

Instagramable experiences at brunches in Lisbon: search for taste or likes?

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Submissão: 19/01/2022

Aceitação: 23/05/2022

Experiências instagramáveis nos brunches em Lisboa: busca por sabor ou likes?

Resumo: Este artigo aborda a busca por experiências instagramáveis, em que os consumidores preferem cenários atrativos para fotos com o objetivo de as publicarem no Instagram. Exploramos um estudo de caso comparativo de brunches em Lisboa, para determinar se a atratividade do local, a decoração e a apresentação da comida influenciam as escolhas dos consumidores. Fizemos observação não participante e entrevistas a consumidores. Também fizemos análise de conteúdo dos perfis das marcas e de conteúdos criados pelos utilizadores a partir de hashtags e geolocalização. Concluímos que há uma forte semelhança entre os conteúdos criados pelas marcas e pelos consumidores. As primeiras pretendem ser autênticas e espontâneas, e os segundos adotam o instagramismo. Os utilizadores reconhecem que desfrutar da comida está interligado ao ambiente e à possibilidade de partilhar essa experiência digitalmente.

Palavras-chave: Phygital; Prosumers; Social Media Marketing; Instagramável; Experiências Instagramáveis.

Instagramable experiences at brunches in Lisbon: search for taste or likes?

Abstract: This article focuses on the increasing search for instagramable experiences, as consumers prefer attractive settings for photos aimed at Instagram posting. We explored a comparative case study of brunches in Lisbon. To explore if the attractiveness of place, decoration, and presentation of food influences consumer choices, we used non-participant observation and interviews to consumers. We also conducted content analysis of posts, comparing the brands' profiles with user-generated content using hashtags and geolocation. Our findings reveal a strong similarity between branded and user-generated content, as branded content struggles to be authentic, spontaneous, and "amateur", and users increasingly follow an "instagramism" aesthetics. Users acknowledge that enjoying the food is intertwined with experiencing the place and being able to reflect/project that experience on their digital lives.

Keywords: Phygital; Prosumers; Social Media Marketing; Instagramable; Instagramable Experiences.

Introduction

In contemporary times, our physical experiences and our digital footprint are deeply intertwined - we live in a phygital society (Moravcikova & Kilestikova, 2017). For many social media users, an experience is only full when it is reflected in the digital representation of their lives, shared with others, and actively valued or validated by their followers (Recuero, 2012). Not only digital influencers seek attractive settings, inspiring landscapes, aesthetic details, appealing decoration, nicely plated food, meaningful catchphrases and harmonious colours that will result in appealing Instagram publications (Karhawi, 2017; Mariano, dos Anjos & Ramos, 2017; Terra, 2017), but common instagrammers have also adopted the aesthetics of this platform, and actively add to its user-generated content (Boyd & Elisson, 2008; Shirky, 2010; Manovich, 2017).

Brands and media are aware of this trend. Media consistently publishes content about the best places to visit, the most attractive restaurants or spots. Brands are incorporating this aesthetic and shareable dimension in the experiences that they afford (Terra, 2009), and are conscious that user-generated content or eWOM is more credible for other users than branded content or advertising (Li & Bernoff, 2011; Qualman, 2009).

It is within this scope that our research sets out to understand how instagramability is becoming an important feature in marketing. In particular, we addressed how instagramability is being included by brands in their marketing strategy. In addition, we investigated to which extent it impacts consumer behaviour and it is reflected in the perceived value of a product or service, or even in brand equity (Kotler & Keller, 2006).

We selected the category “food” because it is one of the most popular on Instagram, both in publishing and in likes (Hu, Manikonda & Kambhampati, 2014). “Foodies” share photos of appetizing food, but also aesthetically appealing and framed in an attractive setting - they practice “foodstagraming”. Thus, we selected as objects of our comparative case study the most popular brunches in Lisbon, mentioned in news media as “places to visit” and most popular in Instagram. Our empirical work aims to determine the advantages that “being instagramable” may afford to brands and to consumers.

1. Leading a phygital life

Digital media is “a distinctive trait of contemporary society” (Author, p. 27). A few decades ago, Baudrillard (1981) debated the possibility of digital experiences replacing direct and unmediated experiences in the physical world. More recent views point to a dynamic overlapping and intertwining of physical and digital agency, as the distinction between these dimensions becomes increasingly blurred. The term “phygital” has been suggested to describe “the connection between two worlds - the physical and the digital” (Moravcikova & Kilestikova, 2017, p. 150). With smartphones constantly in our pockets and purses (Albuquerque & Pinto, 2016), social media have become an “add-on” layer to our daily routine. In addition, as we transition to the Internet of Things (IoT), the number and variety of connected devices and objects is increasing (Evans, 2011), consequently increasing the communication fluxes in the diverse modalities of human-to-human, human-to-machine and machine-to-machine (Albuquerque & Pinto, 2016). According to Bauman, we are leading “cyberlives” (Bauman, 2008). Gabriel (2017) describes this experience as cybridism, which means that “we are on and off at the same time, symbiotically, forming a being that goes beyond our biological body and brain”.

