Distinction and Presentation with
#guiltypleasure

Twitter content analysis of 'bad' music and 'real' taste.

by Liesbeth van der Vlegel

#CONTENTS

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I will not bother you with my troubles and difficulties during this thesis process. Emphasizing my struggle is like being a famous rapper with a million dollar bank account, but who's still rapping about his thug life in the hood. In other words, I don't want to be the 50 Cent of academics. I do want to say that without some people I would not be here. First of all, my parents, obviously. Although my mother is writing her PhD, she devoted much free time to share suggestions and give feedback. I am especially thankful for the positive reinforcement from Mark, Renee, Zsuzsi, Matthijs and Inge.

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Shall we?

"Why do some people say JT is their "guilty" pleasure? Nothing wrong with liking Justin Timberlake, it's not like being fan of trash like Bieber."

"Guilty pleasure: I like to fart around old people and watch the looks on their faces because they just assume they did it."

"I don't like the idea of guilty pleasure, don't be ashamed of liking something, unless it is the movie Eragon."

"It used to be a guilty pleasure but now it became a habit."

The new Annie is so corrupt, self-indulgent and trashy but it will fast become my guilty pleasure.

"Lying in bed until 1:30 in the afternoon is either a guilty pleasure, or a problem."

"Guilty pleasure: "Say My Name" by Destiny's Child.. Everyone secretly loves it. Osama Bin Laden probably bumped that shit in his caves."

"Pleasure is the most useless thing to feel guilty about...unless your pleasure is murder or something."

#INTRODUCTION 1

1.
INTRODUCTION

In the Dutch television show *Jinek*, the interviewer asks her guest about his guilty pleasure (Jinek, 2014).

> **Host:** I was slightly shocked by your guilty pleasure..
> **Guest:** That is why it is a guilty pleasure [..] you can't resist it. You feel in your environment 'this is not done'. There are of course people who really think it is beautiful because otherwise it would have never become a hit, but it is not done.
> **Host:** It is not only an annoying song, also an annoying video clip.
> **Guest:** It is horrible.

In this interview both participants criticize 'You're Beautiful' by James Blunt. The interviewee labels his own guilty pleasure as something not generally done, this 'shocking' the host. A guilty pleasure is for instance like eating an entire chocolate cake. It is something you feel you should not do and afterwards you feel guilty about having consumed it. On the one hand, a guilty pleasure is something you like, but on the other hand it is something you dislike. Guilty pleasures are a "hot topic" in the media and they provide an interesting phenomenon as a fad. Additionally, cultural consumption is increasingly taking place online. A platform to share and present your consumption is Twitter. By analyzing 9605 tweets, this research will combine the theoretical concepts of distinction (Pierre Bourdieu, 1984) and presentation (Erving Goffman, 1959), to uncover how Twitter users apply guilty pleasures to present their taste. Twitter is a platform to flaunt taste, share, interact, be conspicuous in your presentation but also seek affirmation from your social group. Since guilty pleasure is a specialized way to create distinction this research will also focus on how Twitter users aim to distinguish themselves.

Sharing your guilty pleasure on Twitter is a contradiction. The phrase entails that the Twitter user is embarrassed about the consumption, but by publicly displaying a guilty pleasure the product is elevated and given attention. The performance of the Twitter user is directed towards their own audience or followers, which relates to Goffman's theory *Presentation of Self* (1959). In other words, how do Twitter users maintain the impression of good taste while admitting their guilty pleasure consumption? In this research the following

research question is addressed: *In what ways do people present their guilty pleasures on Twitter about different cultural products and practices and how do they aim to distinguish themselves?*

A guilty pleasure is both (secretly) serious and ironic. This fine line between the two makes the concept an interesting area of research in matters of taste. In the cultural landscape of the postmodern society, tastes and trends change in a rapid pace (Macionis & Plummer, 2012). This results in taste uncertainty: people do not know what is considered 'good' or 'bad' taste anymore. This taste uncertainty is tricky, since consumption choices for individuals are extremely important to construct identity (Alexander, 2003). Consumption styles such as irony and guilty pleasure are a vital way to maneuver in this postmodern cultural landscape. A consumption style allows consumers to enjoy objects without endangering their real taste. Guilty pleasure is a manner by which people can legitimately appropriate 'bad' popular culture without "losing face" (Goffman, 1959, pp. 40). With this style of consumption, consumers can cross and uphold symbolic boundaries between their 'real' taste and 'bad' taste (Peters et al., 2015). Guilty pleasures create distinction between the self and the consumed product, but also between those who consume the product seriously, which leads to a superior position for the consumer who claims the product is merely their guilty pleasure.

1.1
THEORETICAL RELEVANCE

The theories of Bourdieu (1984) and Goffman (1959) have rarely been brought together in a research. In his *Distinction* theory, Bourdieu (1984) states the higher class pursues distinction to reaffirm their class position and create symbolic boundaries. With taste individuals can create distinction and distinguish themselves (Bourdieu, 1984). The theory of Goffman (1959) proposes that people, in the presence of others, aim to present an idealized version of themselves. In others words, individuals play roles. Goffman and Bourdieu will be combined to explore the concept of guilty pleasure, because by presenting a guilty pleasure on Twitter, individuals aim to give a certain impression. The goal of this performance and thus tweet, is to present themselves in what they consider to be a favorable way. Since people make judgements based on taste, Twitter users will therefore seek distinction from these 'bad' products and serious consumers.

The distinction theory by Bourdieu (1984) paved the way for other studies to research what people consume in order to infer status or cultural capital (Daenekindt & Roose, 2014; Van Eijck, 2013). As time passed, Bourdieu's theory was critiqued and it was believed cultural elite had become more open to cultural diversity and cultural products (Ollivier, 2008; Peterson & Simkus, 1992). Objects soon lost their distinctive qualities since people from different classes all consumed them. Recent research has therefore been focused on how people consume cultural products as a manner of distinction (Van Eijck, 2013; Daenekindt & Roose, 2014; Ollivier, 2008; Atkinson, 2011; Holt, 1997; Peters et al., 2015). This area of

sociology has a scarcity of literature and this research contributes to the knowledge about styles of consumption. It will also make a general contribution to the knowledge about how people consume cultural products in order to create distinction and provide new insights into the consumption practice of guilty pleasure.

Research about styles of consumption or manners of distinction are mainly focused on ironic consumption (Ang, 1985; 2007, Ollivier, 2008; Peters et al., 2015). There is a lack of academic research on the concept of guilty pleasure. There has been some academic research on food and guilty pleasure (Houben, Roefs & Jansen, 2010; 2012; Kuijer & Boyce, 2014), shopping and television (McCoy & Scarborough 2014a; 2014b, Pozner, 2010) and a little bit about music (Wilson, 2014). However, these studies do not address the concept of guilty pleasure in its broad context. There is no general framework for the concept, which this research will aim to provide by proposing a tentative typology about guilty pleasures.

1.2
METHODICAL RELEVANCE

Type in guilty pleasure on Twitter and tons of tweets show up. Some are about food, others about television shows, music or other random leisure activities. Guilty pleasure is a buzzword and widely referred to on Twitter. This benefits the research and also signals the relevance of this study. In most sociological research on manners of consumption, surveys (Daenekindt & Roose, 2014), interviews (McCoy & Scarborough, 2014a; Olliver, 2008) and observations (Peters et al., 2015) predominate. A Twitter analysis provides innovative opportunities for sociological research, because it allows to focus on the actual use of the phrase guilty pleasures and how people present their tweet linguistically. Surveys and interview focus on what respondents consume or think, but a Twitter analysis creates the opportunity to explore how Twitter users attach meaning to the concept of guilty pleasure and cultural consumption, and how they present their taste in online conventions such as the hashtag.

Although guilty pleasures have not received much scholarly attention in the field of sociology, in one study by McCoy and Scarborough (2014a) the concept of guilty pleasure was analyzed top-down. Here *the researchers* classified their respondents behavior as guilty pleasure and gave their own interpretation of the concept. In contrast, this research collected tweets in which *the Twitter users and thus consumers*, classified their own behavior by adding the hashtag #guiltypleasure or the phrase guilty pleasure. This research therefore uses an explorative, inductive and bottom-up approach. The method of analysis makes this research innovative, since it will provide a more comprehensive understanding of how people use the concept of guilty pleasure in their daily life. Additionally, this research explores multiple content categories of consumption, while previous research has mostly focused on certain types of consumption such as music or reality-TV.

By accessing the real-time Twitter stream, 9605 tweets were collected. This research will methodically contribute to the effectiveness of Twitter analysis with regards to consumption practices, since this method has not been used in previous studies about styles of consumption. The research will demonstrate how a Twitter analysis can be used to create

a bottom-up theory about a concept. To explore the themes inductively this research makes use of topic modeling, topic browsers and semantic networks. Topic model is gaining ground in academic research and is used to discover frequently occurring themes in a large dataset. This emphasizes the inductive character of the research. By using a combination of programs (Python, AmCAT and RStudio) and a combination of tools to analyze the data (LDA topic model, topic browser, hashtag analysis, analysis of frequently used nouns and adjectives and semantic networks to analyze the relationships between the hidden themes) this research sets out to pioneer the field with its innovative method.

1.3
OUTLINE

This first chapter discussed the relevance of this research, the research question and the theoretical concepts. These concepts will be explored in chapters two and three. Chapter two starts with the theory of *Distinction* by Pierre Bourdieu (1984) and works its way up to the concept of guilty pleasures. Chapter three revolves around the theory of *Presentation of Self*, by Erving Goffman (1959). Chapter four focusses on the data and methodology of this thesis. In this fourth chapter the website Twitter and its users will be discussed. This methodology chapter includes an explanation of the data cleaning, the different types of analysis and the constructed week. Chapter five will present the results of this research, concluding with a tentative model to present guilty pleasures. In chapter six a conclusion will be given about this research alongside a discussion containing suggestions for further research.

#THEORY

2

2.
TASTE AND DISTINCTION

In this chapter the theory of distinction and taste by Pierre Bourdieu (1984) is explored. At first, research on cultural tastes focused on what was consumed as means of distinction. Later on, the omnivore thesis highlighted increasingly more people enjoyed popular culture, which questioned whether Bourdieu's homology still excited. Gradually and more recently, attention is given to how people consume cultural products as means to create distinction. The manner of consuming can be defined as consumption styles like irony, camp sensibility and guilty pleasures. In this chapter these concepts will be discussed.

2.1
FROM DISTINCTION TO OPENNESS

In *Distinction* (1984) Pierre Bourdieu introduced the homology that tastes are related to social class. Distinction is making judgements based on taste whereby symbolic boundaries between classes in society are created. Boundaries exist because people and classes have a different volume and composition of economic, cultural and social capital which creates social differentiation (Bourdieu, 1984). Cultural capital is knowledge about high art, education and a level of refinement, whereas economic capital are the financial resources a person has available and social capital refers to a person's network (Bourdieu, 1984). This relates to Bourdieu's believe that there are three classes in society, the dominant, the middle class and the dominated (1984). The dominant class has the most of all three capitals while the dominated have less to nothing. The dominant class with the most economic and cultural capital determines what constitutes taste in society (Bourdieu, 1984).

The three classes differ in capital composition and volume. Each class has fractions, for example in the dominant class, intellectuals can have more cultural capital and less economic capital. A business man can have more economic capital and less cultural capital, but still belong in the dominant class. This composition and volume of a person's cultural capital is expressed in taste and habitus (Bourdieu, 1984). With taste you express in which class you

belong and in which class you do not want to belong and this creates symbolic boundaries (Bourdieu, 1984). People use culture to define their social standing and distinguish themselves from other social groups with taste (Macionis & Plummer, 2012; Berger & Heath, 2008). People also distinguish themselves by what they don't appreciate (Van Eijck, 2013; Bourdieu, 1984). A preference and distaste for certain cultural objects, or what a person thinks is good or 'bad' taste, classifies people into a certain class (Bourdieu, 1984).

This preference can is seen as the habitus. For Bourdieu (1984) the habitus mediates between class and individual taste preferences. In other words, it mediates between structure and agency. Children are taught through socialization what to like and these taste correspond with their class (Bourdieu, 1990 [1980]). Parents also transfer a distinctive class habitus to their children (Macionis & Plummer, 2012). Since the habitus is related to class it is an "internalized form of class condition" (Bourdieu, 1984, pp. 95). It entails a preference for types of food, music, art and the internalized distaste for objects that are associated with a lower or other class (Bourdieu, 1990 [1980]). These preferences are somewhat unconscious, because the habitus works pre-reflexive like a second nature (Bourdieu, 1990 [1980]). In other words, individuals might not be aware of its existence. Individuals can make choices "consciously or unconsciously to maximize your satisfaction in life within the bounds your habitus makes thinkable" (Wilson, 2014, pp. 92). Taste is therefore experienced as a personal choice or individual agency, although you can only choose within the spectrum of your habitus (Wilson, 2014; Bourdieu; 1990 [1980]).

Taste is mostly unreflexive because an individual's preference for folk music, rock or country is related to the habitus and thus related to a social class. However, taste is also reflexive because it is a "means of distinguishing ourselves from others, the pursuit of distinction" (Wilson, 2014, pp. 91). Taste can be seen as an active choice to distinguish oneself. Therefore Bourdieu (1984) claimed the higher classes seek out more complex forms of music to reaffirm their status. The higher class also claimed some forms of art are better than others to create symbolic boundaries. In other words, the highbrow 'snob' consumes high art and the lowbrow 'slob' consumes popular culture (Alexander, 2003). The lowbrow 'slob' is an individual from the dominated class, with the least cultural capital. People in this class do not have enough economic resources to obtain more cultural capital to understand and appreciate highbrow art. High art becomes exclusive to those with the money, knowledge and time to invest in it. This pattern is thus used by the higher class to create social boundaries (Bourdieu, 1984). The taste of the higher class is legitimate, because it represents a social position and competency to justify taste (Bourdieu, 1984). Bourdieu's (1984) idea also relates to the concept of conspicuous consumption. According to this theory, people will spend money and time to acquire valuable goods as a means to obtain prestige and social status (Veblen, 1899). Like a highbrow taste, conspicuous consumption is aimed to demonstrate wealth, status and cultural capital (Veblen, 1899).

The homology thesis by Bourdieu was critiqued by researchers which later became known as the omnivore thesis. The theory of cultural omnivores and univores presents cultural taste in a pyramid (Peterson & Simkus, 1992). In this pyramid, few people like high art, but increasingly more people are involved in high and low status cultural activities (Alexander,

2003). It was argued, the cultural boundary shifted from legitimate (higher class) versus popular culture (lower class) to omnivorousness versus univorousness (Peterson & Simkus, 1992; Atkinson, 2011; Han, 2003). Omnivores are young, highly educated people with a high status profession and they appreciate a broad range of genres from popular culture to high art (Peterson and Simkus, 1992; Peterson and Kern, 1996; Sullivan & Katz-Gerro, 2007; Van Eijck, 2001). In contrast, people with low-status professions appreciate a limited range of music, only popular culture, and were labeled 'univores' (Peterson and Simkus, 1992; Peterson and Kern, 1996; Atkinson, 2011). This deviated from the distinction theory, because the cultural elite moved from exclusion to inclusion and openness to cultural diversity (Van Eijck, 2013; Ollivier, 2008).

Inclusion, did not eliminate the pursuit of distinction. Like knowledge about high art, omnivorousness also demonstrated cultural superiority and omnivorousness became the new habitus of the cultural elite (Chan, 2009; Peters et al., 2015). Additionally, it became clear that cultural omnivores do not enjoy everything indiscriminately (Peterson & Kern, 1996; Bryson, 1996). The music genres appreciated by univores, the people with less education, are exactly the ones disliked and rejected by omnivores, the people with higher levels of education (Bryson, 1996). These genres include heavy metal, country, gospel and rap (Bryson, 1996). In her research Bryson (1996) finds a higher education leads to more inclusiveness and tolerance in musical tastes, but indeed a distaste for genres associated with lower status groups. The research shows boundaries still exist between groups with higher and lower levels of education (Bryson, 1996).

In recent years researchers critiqued both approaches and research has become more focused on *how* people consume cultural objects (Van Eijck, 2013; Ollivier, 2008; Sullivan & Katz-Gerro, 2007) because "distinction is becoming more and more a matter of practice" (Holt, 1997, pp. 103). Since the higher class is consuming products they previously avoided, it is no longer possible "to infer status directly from consumption objects" (Holt, 1997, pp. 103). For example, the measurement of omnivorousness usually relates to the breadth of cultural tastes (Sullivan & Katz-Gerro, 2007; Van Eijck, 2001; Peterson & Simkus, 1992; Peterson & Kern, 1996). This measurement loses its importance since high and lower classes consume the same products. Currently, the distinguishing feature has become the way people consume cultural products (Van Eijck, 2013; Bourdieu, 1984; Ollivier, 2008; Atkinson, 2011). Hierarchies therefore still exist because people from different classes can consume and discuss the same product in different ways (Atkinson, 2011; Ollivier, 2008). These different ways of consuming a product legitimately, therefore reinforces symbolic boundaries and can create distinction (Bryson, 1996; Ollivier, 2008; Atkinson, 2011).

2.2
CONSUMPTION STYLES

The cultural elite relies more on the consumption *practice* and less on the cultural product to create distinction (Holt, 1997). The consumption practice is the way in which the consumer

appropriates cultural objects and this can be defined as a consumption style (Han, 2003; Holt, 1997; Daenekindt & Roose, 2014). When there was clear hierarchy of cultural goods the distinguishing manner was consuming the right ones (Holt, 1997). As this hierarchy fades the "distinguished manner requires that one consume the same categories in a manner inaccessible to those with less cultural capital" (Holt, 1997, pp. 103). Bourdieu (1984) similarly stated, the cultural elite has enough cultural capital to consume the same objects as the lower class but in "a 'rare' distinguished manner" (Bourdieu, 1984, pp. 282). By consuming products in a distinguishing manner the elite is able to create distinction between themselves and the lower status groups. Employing a style of consumption therefore requires knowledge and cultural capital (McCoy & Scarborough, 2014a; Bourdieu, 1984).

The way people consume objects and appropriate cultural products therefore says more about a person than the object itself. In our postmodern society, identity has become more based on consumption choices and thus also how a person consume a product (Alexander, 2003). If the consumption style is legitimate, the manner of consumption creates distinction between those with high amount of cultural capital and those without the required knowledge (Bourdieu, 1984; Daenekindt & Roose, 2014). The style of consumption can therefore function as a status marker (Daenekindt & Roose, 2014). The cultural elite, who has enough confidence in their cultural identity is able to transgress symbolic boundaries (Bourdieu, 1982, as referred to in Ollivier, 2008). As translated by Ollivier (2008) Bourdieu (1982) wrote "they can play with fire" (pp. 113). This means the ability to legitimately consume popular culture, which was previous avoided by people of high status.

Previous studies have focused on different consumption styles like irony (Ang, 1985, 2007; Ollivier, 2008; McCoy and Scarborough, 2014a; Schiermer, 2014; Peters et al., 2015), camp sensibility (Sontag, 1964; McCoy and Scarborough, 2014a), frequency of the consumption (Sullivan and Katz-Gerro, 2007), secretly serious consumption (Peters et al., 2015) and a little on guilty pleasures (McCoy and Scarborough, 2014a). A style of consumption equips people to consume 'bad' cultural products without endangering their true taste and thus create distinction (McCoy & Scarborough, 2014a; 2014b). Each of these styles has a different approach and will be discussed in the following sections.

2.3
CONSUMPTION STYLE: VORACIOUSNESS

Voraciousness is perhaps not exactly a consumption style, as it is a strategy to distinguish oneself by the frequency of engagement with the product (Sullivan and Katz-Gerro, 2007). The concept of voraciousness relates to the frequency and intensity cultural practices (Sullivan & Katz-Gerro, 2007). The voracious consumer is an omnivore with a high amount of cultural capital, status and education (Sullivan & Katz-Gerro, 2007). Since many cultural products and practices are enjoyed, there is less time to spend on each consumption (Sullivan & Katz-Gerro, 2007). The aim of the omnivore is to display a diverse cultural repertoire, therefore the "voracious cultural consumer feels comfortable with switching and constantly making choices

between activities, which s/he engages in for brief periods" (Sullivan & Katz-Gerro, 2007, pp. 125).

