Social media or social comparison? An analysis of Instagram use among Malaysian youth

* Nurzihan Hassim
Taylor's University Malaysia
nurzihan.hassim@taylors.edu.my

Muhammad Hasrul Nizam Hasmadi
Taylor's University Malaysia

Mohamad-Noor Salehhuddin Sharipudin
Universiti Utara Malaysia

ABSTRACT

The ever-changing landscape of social media had shifted information-seeking behaviours of its audiences towards achieving personal gratifications and social mobility. The emergence of Instagram as a mobile application had enabled instantaneous networking and feedback among personal acquaintances and strangers alike that find shared interests from intermingling with one another. Additionally, the curation of distinctive videos and photos on Instagram is significant in enhancing the self-esteem of its users and in turn, their followers. The predominantly youth cohort are found to have become reliant on comparing themselves to others through Instagram, where the discovery of their own insufficiencies result in lifestyle envy and the fear of missing out (FOMO). This study examined Instagram use among Malaysian youths as an agency of social success and life satisfaction where findings showed that social comparison was prevalent through the application and had influenced attitudes and behaviours of its users.

Keywords: **social comparison, social media, social networking, peer engagement, Instagram**

BACKGROUND OF STUDY

Exposure to social pressures with ubiquitous access to the Internet today is inevitable, considering what is trending on social media platforms subconsciously dictates ideals among youths whom are within their developmental stages and are seeking avenues to shape each of their own personalities. Aside from initiating friendships and enhancing visibility, *Instagram* presents a myriad of current trends and diverse cultures within the digital community based on its vast outreach towards youths that prefer the more exclusive Instagram affiliation compared to *Facebook* (Salomon, 2013). Such intercultural transformations have sparked the understanding of modern norms such as the term "YOLO" which means "you only live once", describing the astute realities of digital cultures that persistently provoke youths to seek newness and creative ventures in their social media use (Lebedko, 2014; Leavitt, 2014). According to Wagner (2017), more than 600 million people are using Instagram on a daily basis to share snippets of their seemingly differentiated lives with friends, families and associates through vivid photos and videos. In Malaysia alone, there are approximately 4 million active Instagram users (Lim, 2016). The new addition of *Instagram Stories* feature enabled users to track activities of others throughout the day where photos or videos are presented in an engaging slideshow format (Bradford, 2017). This was followed by recent additions of the *IGTV* and *Live* buttons that offer permanence in streaming user activities through more replays and interactivity, subsequently retaining and increasing valuable followers. The heightened insight into the personal life of others on Instagram reinforce the notion that content is imperative in creating shaping identities, social constructs and expectations among social media users (DeNardis, 2012).

A pre-internet study by Taylor and Brown (1988) hold the view that individuals possess unrealistically positive views of themselves and an exaggerated belief in their ability to control their environment, thus finding others more inferior, or in contrast; more threatening to their existence. This perception today is not just confined to existing relationships offline, but have been brought forward to social media platforms through the intermingling of users with strangers who are able to "follow" them and vice versa, particularly on Instagram despite not having any earlier acquaintance in real life. These stalking behaviours are even more pervasive through the evolution of Instagram features and the frequency of its use as posited by Kong (2015), particularly when Instagram deploys an algorithm that suggests who to follow, which photos and videos to view and "like" (Tait, 2017). In addition to the consistent yearning for post updates by users on an individual's Instagram feed, Lup et al. (2015) argued that the ability to interact with profile owners on social media has redefined the term "strangers" by creating intimacy among people who barely know each other through shared interest and mutual understanding of issues at hand that spark productive debates and discussions thus enticing even more strangers into their virtual network through the growing visibility of the profile. Typically, most Instagram users will share photos or videos that document memorable moments that are positive and reinforces life ideals for the followers and present a gratifying reflection of themselves within the digital community. Kim and Lee (2011) established that this method creates an encouraging self-image that will boost their confidence and self-assurance; but is argued by Denti et al. (2012) that this "ideal" representation will lead followers to believe that they are leading a lesser life.

