.4 Variables

The following Fig.1.5, taken from the framework proposed in Chapter 3.4 summarises the categories to be included in the study as the independent variables:

Content	Emotion
Product (brand's own)	Playful/Childish
Product (Non-brand)	Strong/confident
Person – celebrity	Relaxed
Person - non-celebrity	Energetic
Group of people	Sexual/Passion
Event – front of stage	Romantic
Event – behind-the-scenes	Humour
Scenic	Negative Emotion
Text-only	No Emotion

Fig. 1.5 Categories to be used in research, based on framework

It will also be noted whether or not the image includes at least one hashtag in the caption, tags at least one other user in the caption, is part of a competition, offers a 'sneak peek' in the caption or includes a question in the caption. These are not to answer the research questions directly, however may influence the results and

therefore must be taken into account as control variables.

The dependent variable will be the engagement. As each brand has a different number of followers, engagement will be considered as a ratio to followers for each brand, and measured as a percentage. The engagement figures will be labelled 'Like-Engagement' and 'Comment-Engagement' from this point onwards. Although Instagram offers the possibility to 'like' a picture without being a follower, this cannot be tested without checking the millions of followers, which is beyond the scope of this study. Therefore, it will be assumed that likes come from followers.

Bergström, and Bäckman's (2013) study on engagement found that 68% of comments were positive and only 2% of comments were negative; based on this finding, the nature of the comments is not considered, but rather the number of them. However, whether negative or positive, comments encourage further comments.

4.5 Statistical Analysis

4.5.1 Multiple Regression Analysis

For the analysis, we are interested in the relationships between the variables. To discover these, we must cross-tabulate the data and then use measures of association to indicate the strength of different relationships (Wright, 1979, p.75). A multiple regression analysis will be used to analyse this data, using the program SPSS. A multiple regression analysis is suitable when there are more than two variables present and we want to eliminate as many alternative explanations as possible (Neuman, 1991, p. 307). In this instance, these alternative explanations

include the control variables, which may have an effect on the dependent variable (engagement) but are not the focus of the study. This will demonstrate, for example, the effect of the presence of hashtags on engagement. As we are looking at both likes and comments, four separate analyses will take place – multiple regressions of content category with like-engagement and comment-engagement and multiple regressions of emotion category with like-engagement and comment-engagement. It will also be possible to see a comparison between comments and likes. A multiple regression analysis will provide a numerical value to demonstrate both the direction and size of the effect of the category variable on the engagement variables. The underlying assumptions are that one image category will create more engagement than others.

In this instance, the image types take on a nominal measurement, as they are mutually exclusive and exhaustive. The engagement variables are ordinal as these can be ordered from most to least (Wright, 1979).

5. Analysis and Results

5.1 Descriptive Statistics

The following chapter will offer some descriptive statistics, to provide an overview of the data collected.

5.1.1 Content Categories: Frequencies

The graph in Fig.1.6 below shows that the most frequent content category that the brands post overall, with 45% of images categorised this way, is images of the brand's own product. This is followed by images where the main focus is on a person – both celebrity and non-celebrity. The least common content category of images is a 'Group' of people and 'Text Only', at just 3% and 4%, respectively..
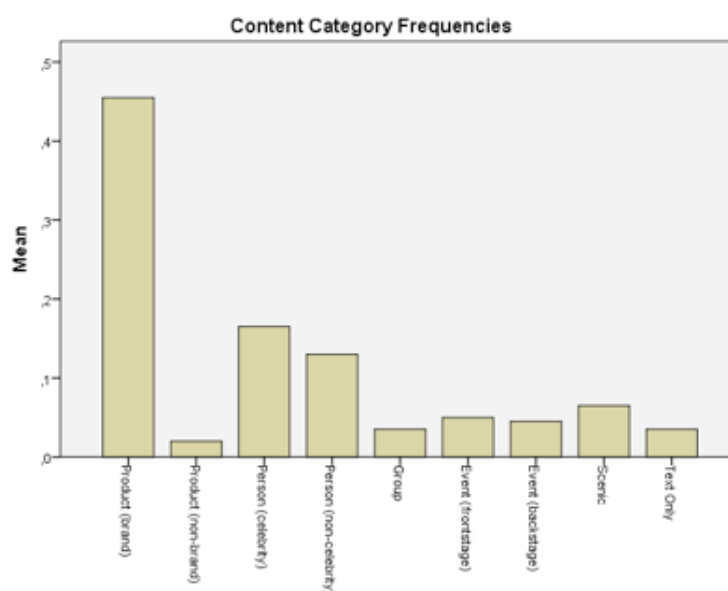
Fig 1.6 Frequency of content category frequencies