In this phygital experience, the interdependence and mutual influence between online and offline goes beyond the locus of human agency or the focus of our attention. The digital media logic is so present in our experience that it may influence our physical actions. For example, Castells (2016) refers that the way we perceive time and space has changed in the network society, having become a timeless time and a space of fluxes. For example, as we visit a restaurant or brunch, we will experience that visit (also) thinking about photos that we can take and publications that we can make on social media. In addition, when we regard the food in front of us, we may photograph it and appreciate it through digital filters. Furthermore, the publishing of such content creates interaction with others, that also influences the way we perceive the experience we are living. According to Castells (2016), this would be an example of the typical cultural production of the network society - a culture of real virtuality.

Digitizing our experiences allows us to expand their reach, to add value to them, resulting from the social capital they generate. Sabilia (2003) believes that the constant intertwining of physical and digital is driven by a “visibility imperative”, according to which experiences have less value if not shared with others, if not valued or validated by others.

Consequently, there is an increasing search for instagramable experiences, that is, that have potential to become attractive publications on that platform (Berger, 2014).

This digitizing and sharing of our experiences is largely enabled by social media, digital platforms that are based on paper-to-peer connections and user-generated content (Jenkins, 2006). The internet has evolved since its emergence during the 90s, and is currently dominated by social media-based platforms (e.g. GAFA) that connect users and enable the sharing of content (Evans, 2011; Leigh, 2017; van Dijck, Poelle & de Waal, 2018). The social media landscape is also constantly evolving, and offers many modalities for synchronous and asynchronous communication (Mayfield, 2008). Each specific platform has its own purposes and functionalities which are co-constructed by users, depending on their appropriation of the platform, on their interaction, on the content that they create and share. Examples of these emergent contemporary cultural forms are memes and selfies (Manovich, 2017). According to Boyd and Ellison (2008), social media requires individuals to create a profile. For Recuero (2009), this brings them to a phygital existence, in which their physical presence becomes intertwined with their digital interaction.

2. Searching for instagramable experiences

Recuero (2012) highlights that digital connections can generate social capital and sense of belonging, which is an important motivation for using social media (Andrade & Author, 2015). Users (and brands) have learned to “measure” the value of their network according to the number of connections, to the frequency of publication, to the quality of the content, and to the engagement generated - and to increasingly seek more of such value (Recuero, Marco & Zago, 2015).

In this search, social media users are empowered (Terra, 2009) to become prosumers (Toffler, 1980), as they are able to create and share their own content, and consume content created by others, all becoming co-constructors of a complex and dynamic network (Ilharco, 2014; Kotler, Kartajaya & Setiawan, 2017). According to Jenkins (2006), prosumers are the agents of a “convergence culture”, where not only “old and new media collide” (p. 53), but also where online and offline coexist. Thus, prosumers are also phygital, in the sense that, at the same time, they can be consumers of a meal at a physical brunch and can be producers of Instagram content that digitizes their experience.

However, not all prosumers present the same degree of activity - e.g. creators, critics, collectors, members, spectators, inactive (Li & Bernoff, 2011). Tuten and Solomon (2012) systematize the motivations that may lead to a different degree of engagement: affinity, personal utility, comfort, immediacy, altruism, curiosity, and validation. Recuero (2009) claims that users search for increasing their visibility, improving their reputation, enhancing their popularity, and reinforcing their authority. Salazar (2017) adds that users tend to build their Instagram feed as a journal, a chronological record of their lives, a digital photo album, but also seek validation from others through the engagement generated by each post. Clara (2017) describes the platform as a “gallery of self-expression”, for Ginsberg (2015) it is a way of projecting a desired image. Abbott, Donaghey, Hare & Petra (2013) simply state that the main goal for using the platform is capturing and sharing meaningful moments. Hashtags allow users to “connect with others in similar situations or with similar interests” (p.3).