Moreover, the richness of information, particularly of a person's profile, background and routines shared on Instagram are open to "voyeuristic" reactions from followers; where such details are open to scrutiny of others that are able to access them and find enjoyment in seeing weakness on such postings or content on the platform, leading a follower to a "lifestyle envy" of sorts. The origins of this behaviour can be traced from the Social Comparison Theory established by Festinger (1954), where despite the display of positive image to others, there is a constant urge to compare one's life with another that would result in an emotional state of insufficiency. This is in line with the "Fear of Missing Out" or better known as *FOMO* that was discussed by Nguyen (2014), where tech-savvy youths today suffer from anxieties when they are not using social media as they fear

that they would be excluded from social events, updates of news and inclusion into important status updates if they are away from it. In a more recent study, results indicated that social needs increases with the heightened use of social media such as Facebook (Beyens, Frison, & Eggermont, 2016). A total of 402 adolescents participated in a survey that indicated a mechanism in their willingness grow their social circle by appearing more visible on their social media profiles with their daily activities. Subsequently, these unrealistic expectations include social status and body insecurities thus resulting in doctoring their posts as well as curating only impressionable realities on social media for others to see (MacMillan, 2017). Other studies found a lack of self-esteem on social media through stalking behaviours that heighten social comparison and envy that would eventually dampen the standards of their own lives (Krasnova et al., 2013). Chou & Edge (2012) also highlighted that the frequent browsing of other social media accounts are by individuals who believe other people are far happier and have a better life compared to themselves.

Pursuant to this, we examined the extent of social comparison among Malaysian youths by organising a survey and conducting several interviews with university students. Among the objectives of the study is to ascertain motivations of the youth in their Instagram use that shape their outlook on life satisfaction. We also sought to explore their Instagram presence and factors that determine their perceived sufficiency. Subsequently, the study also intended to analyse whether feedback and interactivity from others on their Instagram posts reinforce their positive behaviour towards life satisfaction.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Since the birth of social comparison studies, researchers have looked into various areas in which comparison is relevant to the progressing times in communication and media. Morrison et al. (2004) found that psychologically, youths are prone to have social comparison in their adolescence as their need to present their ideal body-image have also developed. Comparisons that occur are mostly among individuals that are dissimilar with themselves and apply on dimensions such as physical appearance and eating habits (Martin & Kennedy, 1993; Wheeler & Miyake, 1992). Further according to Morrison, the Social Comparison Theory is known to have "upward" comparison as well as "downward" comparison that are universalistic and particularistic respectively. An upward comparison with someone that has more alluring and fascinating lifestyle is detrimental to the confidence of a person whilst downward comparisons with people who are more inferior to them provides validation and dominance (Suls et al., 2002; Wills, 1981).

Upwards view
As explained by Kong (2015), individuals compete to rank themselves and establish where they could be on the metaphorical scale of social hierarchy, which in effect increases their efforts in enhancing their self-worth and shaping their identity (Tandoc et al, 2015). Festinger's take on the Social Comparison Theory emphasises on the individual's insecurity and the need to constantly measure and assess themselves to define themselves. Nevertheless, Suls et al. (2002) pointed out that the comparison occurs when individuals are unable to evaluate their opinions and abilities, thus needing reference from others who are finer and worthier as indicated by Baumeister et al. (2003). This process may be predominantly resilient for women who have a higher technique of surveillance as the betterment for physical appeal is a more prominent goal for them as argued by Tylka & Sabik (2010). Rooting from this perspective, the engagement in recurring upward comparison on social media provides users with a continuous cue afforded by features that allow consistent notifications and updates to indicate whether they are within their goals or falling behind. Incessant comparisons with particularly unrealistic imageries of other social media users and the exposure to media stereotypes would drive youths to abandon their current goals and pursue new ones based on how frequent they utilize Instagram.

Downwards view

The emergence of social media platforms such as Instagram observed the desire to gain attention from peers by its fervent users. Further to the previous section, an important point brought forth by Festinger (1954) is the choice of whom individuals emulate or compete with, where Argo et al. (2006) highlighted that individuals become more willing to lie or deceive others when they are exposed to unfavourable social comparison to the self. Thus any outperformance by someone who is both close, or not close at all; requires mitigation of threats both public and private as clearly observed on the unrealistic and false sense of realities portrayed on social media accounts at present. According to Lister (2017) there are over 282 million selfies on Instagram that present a strong correlation with the self-confidence of followers who view such selfies. When involved in a downward comparison, the explicit details through media exposure increases the level of social comparison of the user (Tiggemann & McGill, 2004). In regards to this matter, the practice of self-esteem refers to feelings of self-acceptance where a universally favourable evaluation of the self creates a more superior view of the user compared to others as highlighted by Baumeister et al. (2003). Various other studies also saw that narcissism and egocentricity are motivations to why people use social media to document their achievements (Andreassen et al., 2016; Błachnio et al., 2016; Wang et al., 2012). Those with high self-esteem are open to communication with their peer group and are more likely to comment on social media accounts of others compared to instant messaging features of the platform (Barker, 2012; Wang et al., 2012).