If you speak about frequency and intensity in cultural consumption the phrase 'binge-watching' might also come to mind. Voracious means either eating great quantities or participating with great enthusiasm in an activity (Oxford English Dictionary, z.d). Along the same line, 'binge' refers to excessive indulgence in a consumption such as drinking or eating (Oxford English Dictionary, z.d). Binge-watch is the activity of "watching multiple episodes of a television program in rapid succession" (Oxford English Dictionary, z.d). In other words, consuming something to the point of excess. People can also binge-watch all the Harry Potter films so it is not only related to television, but what 'a binge' constitutes can be very different for people (Jenner, 2014).

Binge-watching is something you can feel guilty about. The guilt is related to either the program itself or the amount of episodes watched. Dunphy (2015) argues binge-watching resembles the seven deadly sins. People take pride in their binge achievement, envy those who have not yet seen the whole season, feel wrath when the season is over, they lust for more, watching feeds sloth and their overindulgence equals greed and gluttony in entertainment form (Dunphy, 2015). Although the seven sins are only Dunphy's (2015) interpretation, it demonstrates why people might feel guilty about binging. It is the excess and frequency of the consumption that might create guilty (pleasure) feelings.

2.4
CONSUMPTION STYLE: IRONY

Irony is a consumption style and can boil down to making fun, mocking or ridiculing an object (McCoy & Scarborough, 2014a). With this strategy the ironic consumer distance themselves from the object and this reaffirms their superior position while consuming it (Alexander, 2003; McCoy & Scarborough, 2014a). This ironic way of consuming also occurred in the research by Ang (1985) about the show *Dallas*. Ironic viewers enjoy watching the show but simultaneously label it as trash (Alexander, 2003). Years later Ang (2007) called this mode of viewing 'ironic pleasure'. In this mode of viewing, the consumer demonstrates their knowledge about the poor quality of the show (Ang, 2007). This superior position creates distinction and enables the consumer to find pleasure in the show they condemn for being trashy or bad (Ang, 2007; McCoy & Scarborough, 2014a; Olliver, 2008).

Irony allows people to communicate in a manner only insiders understand and this creates distinction (Peters et al., 2015). Therefore the main characteristic of irony is ambiguousness (Peters et al., 2015; Hutcheon, 1992). It includes and excludes based on the level of cultural capital one possess to understand irony (Peters et al., 2015). Individuals with a high amount of cultural and economic capital can use irony to distance "themselves from bourgeois conventions" (Ollivier, 2008, pp. 134). Similarly, Hutcheon (1992) states irony is a "*distancing* mechanism" (Hutcheon, 1992, pp. 223, emphasis in original). With irony people demonstrate they are not fully immersed in the object and justify their consumption (Ollivier, 2008).

The downside of ambiguity is the possibility of misinterpreting irony as seriousness (Hutcheon, 1992). It is not always clear if the person singing karaoke is (secretly) serious or ironic (Peters et al., 2015). Another characteristic of irony is that it is rarely done alone (Huffman et al., 2003). As a social event, irony is shared and used in social interaction (Huffman et al., 2003; Schiermer, 2014). The social aspect enhances the experience of the consumer, because it can foster a social bond (Huffman et al., 2003; Schiermer, 2014). Irony is "a form of collective enjoyment of 'failed' objects" (Schiermer, 2014, pp. 5). The social interaction with peers is an important reason for individuals to choose between seriousness or irony. If friends openly reject a product or practice such as karaoke, an individual might act ironically while in fact being secretly serious (Peters et al., 2015). Bourdieu determined that people want to affirm tastes by their peers (as referred to in Wilson, 2014). Therefore peer pressure, or what is socially acceptable in one's group, can determine if an individual employs an ironic attitude towards an object (Peters et al., 2015). Irony becomes a strategy to justify behavior towards peers and shows the individual does not identify with the cultural object. This ironic strategy legitimizes the appropriation of popular culture products without losing status. Irony thus the cultural elite to cross and simultaneously uphold a symbolic boundary (Peters et al., 2015).

2.5
CONSUMPTION STYLE: SECRETLY SERIOUS

Secretly serious consumers use irony or the guilty pleasure consumption style to hide the fact they enjoy the product or practice genuinely (Peters et al., 2015). In this case the consumer is able to (secretly) enjoy a product, but also demonstrates cultural superiority towards the product (Peters et al., 2015). The consumer consciously uses irony to shield him or herself from judgements. This type of consumption became apparent in the research of Peters, van der Jagt, van Eijck, Michael and Berkers (2015) about karaoke. The researchers identified three ideal consumption styles: openly serious, secretly serious and ironic (cf. Peters et al., 2015).

A consumption style can create a symbolic boundary between the self and the object, but also between the self and the people who consume an object seriously. In other words, Twitter users might claim Taylor Swift is their guilty pleasure, because they do not want to be associated with someone who genuinely loves this music. The influence of social groups can be compulsory for (secretly) serious consumers to act ironically. Since peers and social groups can be extremely influential, there is a possibility Twitter users apply the same strategy with guilty pleasures. Classifying a consumption as guilty pleasure shields the consumer and legitimizes the consumption. This research cannot prove secretly serious behavior regarding guilty pleasures, but recognizes Twitter users might use to technique to appear superior.

2.6
CONSUMPTION STYLE: CAMP

As a consumption style, camp sensibility admires objects that "cannot be taken seriously" (McCoy & Scarborough, 2014a, pp. 45). Camp sensibility is the admiration of 'bad' and 'exaggeration' (Sontag, 1964). Unlike irony, camp does not only ridicule or mock cultural products (Peters et al., 2015). Camp requires more seriousness than irony because the consumer finds charm in the object, but as a consumption style it also requires distance (Peters et al., 2015). Camp is a mode of enjoyment (Sontag, 1964). It is a consumption style by which the consumer appreciates and enjoys an object with the motto: "it is good because it's awful" (Sontag, 1964, note 58). Ang (2007) similarly stated that ironic viewers are attracted to a TV show because it is 'bad'. The fact that ironic viewers love a TV show because it is trashy or bad shows similarities with camp sensibility (Ang, 2007). Camp is, what Sontag believes a "good taste of bad taste" (1964, note 54). An example of this are lists like "The 10 Best Bad Movies I Have Seen" (Sontag, 1964, note 5). This conception relates to guilty pleasures, because guilty pleasures are commonly framed as 'bad' taste. Twitter users can aim to display their cultural capital, their good taste of 'bad' taste, by presenting a guilty pleasure.

Camp appreciation can also include objects people used to like but grown out of (Sontag, 1964). People can have a weak spot for songs that originated from their childhood and therefore Sontag (1964) writes "camp taste to the past is extremely sentimental" (note 13). In other words, camp appreciation can be nostalgic. Nostalgia defined by Hart (1973) is the awaking of positive emotions or memories from one's childhood (as referred in Atkinson, 2011). It is possible some songs unlock positive nostalgic emotions, which leads consumers to appreciate these songs through camp sensibility. This idea also relates to guilty pleasure. Spotify recently made a top ten list of most frequently listed guilty pleasures (3FM, 2014). This list was compiled, by analyzing over 120.000 playlists created by Spotify users (3FM, 2014). In this top ten most songs indeed originate from the 80s and 90s like Backstreet Boys, Wham! or Rick Astley. It is therefore possible people enjoy guilty pleasures through a nostalgic orientation (Atkinson, 2011).

2.7
GUILTY PLEASURES

Guilty pleasure is a fairly new concept in academic research and quite elusive. With regard to the previous sections, guilty pleasures can be a combination of different styles or include characteristics of irony, secretly serious consumption or camp (see Figure 1). Guilty pleasures can be seen as a generic term, because with each style of consumption it is possible to create a link with guilty pleasures. As a generic term, consumers might label something guilty pleasure while technically employing an ironic or camp consumption style.

Figure 1
The concept of guilty pleasure as part of three consumption styles
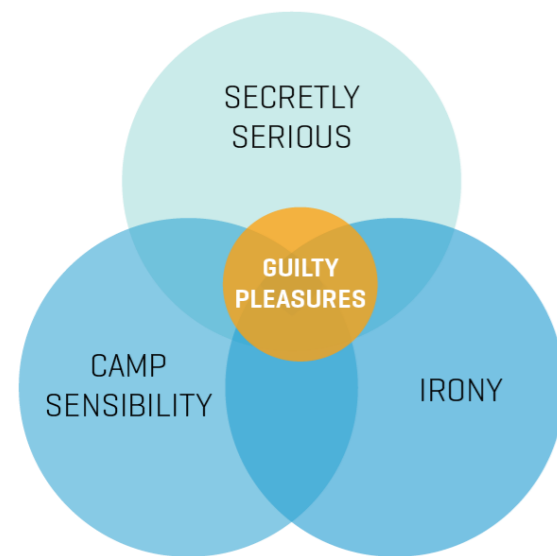
Labeling a product as guilty pleasure, functions as an indicator that the consumer knows the product is of poor quality (Szalai, 2013; McCoy & Scarborough, 2014a). The phrase guilty pleasure entered when cultural distinctions mattered less (Szalai, 2013). People could public admit their love for popular culture without being frowned upon, because the label guilty pleasure shields them (Szalai, 2013). A guilty pleasure is something you feel you should not take pleasure in, but by classifying the consumption and thus expressing knowingness of the poor quality the consumer legitimizes the consumption (Szalai, 2013). This strongly relates to Ang's (2007) idea of 'ironic pleasure'. Similar to ironic pleasure, classifying an object as guilty pleasure demonstrates a superior position. The label reinforces a symbolic boundary between the consumer and the object (Ollivier, 2008). A guilty pleasure also shows similarities with the concept of camp sensibility. Consumers might find charm in a guilty pleasure product, because it is awful or bad.

By using the phrase guilty pleasure, the consumer gives an explanation for the consumption and justifies it. This resembles an apology. By apologizing people admit their action was the exception to the rule (Goffman, 1971). The individual acknowledges that he or she did not conduct themselves in the expected way (Goffman, 1971). An apology therefore splits the individual into two parts "the part that is guilty of an offence and the part that dissociates itself from the delict and affirms a belief in the offended rule" (Goffman, 1971, pp. 113). The apology is an expression of embarrassment and the same
occurs with guilty pleasures (Goffman, 1971). The label guilty pleasure indicates the consumer is aware of the poor quality and like an apology this demonstrates the consumer is aware of the offence (Goffman, 1971). When the rule is to have good taste, guilty pleasures are the exception to the rule because it demonstrates 'bad' taste.

The cultured respondents in the research of McCoy and Scarborough (2014a) reward themselves with 'bad' popular culture television. The 'bad' consumption is a treat, because it differs from a person's normal taste pattern. Therefore the guilty pleasure consumption

is the temporarily exception to the rule of good taste. This also connects to the concept of voraciousness. The distinguishing feature is the frequency of the engagement. Consumers justify themselves by emphasizing the consumption is an exception and only temporarily enjoyed.

McCoy and Scarborough (2014a) also highlight another interesting aspect of guilty pleasures. Here guilty pleasure is defined as: "the viewer feels uncomfortable and somewhat ashamed for watching 'bad' television, but feels like it is something they cannot resist doing" (pp. 48). This definition demonstrates some justification, namely the individual declares an inability to resist the temptation. The respondents apologized by saying, watching the program was beyond their control (McCoy & Scarborough, 2014a). In other words, the respondents claimed to have no agency and are not to blame for the consumption. The definition by McCoy and Scarborough (2014a) shows how consumers, Twitter users, might present their guilty pleasure, by giving explanations such as: 'I cannot resist it' (Dunphy, 2015).

Many critics like Szalai (2013), Wilson (2014), Klosterman (2010) and Sternbergh (2014) urge people to enjoy cultural objects without classifying them as guilty pleasures. It is current criticism that people should not feel guilty about their consumption (Szalai, 2013; Wilson, 2014; Klosterman, 2010; Sternbergh, 2014). This is emphasized by online articles with top ten lists about guilty pleasures have the title: "Guilty pleasures you shouldn't feel guilty about". This could explain why people choose to share their guilty pleasure on Twitter. People might want to participate in the discussion because it is a popular topic. The criticism about guilty pleasures also opens the gates to publicly declare your guilty pleasure, because it has become more acceptable.

2.8
CONCLUSION

This chapter explored the idea that with taste people can distinguish themselves and pursue distinction. Guilty pleasures are used to create distinction between a person's 'real' taste and 'bad' taste. Although people may love their guilty pleasure, by framing a product as guilty pleasure the individual also acknowledges its poor quality. Like an apology, the consumer feels embarrassed and the apology indicates the consumption was the exception to the rule. The label guilty pleasure shows similarities with other styles of consumption like irony, camp and secretly serious consumption. As demonstrated in this chapter, secretly serious consumers might employ a style of consumption to maintain the impression of good taste towards their peers. This leads us into the discussion of the concepts presentation and impression management. As consumers, Twitter users are able to consume a product in a distinguishing manner, but without an audience it seems pointless to employ a style of consumption. In order to pursue distinction, consumers need to demonstrate their conspicuous taste. On Twitter, consumers have their own audience and the following chapter will address how Twitter users are able to present themselves online by using the theory of *Presentation of Self* by Erving Goffman (1959).

3.
TASTE AND PRESENTATION

For Erving Goffman, taste is reflexive because it is a conscious choice of presentation. For Pierre Bourdieu, taste is mostly unreflexive because it is rooted in one's habitus and social class. Bourdieu critiqued social interactionism or symbolic interactionism, an area in sociology where Erving Goffman is known for (Brauchler & Postill, 2010). Symbolic interactionism does not look at meso social structures such as education, but it focusses on micro interactions between people. For Goffman (1959) social interactions construct the identity of the individual, whereas for Bourdieu (1984) identity is the product of one's social class. This chapter focusses on the presentation of taste as a conscious decision. It will explore how the theory of presentation relates to Twitter contentions and the (imagined) audience.

3.1
THE PRESENTATION OF SELF

In *The Presentation of Self* in Everyday Life (1959), Erving Goffman relates the theatrical performance to social life. Goffman illustrates that differences in front and backstage behavior of actors in the theatre, also apply to individuals in real life. At the front stage individuals play a role towards an observing audience (Goffman, 1959). In this performance the individual tries to manage a specific impression towards the audience and convey a desired identity (Goffman, 1959; Macionis & Plummer, 2012). Performance is an effort to present an idealized version of yourself (Goffman, 1959; Hogan, 2010). To do this effectively, personal facts, secrets, motives and other negatively valued characteristics should be concealed at the front stage, in order to uphold an idealized image (Goffman, 1959). The backstage is where the performer can "drop his front" (Goffman, 1959, pp. 112) and where the facts and secrets that have been suppressed come forward (Goffman, 1959).

Performances are used to construct an identity, "we try to convince others (and perhaps ourselves) that what we do reflects ideal cultural standards rather than more selfish motives" (Macionis & Plummer, 2012, pp. 224). A way to reflect an ideal standard

is for example to demonstrate good taste. To present taste you can consciously display a highbrow novel in the living room, but conceal a trashy magazine in the bedroom (Goffman, 1959; Raffel, 2013). This shows the discrepancy between front and the backstage or the performance and the reality (Goffman, 1959). In reality and backstage, a person secretly loves trashy magazines, but tries to keep up the impression of good taste (Goffman, 1959). In this case the individual has a "secret consumption" (Goffman, 1959, pp. 42) which is concealed because it might be viewed as an "inappropriate secret pleasure" (Goffman, 1959, pp. 43). The individual is aware of what the consumption might signal to others and thus the individual presents their taste as better.

This idea of Goffman directly connects to the concept of guilty pleasures. In Goffmanian logic however, people will not tweet about their most secret consumption, but only put forth tastes that express a highbrow taste. True or real guilty pleasures can be compared to dark secrets that people are not willing to share with the audience (Goffman, 1959). Following this logic, this research will not uncover 'true' guilty pleasures, but most likely only socially accepted guilty pleasures. The truthfulness of the guilty pleasure or tweet is not important in this research, because the main focus are the ways in which Twitter users present their guilty pleasure.

The concept of performance assumes people consciously think about what they present. Twitter users might therefore cherry-pick guilty pleasures that are most beneficial to their performance. Goffman (1959) proposes that individuals have different staging strategies. In other words, there are different ways of presenting yourself. Twitter users can also have different reasons to tweet about guilty pleasures such as: gaining attention, followers, seeking affirmation, seeming interesting, demonstrating good taste or cultural capital. Since these goals can differ, it can be expected that different strategies to present guilty pleasures are used.

3.2
GOFFMAN AND SOCIAL MEDIA

Goffman's presentation of self has been widely used to explain and understand online identity presentation (Lewis et al., 2008; Hogan, 2010; Bullingham & Vasconcelos, 2013). One of Goffman's main concerns is "what do people do in the presence of others" (Macionis & Plummer, 2012, pp. 222). This applies to the offline world, but it can also relate to the online world. Online communication is defined as computer-mediated communication (CMC) and with CMC social media users can self-define their identity, edit certain aspects of the self and present their desired identity online (Bullingham & Vasconcelos, 2013; Lewis, et al., 2013; Marwick & boyd, 2010). Social media provides tools to conceal and highlight identity aspects such as profile pictures, messages and descriptions (Marshall, 2010). On Twitter, people have the ability to carefully edit and self-censor the tweets they present to their audience (Bullingham & Vasconcelos, 2013; Marwick & boyd, 2010). Like the front stage, on Twitter people can highlight and abandon certain characteristics of the self in order to present their

desired identity (Goffman, 1959).

Although Goffman's theory is useful to interpret online presentation, different studies use the concept of front and backstage in the online world differently. In some studies social media is a backstage, where people will post private information on Facebook or Twitter that might be concealed in the offline world (Hogan, 2010). Social media can also be viewed as a front stage where online identity is performed (Page, 2012). Additionally, both Twitter and Facebook have functions which combine both interpretations. On Facebook, people can make a status update publicly visible or just for friends. On Twitter, people can choose between a public or private profile. Private tweets are only visible for approved followers and this can resemble a backstage where only a limited number of people is allowed to see the true self. It is possible to see private tweets as the backstage and public tweets as the front stage. In this research only public tweets were collected and because tweets are analyzed as a form of presentation, Twitter is interpreted as a front stage.

Previous research has indeed shown public profiles are treated as places for the presentation of online identity (Lewis et al., 2008). Lewis, Kaufman and Christakis (2008) compared the information on private and public Facebook accounts of college students. The research showed music preferences significantly depend on privacy settings (Lewis et al., 2008). Facebook users with a public profile often displayed a preference for classical music, because they aimed to make their cultural capital more visible (Lewis et al., 2008). Music tastes on public profiles were also more omnivorous, because students wanted to express this highly valued quality (Lewis et al., 2008). For these students the presentation of tastes served "as markers of social distinction" (Lewis et al., 2008, pp. 94). In a similar research by Liu (2007), Facebook users "listed favorite books, music, movies, and TV shows to construct elaborate taste performances, primarily to convey prestige, uniqueness, or aesthetic preference" (as referred to in Marwick & boyd, 2010, pp. 116). Twitter users have the ability to present taste and convey a certain image in 140 characters.

This length of the tweet also influences the degree of success (Goffman, 1959). A short performance enables the individual to maintain their ideal front more easily (Goffman, 1959). Individuals can fail in a performance which leads to embarrassment and as Goffman describes it "losing face" (Goffman, 1959, pp. 40). The chance of a spoiled performance and embarrassing yourself is rather small on Twitter, because Twitter users can adjust and self-censor their own performance (Macionis & Plummer, 2012). Garfinkel (1976), a critic of Goffman, viewed the performance theory as unrealistic, because it is difficult and stressful to keep up impressions in real life (Dillon, 2014). While this is a good point, the problem is less likely to occur in the online world. Performances are short in the online world and not face-to-face which makes it easier to keep up impressions.

3.3
THE IMAGINED AUDIENCE

Twitter users can edit and self-censor ever tweet and this can therefore can be seen as a separate performances (Hogan, 2010; Marwick & boyd, 2010). A performance is always in the presence of an audience and it requires a performance space (Goffman, 1959; Hogan, 2010). The performance space is the setting where the performance is held (Goffman, 1959). Unlike the offline world, past performances like tweets and status updates remain visible on your profile page. Therefore Hogan (2010) changes the concept of performance space for the online world into exhibition space. The exhibition space is a collection and exhibition of past performances, such as the Facebook or Twitter profile page (Hogan, 2010). In the exhibition space, Twitter users can read and browse through past performances.