Social media users are aware that the value of social media resides in the connections of a network, in the flow and quality of content, and on the social capital generated (Recuero, 2009). Thus, they all seek to publish relevant content and obtain positive feedback, expecting to expand their network, their influence, and their self-esteem. When pondering a publication, users decide upon their perception of what will generate more interaction and value (Recuero, 2009). Thus, being instagrammable is including features that will be perceived by Instagram users as triggers of positive feedback online. Also, these features must be compatible with the identity and lifestyle that each user intends to project. Instagrammable physical spaces, objects and experiences comprise “originality, individuality, connectivity” (Salazar, 2017, p. 102). Manovich (2017) adds that being instagrammable is also having the potential to look good on a photograph, in the sense of being consistent with the aesthetic that has emerged on Instagram.

The process of “instagramizing” a moment affords it a phygital quality. First, the Instagram user identifies a possible photo that will generate positive feedback on the platform, being already familiar with its aesthetics and dynamics. Then, the user “composes” the physical experience, by arranging objects, searching for the best light, posing. After capturing that moment, the user edits it on Instagram, adding filters and improving the image, and finally publishes it (Manovich, 2017). Through this process, the digitization of the moment alters it, rendering it phygital (Abbott *et al.*, 2013), and

allowing Instagram users to “creatively recreate themselves in the ideal way that they would like to be seen by others” (Ginsberg, 2015, p. 79).

Manovich (2017) describes this trend as instagramism, comparing it to other artistic movements. It is significant in contemporary cultural production, and its pillars are minimalism, design, harmony of colours, the incorporation of storytelling, and being inspirational (often associated with a caption).

Consistently following this aesthetics results in the production of harmonious Instagram feeds, that are also similar among themselves. According to Recuero (2009), instagramism is driven by the users’ search for social prestige, social capital, reputation, popularity, authority, influence.

3. Being instagramable as a social media marketing strategy

As consumers became prosumers, brands had to learn to dialogue instead of disseminate (Qualman, 2009). According to Kotler, Kartajaya and Setiawan (2017), products and services are currently co-created between brands and consumers, who frequently interact in digital communities. Digital media have reshaped the consumer journey (Court, Elzinga, Mulder & Vetvik, 2009; Edelman & Singer, 2015) from sequential steps into a circle, in which consumers trust more other consumers with whom they interact online - e.g. recommendations, ratings, reviews, eWOM - than brands themselves. These processes already happened offline, but social media - and smartphones - gave them a wider reach (Adolpho, 2011).

As the social media landscape emerged and expanded, brands understood that they needed to interact with their consumers and potential consumers where they were already interacting - even if that meant being more exposed and vulnerable (Li & Bernoff, 2011; Kietzmann, Hermkens, McCarthy & Silvestre, 2011). As people were attracted to social media to be connected with other people, brands went through a “humanizing” process, building social media profiles and communities, building emotional relationships based on quality content, shared lifestyle, identification and shared values (Kotler *et al.*, 2017).

Social media marketing aims to “build a dialogic relationship with the audience” (Rosa, 2010, p. 10). Within this new context, filled with messages and stimuli from other consumers, brands, and diversified entities, one of the biggest challenges is breaking

through the clutter and getting attention (and consequently engagement). This is achieved creating relevant and personalized content, “specialized, diversified, segmented by ideologies, values, preferences and lifestyles” (Castells, 2016, p. 425). In addition, it is achieved by nurturing a community that affords a sense of belonging and social capital to the participants (Tuten & Solomon, 2012), understanding that in order to be successful on social media, brands need to be sociable (Kaplan & Haenlein, 2010).

One could argue that social media marketing is based on two dimensions awareness and engagement. According to Tuten and Solomon (2012), these platforms are extremely effective in increasing brand awareness, due to its shareable and networked structure that generates exponentially increasing reach, or virality. In addition, engagement leads to increase in brand equity, nurtures loyalty and brand love (Kotler *et al.*, 2017; Roberts, 2004).

Among social media, Instagram is currently one of the most important platforms. It was launched in 2010, aiming to help mobile phone users in taking beautiful photos with their devices and easily sharing them. According to Manovic (2017), its success results from “the network effect (global instantaneous sharing, positive feedback from other users, integration with other popular social media, etc.) is important, but filters are the number one reason for the success of Instagram, they turn really bad photos into good ones” (p. 12). Hinerasky (2014) stresses that “it appeals to wishes and aspirations of people, and it is useful in creating a visual identity for people, professionals and businesses” (p. 3). The platform continuously evolves, currently allowing different sizes and formats, allowing the sharing of video and supporting Stories, a new format that is only online for 24 hours. Another important change is the continuous adjustment of the algorithm that determines the personalization of content in each user’s feed, which is currently based on six criteria: interest (assessed through previous likes), time (privileging recent posts), engagement (assessed through previous interactions), frequency of posting, who the user follows (and what they like), and usage. In 2012, Instagram became a part of the Facebook conglomerate. Since 2016 there are accounts for business available, with additional features that include very specific analytics, ads, call to action buttons and a store. For brands, Instagram has become an important promotional outlet (Çelik, 2017; Agam, 2017).