Comparison for subjective norm

Research also found that while individuals feel the need to conform to the current norms, they try to improve themselves after evaluating their weaknesses that are pointed out by others (Festinger, 1954). Barry et al. (2015) argued that an individual with low self-confidence may be more inclined to have self-disclosure on social media rather than face-to-face interactions for acknowledgement that they would not be able to achieve in real life. In other studies, responses and endorsement of others towards what has been posted on social media, such as intensive ideologies i.e. *parenting styles,* would reinforce agreement and understanding of the affected individual thus indicating the areas of right and wrong for the person (Tiggemann, 2003). Social comparison is also largely applied on issues of body positivity where increased anxieties about body image and dissatisfactions are reassured by support and motivation of others (Tiggemann & McGill, 2004). In relations to Instagram use, a study by Chua & Chang (2016) on social networking sites find that youths who create virtual representations of themselves online with texts, photographs and videos are conscious that their self-presentation and comparison of peers happen simultaneously. When feedback is collected from followers, it allows the Instagram user to step back and evaluate their postings that would increase the tendencies of comparison with how others present themselves and subsequently rethink their decisions in life and future undertakings; as well as how they would want to illustrate their worth on their social media accounts.

METHODOLOGY

To examine the practice of social comparison on Instagram among youths, both quantitative and qualitative methods were deployed. Preliminary data was gathered on "digital natives" to ascertain certain behaviours and reactions of this generational cohort that is known to be technologically savvy and adept with social media platforms (Fernandez-Cruz & Fernandez-Diaz, 2016).

To begin, a self-administered questionnaire was designed on Googleforms where the respondents were asked a sequence of 27 statements about their Instagram use as well as their attitudes and behaviours towards others on the social media platform, based on dimensions identified in the literature review founded on the Social Comparison Theory (Festinger, 1954). The

criteria for participants to complete the survey must be the following; (1) the participants have an active account on Instagram; and, (2) he or she must be 18 to 23 years old during the administration of the survey. Schroer (2008) had also defined the digital natives as teenagers born from the year 1995 onwards; which makes the majority of social media active users are aged 18 to 23 years old at present.

Respondents were required to evaluate their answers based on 5-point Likert-type scale, ranging from 1 (strongly disagree) to 5 (strongly agree). The questionnaire remained open for two weeks and was later tabulated and elaborated with basic descriptive analysis as a foundation to its subsequent qualitative research method. The questionnaire was distributed online but was concentrated towards students of universities in Klang Valley, Malaysia, with the assistance of student representatives and lecturers on virtual bulletin boards. These included posting the link on student Facebook groups where the respondents voluntarily but anonymously participated. A majority of the participants were female at 73% compared to males but both genders are predominantly pursuing their bachelor's degree (57.4%). 20.8% are from SPM/STPM/O Level/High School Certificate or equivalent, 17.8% are from Diploma and the remaining 4% are postgraduate (Masters, PhD or equivalent) students.

The consequences of social media use can be analysed from user activities on the platform. With Instagram in focus, the questionnaire items regarding this factor are separated into several sections. Firstly, respondents reported the hours spent on using Instagram on a daily basis and their likelihood of using Instagram. Secondly, participants reported on how often they use Instagram on average. Next, the respondents were asked about the people they follow to gauge their perceptions and tendencies of comparing themselves with others. This includes those who represent an interesting lifestyle and references that are influential in their information gathering and evaluation of self-esteem through upwards comparison. Similarly, considering that Instagram is renowned for the use of photography filters by the majority of its users, respondents are required to report their need and the necessity of edit their photos uploaded on Instagram that would present a more preferable and superior image towards others thus making a photo and their self-presentation stronger for downwards comparison.

Finally, respondents were required to report on how follower feedback affect the way they look at themselves. As discussed in the literature review, the volume of followers and responses of "likes" as well as encouraging comments play a major role in the continuation of Instagram use among respondents. An individual's attractiveness and popularity are also deduced from these elements. Hence, in the last section, respondents are given statements that discuss their emotions, motivation, moral values, and indication of success, superiority, self-degradation, disassociation and social stature that were observed from their use of Instagram.