5.1.2 Emotions Categories: Frequencies

The graph in Fig. 1.7 gives an overview of the frequency of each emotion category. Two emotions are particularly prevalent in the data – these are the 'Strong/Confident' category and the 'Relaxed' category. The least common

emotion is 'Negative' which was only evident once across the 200 images in the sample. Only 1% of images were categorised under the 'Humour' category.
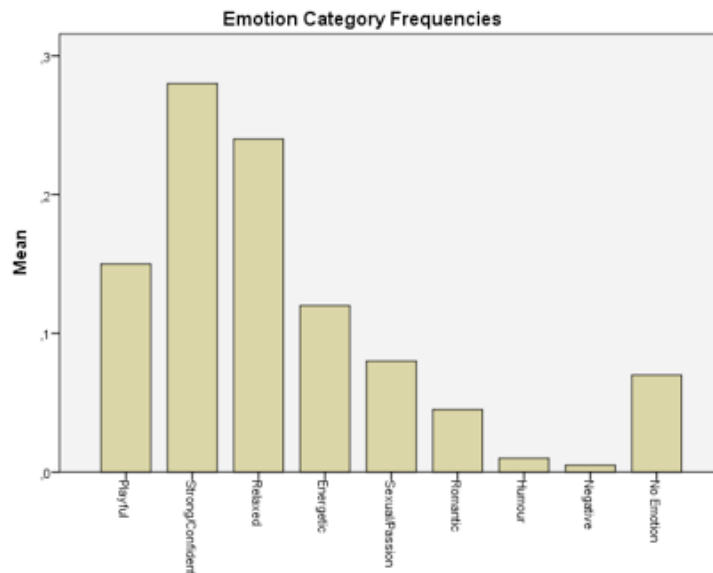
Fig. 1.7 Frequency of emotions categories

5.1.3 Overview of like-engagement and Comment-engagement by brand

The chart in Fig.1.8 demonstrates the average like-engagement – the ratio of likes to followers, as a percentage - by brand. It is clear that on average, Brandy Melville receives the highest like-engagement, with an average of just over 5% of followers liking images. Forever 21 follows this, with just under 4% of followers liking images on average. ASOS receives the least like-engagement on average, with just over 1% of followers liking images.
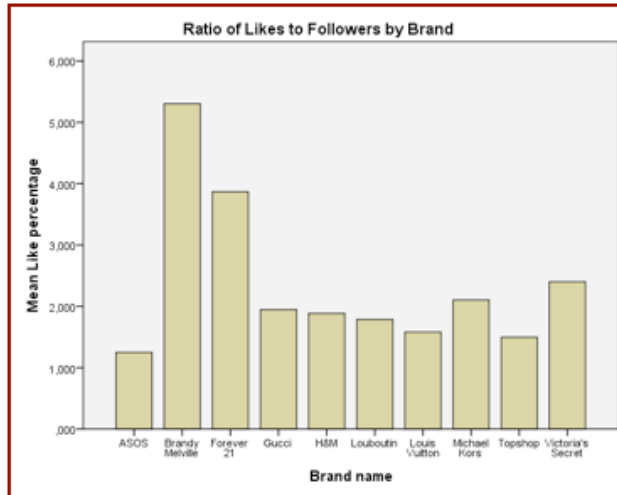
Fig.1.8 Like-Engagement for each brand

The below chart, Fig.1.9, shows the average comment-engagement - the ratio of comments to followers, as a percentage - by brand. We see that this is much lower than the like-engagement overall, with the highest comment-engagement being just over 0.03%. Interestingly, Louboutin holds the highest comment-engagement, despite having one of the lowest like-engagement scores. Topshop has the lowest comment-engagement, with an average of less than 0.01% - or 1 in 10,000 - followers commenting on images.
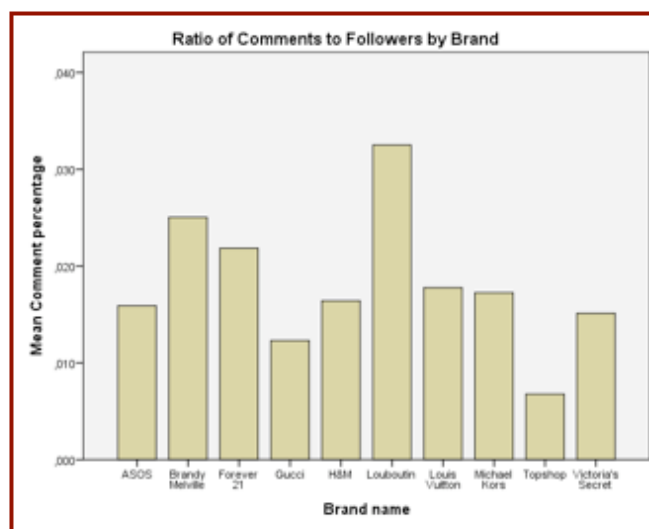
Fig.1.9 Comment-engagement for each brand

5.1.4 Control Variable frequencies

The table in Fig.2.1 shows the frequencies of the control variables. We see that a huge majority - 91% - of images use at least one hashtag in the caption. Users were tagged in 28% of captions and both questions and sneak peek comments included in captions occurred the least. None of the images used competitions in the captions that required engagement with the image to enter, therefore this control variable was not used in the regression analysis.

FREQUENCY OF CONTROL VARIABLES			
	N	Mean	Std. Deviation
Hashtag in caption	200	.91	.280
User tagged in caption	200	.28	.453
Question in caption	200	.09	.287
Sneak peek in caption	200	.03	.184
Valid N (listwise)	200		

Fig.2.1 Frequency of control variables

Fig 2.2. depicts a cross tabulation of those images which include at least one tag in the caption and those which are categorised as Person (Celebrity). This analysis was carried out to determine whether brands tend to tag celebrity users featured in their images. The significant and positive Pearson correlation coeffi

Correlation: User tag and Person (Celebrity)			
		User tagged in caption	Person (celebrity)
User tagged in caption	Pearson Correlation	1	.555
	Sig. (2-tailed)		.000
	N	200	200
Person (celebrity)	Pearson Correlation	.555	1
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000	
	N	200	200

Fig 2.2 Cross tabulation of User tag and celebrity category

of celebrities do tend to have user tags more often. A cross tabulation was also carried out to see if sneak peek had an effect on engagement. The negative Pearson correlation coefficient of -0.057 for comment-engagement and -0.060 for like-engagement means there is virtually no correlation between these variables. A cross tabulation was also carried to see if hashtags increased engagement, as found in the literature. The positive Pearson correlation coeffiencts of 0,026 for comment-engagement and 0.073 for like-engagement also demonstrates virtually no correlation between these variables.