On Twitter people can follow friends, colleagues, brands, news organizations, television programs or celebrities. Following a person on Twitter is not necessarily reciprocal. Twitter users can follow a thousand people, but might only be followed by ten other users. People tweet to their own subscribed audience, but this audience can be much bigger than anticipated. Due to retweets and searching engines, tweets can travel beyond the Twitter users initial audience. Tweets can be read by someone who is not part of the intended audience (Larsson & Moe, 2011). Additionally, Twitter users and other people are able to reads tweets and thus past performances on a profile page.

Twitter users do not exactly know who will eventually read their tweets. When the audience is unknown social media users imagine or construct an audience to present themselves appropriately (Marwick & boyd, 2010). Twitter users need a "more specific conception of audience than 'anyone' to choose the language, cultural referents, style, and so on that comprise online identity presentation" (Marwick & boyd, 2010, pp. 115). The imagined audience is important for Twitter users because they appropriate a tweet specifically for this constructed audience (Marwick & boyd, 2010; Bullingham & Vasconcelos, 2013; Lewis et al., 2013). Twitter users conceal, reveal, target and choose topics based on the interest of their imagined audience (Marwick & boyd, 2010). This includes tweets about taste and guilty pleasures. The imagined audience has, like peers or social groups, a big influence in the way Twitter users present themselves.

3.4
REFLEXIVE AND UNREFLEXIVE

In a performance, people consciously and unconsciously convey information to others (Macionis & Plummer, 2012). Social media users can consciously select which cultural tastes they want to display on their profile in order to create distinction (Lewis et al., 2008; Hogan, 2010). However, some Twitter users might be less aware of what their tastes communicates about themselves (Berger & Heath, 2008). There is a spectrum of consciousness that ranges from very reflexive or unreflexive Twitter users.

One the one hand, highly reflexive Twitter users self-brand their image in a micro-celebrity way. These reflexive Twitter users take the idea of self-presentation every serious. The strategies of self-branding and micro-celebrity can be applied to gain more online attention, visibility and popularity, but also more social and economic benefits offline like fame and status (Page, 2012; Marwick & boyd, 2010). The use of self-branding and micro-celebrity is found with normal Twitter users, but also strongly reflected by celebrities and corporate organizations (Page, 2012). For example, celebrities and corporate Twitter accounts use hashtags to promote the company's name, slogans and products (Page, 2012). Applying self-branding or micro-celebrity is a very conscious act of labour and strategic self-commodification (Page, 2012; Marwick & boyd, 2010). With these strategies, identity is carefully constructed and produced towards the interests of the imagined audience (Marshall, 2010). Reflexive Twitter users are conscious of their potential audience and the possible impact and reactions to their tweets (Marshall, 2010). The reflexive Twitter user will therefore tweet in a way that corresponds with the tastes of the imagined audience or social group. The strategies can influence the way Twitter users present their guilty pleasure and pursue distinction.

On the other hand, unreflexive Twitter users, treat Twitter as part of their daily routine of self-presentation. These unconscious or unreflexive Twitter users might tweet about their guilty pleasure without realizing other people make judgements about them based on their taste. Unreflexive Twitter users do not think there is a performance to be given. Or they may simply not realize Twitter is a front stage. While the reflexive Twitter users frames a tweet to suit the interests and taste of the audience, the unreflexive user does not do this. Unreflexive Twitter users might be less conscious about the impact of their presentation and imagined audience. This lack of knowledge can also lead to possible conflicts of interest. For example, posting critique about a boss or teacher, but not realizing these people are able to read the content. Similar to requiring knowledge and cultural capital to consume products in a distinguished manner, it also requires knowledge and skills to present a (inappropriate secret) guilty pleasure without "losing face" (Goffman, 1959, pp. 40).

This research focusses on how Twitter users create distinction and present their guilty pleasure, it therefore seems logical that most Twitter users will be reflexive about their taste and performance. The use of the phrase guilty pleasure already indicates some reflexivity, because Twitter users choose to shield themselves with this style of consumption. Unreflexive users, unaware of what their taste communicates about themselves, might therefore tweet in a serious manner.

3.5
THE CONSTRUCTION OF HASHTAGS

Social media users have their own costumes, props, stage and manners online. The stage can be Twitter, a costume a profile picture, props can be video's, hashtags or pictures and the manner of presentation is written communication. The biggest difference between offline and online presentation is the lack of non-verbal communication such as gestures, facial expressions and body movements (Macionis & Plummer, 2012). In the offline performance, characteristics such as gender, age, clothing, speech and posture convey signs and give the audience information about the performer (Goffman, 1959). In the online performance, some of these characteristics disappear. In face-to-face conversations information is regulated and interpreted, but CMC lacks these physical features (Riva & Galimberti, 1998). The online audience may still know the gender and age of the Twitter user, but mainly relies on words to make inferences about the performer. The identity of the sender, but mostly the context of the message is therefore often unclear (Riva & Galimberti, 1998). The hashtag can be seen as a prop and tool of communication that provides a linguistic solution to this (Lewis et al., 2013).

A hashtag is a word or abbreviation with a # prefix. The hashtag is explicitly marked and usually added at the end of a tweet (Chang, 2010). Hashtags are used to promote topics, people, ideas and classify messages (Cunha et al., 2011). Hashtags can refer to anything like sports, natural disasters, politics, celebrities or TV shows. Twitter users can refer to concepts like #epicfail, #tbt (Throwback Thursday) or comment on their own tweet with asides such as #smh (shaking my head) or #blessed (Page, 2012; Kricfalusi, 2009). Hashtags are user-defined. Anyone can create a hashtag and others users can either accept or reject it (Cunha et al., 2011). Although some hashtags are only temporarily popular, other hashtags like #blessed or #guiltypleasure are continuously. Hashtags are used to make a tweet more visible and searchable. The hashtag makes it easy to find and share information on a particular topic (Kricfalusi, 2009; Cunha et al., 2011). A hashtag connects a tweet to a particular topic or conversational theme (Larsson & Moe, 2011; Romero et al., 2011).

A tool to present and construct the desired identity is the hashtag. Hashtags can be used as a deliberate sign that conveys information. For example, the use of sarcasm in speech can be hard to recognize and sarcasm in written communication can be equally problematic (Davidov et al., 2010). People need to hear a tone of voice and facial expressions to understand sarcasm. Twitter users add #sarcasm to their tweet to indicate the context (Davidov et al., 2010). The research by Kunneman, Liebrecht, Mulken and Van den Bosch (2014) similarly shows Twitter users mark their sarcastic tweet with the hashtags #sarcasm, #irony, #cynicism or #not. These hashtags ensure other Twitter users correctly interpret the meaning of the message (Kunneman et al., 2014). The hashtag is added to avoid misunderstandings and can be interpreted as the digital equivalent of non-verbal communication (Kunneman et al., 2014).

The use of #sarcasm helps the online audience to recognize sarcastic tweets (Davidov et al., 2010; Kunneman et al., 2014). Similarly, #guiltypleasure or the phrase guilty pleasure is dedicated to avoid misunderstandings and to clarify that the object is consumption is not part of your 'real' taste. The hashtags and phrase signal the correct context of the message. This can therefore serve as a marker of cultural taste. However, using the hashtag #guiltypleasure is also a contradiction. Hashtags are added to gain more attention, because more people will be able to see the tweet (Kasmani, Sabran & Ramle, 2014; Page, 2012). Hashtags also increase interaction with other users which fosters a community around a specific topic (Page, 2012; Cunha et al., 2011). On the one hand, a guilty pleasure entails the consumer feels guilty or ashamed. On the other hand, Twitter users actively seek out attention or interaction by using the hashtag in their tweet.

3.6
CONCLUSION

Within 140 characters Twitter users can share their guilty pleasure with their imagined audience. Twitter users are able to control and self-censor everything they share and are therefore able to present an ideal version of themselves. Other Twitter users, peers and social groups make inferences about an identity based on taste. How Twitter users presents their 'bad' taste in the form of a guilty pleasure, has to be carefully constructed to create distinction.

This research formulates several expectations with regards to the theories in chapter two and three.

I.   Since the reasons and goals to tweet about guilty pleasures differ, the results should demonstrate there are different ways of presentation. Twitter users can apply a different strategy to suit their personal goals, but also suit the tastes of their social group and Twitter audience.

II.   The concept of guilty pleasures shows similarities with the styles of consumption: irony, camp sensibility and serious consumption. The results of the analysis will hopefully demonstrate these similarities. As the results focus on the different ways in which Twitter users present their guilty pleasure, it is expected that some ways of presentation might point to other styles of consumption.

III. Since music is often related to nostalgia, the results should indicate Twitter users tweet about their musical guilty pleasure in a nostalgic orientation.

IV.   As stated in the theory, it is expected the hashtag #guiltypleasure is a prop for Twitter users to signal the correct context of their tweet. In the sample at least 50% of the Twitter users will apply this hashtags to avoid misunderstanding about their taste and thus identity.

#METHODOLOGY

4

4.
METHODOLOGY

The method for this research is a Twitter content analysis. The following chapter will discuss how tweets were gathered by using the Twitter Application Programming Interface. 9605 tweets about guilty pleasure were collected in a constructed week. An introduction about the microblogging site Twitter will be given and some background about the composition of Twitter users. Since the method is quite new and unique, attention will be given to the data cleaning process and the analysis with the programs Python, AmCAT and RStudio.

4.1
TWITTER

Using Twitter for commercial or academic research is unlimited since Twitter provides an ocean available data (Zhao & Rosson, 2009; Lewis, Zamith & Hermida, 2013; Chae, 2014). Twitter analysis impacts many fields of academic research such as journalism, finance, healthcare, politics, marketing, communication and psychology (Chae, 2015). Researchers have used social media activities to predicts movie sales or even stock market changes (Bollen, Mao & Zeng, 2011). However, Twitter has not received much scholarly attention in the field of sociology. In this field surveys, interviews and observations predominate.

Twitter is a form of microblogging and tool for communication. It creates virtual watercooler conversations (Zhao & Rosson, 2009). On Twitter people can 'tweet' in 140 characters about what they are reading, listening, watching, seeing or eating (Zhao & Rosson, 2009). Tweets can include references to other users, URLs or hashtags. 284 million active users send about 500 million tweets per day (Twitter.com, z.d.a). These users include people but brands, services, companies, NGO's and products are also represented on Twitter. There are three basic types of tweets: original tweets, replies and retweets. People can enter into conversations and interact with each other by replying to tweets with "@username" (Kasmani, et al., 2014). By retweeting, the original tweet is rebroadcasted by which the tweet gains more visibility (Kasmani et al., 2014).

The first benefit of Twitter is the possibility to gather information about the actual use of guilty pleasures in real-time. It seems more effective to analyze the behavior of respondents instead of asking about their thoughts and opinions. Surveys and interviews would focus on what is consumed and why. With a Twitter content analysis, this research is able to measure theoretical relevant aspects of a message and make inferences regarding the context (Atteveldt, 2008). In other words, how Twitter users construct a performance and create distinction is the focus of this research. In this research only tweets were collected in which Twitter users labeled their own consumption as guilty pleasure. This is beneficial because the researcher does not have to label behavior as ironic or guilty pleasure. The consumer perspective will allow this research to analyze how people refer to the concept and attach meaning it. It will create a more comprehensive understanding of how people use the concept of guilty pleasure in their daily life. The second benefit is the opportunity to look at the broad contextualization of guilty pleasures. Instead of looking at specific demarcated products of consumption like television or music, this research explores the style of consumption as a broad phenomenon.

The third benefit is that the method ensures the researcher does not impact the respondents in any way. In Ollivier's research (2008) people were exaggerating their taste and presenting themselves as better towards the researcher in the interviews. On Twitter people present themselves towards an imagined audience and social groups. Since cultural consumption is increasingly taking place online, Twitter has become a natural setting for individuals to share, interact and consume. Twitter and real life have become merged, especially for the younger generation. According to Holt (1997) natural settings are most suited for the study of taste expressions. Therefore it is interesting to analyze how people present taste towards their social group, rather than in a unnatural interview setting towards the researcher. Twitter is an unique way to look at how people, unaware of the research being conducted, present their guilty pleasure to others on a large scale. The method of using Twitter is therefore more innovative than surveys or interviews. Additionally, the research approach is also more in line with the current ways of consuming culture online.

4.2
TWITTER USERS

The composition of Twitters membership is constantly changing. At the moment when percentages are published the numbers are already outdated. It is somewhat impossible to conduct a research on Twitter's demographics (Comm & Taylor, 2015). The Pew Research Center is one of the few public sources available on Twitter demographics (see Table 1). Twitter users who never tweet and only read updates, make it even more difficult to graph the Twitter demographics and the imagined audience (Wang, 2014). In one particular study among American Twitter users, 53 percent stated they never tweeted (Wang, 2014). There are 288 million monthly active users, but most likely many Twitter users do not use Twitter on a daily basis (Twitter.com, z.d.a).

First of all, most Twitter users originate from the United States, United Kingdom, Canada and Australia (Wang, 2014). By analyzing the time zone, this research found that 36% (n= 3421) of the sample also originates from the USA and Canada (see appendix D). In an attempt to study Twitter demographics Mislove, Lehmann, Ahn, Onnela and Rosenquist (2011) used the self-reported information such as location and name, and compared this to general demographic research from the United States. The findings indicate Twitter users are not a representative sample of society (Mislove et al., 2011). Regarding location, Twitter users over-represent populous counties and therefore "entire regions of the U.S. may be significantly underrepresented" (Mislove et al., 2011, pp. 2).

Secondly, research by Wang (2014) shows there are more female users in the United States, but the numbers by the Pew Research Center show that there are slightly more male users in the USA (Duggan et al., 2015). Both studies used a different sample which explains the difference. According to the research by Mislove et al. (2011) there exists a male bias on Twitter. Of the ethnicities represented on Twitter 21% is Caucasian, 27% is African American and 25% is Hispanic (see Table 1). However, there is an oversampling of Hispanic users and the "distribution of race/ethnicity is highly geographically-dependent" (Mislove et al., 2011, pp. 1). It is claimed by Wang (2014) that Twitter is the favorite social network site for African Americans.

The largest proportion of Twitter users is between 18 and 29 years old (see Table 1). Twitter is therefore the most popular with Generation Z. This generation is labeled as screen addicts, who spend too much time online (Finch, 2015). The young adults who belong in this generation "seek immediate validation and acceptance through social media, since that's where all their peers are and where many of the important conversations happen" (Finch, 2015, para. 9). According to Finch (2015) Generation Z aims to please the audience and tries to create an idealized image of the self online. The struggle and pressure of Generation Z is to "fit in while also standing out" (Finch, 2015, para. 8). The theory of Goffman and presentation is therefore even more suited and strengthens the research method. In relation to the degree of reflexivity, Generation Z are individuals who might be highly conscious about their social media presence and presentation. As stated, Generation Z seeks acceptance and validation, and therefore these individuals might present their guilty pleasure in a reflexive manner towards their audience. Twitter users can adjust their presentation strategy to suit the audience, while creating an idealized identity.

Thirdly, of the Twitter users 30 percent completed college and 16 percent has an graduate or undergrad degree. Twitter is most popular with people under 50 years old and college-educated (Duggan et al., 2015). Table 1 also shows the greatest percentage of Twitter users are high earners. These two variables, education and income, might suggest most Twitter users belong to a high status group. To conclude, Comm and Taylor (2015) suggest Twitter is most popular among the professional audience. This also refers to Generation Z, which is characterized as the entrepreneurial generation (Finch, 2015).

Twitter demographics by Pew Research Center

Twitter users
Among online adults, the % who use Twitter

	2013	2014
All internet users	18%	23%*
Men	17	24*
Women	18	21
White, Non-Hispanic	16	21 *
Black, Non-Hispanic	29	27
Hispanic	16	25
18-29	31	37
30-49	19	25
50-64	9	12
65+	5	10*
High school grad or less	17	16
Some college	18	24
College+ (n=685)	18	30*
Less than $30,000/yr	17	20
$30,000-$49,999	18	21
$50,000-$74,999	15	27*
$75,000+	19	27*
Urban	18	25*
Suburban	19	23
Rural	11	17

Source: Pew Research Center's Internet Project September Combined Omnibus Survey, September 11-14 & September 18-21, 2014. N=1,597 internet users ages 18+. The margin of error for all internet users is +/- 2.9 percentage points. 2013 data from Pew Internet August Tracking Survey, August 07 – September 16, 2013, n= 1,445 internet users ages 18+.

Note: Percentages marked with an asterisk (*) represent a significant change from 2013. Results are significant at the 95% confidence level using an independent z-test.

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Concluding, Twitter users are required to choose a username, screenname, country and time zone. Information about employment, socio-economic status and education is not a separate requirement and rarely given in the description (Mislove et al., 2011). Therefore this research is unable to make statements about the relation between taste and socio-economic status, cultural capital, gender or age. Although this is not the objective of the research it does limit the research to make comparisons with previous studies. In the sample some information like username, location and tagline were available but there is no way to check if this information is accurate. In the sample, Twitter users had fake names, made up locations and descriptions with no relevant information. Since it is infeasible to check the gender of each Twitter user, the research will not analyze any descriptive characteristics.

4.3
THE CONSTRUCTED WEEK

Tweets can be accessed by using the Twitter Application Programming Interface (API). This means accessing the live stream of tweets, because Twitter provides limited access to tweets from the past. Accessing Twitter's API gives researchers the opportunity to gather data in an unprecedented scale and size (Chae, 2014; Kasmani et al., 2014). There are no legal obstacles since the data is open and free. The API is created and offered by Twitter itself, especially for the use of research (Chae, 2015). The terms of service indicate that re-use of Twitter content is permitted (Twitter.com, z.db). Twitter users agree with these terms and conditions when they sign up on Twitter.

Tweets were extracted during a constructed week by accessing the Twitter API with the program Python. The idea of the constructed week is to gather tweets on Monday from week one, Tuesday from week two and so forth. Every day of the week has to be included to achieve a complete representation. On each day Python ran 24 hours and therefore every tweet is collected in real-time. For this research a filtered stream was used to collect public tweets by searching with keywords (Quist, 2011; Kasmani et al., 2014; Chae, 2015). A script searched for tweets included the keywords: "guilty pleasure", "guiltypleasure", "guiltyple?" or "guil? ple?". The question marks are added to ensure misspelled tweets about guilty pleasure are also collected. The question mark signifies the script searches for 'guiltyple' in a tweet with any other combination of letters. This searching script was also used in the research of Weij (2014), but altered with different codes to access Twitter's API and search keywords.

The risk of a Twitter analysis is an overload of data (Lewis et al., 2013). To reduce the data size it is common and appropriate to use a sampling method like the constructed week (Lewis et al., 2013). The data from the constructed week is argued to be an effective and efficient method for random sampling in order to create reliable results (DiStaso & Bortree, 2014; Riffe, Lacy & Fico, 2014). There is no clear minimum number of weeks to create a representative sample, although in news content analysis the minimum is two weeks (Riffe et al., 2014). The number of weeks can be higher depending on the type of research. In this research data were gathered within one constructed week due to time constraints. The constructed week was drawn between February 2015 and April 2015, as shown in Table 2.

Table 2

The constructed week in this research

CONSTRUCTED WEEK						
FEBRUARY						
SUNDAY	MONDAY	TUESDAY	WEDNESDAY	THURSDAY	FRIDAY	SATURDAY
15	**16**	17	18	19	20	21
22	23	**24**	25	26	27	28
MARCH						
1	2	3	**4**	5	6	7
8	9	10	11	**12**	13	14
15	16	17	18	19	**20**	21
22	23	24	25	26	27	**28**
29	30	31				
APRIL						
			1	2	3	4
5	6	7	8	9	10	11

4.4
DATA CLEANING

Before analyzing the data from the constructed week, the sample needed to be 'cleaned'. Data cleaning entails detecting and eliminating invalid data from the sample (Rahm & Hong, 2000). Invalid data includes inconsistencies and errors such as duplicate or irrelevant tweets. Conclusions drawn from such invalid data would lead to false representations (Rahm & Hong, 2000). Data cleaning is important to ensure the sample is of the highest quality (Rahm & Hong, 2000). In the constructed week 17106 tweets were collected (see Table 3). The first phase included the elimination of retweets. The retweets took up 27% of the initial sample and because this would interfere with the distribution of the data only original tweets were included. In the second phase only English tweets were selected, because the method of analysis is most effective if all tweets are in the same language. Translating other languages to English would be infeasible for this research.