After the breadth of Instagram use and its relationship to life satisfaction of the youths were identified in the quantitative section of this present study, six university students were selected to participate in in-depth interviews through convenience sampling, considering their proximity to the researchers. Based on the results tabulated from the survey in the first section of this study that identified more female respondents than males, all informants selected for the purpose of the interviews were females. All interviewees were students of Taylor's University that partake in diploma, foundation as well as bachelor degree studies. The criteria of informants were similar to the questionnaire respondents, where they are heavily involved with the practice of social media and are within the age range of 18 to 23 years old. The interviews were conducted individually on campus with standardised, open-ended questions that correspond to themes determined by the study within a duration of one week. Interviews recorded from the informants were transcribed and were later coded using Atlas.ti8 software. The quotes obtained from the transcripts were organised and clustered based on repetitive patterns and themes that emerged during the coding process.

RESULTS AND FINDINGS

Motivation of Instagram use among youths

In the descriptive analysis done on the survey, the survey revealed that 81% of the respondents use Instagram on a daily basis. A majority of respondents are heavy users that spend between four to six hours on Instagram (57%) while 9% beyond six hours of use. This signifies the dependency of users toward the application and is congruent with previous studies on heavy usage of social media among youths. Further to this, the results found that 40.6% of the respondents follow other users on Instagram that portray positive, unique and interesting lifestyles. The process of glorifying regular persons with enticing Instagram posts can be referred to the "micro-celebrity" trend that is presently seen as a form self-promotion and self-branding where the consistencies of these largely followed users are purposeful in order to sustain audience interest and regular consumption of their "celebrity-like" uploaded content (Couldry et al., 2016). It can also be argued that the daily exposure to Instagram posts of others shape social expectations and anxieties on the personal lives of youths, setting some Instagram profiles that they follow as role models. Most importantly, 75.2% of the respondents find it imperative to keep up with the lives of their friends or strangers due to the "fear of missing out" (FOMO).

This is consistent with the interview excerpts gathered. Informant 1, a 22 year-old biosciences student felt that reading the newsfeed Instagram today can be compared to reading the newspaper, but the updates are dependent on her interests and what Instagram users are heavily discussing or sharing at the moment. In example, she would most likely attempt a recent diet phenomenon if she saw posts related to it, mainly because many other users on Instagram has done the same.

Meanwhile, Informant 2; a 20 year-old diploma student, revealed that aside from viewing updates from her personal circle of friends, her curious nature and algorithms of Instagram had also lead her to frequently browse Instagram profiles that are worth following on the "explore" section of the Instagram application. While following strangers are unintentional, it helped her understand new trends and find inspiration in her daily life. She also expects to gain knowledge about other cultures. It is also a coincidence that the people that she was most likely to follow in her exploration of Instagram are mostly socialites and celebrities.

> "… they are basically people who are *instafamous* - maybe because they use Instagram more often because of what they do that are fascinating to others, visually. But what they do is very interesting, like how they dress, what they eat where they hang out… et cetera," –Informant 2.

Informant 3, a 19 year-old foundation student said found it fascinating to follow friends with seemingly interesting lives on Instagram mainly because what they feature on their posts required a lot of effort like posing for fashionable outfits, putting on make-up and looking presentable despite their busy schedule.

> "…it must be tiring, having to be perfect all the time. If I had that kind of time or money perhaps I would also do the same. But I don't. It's very distracting but it's a form of escape." – Informant 3

While this is indicative of the influence of Instagram users upon their followers, this also illustrated that the ardent following could expose them to false sense of realities. The "follow" intent of users are concerned with attractiveness of Instagram posts are regarded as high points of reference and users that are consistent in their inspiring uploads are considered as role models for followers to benchmark their life goals. This in turn would impose the feeling of insufficiency among followers amidst their downwards comparison which is discussed in the next section.

Instagram in shaping sufficiency

It has been shown in this study that the prevalence of social media among youths are primarily due to the ability to express themselves freely and creatively while they are able share their current moods, thoughts and feelings on a personal level (Rahim et al., 2011). Storsul (2014) argued that online modes of self-presentation are inspired by trending conversations on social media sites and youths, particularly university students that are willing to expand their social networks in order to formulate a more customisable version of themselves to others, connecting to an unfavourable outcome of "downwards comparison". The results further indicated that 72% of respondents are affected by what is viewed on the Instagram accounts that they follow, such as postings of vacation photos and relationship updates that could spark envy and sadness.

Viewing of such posts may also inflict their self-esteem as they feel the urge to experience the same amount of joy as their friends. A study by Lai et al. (2016) and Dossey (2014) indicated that FOMO is also correlated to the competitive sense of belonging among social media users as subconscious "social monitoring systems". Consequently, this study found that a total of 81% of the respondents believed that the need to edit their photo before posting it on Instagram, illustrating a lack of self-esteem where they require technological affordances in deceiving others with photos of their false realities which they feel is more superior.