5.1.5 Means of like-engagement and comment-engagement for different categories

As we are interested in how the different categories affect engagement, the means of both like-engagement (Fig.2.3) and content-engagement (Fig.2.4) for each content category was considered.
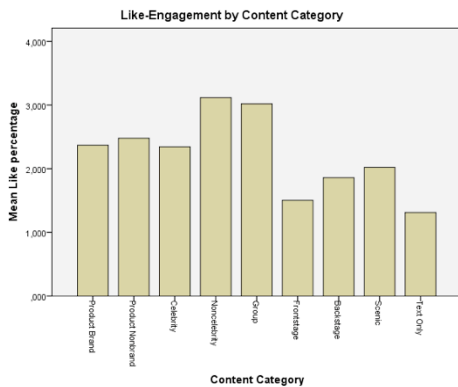
Fig.2.3 Like-engagement by content category
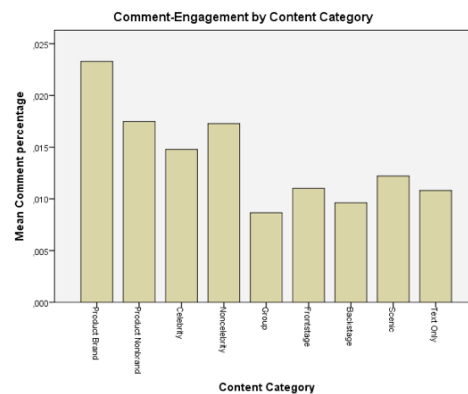
Fig.2.4 Comment-engagement by content

The results show that on average, "Person (Non-celebrity)" and Group create the most like-engagement and "Text-only" creates the least. In terms of

comment-engagement, "Product (Brand)" has the highest average and 'Group' has the lowest.

The same was then carried out for the emotions categories, to see the means of like-engagement (Fig.2.5) and content-engagement (Fig.2.6). The results show that on average, 'No Emotion' and 'Sexual/Passion' have the highest like-engagement and 'Negative emotion' received the lowest score (however this was only one image). The highest average comment-engagement score was also for 'Sexual/Passion", followed by 'Humour' and 'Playful'. Again, 'Negative' received the lowest.
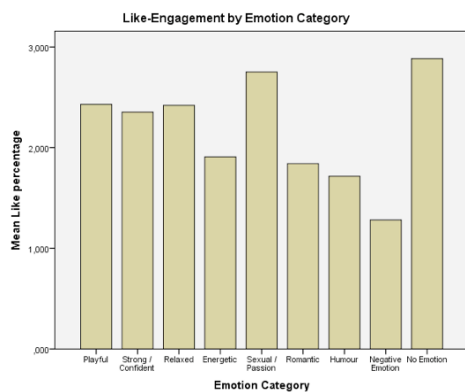
Fig.2.5 Like-engagement by emotion category
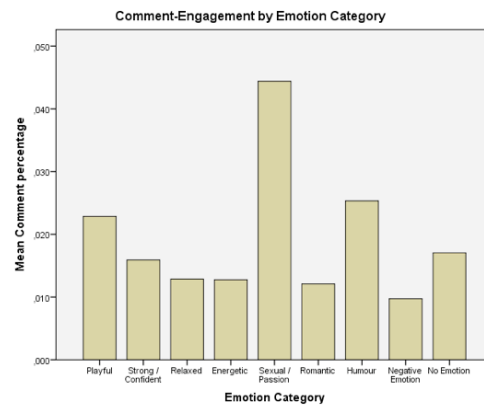
Fig.2.6 Comment-engagement by emotion category

Although it seems that certain categories create more engagement, statistical analyses will be used to test these relationships more rigorously as the variation shown may not be significant – just looking at the descriptive data can be misleading because those that appear to receive the highest engagement

on average may not be statistically different. This will also allow control factors to be taken into account.

5.2 Multiple Regression Analysis

In all regression analyses, the following controls are included; at least one hashtag in caption, at least one user tagged in caption, presence of question in caption and sneak peek comment in caption. These were included to remove any effect of these on the dependent variable.

5.2.1 Effect of Content Category on LikeEngagement

Appendix 2 shows the results of a multiple regression of content categories with like-engagement. For this analysis, a reference category was used, labelled in the above table as 'constant'. This category is "Product (brand)" was chosen as a reference point to compare other categories to most prevalent choice of content by brands so we would expect it is popular with consumers. In this analysis, we see that the reference

variable, 'Product(brand)' has a co-efficient of 2.161, meaning that, before considering the effect of the control variables, on average, an image of a brand product has a like-engagement of 2.16%; this is the average percentage of followers that like the images in this category. We can see from the regression coefficient values in the first column that some categories have much higher like engagement, such as 'Person (non-celebrity)' and 'Group', which have an increase of over 0.9% like-engagement.