Influencers - social media users with a wider network and a stronger influence over that network (Camargo, Estevanim & Silveira, 2017) - have emerged as important mediators

between brands and other users, being pivotal in influence marketing (Kim, Han & Gerla, 2017). In fact, several authors propose influencer categories ranging from celebrity to nano-influencer (a user who has a small network but is highly influential in its community) (Primo, 2008). According to Karhawi (2017), a social media user can be considered an influencer when he/she has influence over the consumption decisions of others, when he/she is able to generate buzz about a topic, when he/she has the power of influencing the lifestyle, taste and culture of those of his/her network – they are described by Gladwell (2002) as “communicators, experts and sellers” (p. 51). Additionally, digital influencers publish frequently and expose their intimacy online, creating a strong bond of proximity and identification with followers or fans (Mariano *et al.*, 2017). Professional influencers on Instagram are commonly called Instagrammers, although this term could be applied to all users of the platform (Dantas, 2018; Gonzaga, 2016). Nevertheless, common users also have their share of influence, they also seek popularity on social media, and they also share their intimacy frequently. In doing so, they often appropriate brands to project a (desired) identity and lifestyle (Terra, 2009). Their reach is more limited, but due to the social capital generated online, their influence over their close network is often even stronger than the one of influencers (Recuero, 2009). Being instagrammable helps brands in harnessing the potential of being featured in user-generated digital content.

Along with other specific social media marketing techniques that appeal to primordial behaviours of individuals - such as storytelling and gamification, for example (Kerpen, 2019) - being instagrammable can be considered a relevant feature of a successful strategy (Anderson, 2017). First, it is inherently phygital, as it combines the instagrammability of a physical space with the reach and social capital afforded that sharing content on Instagram can afford. In addition, photography is a powerful format for nurturing a connection with brands and among fans, as “photos evoke feelings, generate conversations, build bonds, they are inherently emotional” (AUTOR p. 2). This strategy was first adopted by touristic places that created “photo spots” that became trends on Instagram. One example is the “Bali swing”. Later on, instagrammable places became more than promotional strategies, new “products” emerged, such as “museums” showcasing appealing scenarios for the “perfect” photo for Instagram and promoting such sharing. That is the case of the Ice Cream Museum, of Happy Place, of Colour Factory, of the Sweet Art Museum. All of these spaces are creative and colourful, and promise

visitors the possibility of capturing the perfect snapshots of experiencing happiness (Rahardjo, 2018). Our research focuses on restaurants that have adopted similar strategies, applying them to the decoration and to the food itself, aiming to trigger user-generated content that will afford their brand more awareness (Berger, 2014). As food in itself has a very visual and aesthetic appeal - the way food looks is able to enhance our desire for tasting it - and is traditionally a common theme represented in art (Mukund, Wansink & Weislogel, 2016). Foodies regard as “a type of art, as something with a deeper spiritual and personal meaning, being able to shape the identity of individuals” (Poole, 2012, p. n/d). It is our goal to explore whether being instagrammable has the potential to go beyond stimulating the creation of user-generated content and the promotion of brand awareness and recommendations, and add value to the physical experience of being in the photographed place, as if it was able to “adding flavour to the food”.

4. Methodology

4.1 Research Questions

Our study intends to answer two research questions:

RQ1: What are the motivations of instagrammer consumers when choosing to go to a brunch? Are they searching (mostly) likes or flavour?

RQ2: What are the benefits - for brands and for consumers - of attending an instagrammable environment?

4.2 Case Study

The method adopted for this study was the exploratory multiple case study, which is suitable for studying in depth an emergent phenomenon (Yin, 2015). In addition, it is also suitable for attempting to better understand complex phenomena. We attempted to better explore our research object by including different units of analysis, which allows comparison and data triangulation.

In order to study the importance of the instagrammability of places and products, we selected Instagram because of its visual nature and also due to its relevance worldwide - the platform currently has about 1 billion active users, 500 million of which use the app daily (Statista, 2019).