Table 3

Sample data cleaning

TOTAL NUMBER OF TWEETS	TOTAL NUMBER WITHOUT RETWEETS	TOTAL NUMBER OF ENGLISH TWEETS	TOTAL NUMBER MINUS DOUBLE/SPAM
17106	12533	10958	9605
100 %	**64,06 % of total**	**64,06 % of total**	**56,15 % of total**

In the last phase all the duplicate, irrelevant and spam tweets were eliminated from the sample. The tweets were stored in SPSS and here it became clear that many tweets were irrelevant or duplicate. Since this also interfered with the distribution of the data several steps were taken to 'clean' the data. With SPSS, a frequency analysis was done on Twitter users (see appendix A). The accuracy of the data cleaning is often unmeasurable (Rahm & Hong, 2000). To increase this accuracy every Twitter user with more than 5 tweets was manually checked on spam or irrelevant tweets. Therefore the largest proportion of invalid tweets (n =638) was accurately eliminated. Appendix B includes an overview and accountability of the eliminated users with their tweets. The spam accounts were deleted by using the program Python. The main reason many tweets were excluded is because parties, books or songs are often called guilty pleasure. These tweets are considered unrelated to the topic of this research. The program RStudio was used to detect and exclude the remaining duplicate tweets (n= 249). A tweet was considered duplicate when the text and the screenname are exactly the same. Overall, the data cleaning process increased the validity of the research sample.

4.5
METHOD OF ANALYSIS

To analyze the sample this research's main tool of analysis is topic modeling. Topic modeling is used to analyze the 9605 tweets and discover frequently occurring hidden themes and structures in the sample (Blei, 2012). A topic is based on a pattern of words that frequently co-occur (Mohr & Bogdanov, 2013). Simply put, in a tweet about Taylor Swift, it is more likely the word 'song' will occur than the word 'chocolate'. 'Taylor Swift' and 'song' have co-occurrence and words with a high co-occurrence constitute a topic. There are different approaches for topic modeling, in this research the latent Dirichlet allocation (LDA) model was used. LDA is simple, widely used and a very popular topic model (Blei, 2012; Mohr & Bogdanov, 2013). LDA is an unsupervised model which means there is no human intervention necessary (Mohr & Bogdanov, 2013). Topic modeling does not require pre-defined coding because the topics arise automatically with the LDA algorithm (Mohr & Bogdanov, 2013;

Blei, 2012). The method is therefore very well suited in this explorative and inductive research (Mohr & Bogdanov, 2013; Blei, 2012). LDA is a probabilistic model and based on distributions. A high amount of iterations will ensure the most informative distributions occur. This research used 2000 iterations to achieve the final results.

Although topics arise automatically the method does require some preparation. To create meaningful topics some steps are necessary to pave the way by only including words that contain relevant content. First of all, many tweets include words such as: 'the', 'but' or 'and'. These words are excluded from the topics because they contain little content (Blei, 2012). Secondly, the words see, saw or seen have the same lemma and by using lemmatization the same verbs are brought together. Thirdly, the script part-of-speech (POS) tagging, labels words in the sample as nouns, adjectives or verbs. With POS the most frequently used nouns and adjectives are determined, but POS also enables the research to only include particular types of words (nouns, adjectives, hashtags) into the topic model to achieve the most informative model. Lastly, the words guilty pleasure and #guiltypleasure are also excluded from the topic model. Every tweet in the sample contains either the hashtag or the phrase, so including these words in the LDA model does not add any valuable information.

Topic modeling is quantitative, but the interpretation and discussion of the results is often qualitative. The use of topics for qualitative exploration is validated by Chang et al. (2009). Researchers often feel like they are reading tea leaves when it comes to interpreting topic models (Chang et al., 2009). Topic models are quite popular, but prominent researchers like David Blei (2012) recognize that topics can be more effective when they are visualized differently. To facilitate interpretation and visualize the topics more effectively, this research includes topic browsers and semantic networks. Like a topic model, the topic browser is used to reveal important topics in a large dataset (Gardner et al., 2010). The topic browser presents the words in word cloud (Gardner et al., 2010). The size of the words varies because "the size of each word is determined by the probability of seeing that word in the topic" (Gardner et al., 2010, pp. 3). The topic browser therefore enables the research to better understand each topic. The semantic network visualizes the relationships between words and themes in a topic (Kim & Kim, 2015). The network shows how different themes are connected to each other, which strengthens the analysis of the model (Blei, 2012).

The scripts for lemmatization, POS tagging, the LDA model, the topic browsers and semantic networks were used in the program RStudio. The scripts were provided by the faculty of communication science of the Vrije Universiteit (VU) Amsterdam. The script that produces the LDA model with its additional topic brower and semantic network, also creates the a list of the top articles (tweets) in each topic. In the results section some of these top tweets will be used to illustrate a topic or clarify particular words in topics.

4.6
DIFFERENT LEVELS OF ANALYSIS

To explore the complete sample (n= 9605) a topic model with 10 probabilistic LDA topics was created. Additionally, a frequency analysis of the nouns, adjectives and hashtags of the complete sample was done. Afterwards, the sample of 9605 tweets was divided into content categories by creating a search query with the program AmCAT. As shown in Figure 2 these content categories are: music (n= 2122), TV/movie (=3111), food (=1083), leisure time (n=904) sex (n=72) and other (n= 3023).

By dividing the sample it was possible to compare different categories, but also explore each content category more efficiently. The complete sample was loaded into the program AmCAT, also developed by the VU. The Amsterdam Content Analysis Toolkit is an online tool to analyze media messages (Atteveldt, 2008). The website makes is easy and efficient to implement a search query and manage a large dataset (Atteveldt, 2008). With AmCAT you are able to search for strings of keywords which makes it possible to somewhat automatically code 9605 tweets (Atteveldt, 2008). For example, for the category music, the search query included the keywords: 'song', 'listening', 'music', 'Spotify' or 'album'. The cultural products TV shows and movies are combined in one category, because both products are consumed by watching. In the search query the verb 'watch' cannot distinguish between TV shows or movies, but is the only verb that directly points to consuming TV shows and thus movies. By manually going through the dataset more keywords were determined. This was very time consuming, but it resulted in more complete categories. Since there is no formalized language on Twitter, it is difficult to create a search query. Twitter users create their own abbreviations, so instead of only 'Taylor Swift' the query also included: 'swiftie', 'tswiftfordays', 'taylorswift', 'tswift' and 'taylorswift13'. During the process the keywords were continuously tested, adjusted and refined to ensure all tweets would end up in the correct category. The search query for every category can be found in appendix C.

Figure 2

Visualization of the different content categories with each five topics.
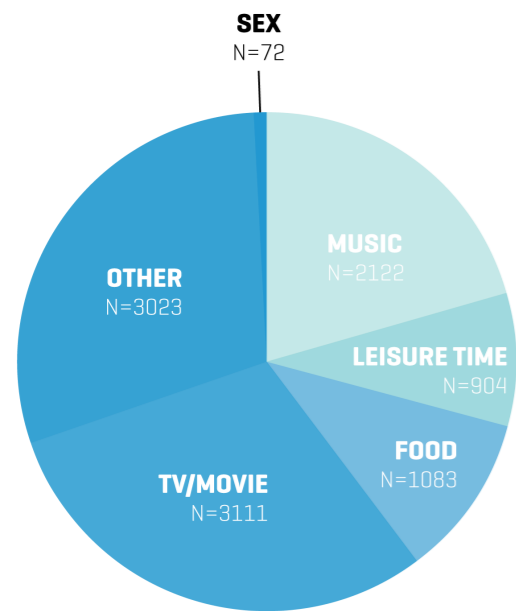
To compare and explore each category a topic model with five topics was created. The complete sample has ten topics, but these categories are much smaller and therefore five topics per category yield the best results. For each topic, a topic browser and semantic network was created. Additionally, the most frequent hashtags per category were determined and compared. The categories 'other' (n=3023) and 'sex' (n= 72) did not contain any relevant tweets for this research. The category 'other' mostly contains tweets that could not be categorized and the category is extremely elusive. For example, 360 tweets only contained the phrase guilty pleasure with either an URL or emoticon. These two categories will not be further discussed.

During the analysis every content category gave a little insight into the different ways Twitter users present their guilty pleasure. However, it was noticed the ways of presentation were scattered around the categories. With a new search query these ways of presentation were clustered into a new content category. The search query focused on different attitudes that Twitter users employed in the analysis of the previous content categories. This query can be found in appendix C on page 107. Out of the complete sample, 846 tweets were included in the content category 'ways of presentation'. Like the other content categories the same tools were used to analyze the data: most frequent hashtags, nouns and adjectives, topic model with five topics, topic browsers and semantic networks.

Concluding, the results of this research are presented in an inverted pyramid structure, as shown in Figure 3. The analysis starts with the complete sample, the different content categories and lastly the category 'ways of presentation'. To answer the research question and summarize the findings, this research proposes a tentative typology.

Figure 3

Visualization of the different levels of analysis

#RESULTS

5
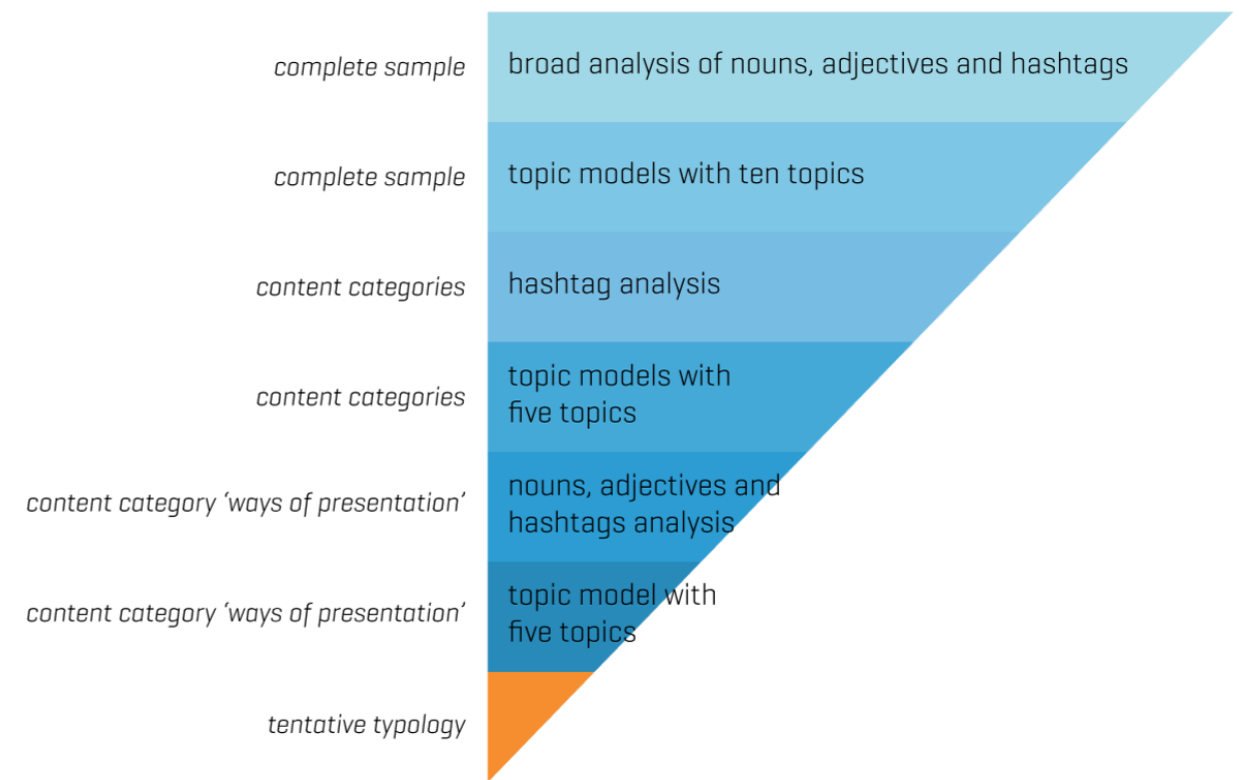
5.
RESULTS

In this research the following question is addressed: *In what ways do people present their guilty pleasures on Twitter about different cultural products and practices and how do they aim to distinguish themselves?* *This chapter will therefore look at which cultural products are mentioned by Twitter users and in what ways they present their guilty pleasure to their imagined audience. The findings of this research are summarized in a tentative model about the different ways of presentation.*

5.1
BROAD ANALYSIS

To get a grip on the sample this research will start with a broad analysis. This broad analysis will focus on the most frequently used hashtags, nouns and adjectives in the complete sample (see Table 4). To start with the hashtags, out of the complete sample (n= 9605) only 3227 tweets have at least one hashtag in the text. Of these 3227 tweets only 1566 tweets, 16% of the entire sample, include the hashtag #guiltypleasure. It was theorized that this hashtag could function as a marker of cultural taste and a tool of presentation. Despite expectations the 16% of the sample that used #guiltypleasure was low. 84% of the Twitter users only used the phrase guilty pleasure in a sentence to avoid misunderstandings about their taste. The hashtag is thus not widely used to signal the intended context. This also explains the explosive use of the words 'pleasure' (8081 times) and 'guilty' (8104 times) in the sample (see Table 4).

Table 4

Most frequent hashtags, adjectives and nouns (n= 9605).

COMPLETE SAMPLE		
HASHTAGS	**NOUNS**	**ADJECTIVES**
#guiltypleasure [1556]	pleasure [8081]	guilty [8104]
#kca [97]	I [2181]	new [461]
#vote [76]	song [456]	such [187]
#thebachelor [57]	love [302]	good [181]
#guilty [32]	show [302]	favorite [141]
#empire [28]	movie [240]	bad [115]
#letsnotbealonetonight [24]	time [225]	great [99]
#love [23]	music [217]	little [92]
#theroyals [21]	mine [204]	biggest [90]
#sorrynotsorry [19]	TV [200]	much [87]

The nouns in the second column, give a glimpse of which cultural products are consumed as guilty pleasure. For instance, the terms 'song', 'show', 'movie', 'music' and 'TV' appear. Most hashtags in the first column also reference to television shows. It appears that users find it important to make their personal attachment to the product clear, signaled by the frequent use of 'I' and 'mine'. The term 'time' mostly relates to food and television. Twitter users write it is 'time' for their guilty pleasure. With food this is a certain 'time' to eat breakfast, dinner and snacks. Television shows are bound to scheduled broadcasting and therefore it can be 'time' for a certain show.

The adjectives in the third column are more related to how Twitter users present a guilty pleasure. First of all, the word 'new' is used very often to present newly found guilty pleasures, such as TV shows, songs or albums. 'New' indicates a type of newsworthiness and provides some Twitter users with a cause to tweet. The remaining adjectives are used to describe guilty pleasure products or practices. It is remarkable that while guilty pleasures are commonly considered objects of poor quality, the most frequent adjectives are positive. The positive words include 'good', 'favorite', 'great', 'biggest' and 'love', and they give some insight into the way Twitter users present their guilty pleasure. On the one hand, the words demonstrate the enjoyment of the product. Twitter users emphasize their personal attachment to the product, for example with 'my favorite', and place the object of consumption on a pedestal. The product is elevated but also downgraded, because the Twitter user classify it as guilty pleasure. On the other hand, terms like 'biggest' but also 'such' and 'much', demonstrate Twitter users exaggerate. For example in sentences like: "this is *such* a guilty pleasure", "way too *much*" or "how *much* I love..".

It was theorized that guilty pleasures are affiliated with camp sensibility and ironic consumption. The affirmative adjectives in the sample signal the admiration of guilty pleasures. This admiration of 'bad' popular culture is also found with camp sensibility. Unlike irony, camp does not mock or ridicule objects, but according to Sontag (1964) finds charm

in a products 'awfulness'. These positive adjectives appear to suggest Twitter users admire their guilty pleasure through a camp orientation. Although Twitter users acknowledge the poor quality of the object, the object itself gives the consumer satisfaction. This therefore also relates to the idea of Sontag (1964), that similar to camp sensibility, guilty pleasure can be used to display good taste of 'bad' taste.

5.2
TEN TOPICS COMPLETE SAMPLE

To explore the themes in the complete sample a LDA topic model is created with ten topics (see Table 5). The topics are used to summarize the sample and explore the content (Chang et al., 2009; Mohr & Bogdanov, 2013).

Table 5

Topic model, ten highest ranked terms per topic (n =9605)

LDA RESULTS OF THE COMPLETE SAMPLE, TEN TOPICS	
TOPIC	**TEN MOST REPRESENTATIVE WORDS**
1	song, movie, favorite, such, girl, mine, food, award, bachelor, hate
2	chocolate, food, new, day, ice, cream, good, photo, today, butter
3	music, song, new, pop, good, god, biggest, year, mine, musical
4	song, new, video, love, movie, game, top, favorite, lol, way
5	movie, mom, boy, dance, love, people, furious, everyone, fast, life
6	new, night, time, last, week, #thebachelor, goodbye, show, episode, tv
7	#kca, 5so, #vote, real, season, show, series, day, new, time
8	song, taylor, swiftt, new, love, day, wife, rt, music, jam
9	show, tv, thing, lol, good, love, movie, reality, people, bachelor
10	lol, mine, love, little, such, more, night, house, anyone, secret

The LDA model primarily displays words related to four main categories of consumption: music, TV/movie, food and leisure activities. The model shows overlaps between the topics and different kinds of products. For example, topic 1 contains words related to music, film, food and The Bachelor. The topic model encompasses a wide range of categories and does not automatically create a clear subdivision in cultural products or themes. It does provide confirmation that the content categories 'music', 'TV/movie', 'food' and 'leisure time' are the most prevailing in the sample. By dividing the sample into different content categories the different themes within each category can be further explored.

5.3
HASHTAGS PER CONTENT CATEGORY

The first step in the analysis of the four content categories are the ten most frequently used hashtags, as shown in Table 6.

Table 6
Top ten hashtags per content category.

TOP HASHTAGS PER CONTENT CATEGORY			
MUSIC	**TV/MOVIE**	**LEISURE**	**FOOD**
n = 2122	n = 3111	n = 904	n = 1083
1 #guiltypleasure [263]	#guiltypleasure [642]	#guiltypleasure [166]	#guiltypleasure [235]
2 #music [12]	#kca [93]	#makeup [6]	#chocolate [15]
3 #noshame [6]	#thebachelor [57]	#fashion [5]	#guilty [10]
4 #np [6]	#empire [26]	#love [5]	#yum [9]
5 #guilty [5]	#theroyals [20]	#books [3]	#delicious [8]
6 #guilty [5]	#theroyals [20]	#books [3]	#delicious [8]
7 #soundhound[5]	#rhobh [18]	#dontjudgeme[3]	#yummy [8]
8 #dontjudgeme[4]	#kuwtk [15]	#fail [3]	#foodie [7]
9 #sorrynotsorry[4]	#towie [15]	#giorgioarmani[3]	#icecream [6]
10 #taylorswift [4]	#exonthebeach [14]	#health [3]	#boston [5]

In the content category 'TV/movie' every hashtag refers to a television program, such as T*he Bachelor, the Nickelodeon Kids' Choice Awards, Empire, The Royals, The Real Housewives of Beverly Hills, Keeping Up with the Kardashians, The Only Way Is Essex* and *Ex on the Beach*. Most of these programs are reality TV shows. Most hashtags indicate to a specific TV show, while in the category 'music' the only specific hashtag is #taylorswift. It seems to be a Twitter convention to use the hashtag of a specific TV show. The hashtags mark a conversational theme and Twitter users are able to see what other viewers are saying about the TV show as they are watching it. In the category 'music' some hashtags are specifically linked to an attitude, such as: '#dontjudgeme', '#noshame', '#guilty' and '#sorrynotsorry'. In no other category are these hashtags so prominently present. A revealing finding is that the use of #guiltypleasure differs in the categories. In the category 'food' 22% of the tweets includes the hashtag #guiltypleasure, in 'TV/movie' 20%, in 'leisure time' 18% and in 'music' 12%. So while the use of #guiltypleasure is less in the category 'music' and high in the category 'TV/movie', hashtags such as '#noshame' or '#sorrynotsorry' do not appear in the category 'TV/movie'. It seems music related guilty pleasures require a more specific type of presentation, whereas in the category 'TV/movie' the hashtag #guiltypleasure is sufficient in order to create distinction.