Hashtags also appear to increase the like-engagement, but tagging other users decreases the like-engagement. The negative values suggest the least like-engagement occurs for the "Text-Only" and 'Event (Front-stage)' categories. However, it is of important note that most of these values are not statistically significant to the 95% or even 90% confidence level. This excludes having a 'Person (non-celebrity)' as the content category, which increases like-engagement by 0.754% with significance within the 5% level and Event (Front-stage), which reduces like-engagement by 0.914% with significance of the 10% level.

There is, however, no clear difference between the content categories and overall, based on statistical significance, content categories do not appear to affect the like-engagement. The r-squared value of 0.109 suggests that 11% of the variation in the dependent variable like-engagement can be explained by a combination of the content of the image and the control variables.

5.2.2 Effect of Content Category on Comment Engagement

A multiple regression of content categories with comment-engagement was then carried out, to investigate the relationships between the variables. The same reference category, "Product (brand)", was used as in the previous regression. As the table (Appendix 3) demonstrates, this reference variable has a comment-engagement score of 0.019%, which is notably smaller than the corresponding like-engagement.

We can see from the negative regression coefficient values that all categories have a lower comment-engagement than the reference variable, "Product (brand)". Again, however, most of these values are not statistically significant to the 95% confidence

level. This is with the exception of 'Person (celebrity)', 'Group', 'Event (Front-stage)' and 'Event (Back-stage)", which are all statistically significant to the 90% confidence level. Each of these have decreased comment-engagement compared to the reference variable, ranging from 0.011% to 0.016% less. Again, this lack of statistical significance suggests that overall content categories do not appear to affect the comment-engagement. The r-squared value of 0.057 means that only 5.7% of the variation in the dependent variable comment-engagement can be explained by a combination the content of the image and the control variables.

5.2.3 Effect of Emotion Category on Like-Engagement

The next multiple regression analysis focuses on the relationship between the emotion categories with like-engagement, seen in Appendix 4 For this analysis, the reference variable chosen was 'No Emotion' as this can be seen as a good constant to compare those images which do depict emotions to. This reference had a co-efficient of 2.732% like-engagement. Interestingly, all the coefficient values for other emotions categories have a lower like-engagement than the category 'no emotion'. The two categories with the least like-engagement are 'Humour 'and 'Negative Emotion', both having over 1% less like-engagement than the reference variable.

Considering the statistical significance levels, however, only one of the categories has statistical significance to the 90% confidence level – this is 'Energetic', with 0.934% less like-engagement than the control, 'No emotion'. The r-squared value of 0.059

means that only 5.9% of the variation in the dependent variable like-engagement

can be explained by a combination the emotional content of the image and the control variables.

5.2.4 Effect of Emotion Category on CommentEngagement

The table in Appendix 5 shows the results of a multiple regression of emotion categories with comment-engagement. Again, the reference variable 'No Emotion' was used. This reference had a co-efficient of 0.012% comment-engagement, which is, once again, a much lower value than the corresponding like-engagement value for the variable. The majority of the coefficient values for other emotions categories have a lower like-engagement than the control category, with the exception of 'Playful', 'Sexual/Passion' and 'Humour'. The statistical significance levels of this analysis are of particular interest – all but one are not significant to the 90% confidence level. The one with a statistical significance of 99% is for the emotions category 'Sexual/Passion'. This has a coefficient of 0.029, meaning that, holding controls constant, images in this category have, on average, 0.029% more comment-engagement than the reference 'No Emotion' category – giving it the highest comment-engagement of all emotion categories.

The r-squared value for this regression is the highest of all four analyses, at 0.143. This means that 14.3% of the variation in the dependent variable comment-engagement can be explained by a combination the emotional content of the image and the control variables.

5.2.5 Effect of Brand Name Control

The final multiple regressions took "Brand Name" into account (Appendix 6). These analyses were carried out to see if engagement is driven by the particular brand name rather than image categories. This was done as the previous independent variables - content and emotion - had such a small effect on the dependent variable. New variables were created based on the brands, and each of the 200 images in the sample was categorised under its brand name, to be used as a further control. These analyses already account for the effect of the content categories.

The r-squared figures demonstrate the impact of brand name, particularly on like-engagement, for both independent variables. The first, looking at like-engagement in relation to content has an r-squared value of 0.557 and looking at like-engagement in relation to emotion has an r-squared value of 0.554. This means that in both cases, over 55% of variation in the dependent variable like-engagement can be explained by a combination of brand name, control variables and emotions or content, respectively. This figure is not as high for comment-engagement, with the r-squared value of 0.141 for comment-engagement in relation to content and the r-squared value of 0.239 for comment-engagement in relation to emotion. However, these are still much higher r-squared values than in the originally analyses, suggesting that by including Brand Names, …increase **

6. Discussion

6.1 General discussion

Overall, the lack of statistically significant results suggests that both the content

categories and emotions categories do not appear to have a great effect engagement, with few exceptions. The low R-squared values suggest that there are further factors to explain engagement. Interestingly, when adding in the brand name that each image is categorized under, this value increases significantly to over 55% when looking at the effect of both categories on like-engagement. This suggests the importance of an image coming from a particular brand is higher than the actual content of the image itself. The following section will consider the results of the analysis in the context of the research questions.