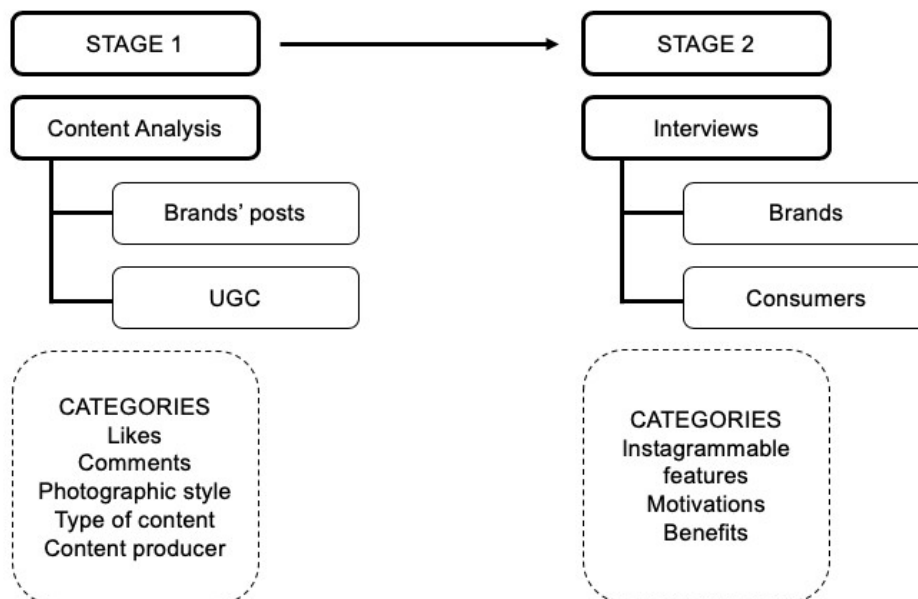
Next, we decided to focus on the food segment because it is one of the eight most popular photo categories on Instagram - “Instagram photos can be categorized in approximately eight types based on their content: selfies, friends, activities, photos with text, food, gadgets, fashion and pets, and the six first types referred are the most popular” (Hu *et al.*, 2014, p. 595).

Finally, Lisbon is also a relevant context for this research, as it is the capital of Portugal, the most populated city of the country, and in 2018 welcomed about 3,79 million visitors (Instituto Nacional de Estatística, 2019). The brunches included in our multiple case study - Amélia, Fauna & Flora, Heim Café, Nicolau, and Zenith - were selected through an online search using the terms “brunches”, “instagrammable” and “Lisbon”. The seven first search results were news and reports - of media such as *Time Out Lisboa*, *Magg*, *Observador* and *Nit* - about the most photogenic restaurants and coffee shops in Lisbon. We analysed the news’ content and listed 39 places. After, we considered whether they had Instagram profiles and the respective number of followers. Finally, we selected the five places with more media coverage and more Instagram followers.

4.3 Research Design and Protocol

Our research design includes two sequential stages (Creswell & Poth, 2017), which are summarized in Figure 1.

Figure 1. Research design and protocol.



The first stage is exploratory and aims to get a deeper insight into the concepts of instagrammable and instagrammability, applied to our case study. As a data collection and analysis method, we used a content analysis (Schreier, 2012) of the five brunches Instagram profiles, and of user-generated content using the brands' hashtags and/or geolocation. Additionally, the findings helped to design the research instrument for the next stage.

As a sampling method, we considered a 3 months period - February, March and April 2019. We consider that this period is long enough to attenuate the seasonal effect of holidays and events, and also specific marketing actions. We considered as a *corpus* of analysis all the posts of the brands' profiles, and all the users' posts using geolocation and/or the brands' hashtags - a total of 747 units of analysis.

The content analysis aimed to identify whether each unit of analysis was instagrammable - assuming as such, posts that generate positive feedback and have wide reach (Recuero, 2012); and to investigate the features that make it so. For that purpose, **we used as categories of analysis** the number of likes, comments and shares of each post.

Moreover, we analyse the photographic style (casual, professional and projected) of each photo, according to Manovich (2017). The author defines the first category as casual, comparing it a "home made" (p.16) style. In these photos, visual characteristics such as contrast, tones, colours, focus, composition, or rhythm are not carefully controlled, so from the point of view of proper good photography these are often (but not always) bad photos" (p. 16).

The second style, professional, "refers to the rules of photography codified in the textbooks during the second part of the 20th century" (p. 10), which were established before Instagram and mobile photography stage. It refers to "the systematic use of rules (regardless of whether they fully understand them or just imitate others) of "good photography" by Instagram authors, and not aesthetic quality of the photos or person's photo training" (p.11).