Music is strongly related to identity construction (Van der Hoeven, 2012; 2014, DeNora,

1999). In the sample, the Twitter users defend their musical taste with additional hashtags, because it is probably more intertwined with their identity. The hashtags #noshame and #sorrynotsorry indicate a proud and offensive attitude. While the hashtag #dontjudgeme is more defensive. The defensive hashtag also demonstrates that Twitter users feel embarrassed about their musical guilty pleasure. The hashtags #nowplaying and #np (abbreviation of now playing) in the category 'music' indicate that the Twitter user tweets about currently consuming a musical product.

The category 'leisure time' includes hashtags about reading, sports, shopping, gossip and make-up. This category is quite elusive and the top hashtags mostly reference to the previously mentioned cultural products and practices. In the content category 'food' the hashtags '#yum', '#yummy' and '#delicious' also point to the actual consumption of products and the (guilty) enjoyment of the consumption. In the top ten hashtags about 'food' the only specific hashtags are '#chocolate' and '#ice-cream'.

5.4
FIVE TOPICS PER CONTENT CATEGORY

Step two in the analysis of the content categories is to explore the themes within each category. Since the topics in, for example, the category 'music' will all reference to this area of consumption it will be easier to explore the ways of presentation in depth. Since the categories are smaller than the complete sample, a topic model with five topics is created for each category, as shown in Table 7. For every topic, a topic browser and semantic network is created to facilitate interpretation. Due to the limited amount of pages available for this thesis not every topic browser or network will be displayed or discussed. Everything related to this analysis, for every category, can be found online at the website: www.vdvlegel.nl/thesisvlegel.

Table 7

Topic model, ten highest ranked terms per topic

LDA RESULTS PER CONTENT CATEGORY, 5 TOPICS PER CATEGORY	
TOPIC	**MOST REPRESENTATIVE WORDS**
MUSIC	
1	music, country, musical, ariana, boy, grande, biggest, mine, band, song
2	song, music, album, pop, playlist, new, funk, uptown, good, morning
3	song, album, thing, new, good, jonas, jam, bad, day, nick
4	swift, taylor, song, new, love, justin, music, single, bieber, jepsen
5	song, such, love, music, maroon, mine, band, year, tbh, last
TV/MOVIE	
1	new, night, girl, time, show, reality, love, housewife, last, episode
2	new, show, little, season, great, love, lol, voice, episode, kid
3	bachelor, movie, time, mom, #thebachelor, dance, kardashian, netflix, day, show
4	5sos, furious, new, glee, tonight, show, #kca, season, fast, wife
5	movie, show, song, love, mine, favorite, new, film, best, video
FOOD	
1	chocolate, today, egg, cheese, easter, strawberry, fries, #chocolate, hot, happy
2	food, chocolate, cookie, good, new, favorite, chip, much, free, drink
3	tart, donut, pop, cheese, viral, sweet, chicken, bread, home, such
4	food, butter, peanut, night, day, lunch, snack, fast, healthy, late
5	cream, ice, chocolate, coffee, love, time, milk, lol, pizza, good
LEISURE TIME	
1	game, weed, smoking, video, drinking, dollar, sex, cellphone, ultimate, star
2	new, love, dancing, shopping, nail, song, celebrity, fashion, online, polish
3	mine, anime, lol, people, show, love, tonight, car, shower, musical
4	book, reading, article, thing, new, great, good, movie, tweet, facebook
5	game, book, day, twitter, time, favorite, someone, old, year, gym

In this LDA topic model the sample is divided into cultural products. The words 'time', 'new', 'good', 'favorite' and 'love' appear in every category. This clearly demonstrates that the way Twitter users present their guilty pleasure is not dependent on the cultural product. In other words, Twitter users can apply the same terms to present a music or food related guilty pleasure. This topic model will be explored by discussing every content category separately. In this discussion, this research will focus on what is consumed and in which ways Twitter users present their tweet.

5.4.1 MUSIC

In almost every topic in the category 'music' , the words 'music', 'song', 'new', 'band' and 'album' appear (see Table 7). The topic model contains some names of artist and bands. In the topic browsers (which includes more than ten words) and the semantic networks

more artists and bands appear. Twitter users label the following artists and bands as guilty pleasures: *Ariana Grande, Nicki Minaj, Shawn Mendes, Abba, Justin Bieber, Justin Timerlake, Chemical Romance, James Blunt, Lady Gaga, Carly Rae Jepsen, Nick Jonas, Katy Perry, Taylor Swift, One Direction, Maroon 5, Miley Cyrus, Ellie Goulding, Britney Spears, Limp Bizkit, Kanye West, Fifth Harmony, Nickelback*, songs from *High School Musical* and the songs 'Uptown Funk' and 'Trap Queen'.

Figure 4

Artists that prevail in the topic model of the category 'music'

In topic 1 the term 'biggest' appears quite strongly. It appears Twitter users only present their greatest guilty pleasure, although the term 'biggest' can also be used as a form of irony or exaggeration. A tweet in topic 1 demonstrates this: "*Ariana Grande is my biggest guilty pleasure. Her music is just too damn catchy*". The phrase 'too damn catchy' can be a form of exaggeration and also signals the song is framed as somewhat irresistible.

Topic 2 contains common words related to music. The semantic network of topic 2, displays the words 'favorite', 'catchy', 'cheesy' and 'embarrassed' in connection to music. Twitter users in the sample have a tendency to elevate a product by presenting it with positive words, but simultaneously downgrading the product with negativity. Like this tweet clearly demonstrates: "*And it's a total guilty pleasure… like the song is so catchy and the video is great and I feel so cringey for enjoying it*". The song is catchy and the video great, but the Twitter user feels embarrassed or uncomfortable with the consumption. In the network of topic 2 the terms 'judge' and 'don't appear. With this phrase Twitter users signal a fear of judgement towards their audience. This is similar to the hashtag analysis in which #dontjudgeme also appeared.

In topic 3 the word 'new' prevails. In the semantic network of topic 3 the words 'current' and '#np' (now playing) occur. This indicates the actual consumption of a product. The word 'album' also strongly appears. An interesting tweet in this topic is:

"*Idc what anyone says but Yours Truly was a good album. The album is filled with nice vocals and catchy cute songs. It's my guilty pleasure*". The Twitter user defends the album with the abbreviation: idc (I don't care). The phrase 'I don't care' signals a lack of interest towards what the audience thinks and also signals the Twitter user appears to be proud of his or her guilty pleasure.

In topic 4 the terms 'new', 'love' and 'Taylor Swift' appear (see Figure 5). In the semantic network of topic 4 the words 'biggest', 'fan', 'confession' and 'ngl' (not gonna lie) are related to 'Taylor Swift'. A top tweet in this topic is: "*ngl there's one single Taylor Swift song on my phone and I can sing it word for word. It's my guilty pleasure*". This tweet is presented as a confession with the abbreviation 'ngl' (not gonna lie). Another tweet that illustrates this topic is: "*That new Taylor Swift song is my guilty pleasure and I hate myself for it. It's so god damn catchy*". Here the Twitter user creates distance by saying 'hate myself' and 'god damn catchy'. The Twitter user denigrates the product by condemning the consumption, but also by exaggerating classifying the product negatively. Topic 5 shows a similar abbreviation namely 'tbh' (to be honest). This signals a type of secret that is being revealed about guilty pleasures. It relates to Goffman's (1959) idea that the backstage is where secrets that have been suppressed come forward. Some Twitter users might see Twitter more as a backstage.

Figure 5
Topic Browser of topic 4 in the content category music

In the semantic network of the entire category 'music' (n= 2122), the word ´throwback´ is visualized left to the word ´song´ (see Figure 6). In the theory it was briefly discussed that musical guilty pleasures can have a nostalgic orientation. 'Throwback' refers to the online Twitter convention of #tbt or #ThrowbackThursday. With these hashtags people can refer to old memories, photos or songs. The concept of 'throwback' did not prevail in any of the topics. By manually checking the sample in AmCAT only 16 tweets in the entire sample reference to the concept of 'throwback' in relation to guilty pleasures. To a large extent, Twitter users in the sample do not appear to consume guilty pleasures with a nostalgic orientation despite the expectation at the start of this research.

In sum, the category 'music' shows there are different ways to present a guilty pleasure, which contributes to the tentative typology of this research. The first way to present a musical guilty pleasure is by classifying objects negatively like: 'old', 'catchy', 'bad', 'hate'

or 'cheesy' (see Figure 6). Twitter users also appear to create distinction by exaggerating their consumption, by using the terms 'much', 'such' and also 'too (god) damn catchy' as was showed in two tweets. In this category different attitudes to convey distinction such as 'embarrassed' and 'don't judge' appeared. Additionally, the terms 'sorry', 'embarrassed', 'ngl' (not gonna lie), 'tbh' (to be honest), 'omg' (oh my god) and 'lmao' (laughing my ass off) also signal a specific way of presenting a guilty pleasure (see Figure 6).

Figure 6
Semantic network complete category music (n= 2122)

5.4.2 TV/MOVIE

In the category 'TV/movie' different TV shows are mentioned in the topic model, topic browsers and semantic networks. Twitter users categorize certain shows as guilty pleasure, such as: *The Real Housewife, Kids Choice Awards, Top Gear, Greys Anatomy, The Only Way is Essex, Mob Wife, Taking New York, Glee, Jerry Springer, Catfish, Pretty Little Liars, Gossip Girl, Gilmore Girls, Empire, The Bachelor, Van der Pump Rules, Vampire Diary, House of Cards, The Royals, Total Diva, Geordie Shore, Great British Bake Off, Hell's Kitchen, America's Next Top Model, Millionaire Matchmaker, the Kardashians, Jeremy Kyle, Storage Wars*, the TV channel *The Food Network* and the movie *Fast and Furious 7*.

Figure 7

TV shows that prevail in the topic model of the category 'TV/movie'

Topic 1 shows common terms related to television, but also includes other frequently seen terms such as: 'time', 'new', 'night', 'love'. In the semantic network of topic 1 there is a connection between the words 'today' and 'highlight', indicating Twitter users describe a guilty pleasure as the highlight of their day. This combination demonstrates enjoyment, but also signals the consumption is only temporarily. The combination only prevails in the category 'TV/movie', which makes sense, because only television programs have a certain broadcasting time.

In topic 2 the term 'lol' (laugh out loud) and and 'lmao' (laughing my ass off) appear. These abbreviations can be used to laugh something away or it can be used to emphasize how funny a television show is. It is difficult to determine what individual Twitter users intent mean with 'lol'. For example: "*Rhoa is my guilty pleasure...me and Tori find too much entertainment in this show lol*" and "*Dog the Bounty Hunter will forever be my guilty pleasure lol*". The topic browser of topic 2 shows additional terms that convey an attitude such as: 'shame', 'huge fan', 'total', '#sorrynotsorry', 'bad' and 'ashamed'. The word 'bad' is often used in combination with 'good' and the following tweet might therefore demonstrates some camp sensibility: "*Skins is so bad it's such a guilty pleasure where the whole time you're watching it you know it's bad but it's so good*".

In topic 3 the shows The Bachelor, The Kardashians and the online streaming website Netflix prevail (see Figure 8). Other adjectives to describe these products are: 'confession', 'better', 'great', 'favorite' and 'entertaining'. An interesting tweet about The Bachelor is: "*Watching Andy talk about losing Joss while blowing snot bubbles is oddly hilarious #guiltypleasure #thebeachelor this show is stupid #bored*". It appears the Twitter user finds The Bachelor hilarious but also stupid. By using the hashtag #bored, the Twitter user indirectly claims the show is only watched because the individual has nothing better to do. This thus downgrades the television show and creates distance. Quite similarly another Twitter user states: "*Stayed up late again watching the @bachelorabc, 2 more weeks and I will be productive on Monday nights! #bachelor #guiltypleasure*". The tweet demonstrates a type of devotion to the program, but the consumption is also condemned for being a waste of time. In the topic browser of topic 3 the words 'binge' and 'marathon' are also striking (see Figure 8). As discussed in the theory, binge watching is something people can feel guilty about. However, in the semantic network there is no link between 'binge' and other guilt related terms. In this tweet binge is presented as something that indicates extreme enjoyment: "*Netflix released Mako Mermaids season 2! Time for another binge watching session. #guiltypleasure*".

Figure 8

Topic Browser of topic 3 in the content category TV/movie

Topic 4 is characterized by the Kids Choice Awards (#kca and #vote) and the last Fast and Furious film. In the semantic network of topic 4 different TV shows are vizualised in connection to the word 'new', indicating Twitter users present a new episode aired or new series as their guilty pleasure. In topic 5 the words 'favorite' and 'mine' appear. Although 'favorite' can be used as a type of exaggeration, in this tweet 'favorite' equals devotion: "*Honestly tho, don't judge, but Teen Mom (original cast) is my favorite guilty pleasure TV & watch every time MTV has a special about them*". Additionally, this tweet signals confessional attitude with a fear of judgment with the terms 'honestly' and 'don't judge'.

Conclusively, the ways of presentation are somewhat similar to the ways in the category 'music'. The content category 'TV/movie' predominantly includes different TV shows that are mentioned as guilty pleasure. The semantic network of the entire category 'TV/movie' (n=3111) shows, a way in which Twitter users present these products is by using adjectives that classify the product negatively such as: 'shit(ty)', 'trash(y)', 'weird', 'hilarious', 'lol' (laugh out loud), 'bad' and 'wrong' (see Figure 9). In this category some terms point to a confessional ('to be honest'), offensive (#sorrynotsorry) or defensive attitude ('ashamed' and 'don't judge').

Figure 9
Semantic network complete content category TV/movie (n= 3111)

5.4.3 FOOD

In the category 'food' every topic contains types of food such as: chocolate, cheese, strawberries, fries, cookies, donuts, pop tarts, bread, chicken, peanut butter, ice cream, coffee and pizza and more. The topic model shows additional terms like: 'happy', 'good', 'new', 'favorite', 'much' and 'love' (see Table 7).

Topic 1 conveys a central theme of chocolate. Key characteristics are words like Easter, caramel, bunny and egg. Twitter users present their guilty food related pleasure by adding terms like 'treat', 'best meal', 'wrong', 'happy' and hashtags like '#yummy' and '#delicious'. A top tweet in this topic is: "*Double chocolate bacon pretzel bites are my guilty pleasure #thefreshmarket #yum #cheatday*". In topic 2 chocolate also dominates and like the other content categories Twitter users present their guilty pleasure as 'new', 'good', 'favorite' and 'biggest' (see Figure 10). This demonstrates that the concept of guilty pleasure can be approached in the same presentational ways regardless of the product of consumption.

Figure 10
Topic Browser of topic 2 in the content category food

Topic 3 includes various unhealthy types of foods and mostly focusses on what is consumed. In topic 4 the words 'time', 'late night snack', 'breakfast' and 'meal' prevail, which points to the actual time of consumption. Topic 5 shows the words 'foodie', 'ultimate', 'love', 'good' and 'delicious'. These words indicate a positive approach towards products.

To conclude, the ways in which Twitter users can present food related guilty pleasures is by using words that demonstrate infatuation or exaggeration like: 'my favorite', my biggest', 'my obsession' or 'my ultimate guilty pleasure'. The semantic network of the entire category 'food' is smaller than the other categories and more divided (see Figure 11). The network mostly contains types of food. Besides 'favorite', 'bad' and 'good' no other adjectives or attitudes were found. With cultural products the fine line between good and 'bad' taste can be uncertain, but with food most people know that chocolate and fast food are bad for you. It appears there is thus less need for presentational attitudes than with the consumption of music or TV shows.

Figure 11
Semantic network complete content category food (n= 1083)

5.4.4 LEISURE TIME

The category 'leisure time' is incoherent. It includes activities such as: smoking, playing video games, dancing, shopping, fashion, nail polish, anime, cars, musicals, reading, social media and sports. This category includes many activities that are normally not associated with guilty pleasures, such as taking showers or naps.

Topic 1 contains words related to an online marketing activity and is therefore not relevant. Topic 2 includes themes and practices like: shopping, magazines, celebrities, shoes, make-up and cheerleading. The words 'love' and 'new' occur as central terms in the midst of these products. Topic 3 contains social media activities that Twitter users characterize as guilty pleasure like Twitter, blogs and Tumblr. Topic 4 revolves around reading, as shown in Figure 12. A top tweet in this topic is: "*I love reading user comments and tweets to major brands. #guiltypleasure*". Twitter users can have a guilty pleasure for reading books, articles, comments, fan fiction, tweets or Facebook posts. Another top tweets is: "*My guilty pleasure is badly written One Direction fanfiction it's the only one I'm ashamed of because it's not even good fanfic, it's all by 15 year olds*". The Twitter user this particular guilty pleasure is his or her only embarrassing one, because the Twitter user feels it is of poor quality. Topic 5 includes some terms related to reading, games and sports, but no additional attitudes are striking.
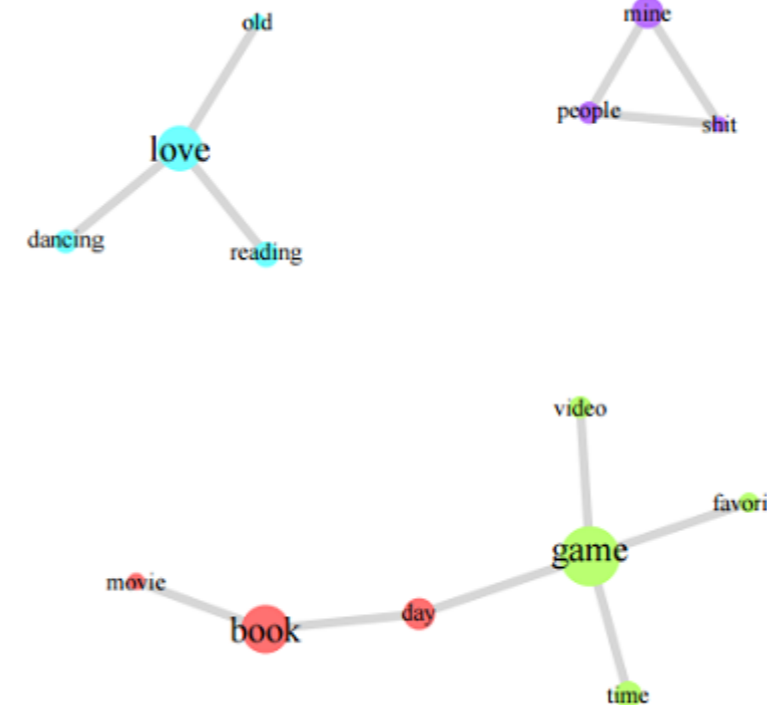
Figure 12
Topic Browser of topic 4 in the content category leisure time

In sum, the content category 'leisure time' includes different products and practices that vary from sports, reading, social media, gossip and make-up. These activities are mostly unrelated and this is demonstrated in the semantic network of the entire category, as shown in Figure 13. The network is very small and divided, because the category consists of random activities. Not many ways of presentation occur in this category. The ones that did resemble the other categories.

Figure 13
Semantic network complete content category leisure time (n= 904)

5.4.5 CATEGORIES COMPARED

The content categories are compared based on their entire semantic network (as shown in Figure 6, 9, 11 and 13). The category 'food' is rather small, but includes the terms: 'favorite', 'good', 'bad' and 'much'. The network of 'leisure time' is also relatively small in which the terms 'favorite', 'love' and 'old' prevail. The networks from the category 'TV/movie' and 'music' are more coherent and interconnected. Words to describe a guilty pleasure in the category 'TV/movie' are: 'shitty', 'classic', 'awesome', 'great', 'hilarious', 'best' and 'worst'. The category 'music' includes the words and abbreviations: 'good', 'biggest', 'sorry', 'catchy', 'embarrassed', 'cheesy', 'hate', 'perfect', 'bad', 'ngl', 'lol', 'lmao' and 'omg'. Although the categories 'TV/movie' and 'music' are larger in amount of tweets, it is remarkable more terms are used to describe guilty pleasures in these categories.