6.1.1 Types of engagement

It is evident from the data collected that there is a much higher frequency of like-engagement than comment-engagement. One reason that like-engagement might be so much higher than comment-engagement is the effort involved for consumers; it is much easier to 'like' an image than to comment. Based on the literature on brand communities, we see that engaging with the brand through 'liking' can be a means to demonstrate affiliation in a straight-forward way. Previous findings also highlighted the predominance of 'liking' when it comes to engagement, so this finding is in line with H3. It could be argued that there are different 'levels' of engagement – liking is not particularly active, but still a way to engage with a brand. The fast-paced nature of SNS and the hundreds of images that consumers see on their Instagram feed means that 'liking' is an important component of interacting with the brand. It is interesting that the ninth-most followed brand, Brandy Melville, has the highest like-engagement than all others. Further the brands with the most like-engagement do not correspond with those with the most comment-engagement. This highlights that 'liking' and 'commenting' are very different forms of engagement.

6.1.2 Additional features

A huge majority (91%) of the images studied included at least one hashtag in the caption. It seems that the hashtag has become an important aspect of brands' content and may be associated with the 'sharing' aspect of SNS. Using certain hashtags can affiliate brands with certain lifestyles, and strengthen brand idenity through grouping images with others. It may also be a strategy to receive more coverage and attract new followers through being found through certain hashtag that potential followers might associate with. It is also a means to promote their own brand through including brand-related hashtags, such as the brand name itself, to increase awareness and allow consumers to have a consistent hashtag to use on their own images, hence spreading the brand name. For example, this can be seen on all 20 images taken from Brandy Melville's Instagram uploads, which include the tag #BrandyUSA.

Over a quarter of images included at least one other user tagged in the caption. The cross tabulation in Fig.2.2 suggests that there is a relationship between tagged photos and images categorized under content as 'Person (celebrity)'. Brands tend to tag celebrities when they use images of them, potentially as a way to not only encourage engagement and new followers through having brand ambassadors or influential people using their products, but also a means to share images across accounts. Celebrities may 'regram' these pictures or their own fans may find the brand through their influence, resulting in wide-spread coverage for the brand.

6.2 Image Content and engagement

A majority of images uploaded by brands fall under the 'Product (brand)' category. It is not of particular surprise that the focus of women's fashion brands would be on their own products, especially based on previous literature. We might expect that as almost every other image uploaded (45%) was placed in this category, that they would be successful in terms of engagement. However although it had the most comment-engagement, this was not the case for like-engagement – no categories were statistically better that product brand in terms of comment-engagement. If we look solely at frequency, this information is not unexpected, as brand attempt to promote their own products and further, it is assumed that many followers actually like the products. Further, the least-occurring category is 'Product (non-brand)', which is also no surprise, as brands are unlikely to promote other brands' products. There were also very few 'text-only' images, which is understandable considering the nature of the SNS being image-focused.

The content category 'Group' was chosen for very few images – only 3% of images were considered to be of a group of people. It was also found to reduce comment-engagement compared to the reference variable by -0,016% (to 10% significance level). This suggests that group pictures are not particularly successful in terms of comment-engagement, and may explain why they are not used often by brands. This is interesting, as we might have expected that a group of people projecting a certain brand identity might be something that appeals to consumers as they can imagine themselves as part of this group. Perhaps however, this actually elicits feelings of being an 'outsider' to consumers, in that they are not physically a part of this group that represents the brand.

Of images categorized under 'Person', more were 'celebrities' than 'non-celebrities'. However, it was found that having a celebrity creates less comment-engagement (to 10% significance level) and that having a non-celebrity actually increases like-engagement (to 5% significance level). Perhaps having "no-name" people in the images creates a sense of identification with the brand on behalf of the consumers as they feel they can relate more. Also, consumers are more aware of celebrity endorsement – and may even follow celebrities' own accounts on SNS - and are used to seeing images of them so perhaps it does not have as much of an effect to see someone influential using certain brands. In terms of increasing engagement, brands might consider focusing more on having non-celebrities featured in images.

An equal number of 'Front-stage' and 'Backstage' 'Event' images were categorized, however front stage images were found to reduce like engagement (to 10% significance). Both categories of 'Event' images reduced comment-engagement (to 10% significance), suggesting that consumers do not tend to engage as much with images of events. This is somewhat surprising – especially that 'Back-stage' images do not increase engagement. It was expected that these types of images would increase the interaction as they offer exclusive content to viewers. Perhaps the fast-paced nature of Instagram as an SNS means that the nature of event images is not immediately clear – i.e. whether it is backstage or not. The images were coded individually and not as part of a stream of images, therefore it might be clearer in this context. It could also be that there is no clear brand differentiation when viewing images of events – for example, some images included fashion shows, however these are not necessarily unique to each brand name. Brands need to be unique – perhaps consumers do not engage as much with the brand identity when

an event appears somewhat generic.

The lack of statistical significance associated with the content categories in the regressions suggests that overall the category content does not have a great effect on either like- or comment-engagement. The r-squared values demonstrate that content seems to have a slightly greater effect on like-engagement compared to comment-engagement.

