

观看吃播视频的心理与神经机制的综述： 动机、影响及未来研究方向

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摘要

吃播，即边吃特定食物(通常营养价值较低)边录制视频或直播的现象，近年来吸引了众多研究者的关注。本文回顾了一系列相关探索性研究，揭示了观看者观看吃播视频的两大核心动机：对吃播内容的关注以及对准社会关系的需求。通过回顾有关食物线索的神经影像学研究，本文强调了在接收食物相关刺激时，观看者的相关味觉加工脑区与咀嚼、吞咽活动相关脑区的激活，为理解吃播观看过程中的神经机制提供了科学依据。尽管对吃播的研究逐渐增多，但仍然存在限制，特别是在心理学和神经科学领域的严谨实证研究不足，提示了未来研究的必要性。未来研究需更多关注吃播对不同人群的影响及其长期效应，以便为制定相关政策和干预措施提供更科学的依据。

关键词

吃播，进食，替代性满足

A Review of the Psychological and Neural Mechanisms of Watching Mukbang: Motivations, Effects and Future Directions

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Abstract

Mukbang, the phenomenon of eating specific foods (usually of low nutritional value) while recording

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videos or live streaming, has attracted the attention of many researchers in recent years. This article reviews exploratory studies that reveal two core motivations for viewers to watch eating podcast videos: interest in the content and the need for para-social relationships. It also points out the positive role of mukbang in reducing feelings of loneliness, as well as potential health issues it may cause, such as excessive food intake and eating disorders. Furthermore, by reviewing neuroimaging studies on food cues, this article highlights the activation of related gustatory processing areas and areas associated with chewing and swallowing activities in viewers when exposed to food-related stimuli, providing a scientific basis for understanding the neural mechanisms may involved in watching mukbang. Despite the growing body of research on mukbang, limitations remain, particularly in the lack of rigorous empirical studies in psychology and neuroscience psychology, underscoring the necessity for future research. Future studies should focus more on the impact of mukbang on different populations and its long-term effects to provide a more scientific basis for related policies and interventions.

Keywords

Mukbang, Eating, Vicarious Satisfaction

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1. 引言

“吃播”(Mukbang)是韩语“吃”(“meokneun”)和“广播”(“bangsong”)的合成词,最初形容的是主播在与观众互动过程中吃下大量食物的直播节目(McCarthy, 2017)。其原本的目的在于为当代独身的韩国民众在用餐时提供虚拟陪伴和情感联系。然而,吃播视频近几年逐渐往吃下过多或猎奇的食物、或以奇特的方式吃东西的趋势发展(Park & Hong, 2017)。2020年的一项研究发现,国外视频平台上约83.5%的吃播视频展现了暴饮暴食的行为,而吃播视频中约90%的食物是从便利店和餐馆购买的外卖食品。在食物选择上,约15.7%的吃播博主偏好快餐和垃圾食品,大约5.6%的吃播博主选择吃极辛辣或刺激性食物(Kang et al., 2020)。

观看吃播视频后,观看者的饮食行为可能会发生改变。研究表明,吃播视频会促使人们选择外出就餐或点外卖,从而增加了不健康食物的摄入量(Yun et al., 2020)。这一发现与观看食物图片和视频广告相关研究的结论(Halford et al., 2004; Harris et al., 2009; McClure et al., 2013)相同。然而,另一部分针对观看吃播原因的研究指出,许多观众观看吃播是为了在减重过程中或进食障碍的恢复期减少食物的摄入(Stein & Yeo, 2021)。这表明观看吃播的行为背后可能存在不同的心理过程,并有可能进一步造成不同的影响。

因此,本文旨在综述吃播对饮食影响的研究,并探讨不同观看动机下吃播视频带来的影响及潜在的神经机制。

2. 吃播现象概述

自从吃播站在韩国的网络直播平台上首次出现以来,它在全球范围内迅速地发展为一项热门内容(杨筱, 2022)。最初,吃播主要聚焦于主播分享美食和与观众互动的模式。包括通过直播实时分享用餐过程并与观众进行互动(姜虹亦, 2022),以及预先录制用餐视频。