The third style, projected, “associates itself with more “contemporary,” hip,” “cool” and “urban” lifestyle choices and corresponding aesthetics, so this is its peer group on Instagram” (p. 14).

In relation to the type of content (Bakhshi, Shamma & Gilbert, 2014; Hu *et al.*, 2014) we classify the photos in five types: environment, environment and people, food, food and people and image with interference. Environment is the category of photographs of the space, that is, images without users, only portraying a detail of the decoration or the complete environment; environment and people is similar, although, with users appearing as well, showing their faces, bodies or just a part of their bodies. Food represents the type of content where the main motif of the image is the food (beautiful coffees, colourful toast, visually appetizing pancakes and other sweets). Food and people is the same, though with people appearing too. In addition, the last category, image with interference, was used to represent the images with added design (logos, layouts created in other programs, not on Instagram).

Finally, we analyse the type of content producers (Toffler, 1980, Terra, 2017; Vionasafira & Sjabadhyni, 2018). Namely, we verified who was responsible for the photographic production and publication: brand, brand staff, prosumers, influencers and media.

The second stage included in-depth interviews (Seidman, 2019) with brunches from consumers who had posted about them on Instagram, as well as with brand representatives (e.g. CEO, Marketing Director). We selected a non-probabilistic sample of instagrammers attending the brunches that were the object of our case study, who had posted using the respective brands’ hashtags and/or geolocation. We used a simple random selection method, which according to Martins (2010, p. 21) is adequate when “the population is homogeneous and all of its members possess the same conditions to be selected for the study, and are selected randomly”. The conditions that had to be met were the following:

- a. Being a consumer of one of the brunches (at least one time);
- b. Having an active Instagram profile (having made at least one post in the month previous to the interview);
- c. Having posted recently about one of the brunches (feed or stories).

Thus, our data includes 25 interviews to consumers, who attended 5 of each of the brunches considered. Unfortunately, we were only able to interview the Marketing Manager of Amélia and Nicolau, two brunches that are actually part of the same group. The others were not available to participate in our research.

The interviews were semi-structured and the script was organized according to two main topics which are: the motivations for visiting/being instagrammable places, and the benefits of attending/being an instagrammable place. The interviews to consumers were anonymized, but the Marketing Manager of Amélia and Nicolau agreed to be identifiable. For analyzing the data, we used thematic analysis, following Boyatzis (1998), considering as main categories the topics “instagrammable features”, “motivations” (for attending instagrammable places, for posting on Instagram about them, for creating an instagrammable place) and “benefits” (for consumers, for brands).

5. Findings and Discussion

5.1 Content Analysis

On Table 1 we present a summary of our content analysis *corpus*.

Table 1. Characterization of the content analysis *corpus*.

Case	Instagram followers	@brandprofiles	#customersphotos	Total
Amélia	38,4 k	38	139	177
Nicolau	34,2 k	44	170	214
Fauna & Flora	26,5 k	26	44	70
Heim Café	26,5 k	15	137	152
Zenith	23,9 k	80	34	114
<i>Total</i>	149,5 k	203	524	

User-generated content expands the reach of the brands’ profiles, and it is in most cases superior to the activity of brands themselves. Also, user-generated content is more credible and influential for other (potential) consumers, as “the opinion of a peer is more valuable than the opinion of a brand about itself” (Adolpho, 2011, p. 68).

On Table 2 we present the photographic style of the posts (Manovich, 2017).

Table 2. Photographic style of brands' and customers' posts.

	Casual	Professional	Projected	Other
@brandprofiles	4	118	73	8
#customersphotos	137	33	346	8

In the brands' profiles, most posts are professional. In user-generated content, the projected style predominates, but the casual style is also very common. Thus, the photographic styles of brands and consumers tend to differ.

On Table 3, we present a categorization of type of posts (Bakhshi *et al.*, 2014; Hu *et al.*, 2014), attempting to identify the features of instagrammable content.

Table 3. Type of content posted by brands and consumers.

	Environment	Environment and people	Food	Food and people	Image with interference
@brandprofiles	30	7	147	11	8
#customersphotos	139	62	310	29	4

We observed that brands' and customers' posts were quite similar and featured the same type of content. Most photos featured details of the brunches' decor - such as inspiring phrases, backgrounds, neon signs and landscaping - and details of the food - such as plating, tableware and table decor. Also, the "flat lay" style - a photographing technique in which objects are aligned in a flat surface and photographed from above - is clearly predominant when it comes to food.

Although instagrammable details of the environment are important, food is the main focus of both brands and customers, but the photos reflect more the aesthetical side of presenting the food than its flavour.