6.3 Emotion and engagement

The most frequent emotions categories were 'Strong/Confident' and 'Relaxed'. We could view these emotions as being chosen by brands to most associate with their identity. However, the regression analyses suggest that these do not notably create any more engagement than other categories. Interestingly the idea that 'sex sells' is not evident through the frequency of images in the categories chosen by brands, with only 8% of images being placed under the emotion category 'sexual/passion'. However, when it comes to comment-engagement, more followers comment on images within the 'sexual/passion' category than the reference category, 'no emotion', by the highest increase of 0.29% (to the 1% significance level). This suggests that the images with a sexual nature get people talking and commenting. It would be interesting to look further into these comments to see the nature of them. Although previous research (Bergström and Bäckman, 2013) found that the majority of comments are positive, it would be interesting to see the break down of comment-type to understand this relationship more. These findings suggest that brands aiming for more comment-engagement could utilize more images that fall under the 'Sexual/Passion' category.

Only 1 of the 200 images was categorized under 'negative emotion'. The lack of negative emotions – as expected – is likely due to the fact that brands want to be associated with positive feelings, as seen from the rest of the categorizations. The image in question was related to political conflict, and the brand's affiliation to certain causes. As the only example of a 'negative emotion' the results surrounding it cannot be generalized.

Despite extensive previous research on the role of humour in advertising, very few brands shared images within this emotion category. This may be due to the nature of the brands, as fashion may not particularly be related to humour, unlike the most frequent emotions such as 'Strong/Confident' which they aim to associate with. Some of these brands may not identify with a 'humourous' identity, which is why they do not use these types of images. It could also be that these types of images are actually purposely used sparingly to increase the 'surprise' factor of funny posts.

Once again, however, the lack of statistically significant results, and the r-squared values suggest that overall emotions category does not have a great effect on engagement. Of the four main multiple regressions analyses, the highest effect came from the emotions categories in relation to comment-engagement; that is, 14% of comment-engagement on images can be attributed to the emotional category and control variables. These findings are unexpected as they are not in line with the previous research that suggests that emotions are closely linked to engagement.

Generally, the small sample size means that accurate estimation of any effects is difficult to determine, for example some categories only have a couple of images. However, the results give us an idea of the relationship between the different variables.

6.4 Role of brand name

The influence of brand name has shown to very interesting – by including the brand name that each image belongs to as a control variable, we account for over half of variation in like-engagement for both types of categories. The r-squared value of content and like-engagement increased from 11% to 55% when brand name was introduced as control variable. For emotion and like-engagement, the r-squared value increased from just under 6% to 55%. This huge increase suggests there is an important link between brand name and engagement. The relationship between brand name and like-engagement in particular may be due to consumers feeling association with a brand and wanting to be seen as affiliating directly through 'liking' images, regardless of content.

Brand name was shown to have less of an effect on comment-engagement for both content and emotion, however there was still a notable increase, the highest of the two being for emotion and comment-engagement, where almost a quarter of comment-engagement is explained through emotion category, control variables and the brand name. There are of course reasons other than content, emotion and brand name that account for engagement, however the introduction of this variable suggests it is an area worth investigating. These unanticipated findings suggest that overall brand name is incredibly important. It appears that consumers

will 'like' images by certain brands regardless of the content, meaning that brand managers must ensure offline brand identity is reflected online. Further, they cannot focus solely on SNS, but continue to build the brand across all mediums. These findings suggest something of a 'catch 22' of engagement for brands, as consumers want to engage with and be associated with certain brands, rather than looking at the individual content of the images and so in order to increase engagement with a brand, they must already be established as a brand 'worth' engaging with. Although the content and emotion of images used in branding should not be ignored, there are other factors of branding which we need to consider.

6.5 Limitations

The scope of this study meant that a relatively small sample was used, making estimation of regression coefficients difficult. For further investigation, a larger data set could be used so that results are more generalisable. In terms of the research design, through coding each individual image separately and not as part of a stream of images - as would happen when consumers see the images as part of their 'news feed' on Instagram may have affected some of the content categories – for example, the 'Event' category, as mentioned – as consumers may not spend the time to see whether the event is backstage or exclusive. The same could be said for whether a 'minor' celebrity is in the picture that isn't instantly recognizable. Additionally, viewing the images in this way may have meant that captions played a role in the content. The focus of the study was on the image, however upon discussion of discrepancies between coders, it became apparent that in some instances the text accompanying the image had influenced the category decision. However, we must consider that this would also occur for consumers, so perhaps

it is important not to isolate the image from its context. The final point of note on the topic of coding was that there were some difficulties assigning emotions to certain images – evident through the higher number of discrepancies between the coders.

This sample consisted of the top followed women's fashion brands – as Percy and Rossiter's model (1991) indicates, different types of products or services will use different strategies. This means that different brands may encourage engagement through different types of images, and therefore the results cannot be generalized across all consumer brands, however the results offer some insight into the ideas presented in the study.

6.7 Future research

Future research on this topic might include the option to choose more than one category of images, or categorise emotions on scales rather than choosing mutually exclusive categories. Additionally, for further understanding of the choices made by what types of image content is used, interviewing both brand managers on their choices as well as consumers on their reasons for engaging with brands would be interesting. The unexpected findings that brand name is such an influencing factor on engagement is worth investigating further. The nature of engagement is also an interesting area to explore - for example, although it was beyond the scope of this research, looking at how users tag each other in images and share brand content would be an interesting perspective to take.

7. Conclusions and Applications

In conclusion, this research aimed to offer early insight into factors influencing engagement and should be viewed as a foundation for future work in the field of visual branding. The study investigated the factors influencing engagement on images, finding that both the literal content and emotional content can explain engagement to an extent, however there are other influencing factors at play. In particular, including the brand name that the image belonged to had a substantial effect. This suggests that building up brand identity is important both on and offline, as well as keeping it consistent across platforms, as consumers will engage with certain brands' posts on SNS regardless of the content of the images. This does not mean that brands should not consider the type of content they are uploading, but offers some understanding of how consumers interact with brands online. This impact of brand name is an area that could be further investigated in the future.