Among the interview informants, Informant 3 agrees with this and was further concurred by Informant 4 who find that not all Instagram users posts genuine photos, including themselves.

> "Yes some of them [pictures] do not display what I really feel actually. I realise us younger generations are more obsessed about how we present ourselves to others. Some people only look good on photo and was not able do PR or socialise in reality. I know some of them who are like me," – Informant 4.

> "I believe that Instagram is like a photo gallery and people expect to see a groomed and `good' version of you. So I normally don't post anything before I've taken many angles and done what my friends and I call `quality control'. If I look bad or fat, I won't post it." – Informant 3.

This contradicted the study done by Bakhshi et al. (2013) where presentation of selfies or personal photos do not necessarily generate reactions or followings from others as other followers are more interested to look into the user's day-to-day socialising activities. Informant 1 finds that when comparing photos, people look to others for weaknesses and try to place themselves as role models.

> "I'm sure there is a statement to be made when you upload your stuff online. I try not to give a damn about people say about my photos on social media but there is always a hater out there that has nothing better to do but comment to appear better than others so I can't help but to post a version of myself before someone thinks differently of me."- Informant 1

Informant 1 went on to comment that this habit brings more harm to young generations, especially for women because other Instagram users tend to see visuals and later take it out of context through their individual interpretation. "By trying to hate someone, they actually begin to hate themselves," Informant 1 further elaborated. However, Informant 5, a Master's degree student felt that posting merely pictures of outfits shouldn't reflect the reality of a person and youths should not resort to deception but rather, archive their lives as per how it should be on Instagram.

> "No, I feel it doesn't have a direct link! Marketing yourself is one thing, but changing or affecting a belief system requires a lot of careful and deliberate postings. If you invest so much time creating a story that is untrue, how do you

expect people to understand the real you and accept the idea of your real individuality?" – Informant 5.

Implications of Instagram feedback on youth behaviour

While Instagram posts of others could shape the outlook of youth on life satisfaction, validation and enforcement during their interactivity with others creates more mileage to their online presence. The majority of the respondents agreed that instantaneous responses received on their posts would increase positive attitudes towards themselves (57%). The present study connoted the influence of peer engagement upon the participant's self-esteem, where 76.2% of respondents would not delete any of their past Instagram posts due to the favourable responses attained. Finally, the study found that 51% of the respondents are motivated to improve their lives after evaluating their posts and receiving feedback from the postings on Instagram. The posts become more beneficial when the person receives feedback from strangers that provide encouragement and motivation in improving themselves.

Similarly, Informant 6, a 23-year old undergraduate interview informant felt that flattery received during engagement with other Instagram users defines her generation. She is an avid user of Instagram and feels that encouraging words from others are a representation of her self-worth.

> "We're mostly millennials (are we?)… oh, we're not? Okay Gen Z then. Maybe from the same group of people who in my opinion thrives on attention and likes. We like to find something easy to gain validation instead of working hard for it. Which is not a bad thing [chuckles]" - Informant 6.

Informant 5, on the other hand finds social comparisons on Instagram is not just a phenomenon and it is a part of the lives and social cycle of digital natives. This was also agreed by a majority of the informants, some believing that interpersonal relationships that can be forged online and grow from the engagements made with others.

> "I think social media presence is just like real presence, although that being behind the screen is more convenient for introverts. If you are shy, the comment section is a great way to connect with someone without being too forward." – Informant 5.

> "Sometimes I like that I get comments from others especially when I wear something nice, or look like I lost weight, even if I don't know the person too well. It shows that somehow the person made an effort to make your day and it does affect my mood positively, and vice versa." - Informant 4

Further to the analysis of interviews, youths are more affected by the life of strangers than of their closer circle of friends, considering them as opinion leaders. However, Informant 2 and Informant 6 feels differently about this matter.

> "Social media is very influential especially to the youngsters. Since it's such an influential tool, the way how one addresses another on Instagram or whichever public digital platform is a powerful statement that could make or break a person, especially if comments come from close friends" – Informant 2.

> "When a `real' close friend who has seen my InstaStory on what I did that day, but didn't send me a direct message to ask me in detail, I feel offended or sad. Also sometimes when we meet face-to-face and they fail to know what I was up

> to, I feel annoyed that they didn't invest the time or care enough to check on me
> on how I'm doing on Instagram," – Informant 6.