It is also possible to conclude that the feeds generated by the brands' hashtags form a single communication channel created by "several independent entities" (Johnson, 2003, p. 47) which is as efficient in communicating the brand as the brands' official profiles.

In addition, the strong presence of instagramism (Manovich, 2017) in user-generated content - posts and stories - affords it a quality similar to professional content. Also, by

being similar to the brands' profiles, reinforces a unique brand image which is co-created by the brand and consumers (Kotler *et al.*, 2017).

On Table 4 we summarize the type of content producers (Terra, 2017; Vionasafira & Sjabadhyni, 2018).

Table 4. Content producers.

	Brand	Brand staff	Prosumers	Influencers	Media
@brandprofiles	141	-	33	24	5
#customersphotos	-	18	419	72	15

The data emphasizes the role of prosumers in creating branded content, thus becoming “brand ambassadors” (Newlin, 2009), a trend in which “people use technology to obtain what they wish from each other, instead of from traditional institutions such as corporations” (Li & Bernoff, 2012, p. 10). The posts of prosumers and digital influencers are as efficient - arguably more (Qualman, 2009) - as the brands' in communicating the brands' image and messages, both in quantity and quality.

Finally, Table 5 presents indicators of the engagement generated by the brands' profiles and by USG.

Table 5. Posts' engagement.

	Likes	Comments
@brandprofiles	91.924	2.392
#customersphotos	80.720	2.426

Consumers, but also digital influencers and traditional media outlets, strongly contribute to creating earned content, or spontaneous media coverage, for the brands, as “audiences, masses, people, become in charge of millions of new screens” (Ilharco, 2014, p. 38). User-generated content results in “visibility, reputation, popularity and/or authority” (Recuero, 2009, p.108-113), both for the users and for the brands. This enhances the brands' awareness and positive eWOM, creating positive brand associations, and thus increasing

brand equity (Aaker, 1991). Thus, an instagrammable setting or experience affords benefits to users, who will obtain social capital in their network (Recuero, 2009), and to brands, who will reach other users in a more influential way.

5.2 Interviews

The results from the previous empirical stage helped us to create the script for our interviews. The interviewees were in average between 20 and 35 years old. They were predominantly female: of the 25 respondents only 2 were male. Most were residents of Lisbon (18), the others lived in Portugal (4) and the last group we interviewed was tourists who were passing through Lisbon but lived in other countries (3). They were university students, graduates and/or post-graduate or Master's students. The interview script had twelve questions, whose focus was to verify the points we found in the content analysis. For this reason, we do not quantify the answers from the interviews. Regarding the answers that we will highlight later, we received them through the following questions:

- What does instagrammable mean to you?
- For what purpose do you usually post your photos on Instagram? Ex. to reinforce self-esteem, to express identity, etc.)
- Is there an expectation of likes when you post a photo?

Concerning the theme “instagrammable”, we identified three topics. The first refers to visually appealing features that contribute to a good photograph, such as colours, aesthetical elements and design. Thus, instagrammable is

“A space which is different and carefully thought, which enables quality photos” (Consumer 1, Amelia);
“Aesthetically beautiful and inspiring” (Consumer 2, Fauna & Flora);
“An aesthetically appealing place, the food well-presented. This allied to good conditions for taking photos” (Consumer 1, Heim);
“A feature visually appealing, which is impossible not to register with a photo or video” (Consumer 1, Nicolau);
“A beautiful environment, well-decorated and which draws attention” (Consumer 3, Zenith).

This is consistent with Manovich's (2017) concept of instagramism, which highlights the importance of design and visual harmony for images. Although consumers were selected randomly, most of them fit into the profile described by the author, as the creators of this visual style - urban young. Also, considering the content analysis, most posts using the brunches' hashtags and/or geolocation presented characteristics of this expressive cultural trend, such as accentuated glow, contrast and saturation, a bigger proportion of bright

areas than dark, empty spaces contrasting textured areas, compositions in diagonal alignment and a frequent use of the flat lay angle. Most interviewees are unfamiliar with the term instagramism, but refer to its components, mentioning “design”, “style”, “beauty”, “harmonious colors”, “aesthetically appealing” to describe what they like to photograph and post.

The second theme is the motivations to capture and share instagrammable photos, which most interviewees relate to “feelings”. The feeling of “belonging” stands out, but others are mentioned such as “well-being”, “good experience”, “joy”, “identification”, “fascination”, “pleasure” and “admiration”. If consumers feel good, they wish to share that feeling with their friends, and they claim that is their main motivation for posting on Instagram.