This research aimed to offer some theoretical reasoning behind certain choices made by brand managers and hence can be a starting point for practitioners. It also provides a base for future work in the scholarship surrounding the field of visual branding in the online environment - particularly on SNS.

8. Appendices

Appendix 1

<u>Codebook</u>

Coder ID
1 Katie Long
2 Barbara Bruynooghe

Brand
1. Victoria's Secret
2. Forever 21
3. Louboutin
4. H & M
5. Michael Kors
6. Topshop
7. Louis Vuitton
8. ASOS
9. Brandy Melville
10. Gucci

Image Number
1-200

Category – Content

1. Own Brand's Product
2. Other brand's product
3. Person – celebrity
4. Person – non-celebrity
5. Group - More than one person
6. Event – front-stage
7. Event – back-stage
8. Scenery
9. Text only

Category – Emotion

1. Playful
2. Strong/confident
3. Relaxed
4. Energetic
5. Sexual/passion
6. Romantic
7. Humour
8. Negative Emotion
9. No emotion portrayed

Includes at least one hashtag
0. No
1. Yes

Tags another user in caption
0. No
1. Yes

Question in Caption
0. No
1. Yes

Image part of engagement-related competition
0. No
1. Yes

Likes
Number of likes

Number of likes as ratio to followers

Like-Engagement (Number of likes as ratio to followers as percentage)

Comments
Number of comments

Number of comments as ratio to followers

Comment-Engagement (Number of comments as ratio to followers as percentage)

Appendix 2

 Multiple Regression Analysis – Content categories and like-engagement

R-Squared = 0.109

Model		Unstandardized Coefficients		t	Sig.
		B	Std. Error		
1	(Constant)	2,161	,422	5,126	,000
	Product (non-brand)	,100	,818	,122	,903
	Person (celebrity)	,469	,394	1,190	,236
	Person (non-celebrity)	,754	,356	2,119	,035
	Group	,819	,634	1,291	,198
	Event (frontstage)	-,914	,535	-1,708	,089
	Event (backstage)	-,287	,569	-,504	,615
	Scenic	-,422	,477	-,885	,377
	Text Only	-,938	,628	-1,493	,137
	Hashtag in caption	,407	,419	,973	,332
	User tagged in caption	-,750	,314	-2,389	,018
	Question in caption	-,317	,399	-,794	,428
	Sneak peek in caption	-,473	,620	-,764	,446

Appendix 3

<u>Multiple Regression: Content categories and comment-engagement</u>

R-Squared = 0.057

Model		Unstandardized Coefficients		t	Sig.
		B	Std. Error		
1	(Constant)	.019	.006	3,037	.003
	Product (non-brand)	-.007	.012	-.568	.571
	Person (celebrity)	-.011	.006	-1,951	.053
	Person (non-celebrity)	-.006	.005	-1,049	.296
	Group	-.016	.009	-1,724	.086
	Event (frontstage)	-.013	.008	-1,656	.099
	Event (backstage)	-.015	.008	-1,729	.085
	Scenic	-.010	.007	-1,405	.162
	Text Only	-.013	.009	-1,386	.167
	Hashtag in caption	.004	.006	.705	.482
	User tagged in caption	.004	.005	.805	.422
	Question in caption	-.001	.006	-.152	.880
	Sneak peek in caption	-.007	.009	-.732	.465

Appendix 4

<u>Multiple Regression Analysis: Emotion categories and like-engagement</u>

R-Squared = 0.059

Model		Unstandardized Coefficients		t	Sig.
		B	Std. Error		
1	(Constant)	2,732	,628	4,348	,000
	Playful	-,473	,541	-,875	,383
	Strong/Confident	-,451	,498	-,906	,366
	Relaxed	-,423	,501	-,843	,400
	Energetic	-,934	,554	-1,687	,093
	Sexual/Passion	-,060	,609	-,099	,921
	Romantic	-,929	,723	-1,284	,201
	Humour	-1,083	1,245	-,870	,385
	Negative	-1,262	1,712	-,737	,462
	Hashtag in caption	,324	,439	,737	,462
	User tagged in caption	-,512	,266	-1,923	,056
	Question in caption	-,286	,413	-,694	,489
	Sneak peek in caption	-,572	,645	-,887	,376

Appendix 5

 Multiple Regression: Emotion categories and comment-engagement

R-Squared = 0.143

Model		Unstandardized Coefficients		t	Sig.
		B	Std. Error		
1	(Constant)	.012	.009	1,388	.167
	Playful	.007	.007	.897	.371
	Strong/Confident	-.001	.007	-.172	.864
	Relaxed	-.004	.007	-.524	.601
	Energetic	-.004	.008	-.541	.589
	Sexual/Passion	.029	.008	3,499	.001
	Romantic	-.002	.010	-.230	.818
	Humour	.007	.017	.436	.663
	Negative	-.009	.024	-.375	.708
	Hashtag in caption	.005	.006	.833	.406
	User tagged in caption	.002	.004	.410	.683
	Question in caption	-.002	.006	-.294	.769
	Sneak peek in caption	-.012	.009	-1,369	.173