Similar to the difference in hashtag use, more specific names of TV shows appear in the category 'TV/movie', while much less specific names of artists arise in the category 'music'. The category 'music' contains far more terms that are used to classify a guilty pleasure. Music is more connected to identity than television, which would explain why Twitter users present their musical guilty pleasure more strongly (Van der Hoeven, 2012; 2014, DeNora, 1999). It appears there is more need to defend a music related guilty pleasure. This claim is supported by the results. The category 'music' also comprises more terms related to attitudes such as: 'embarrassed' and 'sorry'. The 'music' category also contains every abbreviation related to laughing something away, such as: 'haha', 'lmao' and 'lol'.

5.5
ANALYSIS CONTENT CATEGORY 'WAYS OF PRESENTATION'

The previous topics and analysis shows there are different ways to present a guilty pleasure and create distinction. A new category is created to cluster the defensive, offensive and confessional attitudes together in a new content category (see appendix C). The first step in this analysis of the content category 'ways of presentation' is focused on the most frequently used hashtags, adjectives and nouns (see Table 8).

Table 8
Broad analysis 'ways of presentation' (n=846)

WAYS OF PRESENTATION		
HASHTAGS	**ADJECTIVES**	**Nouns**
#guiltypleasure [168]	guilty [691]	pleasure [679]
#sorrynotsorry [19]	bad [39]	I [397]
#noshame [15]	ashamed [37]	song [65]
#dontjudgeme [12]	secret [37]	tbh [47]
#addicted [11]	new [30]	show [36]
#obsessed [6]	good [27]	love [31]
#kca [5]	little [18]	music [28]
#thebachelor [5]	not-so-guilty [18]	mine [26]
#vote [5]	such [17]	time [26]
#judgerinder [4]	awful [16]	movie [24]

The hashtags #sorrynotsorry, #noshame and #dontjudgeme demonstrates particular attitudes of Twitter users towards the product. This can be offensive, indicated by #noshame, or more defensive signaled by #dontjudgeme. Similarly, the adjective 'ashamed' points to a defensive consumer, while the adjective 'not-so-guilty' indicates the opposite.

The other adjectives like 'bad', 'secret', 'new', 'good', 'such' and 'awful' are used to classify guilty pleasures. By negatively presenting and describing the cultural product the Twitter user creates distance between the self and the product. The relationship between products and ways of presentation become even more apparent and visualized in the semantic network (see Figure 14).

Figure 14
Semantic network 'ways of presentation' (n= 846)
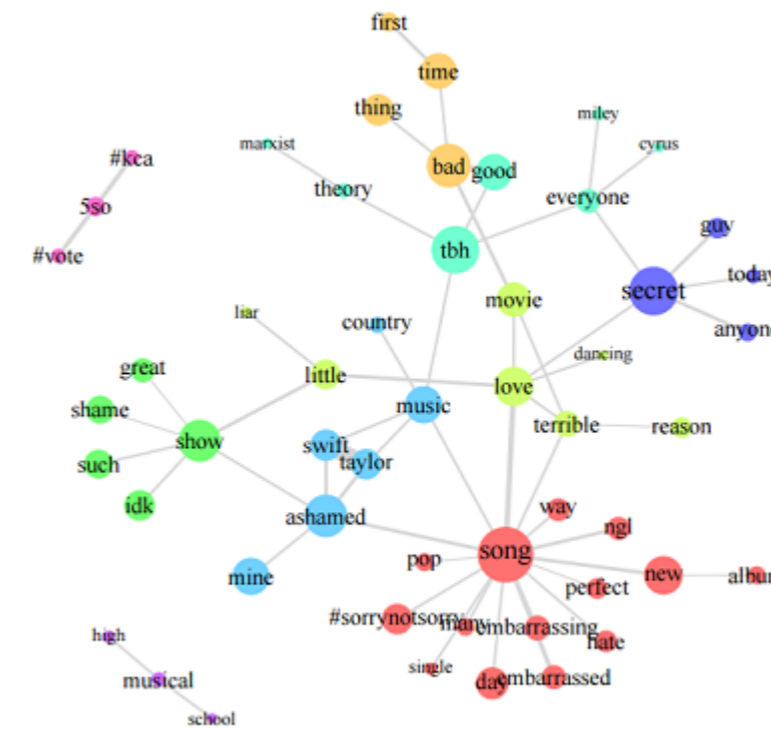
The word 'ashamed' (blue cluster) is shown in connection to the product 'song' (red cluster) and 'show' (green cluster). This demonstrates that Twitter users can the word 'ashamed' in relation to TV shows, songs and Taylor Swift. Twitter users add the words 'new', 'ngl' (not gonna lie), 'perfect', 'hate', 'embarrassing', 'embarrassed' and '#sorrynotsorry' to present their musical guilty pleasure (red cluster).

The second step in this content category analysis, will explore the topic model (see Table 9) with the topic browsers and semantic networks. Instead of looking at each topic in detail, like the previous sections, a short account will be given.

Table 9
Topic model, ten highest ranked terms per topic (n =846)

LDA RESULTS OF CONTENT CATEGORY 'WAYS OF PRESENTATION', FIVE TOPICS	
TOPIC	**MOST REPRESENTATIVE WORDS**
MUSIC	
1	Bad, good, time, judge, idk, movie, tbh, honest, awful, regret
2	Ashamed, swift, taylor, obsession, secret, song, new, mine, #dontjudgeme, bad
3	Song, love, secret, #sorrynotsorry, little, day, much, embarrassing, embarrassed, shame
4	Show, such, new, bachelor, love, Kardashian, way, lol, shame, #noshame
5	Tbh, music, song, secret, band, everyone, #addicted, day, terrible, sorry

Every topic contains adjectives that are used to critique or classify products. Most topics also contain terms related to an attitude such as: 'judge', 'regret', 'ashamed', 'obsession', 'secret', '#dontjudgeme', '#swdicted' and 'sorry'. The semantic network of topic 1 shows 'judge' in relation to 'don't'. This indicates a defensive stance, and shows that Twitter users can be wary of reaction of their followers. In the same network, 'regret' is shown in relation to 'nothing'. This indicates an offensive stance and shows some Twitter users stand behind their choice of consumption.

In topic 2 Taylor Swift appears with the terms 'ashamed', 'obsession' and '#dontjudgeme' (see Figure 15). In the semantic network of topic 2, 'ashamed' is connected to the hashtag '#dontjudgeme'. This relation seems logical, if you are already ashamed you don't want others to judge you. The network of topic 2 also visualizes a connection between 'obsession' and 'unhealthy'. Although the term 'obsession' does not automatically mean something negative, an 'unhealthy obsession' classifies the guilty pleasure negatively. Topic 3, 4 and 5 include similar terms related to a defensive attitude such as: 'embarrassing', 'embarrassed', 'shame' and 'sorry', an offensive attitude such as 'sorrynotsorry' and '#noshame' and a confessional attitude: 'secret' and 'tbh'.

Figure 15
Topic Browser of topic 2 in the content category 'ways of presentation'

In topic 2 Taylor Swift appears with the terms 'ashamed', 'obsession' and '#dontjudgeme' (see Figure 15). In the semantic network of topic 2, 'ashamed' is connected to the hashtag '#dontjudgeme'. This relation seems logical, if you are ashamed you don't want others to judge you. The network of topic 2 also visualizes a connection between 'obsession' and 'unhealthy'. Although the term 'obsession' does not automatically mean something negative, an 'unhealthy obsession' classifies the guilty pleasure consumption as negative. Topic 3, 4 and 5 include words related to a defensive attitude such as: 'embarrassing', 'embarrassed', 'shame' and 'sorry', an offensive attitude such as 'sorrynotsorry' and '#noshame' and a confessional attitude: 'secret' and 'tbh'.

5.6
WAYS OF PRESENTATION

The content category 'ways of presentation' and the analysis of complete sample and the content categories 'music', 'TV/movie', 'food' and 'leisure time', leads to this research's tentative typology. This research identified three strategies to present a guilty pleasure and create distinction. These three strategies will be explained in the following sections, they are: distancing by describing the product, distancing by using time and distancing by attitude.

5.6.1   DISTANCING BY DESCRIPTION

The first way by which Twitter users can present a guilty pleasure is by using terms or adjectives that classify the product either negatively or positively. Positive terms, such as 'biggest', 'favorite', 'best', 'greatest', 'perfect', 'super' and 'awesome' might be used ironically or as a form of exaggeration. This is however hard to determine and thus it is regarded as distancing when negative terms are used to describe an object, such as 'terrible', 'trashy', 'cheesy', 'worst' or 'stupid'. Distancing by "bashing" the cultural product or practice shows the Twitter user acknowledges 'bad' taste. By presenting the guilty pleasure negatively the Twitter users displays and demonstrates knowingness an object is of poor quality (Szalai, 2013). This type of presentation creates distinction between the self and the product, between their 'real' taste and their 'bad' taste and also between this Twitter user and serious consumers who do not critique the same product. This way of presentation matches the idea of ironic consumption (Ang, 2007; McCoy & Scarborough, 2014a; Olliver, 2008). This type of performance creates a superior position for Twitter user.

In the previous sections many examples of negative tweets were given. To demonstrate distancing by description even further, the first tweet bellow shows how the Twitter user creates distance by describing the movie as 'cheesy' and 'gay', but also explains why this movie is a pleasurable experience. In the second tweet the Twitter user questions why the song is enjoyed, and emphasizes that the object is of poor quality. In the third tweet the Twitter user demonstrates knowingness of the poor quality by saying 'yes I know its trash', but also claims not to care, which signals the (guilty) enjoyment.

1. *"I have a guilty pleasure for these <u>cheesy</u> American films like this American Heist, like they're <u>gay</u> but still <u>fun and lighthearted</u>"*.
2. *"Groove is in the Heart is my guilty pleasure song... mainly because it's so <u>terrible</u> and <u>for whatever reason I love it</u>"*.
3. *"Time for my guilty pleasure! #takingnewyork <u>#yesiknowitstrash #dontcare</u>"*.

5.6.2 DISTANCING BY USING TIME

Popular culture is characterized by trends and fads that change rapidly (Macionis & Plummer, 2012). Television shows, artists or songs can be popular for weeks, but after a while they will decline in popularity. Popular culture changes quickly and most products like fashion trends are only enjoyed for a little while. As a style of consumption, guilty pleasures provide a way to enjoy these temporary popular commodities. The second way of presentation is that Twitter users can distance themselves from consuming a guilty pleasure, by emphasizing the temporary consumption.

In most topics and networks the words 'new' and 'time' appear. On the surface these terms can be used to present a newly found guilty pleasure such as a television show, song, album or type of food. However, the word 'new' also signals the product is recently acquired. Like the word 'time', 'current' and 'now playing' indicate the actual consumption of the product. These terms emphasize the temporary consumption, in order to create distinction. This is explicable by the likeliness that they only listen to the song for 4 minutes and thus do not necessarily consumes these products regularly. By emphasizing the consumption is only currently enjoyed, the Twitter users aim to distance themselves from the product. This is illustrated by the first tweet below, where the artist Iggy Azalea is mentioned as a current guilty pleasure. Once this song will decline in popularity, the Twitter user might acquire another new guilty pleasure. The second tweet refers to a TV show, since TV shows usually air only once a week this Twitter user creates distinction by the frequency of the engagement (Sullivan & Katz-Gerro, 2007). The third tweet refers to a new TV show: *The Royals*. This first season will last 10 episodes, after which the Twitter user will need to find another new TV show to watch.

1. *"Heavy Crown by Iggy Azalea and Elle Goulding is <u>one of my current</u> guilty pleasure songs".*
2. *"<u>Time</u> for my guilty pleasure! #towie".*
3. *"I already know that #theroyals <u>is going to be my new</u> guilty pleasure".*

In a way, guilty pleasure already means the object of consumption is something of an exception. It is already something not regularly enjoyed. The statement guilty pleasure is used to create distinction, but the presented element of 'current', 'time' and 'new' emphasizes the temporary consumption. A suggestion to explore this tentative claim further is given in the conclusion and discussion.

5.6.3 DISTANCING BY ATTITUDE

The third way to present a guilty pleasure is by creating distinction based on a specific attitude. In this research three distinct attitudes are identified: defensive, offensive and confessional. These attitudes will be discussed in detail.

THE DEFENSIVE ATTITUDE
Twitter users who employ a defensive attitude take the concept of guilty pleasure seriously and literally. Twitter users create distance from a product by stating they feel guilty, embarrassed, or ashamed about consuming it. Tweets can also contain terms that emphasize a fear of being judged like #dontjudgeme. This defensive attitude matches the theory about the apology (Goffman, 1971). The apology is an expression of embarrassment and Twitter users therefore similarly seem to apologize for their consumption. These Twitter users are reflexive about their presentation, by demonstrating they acknowledge the consumed product represents 'bad' taste, which is probably not the accepted by their imagined audience. The following tweets illustrate the strategy to present a guilty pleasure defensively:

- *"24 years of watching TV and I finally found my guilty pleasure in The Bachelor. <u>I'm so ashamed</u>".*
- *"It's actually <u>extremely embarrassing</u> how much I'm looking forward to Geordie Shore on Tuesday #guiltypleasure".*
- *"Finally bout to sit down and watch the newest season of Trailer Park Boys, <u>not proud,</u> but I sure as hell am gonna enjoy it #guiltypleasure".*
- *"Hi I'm back from ready my guilty pleasure fanfic and I'm dying and also <u>full of regret</u>".*
- *"@jennettemccurdy same here. There's always some guilty pleasure songs I'm <u>afraid some peeps will hear and laugh at me</u>".*

The defensive attitude is also strongly present with Twitter users who question their own behavior. These Twitter users refer to their guilty pleasure as an object they are unable to resist. In other words, these Twitter users claim to have no agency concerning the choice of consumption. This matches the findings from McCoy and Scarborough (2014a) who conclude respondents felt ashamed about their consumption and thus apologized by saying, watching the program was beyond their control. Twitter users claim they are defenseless, watching the program is something they cannot resist.

These explanations also indicate an apology and defensive attitude, because the consumer is not to blame, as the following tweets will demonstrate:

- *"@neeshuuh how I was feeling as well. <u>I can't believe I still watch this mess</u> #guiltypleasure"*.
- *"I was going to go to bed but Big Fat Gypsy Wedding is on and for some reason <u>I can't drag myself away</u>... #guiltypleasure #sowrongsoright"*.
- *"@catfishmtv Catfish is my guilty pleasure. So addicting. You know <u>it's a train wreck but you. can't. stop. watching</u>"*.

THE OFFENSIVE ATTITUDE

In contrast to the defensive attitude, Twitter users who employ an offensive attitude are proud of their guilty pleasure. These Twitter users do not distance themselves from the product, but they distance themselves from the concept of guilty pleasures. The attitude conveys the consumer is not embarrassed or ashamed, which is at odds with the meaning of guilty pleasures. The offensive attitude resembles a double negative: the Twitter user claims to feel no guilt, despite that fact, that the phrase guilty pleasure implies the opposite.

Twitter users who use the phrase in an offensive way can agree the product signals of 'bad' taste, but still consume the product without feeling guilty. Although these Twitter users know they may be judged, they remain confident and stand behind their decision.

The words 'shame' and 'guilt' cannot be used interchangeably. Shame is related to public judgment, while guilt is private (McCown, 2014). Twitter users who use the phrase in an offensive way often add the hashtag #noshame. This signals they have evaluated their own consumption and determined to feel no guilt for themselves and thus no shame publicly. These Twitter users are therefore reflexive about their own consumption and presentation, but approach guilty pleasures differently, than Twitter users with a defensive attitude. The offensive attitude can be accompanied by hashtags like: #noshame, #sorrynotsorry, #dontcare and terms like: 'not-so-guilty', 'no shame' or 'no regrets'. The following tweets demonstrates this confident offensive manner of presentation:

- *"@alliemaciaszek it's my guilty pleasure. I've seen the movie over 30 times and I'm not embarrassed at all"*
- *"Would say The Offspring are my guilty pleasure but I really don't feel guilty about listening to them at all"*
- *"Is it still a guilty pleasure if you aren't guilty about it? I feel no shame for being addicted to keeping up with The Kardashians #bye"*
- *"I have no regrets about Taylor Swift being my guilty pleasure because no one can deny 1989 being a great fucking album"*

In the theory it was mentioned that current opinion articles about guilty pleasures urge people

to stop using the phrase. The critics argue guilty pleasures do not exist and you should not feel guilty about enjoying something (Szalai, 2013; Wilson, 2014; Klosterman, 2010; Sternbergh, 2014). This is in line with the offensive and proud presentation of guilty pleasures. This manner of presentation also resembles a form of conspicuous consumption. Twitter users seem to present their 'bad' taste, like a valuable quality because they do not feel guilty or ashamed. To tweet in this conspicuous manner demonstrates pride and confidence which could relate to the Twitter users goal to demonstrate status and cultural capital (Veblen, 1899).

THE CONFESSIONAL ATTITUDE

The confessional attitude is accompanied by terms such as: 'to be honest', 'admit', 'secret', 'not gonna lie' and 'confession'. These terms signal the unveiling of secret guilty pleasures. Twitter users can make an offensive confession or defensive confession. A confession makes the Twitter user vulnerable, but by criticizing the object simultaneously in a defensive manner the user creates distinction between the self and the object. This is demonstrated by the following defensive tweets:

- *"Party Down South is my guilty pleasure <u>it's so embarrassing to admit that</u>"*.
- *"<u>Confession</u>: sometimes when I listen to TuneIn Radio, Taylor Swift comes up and I don't hate it... #<u>shame</u> #guiltypleasure"*.

Confessional tweets can also point to the offensive attitude. By emphasizing no fear of being judged, as these following tweets will demonstrate:

- *"<u>Not even embarrassed to admit</u> my favorite throwback guilty pleasure song is 'Let me love you' by Mario. #tune #hatersgonnahate"*.
- *"I <u>have zero shame in admitting</u> how much I love watching Pretty Little Liars. #guiltypleasure"*.
- *"#myhappysong (and, as a rock fan, my guilty pleasure) is 'Shake it off', by @taylorswift13. <u>There, I said it. Judge me</u>"*.

5.7
GUILTY PLEASURE PRESENTATION

To visualize the findings more clearly this research presents the following model (see Table 10). The model is not only based on the content category 'ways of presentation', but is also the result of the analysis of the complete sample and other content categories.

Table 10
Proposed model 'the different ways of guilty pleasure presentation'

GUILTY PLEASURE PRESENTATION		
1	**DISTANCING BY DESCRIPTION**	
	Distancing by negativity: Awful, bad, terrible, hate, trash, trashy, catchy, weird, cheesy, shit, (god) damn, unhealthy obsession, worst, not good, stupid, 'lol' (laugh out loud) and 'lmao' (laughing my ass off)	
2	**DISTANCING BY USING TIME**	
	Newest, new, current, now playing, #np and time	
3	**DISTANCING BY ATTITUDE**	
	Offensive: #noshame, #sorrynotsorry, #dontcare, not-so-guilty, no shame, no regrets, not even ashamed, don't feel guilty, not ashamed or not even embarrassed.	**Defensive:** Regret, ashamed, so sorry, don't judge me, embarrassing, embarrassed, shame, sorry, (unhealthy) obsession, not proud, must stop, I can't stop watching and it's a sin.	**Confessional:** honestly, to be honest, secret, confession, not gonna lie, ngl and admit.

The model displays a clear division, but it is possible Twitter users combine different strategies together in a tweet. For example, by employing a confessional defensive attitude while also negatively classifying the product. The model represents the tentative typology of this research. This research was able to analyze 9605 tweets by 9229 unique Twitter users. Since people interpret the concept of guilty pleasures differently, the quantity of this research sample leads to a qualitative tentative model. In other words, it is unlikely that the contents of this model could emerge in a research with only a dozen interviews or a few hundred surveys. The model is an attempt to get a grip on the concept of guilty pleasures and to understand identity performance in the pursuit of distinction with this style of consumption on Twitter.

Concluding, the model represents the main findings for the research question: I*n what ways do people present their guilty pleasures on Twitter about different cultural products and practices and how do they aim to distinguish themselves?* The model shows Twitter users approach the concept differently by using different strategies. Overall, the presentation of guilty pleasures is not dependent on the cultural product. Twitter users can apply the same strategies or terms to present a food or musical related guilty pleasure. However, this research does find that music and TV related guilty pleasures are more often accompanied by presentational attitudes to create distinction.