“Good moments make me want to share that joy and satisfaction with others”
(Consumer 3, Fauna & Flora);
“I think it is not just related with the visual aspect, but also with the emotional meaning that a photo may have for a person” (Consumer 2, Heim);
“I feel like I need to share it with the world” (Consumer 1, Nicolau);
“Seeing something beautiful makes me want to share it” (Consumer 2, Zenith).

Finally, the third theme relates to the benefits sought by the consumers. A small group admits seeking the success that a photo might generate on Instagram, measured in “likes”.

“I seek something that has all the features to be a success on Instagram, that follows the trends of this social network” (Consumer 3, Amélia);
“Something with potential to become what we all in general consider a good Instagram post” (Consumer 2, Fauna & Flora);
“I photograph things that I know will generate likes and comments”
(Consumer 2, Nicolau);
“Photos of people, places and experiences that will generate many likes, because of colours, editing or creativity” (Consumer 1, Zenith).

Thus, are consumers seeking “likes” or flavour when attending these instagrammable brunches? For the majority of the consumers, being instagrammable is not generating a lot of positive feedback on the platform, but being beautiful, colourful and aesthetically pleasing - instagramism (Manovich, 2017). Also, these positive experiences create an urge for sharing them with others, so that they also feel good. For the users, posting is more about connecting with others than about obtaining their validation (Recuero, 2009).

This is consistent with Manovich's claim, that "they are not trying to obtain tenths of thousands of followers, instead they are using Instagram to document moments and communicate with people they know. They are happy if their photos generate many likes and they do not mind attracting new followers, but that is not their main purpose" (2017, p. 6).

Concerning the interview with the Marketing Manager of Amélia and Nicolau, our interlocutor was quite secretive in discussing the marketing strategy and whether creating instagrammable places and experiences was intentionally part of it. It was, however, possible to conclude the interviewee is aware that providing positive experiences to customers "generates a competitive advantage (...) [and] (...) adds value to the already satisfying gastronomic experience" (Marketing Manager of Amélia and Nicolau).

Conclusion

We may argue that instagrammable experiences are a part of living in a phygital society. Currently, with smartphones always in hand, it has become easy to eternize moments lived offline, and share them online. This study focuses on the role played by Instagram and the cultural expression forms that have emerged on this platform as a way of transitioning between online and offline, of intertwining physical and digital spaces.

The food segment is one of the most relevant on Instagram, and brands have realized the value of content created by instagrammers as a way of expanding the reach, the trustworthiness and the influence of brands. Thus, brands are investing in creating instagrammable spaces and products - food in this specific case - thus enhancing the likelihood of instagrammers capturing moments and experiences, posting about them, and relating to the brand by promoting specific hashtags. Prosumers collaborate with brands to whet the appetite of other prosumers.

Our research led us to the conclusion that prosumers almost instinctively acknowledge and reproduce the instagramism (Manovich, 2017) aesthetics. As experienced Instagram users, they easily recognize features of the environment and of products that will result in a photo that, according to Instagram codes and trends, will be successful online. About 66% of the posts published by the brunches' consumers followed the trends of instagramism. That is, from the results found of the Photographic style of the customers'

posts, we found that among the 524 #customersphotos analysed, 346 were in the "projected" group, so we can say that they think and take the photos according to the rules of Instagram. In addition, 22 of our interviewees agreed that knowing that the brunches were beautiful places, propitious for taking good photographs, bore considerable weight on their decision to visit them. Thus, when visiting a brunch, it seems obvious to our interviewees that they expect tasty food, but being able to register that good experience in a way that they consider aesthetic is an added value for them. The main motivation for sharing this type of content, according to our findings, is not obtaining an increased base of followers or engagement. For digital influencers this is important, but common consumers claim that, for them, they expect to connect with others by sharing their positive experiences. It was more difficult to get deeper insight into the perspective of the brands, uncovering whether instagramability is a strategy for them, and which benefits they harvest from it. Although, we consider as a limitation of the study the rejection to be interviewed (by other instagrammable coffees) and the excessive care in exposing strategies (by the Nicolau Group).

Future research on this specific topic is needed to better understand the perspective of the brands and also to study other segments. Furthermore, understanding instagramability is only "one piece of the puzzle", of gaining more insight into how people are interacting with digital media in a phygital society, enjoying physical spaces, portraying them online, living intertwined between the online and offline dimensions. Future research, in different fields, is needed in order to understand, on a macro and on a micro level, how customers and brands interact in a phygital society, and reflect upon the advantages and disadvantages of such interaction.

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