Appendix 6

Multiple Regression Analyses taking Brand Name into Account

Content and like-engagement

Model		Unstandardized Coefficients B	Std. Error	t	Sig.
1	(Constant)	5,749	,475	12,106	,000
	Product (non-brand)	,255	,600	,425	,671
	Person (celebrity)	,146	,300	,486	,627
	Person (non-celebrity)	-,231	,280	-,822	,412
	Group	-,542	,486	-1,116	,266
	Event (frontstage)	-,237	,405	-,586	,559
	Event (backstage)	-,202	,426	-,474	,636
	Scenic	,003	,357	,007	,994
	Text Only	-,725	,460	-1,576	,117
	Hashtag in caption	-,283	,340	-,830	,408
	User tagged in caption	,109	,241	,451	,653
	Question in caption	-,065	,316	-,206	,837
	Sneak peek in caption	-,497	,454	-1,094	,275
	Victoria's Secret	-3,033	,413	-7,347	,000
	Forever 21	-1,514	,399	-3,797	,000
	Louboutin	-3,688	,423	-8,711	,000
	H&M	-3,612	,400	-9,039	,000
	Michael Kors	-3,311	,388	-8,523	,000
	Topshop	-3,935	,407	-9,679	,000
	Louis Vuitton	-3,787	,395	-9,577	,000
	ASOS	-4,312	,426	-10,121	,000
	Gucci	-3,508	,389	-9,008	,000

R-squared 0.557

Content and comment-engagement

Model		Unstandardized Coefficients B	Std. Error	t	Sig.
1	(Constant)	,024	,010	2,527	,012
	Product (non-brand)	-,003	,012	-,240	,810
	Person (celebrity)	-,011	,006	-1,741	,083
	Person (non-celebrity)	-,007	,006	-1,172	,243
	Group	-,019	,010	-1,935	,055
	Event (frontstage)	-,010	,008	-1,202	,231
	Event (backstage)	-,015	,009	-1,741	,083
	Scenic	-,009	,007	-1,288	,199
	Text Only	-,015	,009	-1,586	,114
	Hashtag in caption	,008	,007	1,151	,251
	User tagged in caption	,007	,005	1,340	,182
	Question in caption	,003	,006	,463	,644
	Sneak peek in caption	-,008	,009	-,864	,389
	Victoria's Secret	-,011	,008	-1,344	,181
	Forever 21	-,008	,008	-1,012	,313
	Louboutin	,006	,009	,656	,513
	H&M	-,014	,008	-1,776	,077
	Michael Kors	-,010	,008	-1,339	,182
	Topshop	-,022	,008	-2,646	,009
	Louis Vuitton	-,009	,008	-1,078	,283
	ASOS	-,013	,009	-1,505	,134
	Gucci	-,014	,008	-1,748	,082

R-squared 0.141

Emotions and like-engagement

Model		Unstandardized Coefficients B	Std. Error	t	Sig.
1	(Constant)	5,454	,535	10,202	,000
	Playful	,161	,391	,411	,682
	Strong/Confident	,016	,360	,044	,965
	Relaxed	-,044	,364	-,121	,904
	Energetic	-,190	,399	-,477	,634
	Sexual/Passion	,551	,439	1,256	,211
	Romantic	,198	,529	,375	,708
	Humour	-,040	,899	-,044	,965
	Negative	-,859	1,237	-,694	,488
	Hashtag in caption	-,163	,352	-,464	,643
	User tagged in caption	,222	,200	1,113	,267
	Question in caption	-,071	,317	-,224	,823
	Sneak peek in caption	-,566	,460	-1,229	,221
	Victoria's Secret	-3,095	,410	-7,556	,000
	Forever 21	-1,454	,386	-3,772	,000
	Louboutin	-3,678	,394	-9,340	,000
	H&M	-3,488	,382	-9,137	,000
	Michael Kors	-3,267	,378	-8,633	,000
	Topshop	-3,861	,391	-9,868	,000
	Louis Vuitton	-3,816	,375	-10,166	,000
	ASOS	-4,196	,403	-10,414	,000
	Gucci	-3,372	,378	-8,917	,000

R-squared 0.554

Emotions and comment-engagement

Model		Unstandardized Coefficients B	Std. Error	t	Sig.
1	(Constant)	,014	,010	1,406	,161
	Playful	,010	,007	1,367	,173
	Strong/Confident	-,002	,007	-,250	,803
	Relaxed	-,002	,007	-,354	,724
	Energetic	-,003	,008	-,382	,703
	Sexual/Passion	,032	,008	3,886	,000
	Romantic	,000	,010	-,035	,972
	Humour	,013	,017	,785	,433
	Negative	-,006	,023	-,243	,808
	Hashtag in caption	,010	,007	1,536	,126
	User tagged in caption	,005	,004	1,287	,200
	Question in caption	,004	,006	,634	,527
	Sneak peek in caption	-,011	,009	-1,288	,200
	Victoria's Secret	-,021	,008	-2,732	,007
	Forever 21	-,006	,007	-,800	,425
	Louboutin	,006	,007	,754	,452
	H&M	-,011	,007	-1,481	,140
	Michael Kors	-,009	,007	-1,239	,217
	Topshop	-,020	,007	-2,749	,007
	Louis Vuitton	-,012	,007	-1,689	,093
	ASOS	-,009	,008	-1,121	,264
	Gucci	-,014	,007	-1,940	,054

R-squared 0.239

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