Following the responses of Informant 2 and Informant 6, the impact of real friends that are connected to youths on social media should not be overlooked because an individual is more connected to the people they are actually close with on an emotional basis due to their personal history. Thus, engagement from strangers or celebrities on Instagram are not the only sources of credible and affective reinforcements.

DISCUSSION

Van Rooy et al. (2016) showed that over time, there is a force in self-evaluation upon people who belong to groups against others, in which they tend to choose opinions that hold them in high regard. The results of the present study are highly demonstrative of Festinger's assumption of the Social Comparison Theory (1956) that argued the discrepancies of this expectation will lead to the anxieties in behaviours the affected individuals. In the case of social media sharing on Instagram, demonstrating a highly favourable lifestyle on Instagram is intended to create a shared norm in the society whilst at the same time is driven to distinguish themselves among each other. While social media has the positive value of helping associate the youth with their individual branding or personality, the negative cycle of the comparisons made by these youths striggers low self-esteem that could lead to negative assumptions and onwards depression. Social media engagement at a younger age is prone to enhance the feelings of loneliness and anxieties as the distortion towards the user profile will not only create false realities for their followers, but also themselves in their attempt to evaluate their upwards comparison (Oberst, 2017). Social networking sites are influential in spreading ideas to youths, but it is youths who are accountable for their own decision-making processes and the development of their self-esteem based on their intention and exposure (Munzel & Galan, 2018). The overt narcissism of youths on social media are not always due to attention-seeking behaviours or feeling of entitlement as argued by Ozimek et al. (2018), as postings on Instagram is a defence mechanism that protect users from low perceptions from others and their way to build a wall against negative contestations against their vulnerability in a public sphere.

After six decades in testing and developing Festinger's theory, analyses of scholars time and again had proven that individuals start with evaluating themselves first when they compare their lives with others during their "upwards comparison", followed by grandiose presentations of their personalities on social media with "downwards comparison" as described by Gerber et al. (2018). The results of both quantitative and qualitative sections of the study are congruent with progressions of the theories where their upwards comparison would reflect the output of their downwards comparison, which ultimately would determine if they would view their lives as sufficient or insufficient. The survey had been deployed to illustrate the habits of youths on their Instagram use and general assumptions they may have on connecting with others on the social media platform. The in-depth interviews were meant to elaborate the dimensions of the survey to ascertain the patterns of behaviour and predict the extent and impact of social comparison on Instagram. It can be said that, validation from other users of Instagram would help raise or lower the scale of comparisons done previously to mark and validate their achievements. While there are various learning theories on attitudes and behaviours related to media use, the youths have been so significant in the process of determining the influence of content, particularly in the narrowcasting of social media that bring forth the power of youth users in shaping the trends of future social networking sites.

CONCLUSION

Based on the result of the studies, the Social Comparison Theory is still very much relevant to the use of social media today. It is found that Instagram is influential in moderating the relationship between youth self-esteem and life satisfaction where they are able to project a different reality for themselves and for ardent followers to create a more cohesive outlook of their individuality. In doing so, their comparisons with the lives of others have significant effects towards how they project that reality in order to mask their own weaknesses in comparison to the strengths of others. In doing so, the level of engagement from others encourage the veracity and tenacity of their posts, in which creates room for others to do the same. The process is cyclical and inevitable due to the affordance of ever-changing mobile and networking technologies. Whilst the comparisons are mostly concerning social status among youths due to their adolescent growth, there is much to be explored on other generational cohorts in terms of their achievements at later stages in life to demonstrate the impact of Instagram towards digital migrants in compared to the already savvy digital natives.

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Nurzihan Hassim

is a Senior Lecturer in the School of Media and Communication at Taylor's
University. Her research interests include cultural and new media studies.
Nurzihan completed her PhD in examining the discursive practices of female
modesty in Malaysian media and is currently working on research projects on health
communication as well as youth engagement in politics in
the ever-changing digital environment.

Muhammad Hasrul Nizam Hasmadi

recently completed his study in Master of Communication. His research interests lie
in youths and social media. To further enhance his breadth of knowledge,
Hasrul is currently a social media executive specializing in digital marketing strategies.

Mohamad-Noor Sharipudin

is a Senior Lecturer in the School of Multimedia Technology and Communication.
He holds a PhD in Marketing from Victoria University of Wellington.
His research interests include sponsorship and non-profit marketing, consumer
behaviour and consumer culture (ethnicity). Dr Sharipudin has industry experience in
banking and corporate branding before turning to academia.