#CONCLUSION AND DISCUSSION

6

6.
CONCLUSION AND DISCUSSION

6.1
FINDINGS

This research aimed to explore the ways in which Twitter users present their guilty pleasures with concern to various cultural products. People distinguish themselves by taste, either by emphasizing what they appreciate or by doing the complete opposite, by stressing their disapproval (Van Eijck, 2013; Bourdieu, 1984). Guilty pleasures are a combination of these two. They are products of enjoyment, but also viewed as objects of poor quality. In the majority of analyzed tweets, the phrase guilty pleasure can be seen as an apology, which emphasizes this 'bad' consumption is the exception to the rule of having a sophisticated taste. The expectations formulated in this research about the different strategies of presentation and the similarities between other consumption styles were confirmed by the results. By analyzing 9605 tweets, collected in a constructed week, with topic modeling, topic browsers, semantic networks and frequently used hashtags, nouns and adjectives, this research concludes to the following findings and observations.

The first observation is that Twitter users distance themselves by negatively classifying or describing the products. This observation strongly relates to ironic consumption, which similarly mocks and ridicules objects. With negativity the Twitter user is able to create a superior position. In contrast, many positive words arose in the sample. This indicates appreciation through a camp orientation. Secondly, Twitter users can distance themselves from the product by using time which indicates the temporary of the consumption. Thirdly, this research found three attitudes of presentation: defensive, offensive and confessional. Twitter users can distance themselves by expressing shame and embarrassment about their own choice of consumption. Twitter users who employ an offensive attitude demonstrate a proud manner of consumption and appear to distance themselves from the concept of guilty pleasure instead of the product. In a way, the offensive presentation is a double negative, which implies the Twitter users is actually openly serious.

Fourthly, the analysis showed differences between the different content categories. The hashtag analysis showed music seems more strongly related to identity, since Twitter

users added hashtags in this category that referred to a presentational attitude. Additionally, more different adjectives were used to classify music tastes. It is remarkable that no results point to nostalgic guilty pleasures in music. It is possible the dominant age group on Twitter, Generation Z, have a different interpretation of guilty pleasures. For these young adults guilty pleasures do not seem to be the 80s and 90s music, but appear be more about current 'bad' popular culture.

Conclusively, Twitter users who employ a specific way of presentation are reflexive about their taste. It is hard to determine whether some Twitter users are unreflexive, since the choice of using a presentational attitude implies these users are aware of what their taste communicates about themselves. Twitter users shield themselves from judgment, because they realize their 'bad' taste is something not generally accepted or approved. Twitter users therefore reflexively choose a way of presentation based on their imagined audience and thus most likely their peers and social group.

6.2
CONTRIBUTIONS

Our postmodern society is characterized by having a sophisticated taste that includes knowledge about high art and lowbrow cultural products. Additionally, things like tastes, trends and surroundings change in a rapid pace (Macionis & Plummer, 2012). This creates taste uncertainty, but there is also more room to explore taste. Postmodern identities are fragmented and more importantly, identity has become based on consumption choices, (Alexander, 2003). Since what is consumed is less important, people are challenged to express taste by how they consume products. Individuals can therefore use irony or guilty pleasures as a way to consume products in a distinguishing manner and express identity. With guilty pleasures individuals can enjoy products without endangering their 'real' taste and desired identity. The style of consumption keeps 'bad' popular culture, especially in this time of taste uncertainly, at a safe distance.

This research showed that the presentation of guilty pleasures is a form of distinction. By using the phrase the consumer is able to create distinction between the self and the product whilst consuming it and between the self and the people who consume this product seriously. The concept of performance highlights, that in order to create distinction Twitter users apply different strategies to present their 'bad' taste. This research demonstrated how an online platform, such as Twitter, can be used to combine the theories of Bourdieu and Goffman. Bourdieu's theory remains relevant to this day, since Twitter users in the sample use a consumption style to create distinction. By presenting taste on Twitter, individuals are able to subtly distinguish themselves from others (Bourdieu, 1984). This research contributes to Goffman's theory, because it shows how Twitter users manage their impression towards the imagined audience by using hashtags, adjectives and attitudes. The main findings of this research is that individuals want to pursue distinction in different ways and this relates to the different ways in which Twitter users present their guilty pleasure. Distinction seems thus less

about high and lower classes, but appears to be a cornerstone in the identity construction of Twitter users.

Twitter is created and used for the purpose of connecting with other people by sharing information. On Twitter individuals search for interactions, friendship, affirmation and belonging to a group. Like irony, the function of having a guilty pleasure only applies in the presence of others. Guilty pleasures help individuals to foster a social bond with the collective enjoyment of 'bad' taste similar to irony (Schiermer, 2014; Huffman et al., 2003). What Twitter users thus perform can be to validate their own guilty pleasure behavior toward their peers. The Twitter user is able to find belongingness, by convincing the imagined audience, such as peers, that he or she reflects an ideal standard of 'good' taste (Macionis & Plummer, 2012).

However, sharing a guilty pleasure to seek validation and affirmation is only one part of the story. It is difficult to maneuver between individuality and collectivism in this postmodern society. This corresponds with a definition by Weeks (1991): "Identity is about belonging, about what you have in common with some people and what differentiates you from others" (pp. 88). Individuals therefore also aim to distinguish themselves with their good taste of 'bad' taste (Sontag, 1964). Twitter users tweet about guilty pleasures because it makes them stand out from the crowd (Wilson, 2014). Individuals want to be seen as a unique person and therefore Twitter users share their guilty pleasure because it demonstrates a unique taste. Guilty pleasures remain objects of enjoyment and as Immanuel Kant believed, "when we think something's great, we want everyone else to think it's great too" (as cited in Wilson, 2014, pp. 83). In other words, Twitter users in this sample want to display their unique taste but also seek validation and affirmation from peers in this age of taste uncertainty. This also connects to Bourdieu (1984) and his idea of class taste preferences and agency. Twitter users can show their agency and reflexivity, but also need to conform to their class or audience, by using a way of presentation that shows distinction. This idea could be further explored in future, qualitative, research. Relevant questions that are interesting to explore are: for what reason do Twitter users tweet about guilty pleasures? What do Twitter users hope to achieve and aim to convey in their tweet?

6.3
DISCUSSION

There are several limitations concerning this research. First of all, in previous studies omnivores and ironic consumers are found to be well-educated, young professionals with status (Olliver, 2008; Peters et al., 2015). Similarly, the guilty pleasure viewers in McCoy and Scarborough (2014a) were noted to be highly educated and cultured. This research cannot confirm it also found high status and well-educated individuals on Twitter. Unfortunately, the results cannot be compared to class, status or education. The Twitter analysis was an intentional choice and this limitation was acknowledged from the start. However, the lack of background on its respondents does remain unconventional in sociological research. Future research could focus on interviewing people from different social groups to explore whether

particular ways of presentation and styles of consumption are more commonly used in higher or lower status groups.

The second limitation relates to the data retrieval. There are two different API's to scrape Twitter data: Search and Streaming (Chae, 2015). A recent study shows the different API's do not give different results (Morstatter et al., 2013). However, the Streaming API method "allows acquiring 1% of publicly available Twitter data" (Chae, 2015, pp. 3). Therefore the Streaming API does not provide full coverage (Quist, 2011). The 1% is also known as the 'gardenhose'. It is possible to buy 100% of the Twitter content stream, the Search API, which is referred to as the 'firehose' (Chae, 2015; Kasmani et al., 2014). This research did not have the financial resources to buy a 'firehose' provider or the computer capacity to store the tweets. The free 1% data is randomly sampled by Twitter (Quist, 2011). Although the 1% is already a vast amount of tweets, it does raise questions about the pre-selection of Twitter's API and the representativeness of the data (Kasmani et al., 2014). However, this research does make any generalizable claims.

Thirdly, there is no method to evaluate if the sample data set is complete, a problem every study using Twitter will come across (Kasmani et al., 2014). There is also no method to validate if the list of topics is good (Chang et al., 2009). The fourth limitation of this research is that only public tweets could be collected, leaving private tweets out of the sample. It can be interesting to explore if privacy settings have an impact on the ways of presentation, and compare public and private tweets, like the research by Lewis et al. (2008) with Facebook showed. In a similar vein, only English tweets were analyzed. The sample has an Anglo-Saxon Bias, as it mostly includes English tweets originating from the USA or Canada.

6.4
AVENUES FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

A relevant question that remained unanswered in this research concerns the offline applicability of these online findings. It remains unclear if the proposed model applies to face-to-face interactions and the presentation of regular tastes, not framed as guilty pleasures. It is my believe the tentative model will prove its worth in both cases. However, future research will have to determine whether this expectation can be proved. In my view, the online and offline world have become blended and the role Twitter plays in the creation and presentation of identity cannot be underestimated. Twitter users do not want to be overly exposed, they use the phrase guilty pleasure to shield themselves from judgment. It is my belief that the same can occur with other products even when the Twitter user does not mention 'it is my guilty pleasure'. Since people in general, seek affirmation and a need to belong, the ways of presentation could be applied to 'real' tastes and the offline world, because individuals will always fear rejection and judgement.

Another avenue for future research is to gather tweets in a constructed week about an independent variable like Taylor Swift. With this sample the researcher is able to look at the differences between serious, camp, ironic and guilty pleasure related tweets. This is

something that this research was unable to do, since this research explored and dependent variable: the guilty pleasure style of consumption. By researching an independent variable, the consumption styles can be inductively analyzed. Via this way new research is able to test the typology about the three ways of presentation. Additionally it provides the opportunity to study whether serious consumers also have their own ways of distinction or presentation.

Thirdly, it would be interesting to see whether cultural differences exist. This research only selected English tweets, but during the data cleaning process 107 Dutch tweets were found. A comparison between Dutch tweets (n= 107) and English tweets (n= 9605) was quickly rejected due to the extreme difference in amount. It does raise questions about the popularity of guilty pleasure. Different countries and cultures might use a different phrase or have different consumption styles. The concept of guilty pleasure does for example not exist in France (Szalai, 2013). According to Szalai's (2013), the cultural landscape in France does not have a stratified middle. So a research question could be how are consumption styles related to the cultural landscape in different countries. Since humor and irony are related to geographical locations and culture, the use of guilty pleasure can therefore also depend on location and culture.

In this research it is interesting to see how Twitter users present themselves in the presence of the audience, and how new ways of distinction emerge through this presentation. It would be valuable to see how these different ways correspond with the impact of the social environment like friends or family. Future research could explore and confirm if Twitter users are more likely to tweet defensively if their friends think a particular artist is 'bad'.

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#APPENDIX

8.
APPENDIX

A. SPSS OUTPUT FREQUENCY USERNAMES

VALID	FREQUENCY	PERCENT	CUMULATIVE PERCENT
melon623	244	2,2	2,2
pottorfffool	51	,5	2,6
janet990	47	,4	3,0
cheftasty	43	,4	3,4
brittanyl44	35	,3	3,7
saltedcaramelr5	25	,2	4,0
therussetts	25	,2	4,2
i_ashleytisdale	19	,2	4,3
escargot_bot	18	,2	4,5
ador5able	17	,2	4,7
bpeters743	15	,1	4,8
realcashmike	14	,1	4,9
rossome_sauce	14	,1	5,0
askredditbot	9	,1	5,1
headedforthetop	9	,1	5,2
ohmeliark	9	,1	5,3
f0iki	8	,1	5,3
nigel_may	8	,1	5,4
zentochi	8	,1	5,5
gettoxgrande	7	,1	5,5
jakemalden1	7	,1	5,6
nevaeh_xoxo	7	,1	5,7
songsmino93	7	,1	5,7
themysteryladie	7	,1	5,8
kiansmocha	6	,1	5,9
miss_saranie	6	,1	5,9
awesomenessbot	5	,0	5,9
debdietzen	5	,0	6,0
des_kbot	5	,0	6,0
fearlessrussett	5	,0	6,1
hotcakeuk	5	,0	6,1
lillizabet	5	,0	6,2
michael_r2015	5	,0	6,2
vasyaivanov777	5	,0	6,3

Table continued with the list of usernames with 4, 3 ,2 and 1 tweets.

B. ACCOUNTABILITY SPAM ACCOUNTS

Username	Frequency	Type of account
melon623	244	All tweets referred to a song called "crazy (guilty pleasure)" by the Korean pop artist "Jonghyun". Every tweet by melon623 contains a URL to the Youtube clip. The account is advertising and therefore considered spam. The tweets are not related to the consumption of guilty pleasures and therefore eliminated.
pottorfffool	51	This Twitter account belongs to a girl. She tweeted 51 times to an online Twitter celebrity. In the tweets the girl asks what his guilty pleasure is. The question itself is not relevant.
janet990	47	All tweets reference an adult online video chatroom. Although tweets related to sex or porn are allowed in the sample, spam tweets from this account are invalid because it is advertisement.
cheftasty	43	The tweets promote an online radio show called "guilty pleasure". It is considered advertisement and spam promotion.
brittanyl44	35	Exactly the same as janet990 (both accounts reference the same online chat website).
saltedcaramelr5	25	Similar to melon623, all tweets reference to the band R5 and their single "Let's not be alone tonight". The song is framed by saltedcaramelR5 as the new guilty pleasure song. This is an advertisement strategy and therefore unrelated to people's own consumption.
therussetts	25	All tweets ask the question: what is your guilty pleasure to the Twitter user @andrearussett. The question itself is not considered relevant. More Twitter accounts in this list do the same thing.
i_ashleytisdale	19	A celebrity with 12, 8 million followers. All tweets refer to her album "guilty pleasure" from 2009. The tweets contain hashtags like #ebay #auction #onsale #forsale so apparently Ashley needs to get rid of her old CDs. The tweets are considered promotion, spam and unrelated to actual guilty pleasure consumption.
escargot_bot	18	All tweets have the exact same text: "Why yes, I have a guilty pleasure for silly pop songs." Duplicate tweets are not included, so only 1 tweet was allowed in the sample.
ador5able	17	Like saltedcaramelr5 all tweets refer to the band R5 and their single "Let's not be alone tonight". The tweets are part of an advertisement strategy and therefore unrelated to people's own consumption.
bpeters743	15	All tweets are the exact same text from the Coca-Cola advertisement. As discussed in the thesis, all Coca-Cola tweets were excluded.
realcashmike	14	Twitter account of a party promotor, referring to an upcoming party called "guilty pleasure".

Username	Frequency	Type of account
rossome_sauce	14	Exactly the same as ador5able and saltedcaramelr5.
askredditbot	9	All tweets pose the same question: what is your guilty pleasure? To promote the Twitter account of the website Reddit. The question itself is not relevant.
headedforthetop	9	All tweets refer to the users song called "Guilty Pleasure". Like melon623 this is considered irrelevant.
ohmeliark	9	Tweets to another Twitter user asking what their guilty pleasure is, similar to therussetts.
f0iki	8	All tweets refer to a called "Guilty Pleasure" by the band Attila. Not relevant because it is not about people's own consumption.
nigel_may	8	Spam account, promotion of his book about calorie free guilty pleasures.
zentochi	8	Tweet about a game called "Guilty Pleasure Nights". Unrelated to the research at hand.
gettoxgrande	7	Same problem as the users therussetts, fearlessrussett and kiansmocha.
jakemalden1	7	All tweets advertise and promote a book the Twitter user wrote on sex. Asking people to make his book their "guilty pleasure of the day".
nevaeh_xoxo	7	All tweets to the band R5 asking what their guilty pleasure is, similar to other accounts in this list.
songsmino93	7	All double tweets, one will be included in the sample.
themysteryladie	7	Spam account, advertisement of an article about her guilty pleasure. Not guilty pleasure is actually mentioned in the tweet.
kiansmocha	6	Same issue as the users therussetts, gettoxgrande and fearlessrussett.
miss_saranie	6	Tweets promoting a party called "Guilty Pleasure", unrelated to his research.
awesomenessbot	5	All double tweets, one will be included in the sample.
debdietzen	5	All tweets refer to the Coca-Cola ad. Already excluded because Coca-Cola tweets are filtered out.
des_kbot	5	All double tweets, one will be included in the sample.
fearlessrussett	5	Same problem as the users therussetts, gettoxgrande and kiansmocha.
hotcakeuk	5	All double tweets, one will be included in the sample.
lillizabet	5	All original tweets, no spam or advertisement, the Twitter user is fully included in the sample.
michael_r2015	5	All double tweets, one will be included in the sample.
vasyaivanov777	5	All double tweets, one will be included in the sample.

C. SEARCH QUERY

music# "jam" bands band song songs listen* "shuffle" music "musical" "disco" pop "hip hop" rock playlist spotify sing* album albums playlist* radio "pop punk" soundtrack* artist* songwriter* jukebox tunes folk punk hearing nowplaying "cds" remix boybands "boy band" "nick jonas" "bonnie tyler" avicii "mumford and sons" "justin bieber" belieber bieber biebs "ne-yo" taylor "taylor swift" taylorswift tswift taylorswift13 "blank space" evanescence blackstreet "big room house" "iggy azalea" "uptown funk" "strawberry switchblade" "jessie ware" arianagrande ariana grande "ariana grande" "ellie goulding" elliegoulding "john mayer" "one direction" onedirection 1d "maroon 5" m5 "call me maybe" carlyraejepsen jessiej "bang bang" "alex turner" "chris brown" chrisbrown nickelback "michael jackson" wombats britney spears britneyspears coldplay "meghan trainor" "frank sinatra" timberlake kanye "limp bizkit" "katy perry" katyperry "sam smith" "pieces of me" ladygaga "lady gaga" "bruno mars" "earth wind & fire" eminem "walking on sunshine" skepta "shania twain" pitbull mcfly "nicki minaj" "the saturdays" "pistol annies" usher "the fray" beyonce blackeyedpeas "michael bolton" "jonas" "lil wayne" "dixie chicks" "celine dion" "chemical romance" "damien rice" "beautiful nightmare" "50 cent" "lana del ray" kellyclarkson songoftheweek jonasbrothers conormaynard "jason derulo" derulo jasonderulo "avril lavigne" "fall out boy" "charli xcx" "destiny's child" "destiny child's" "black keys" "played on" rihanna "post to be" "mariah carey" "n-sync" meatloaf "the diamonds" "mambo number 5" "ed sheeran" "trap queen" "enrique iglesias" hozier "dj snake" blurredlines "blurred lines" "backstreet boys" "the bee gee's" "gangnam style" "lily allen" jonghyun jjong "olly" "jesse mccartney" "zayn malik" "zayn" nickjonas "fleetwood mac" "professor green" michaelbolton ke$ha dejaboo "phil collins" track harrystyles "harry styles" "the vamps" "beastie boys" "marianas trench" robbiewilliams "the offspring" "beethoven" "party in the usa" 50cent "hootie and the blowfish" "adam levine" adamlevine rickontour "andy gibb" "bella mayuh" chanyeol "dolly parton" "kid rock" "chorus is so catchy" "big sean" "80s pop" "dappy" "hall and oates" "iggy iggz" sabrinaannlynn "lily allen" "hilary duff" realsirtomjones "james blunt" "old school clubland" partynextdoor "miley cyrus" "1989" "dark horse" 5sosunitedcrew "defying gravity" "earned it" "beach boys" "lonnie gordon" "hunter hayes" "shawn mendes" "suge knight" "selena gomez" tiesto "hear this jam" "sean paul" "the new bohemians" musicmonday "sweet escape" "love is an open door" getoutofmyhead kavana "one dire*" "marroon 5" calvinharris track* dollyparton newmusic "darren hayes" grohl "cd autographed" metal "carly rae" nicki "will smith" toto kiesza enya natashabdnfield "m-train" 1033theedge nsync rammstein genre rhythm "robbie williams" "girls aloud" buble ollymurs justinbieber "del rey" abba minogue "turns up volume" repeat "wrecking ball" cheryl bizkit sugerbabes attila "she have to have a good voice" anagrande trapqueen soundhound concert* 5sos itunes "abbie's voice" morrisette akon "andré rieu" ariana bachata "big time rush" madonna "blink 182" shuffle prodigy "calvin harris" piano elbow sountrack timbaland "chaka khan" ollyofficial "charlie xcx" "conor maynard" eurosong2015 ginuwine "dashboard confessional" oldmanmusic devlin "die antwoord" "feat." thenivenulls oasis "90's" elephant "fifth harmony" "edward maya" "boy bandsare" "g-eazy" "gangsta's paradise" musician jepsen "acoustic covers" musicislife "lorde" "hollywood undead"

"wham" "bublé" "swift" "swifts" freya fifthharmony mcbusted "queen b" metalcore artists "justin to kelly" "ashley tisdale" gospel "il volo" monstersandmen "tom jones" "black eyed peas" "take that" "rap" "prof green" "rae sremmurd" "ross lynch" "ft." "iron maiden" "billy joel" "whitney houston" nicolescherzy "james bay" "tsm member" rappers touchinglyrics shaymooney "soul sister" purefiction "gdfr" "country" "jazz" rapping "jessie j" "jls" beiber "bon jovi" "jonas brothers" "josh and the jamtones" "top of the pops" "katy p" "kendrick lamar" kesha "kid ink" "kings of leon" "kingsland road" kanyewest "lmfao" "lana" smoothradio "luis miguel" "michael clifford" nsync migos "love me harder" miley mozart "mrs all american" "kelly clarkson*" "hank williams jr" "nancy ajram" nickleback nightcore "official_flo" "max george" gibson "blink-182" "snoop dog" "gladys knight" p!nk "secondhand serenade" sugababes "the rocket summer" "the script" nickiminaj "the weekend" "the weeknd" kendrick "fuse odg" cnbluegt cbcradio "tinchy stryder" songz "meghan trainer" "tsegs" "t-sweezy" "twisted sister" "up town funk" "uptown funk" "billy idol" sirmixalot mumford "beat king" skrillex edsheeran tswiftfordays celinedion mychemicalromance "rage against the machine" "swiftie" "drummersear" "junggigo" "k-pop" "charli_xcx" "joncleaver" "barbie girl" "brit-pop" "modern pop" "pop rock" "80s pop" "pop culture" "tee swizz" "bmth" "green day" "p!nk"

food# eat eatin* drink* "fast food" foods food dinner snack snacking foodblog "food porn" foodporrn "a bite" craving foodie unhealthy candy mcdonald* mcds breakfast beer wine ice chocolat* burger fried fries cookie* cookiedough chicken* chips kebab cake cheetos sandwich* starbucks yoghurt cheesecake coffee nutella "ice cream" donut* doughnut* "beef sausage croissant" ilovecarbs cabs twix homemade "caramel eggs" spaghetti "peanut butter" "mini scotch eggs" youngandhungry hungry "cranberry raspberry juice" mayo pizza "strawberry" "pickled onions" "long islands" cadbury "raisin bran" benandjerrys bluecheese "gas station" "fig bars" subway "corn dogs" deepfriedmarsbar mouthgasm "poptarts" butter milkshake macaroon* cheese "hot pockets" pretzel* "garlic bread" magnoliabakery doritos breakfast "taco bell" tacobell calories "vanilla coke" quesadilla "just ate" "kit kat" texmex "cookie dough" mcflurry icecream nicecream brunch cheatday straitjuice "pizza hut" "chips and dip" "sugary" alcohol chavsandwich "garlic stuffed olives" brunch davidjumbo steakhouse "drive-ins" croissant "french toast" carameltruffles "fudgy brownie" easter sushis "cream eggs" dunkindonuts "malteaster bunnies" chipotle "m&m" pistachios whoppers "ben&jerrys" "cream slush" "wines of napa" sushis "over indulgence" snickers creamnation "whipped" "dates" dippindots eveningcoffee changeyourchocolate espresso "grocery cart" kinderchocolade lunch noodles patisserie cinnabon instafood carbohydrates meat pinacolada chitown teabags "rice paper" healthychocolate "kit kats" oldcountrybuffet mudpiemcflurry 85cbakerycafe bread waffle* hotdog* tatare popcorn "m&ms" pretzel pasta yummy snacks pastries lemon cinnabon delicious restaurant "quarter pounder" meal* crust "pie" "bww's" cannoli nuts "mars bars" drinkinginla diet "shot of bombay" salad doughzydonuts pancakes cheerios "ate" strawberries marshmallow appetizer vegetarian deli sweets burgers tarts breakfasting kbbq "big macs" "captain crunch" cereal "fig roll" bakmie cooking lemonade "cream soda" "custard creams" figbars eggos salad cocoa crackers garlic "hamburger helper" dessert horchata chilis shamrockshake shamrock cheeses cookeish leftovers "cup addiction" "slice" pizzahut

"grocery store" fanta tea potnoodle pumkin "queen of tarts" custardtart "chilli sauce" juice "roll-ups" "juice" coffeelover "hot dogs" brownies mcmuffin stgeorgesmarket "island" smoothie "krispy kreme" hunger "indomie goreng" "lemon water" lemonade "gummies" lollipops bakery Malibu suwarni feta "nanaimo bars" "m&ms" "potato wedges" nandos foodunwrapped cuisine pastrami pb2 cocktail* "drumstick lolly" skittles craving* doritos drunk wine jellybeans dieting "thin mints" ribenauk bacon sushi carloading carbs "weiner dogs" notonthedietplan frazzles "bakewell tarts" "foodporn" "cappuccino" "pizza" "vapiano" "mudpiemcflurry" "pancake" "milkshake" "sweettooth" "healthyeating" "chunkymonkey" "chocolate" "nightshiftproblems" "cheeseburger" "favourite bar" "cookiemonster" "korean bbq" "pinacolada" "pickles" "starbucks" "north pole cafe" "after this slice" "curly fries" "goober" "hot water" "cheatday" "carrotcake" "fraise trempée chocolat noir" "onionrings" "cheddar cheese" "spaghetti" "mealreplacement" "woodstove" "notosensitivity" "salted caramel" "coconut cupcakes" "pop tart" "a coke"

movie/television# "re-watching" "re-wathing" entertain* cinema program* "reality" tv television nowwatching unwatchable movie movies watch* shows show television marathon film films rewatch* episode* "season finale" soap opera* "cooking channel" documentaries documentary "catch up" romcom rom-coms sitcom "catching up" netflix "romantic comedy" thriller romanticmovies "rom-coms" series season "season finale" "season premiere" tlc "daytime tv" iveseeneveryepisodeof realitytv twilightsaga twilight lipsyncbattle "ellen degeneres" theellenshow cinderella "spring breakers" batman bigbrother "mob wives" americanidol grimm bachelor thebachelor "hannah montana" "top gun" avengers "drag race" dragrace snl "the voice" nbcthevoice "real housewives" "50 shades" 50shadesofgrey fiftyshadesofgrey fiftyshades "fifty shades" "x factor" xfactor empire empirefox "dance moms" newlyweds bachelorabc "storage wars" downtonabbey "total divas" glee gleeonfox highschoolmusical kardashian* kuwtk keepingupwiththekardashians kuwtk "taking new york" "keeping up with the kardashian" kuwtk10 takingnewyork kimkardashian thewalkingdead "vanderpump" pumprules "pretty little liars" "millionaire matchmaker" millionairematchmaker "jersey shore" "jerry springer" "jeremy kyle" catfish dancingabc "ex on the beach" exonthebeach "criminal minds" "judge judy" "say yes to the dress" "teen mom" "my super sweet 16" eastenders voicepremiere thevoice lhhny gotham ghostadventures eyecandy desirascals "daniel tosh" bettercallsaul syttdc "geordie shore" "america's next top model" "the real world" hairspray transformers towie "bake off" britishbakeoff bakeoff "vampire diaries" vampirediaries "the golden girls" "restaurant startup" "house of cards" houseofcards hellskitchen "hell's kitchen" eurovision "gilmore girls" "mob wives" "monster high" "order svu" "disney infinity" mtvteenmom "new girl" mykitchenrules mtvex "american idol" reign bravotv tylerperry "tyler perry" gladiator "chrisley knows best" csi chrisleyknowsbest antm "19 kids and counting" rhobh "aqua teen hunger force" realworldskeletons "downton abbey" beingmaryjane "mtv cribs" "unbreakable kimmy schmidt" elliekemper "big bang" sheldoncooper "sex & the city" "sex and the city" theroyals "the royals" "pitch perfect" "devious maids" "dirty dancing" "made in chelsea" bachelorette "how to get away with murder" "gypsy" "dancing with the stars" thevisitor dwts suits trailerparkboys "once upon a time" blacksails "the 100" "hockey

wives" myrtlemanor fast7 "james corden" "john barrowman" "celebrity apprentice" dexter "dancing with the stars" "colin firth" teenmom furious7 hockeywives "true blood" "dancemoms" "the office" greysanatomy "greys anatomy" "fast and furious" "the hills" greenstreet hartofdixie "hawaii five-0" "soap opera" "hart of dixie" janicedickinsonsmodelingagency norbit "csi miami" trailer cinderella "person of interest" "first knight" 5yearsofvictorious dateline "party down south" "legally blonde" deviousmaids "essex time" marriedatfirstsight "roast of bieber" breakingbad "modern family" "homes under the hammer" "basil the great most detective" "the expandables" "kelly's heroes" "ellie harrison" "robert redford" "tom selleck" "16 and pregnant" "16 & pregnant" "27 dresses" themuppets ranveerofficial "alicia silverstone" 19kidsandcounting "superhero franchise" iftherebethorns ibizaweekender aidanturner "country file" "daniel craig" "doctor who" "food network" votetrismtv fastandfurious7 furious7 "gaz" masterchefcanada "hannah montanna" "outlander" "last action hero" "pretty woman" "life as we know it" "long island medium" "married at first sight" americanhorrorstory poldarktv "mamma mia" lipsyncbattle theroyalsone "top gear" "orphan black" poldark "gundam wing" harveyspector "the blacklist" "the little couple" "pitch perfect" "american horror story" "american horror story" "trailer park boys" "revenge" "mean girls" "nashville_abc" "nashvillegetsus" ourlittlefamily prettylittleliars grease "southern charm" agentsofshield gameofthrones barrescue blackinkcrew bringit partydownsouth comicreliefbakeoff csicyber exonthebeach2 workaholicscc c4gogglebox gogglebox "goggle box" mobwives thehobbitmovie "damon salvatore" 2brokegirls thechallengebattleoftheexes2 "bring it" "harry potter" "wheel of fortune" c4oneborn "fashion police" "gossip girl" gypsywedding hindsight kingsmanmovie "kuwtk" littlewomenla loosewomen mtveyecandy my600lblife ourlittlefamily partydownsouth rhocheshire catchup shameless shippingwarsuk "ant & dec" southerncharm thechallengebattleoftheexes2 theprincessbride jeremykyle totaldivas timesnow "michelle rodriguez" theview kaitlynforbachelorette remake "starship troopers" "jon gruden's qb camp" "fashion police" "channing tatum" mybigfatamericangypsywedding "animal planet" "forrest gump" kardashians "wheel of fortune" housewives "brit better not" "my 600 lb life" bestmovie mobwives cinderellamovie "grey's anatomy" scandalabc channel equalizer "dvr" titanic littlewomen_la nightwatch spongebob binge vanderpumprules judgerindertv "romeo + juliet" scrubs frozen "kitchen nightmares" "house hunters" "nacho libre" "cera" "tower heist" "melissa and joey" nbcgrimm mrselfridge "x-men" "broke girls" piersmorgan onceabc acting "extreme couponers" norton hbo starship programme saw "dr. phil" "dvd" matchmaker nightshift eurotrash "1000 heartbeats" "19 kids" gleefinale "make over" bridebydesign 90210 "miami-ink5" hellskitchenfox duckdynasty airwolf "americas next top model" antm "amish mafia" "ant & decs" "antiques roadshow" towiefinale asianovelas "austin and ally" "baby's day out" thebachelortv "bar rescue" baywatch "black forest" "black ink" "magic mike" broadcity "smokey and the bandit" californication "canada's worst driver" "waterloo road" "captain america" catsfish "chasing liberty" flicks "andy samberg" countdown crossroads "danny dyer" 50shades "david tutera" "desi rascals" disney* "dog the bounty hunter" "domhnall gleeson" gleegoodbye "ellens design challenge" kingsman ghosthunters "euros of hollywood" littlebrownuk "teen wolf" "skins" "gordie shore" "fresh prince" beringseagold catfishmtv "grand designs" greese wildthings realhousewivesofcheshire rhoc fashionpolice "furious" "beautician and the beast" hollyoaks marvel deadlywomen "sho_shameless" musketeers nbcallegiance botchedtv

girlfriendsguidetodivorce lastepisode "traveling pants" hannibal "real world" antanddec "return of superman" octopussy "extreme fisherman" voiceukbbc bethennyfrankel hobbit "immortals" sisterwives "kate plus 8" "taking new york" spartacus kardashians kimkardashianhollywood "the fosters" judgerinder "russell brand" "sunny in philadelphia" thevoiceuk "jack black" "jake quickenden" "jamie dornan" "seventh son" bieberroast "karl pilkington" "kate plus 8" "keith urban" "lindsay lohan" "little women" "lizard lick" housewife "audrey hepburn" "hgtv" "married to medicine" masterchef maury comedy "mike & molly" "mountian monsters" "jimmy eat world" wendywilliams firstdates "mtv" craptv nexflixing "perry mason" bestbadmovieever casper voiceukbbc "scottie thompson" "thegoodwife_cbs" "10000bc" hercules springbreakers "steve wilkos" stossel supernatural "swamp people" helix cartoon* "the browning" snl40 "marriage bootcamp" "annie" "vampire died" insurgent bbceastenders "wgm" waterlooroad comedies wipeout "take me out" harrypotter "master chef" "battle of the sexes" "come back on" "kimkardashian" "cupcake wars" "steve doocy" "kca" "atm" "atl" "broad city" "cobrastarship"

leisure time# "broadway" "musicals" "magazines" "magazine" "book" "books" "celeb twitter fights" "reading" "read" "celebrity gossip" "celebrity beefs" "makeup" "make up" "make-up" "the oscars" "oscars" "video games" "celebrity drama" "perez hilton" "gossipcolumns" "love letters" "memory lane" "sleeping" "basketball games" "scaring people" "shopping" "celebrity crush" "comics" "comic" "tattoo addiction" "pissing off supervisors" "ebay packages" "dead poets society" "twitterafterdark" "fakenails" "amazon" "buzzfeed" "snapchat" "nail" "nails" "teachers cuss" "chilling stories" "pinterest" "gaming" "gamer" "game" "river island" "fishing" "outfits" "twitter" "tumblr" "leighgriff09" "celebrity juice" "buying" "sammy wilk" "jamie oliver" "celebrity drama" "celebrity twitter beef" "celebrity tweets" "gaybook" "walking" "lipstick" "tweeting" "instastalking" "karaoke" "romance novels" "romance fiction" "novel" "novels" "football" "workout" "gym" "boxing" "avenged sevenfold" "candy crush" "naps" "studying" "teachers cuss" "writing" "marchmadness" "snakes" "lipsticks" "shoes" "boys and wrestling" "tweeting" cheerlead* "dress up sims" "facebook" "maccosmetics" "soccer" "tennis" "gy nights out" "red bull on ice" fanfic* "prison school" "motorcycle" "disneyland" "cigars" "shoelover" "on sale" "clean my room" "snapchat stories" "being humiliated" "underestimated" "traffic" "telephone sales representatives" "to do list" "old people fall" "dumb white girls" "stealing" "picking my nose" "last off day" "swansea" "nighttime" "bigshitxtalker" "eyeliner" "shadowcloak vampire" "dancing" "amreading" "romantic gossip" "kthopkins" "sims apps" "social media" "warhammer" "fashion" "mugshots" "itching" "hotdudesreading" "longweekend" "interview" "ribbon" "purchase" "stalked" "lingerie" "read" "coupons" "games" "drawing" "bukowski" "rollsroyce" "blingees" "rage" "bus journey" "comic's" "comic" "lolita" "nap" "arcade" "wrestling" "website" "racing" "teamhopkins" "kthopkins" "pokémon" "celtic" "sprint" "celeb rags" "bindasstv" "cars" "goals" "league" "leagues" "game" "selfies" "puzzles" "drugz" "4chan" "rave party" "maplestory" "anime" "fics" "console wars" "clothing" "callofduty" "cod" "ballroom" "barnes and nobles" "baths" "underwear" "shower" "quiznights" "tracksuit" "beta hinata" "bleaching" "buzz feed" "cameron dallas" "apparel" "charlamagne" "charlie mcdonnell" "bedding" "creeping" "phone cases" "deleting" "dillard's" "sinus rinse" "emailing" "victoriasecret" "family feud" "makeupobsessed" "weather" "bristolhipp"

"gossip mag" "manga" "dslr" "painting" "fan-fictions" "solitaire" "kakyoin" "waroftheroses" "procastinate" "lingeries" "videogames" "bust a few moves" "underwear" "candles" "pore strips" "lamborghini" "ralphie may" "proficientflyer" "nba" "wwecameron" "beachbumtanning" "stgeorgegroves" "adidas" "smrookies" "jamie mcguire" "jungcest" "high socks" "knitting" "not working" "laziness" "laying in bed" "insta" "holidays" "wedding stuff" "shoppingday" "march madness" "the sims" "t-shirts" "article" "articles" "dynasty warriors" "cats" "wwe" "wedding blogs" "bookshop" "sleep" "sleeping" "napping" "duggars" "sports" "golf" "fan fiction" "nba2kallstar" "lippies" "writers" "tanning" "guitar hero" "tim sherwood" "tmz" "fanart" "victoria's secret" "pewdiepie" "fight comps" "cologne" "guymartin" "shoppinganyone" "worldstar" "wsop tournaments" "zodiac" "zodiacs" "adult wednesday addams" "sims apps" "smoking" "weed" "comicbooks" "runescape" "video games" "vlogs" "moodboards" "body scrub" "wedding photos" "looking at activity" "totebagph" "cigarlife" "womenirl" "selfie" "the shade room" "dee & dee" "teacherproblems" "cigarettes" "red lips"

sex# sexchat porn masturbating eroticmassage adultchat "strip clubs" "porn search" "kinky as fuck" "girls gen" "anal beads" "hoes" "picking hookers" "curvy bitches" sexdating sexdate fapping "curvy women" meetwomen "porn" hooker "porn stars" brothel sexuality fuckboys "darkskinned nigga" "hood nigga" heterosexuals hoodrats "heartbreak sexy" "strip teasing" flirting "g-spot" "bulge" "personal pleasure" "white guys" "white boys" horny5sosporn "bad boys" "wetpussy" "adult novelty line" "wet pussy" "risk sex" "sex education" "hot girls" "foscar sex" "fetish" "butt sex" "sex pay checks" "bad girls"

Presentation# dontcare idontcare noshame shame yesiknowitstrash "must stop" "can't believe" "cant believe" "car accident" "I can't stop" "I can't drag " "not even" ashamed "confess" "admit" "sorrybutnotsorry" ihatetoadmitit "not gonna lie" "not proud" "full of regret" "not-so-guilty" "not so guilty" embarrassing "don't feel guilty" "don't feel" "dont feel" apolog* "hate to" "addicted" "obsessed" admitting "never told" "no shame" "cannot stop" "can't stop" secret* embarrassing "lemme be honest" actually "be honest" "an honest" "be completely honest" " i feel no guilt" "truth time" "this mess" obsess* "unhealthy obsession" "unhealthy relationship" "getting unhealthy" judge* regret* "ngl" remorse sowrongsoright "so bad" "idk" terrible awful "so sorry" embarrass* shame* sorrynotsorry dontjudgeme "feel bad" "feel so guilty" "don't feel" "feel no guilt" "tbh" "to be honest" "sure is a sin" "and a sin" "i'm afraid" "i'm always afraid" "i'm afraid some" "worst guilty" "best-worst show" NOT "shameless" "judge judy" "judge rinder" "judge judy's"

D. FREQUENT TIME ZONES

TOP 10: MOST FREQUENT TIME ZONES	
Eastern time (US & Canada)	1325
Central Time (US & Canada)	919
London	884
Pacific Time (US & Canada)	691
Amsterdam	337
Quito	327
Atlantic Time (Canada)	311
Arizona	204
Casablanca	195
Mountain Time (US & Canada)	175

Distinction and Presentation with#guiltypleasure
Twitter content analysis of 'bad' music and 'real' taste.

Liesbeth van der Vlegel