早期,Na (2015)将吃播的种类分为普通吃播和烹饪吃播两种类型。随着吃播内容变得更加多元化,

现代吃播则涵盖了大胃王挑战、ASMR 吃播、美食探店、美食测评以及烹饪展示等多种形式(YEA(林多艺), 2024)。所有类型的吃播视频,除了包含主播吃下美味的或异乎寻常份量的食物外的视觉信息之外,也有他们大声咀嚼、吞咽和享受的声音(Choe, 2019; Pereira et al., 2021)。这些声音也被认为能给观看者带来乐趣,激发了自发性知觉经络反应(Autonomous Sensory Meridian Response, ASMR),也被形象地称为“颅内高潮”。这种声音增加了观众的临场感,并提供了感官上的满足和娱乐感受(Kircaburun et al., 2020a; Schwegler-Castañer, 2018; Woo, 2018)。

这种视觉刺激与听觉刺激的融合,是吃播视频区别于普通食品广告的其中一个方面。而另一方面的不同在于,吃播视频强调的是“吃完食物”的全过程,而食品广告突出的是“食物被吃进嘴里的瞬间”。先前的研究已经发现,相比观看进食完成的视频,观看主播持续进食的视频能够促使观众更倾向于选择与视频中食物相似的选项(Zhou et al., 2017)。

3. 观看吃播的动机

根据此前一项运用使用与满足理论(Uses and gratification theory, U>)对吃播观看动机进行实证研究的结论,个体观看吃播的动机可以主要分为两大类,包括对吃播内容的关注和对准社会关系的需求(Song et al., 2023)。

3.1. 对吃播内容的关注

对吃播内容的关注是指个体在视频平台上对特定内容的注意和兴趣程度,而这其中包含三个重要的动机,包括替代性满足的动机、获取信息的动机和享受动机。

获取信息和享受动机是在各个平台上选择观看某类视频的一般性动机(Gogan et al., 2018; Hossain et al., 2019; Shao, 2009),而从观看吃播视频中获得替代性满足是吃播视频的独特特征,并且也是选择观看这一类视频的主要原因(Kim & Kim, 2020)。替代性满足是指观众看着主播在镜头前吃饭时,会产生一种“品尝到食物并体验到随之而来的饱腹感”的现象。这一现象源自 McCulloch et al. (2011)等研究者提出的替代目标满足的观点,这一观点认为,个体观察到他人具有一定目标的动作时,自己也会激活相应的目标。而当被观察者的动作结束,也即目标完成后,观察者的目标可及性会降低,观察者为了达到目标付出的努力也会减少(Lee & Shapiro, 2016; McCulloch et al., 2011)。

3.2. 对准社会关系的需求

准社会关系是观众和表演者之间建立的虚幻关系,这些关系也可以在网络主播和他们的粉丝之间发展(Sokolova & Kefi, 2020)。虽然这种关系主要由粉丝单向建立,但对主播发布视频的点赞和评论可能会给他们带来与主播存在沟通过程的感受(Najar & Rather, 2020),而与主播形成了准社会关系的观众会更愿意观看主播发布的视频(Sokolova & Kefi, 2020)。根据此前在传播学领域中的研究发现,吃播最初在韩国风靡的原因,可能正是因为越来越多处于独居状态的韩国居民为了应对孤独感,选择以观看吃播的方式与主播进行“云共餐”,进而让他们能够在情感和心理上与他人建立连结(Hakimey & Yazdanifard, 2015; Spence et al., 2019)。

这类观看动机中涵盖了两个可能的重要因素,即视频曝光度和主播吸引力(Ray, 2007)。视频的高曝光度可能会增加观众在没有明确目标时观看吃播的频率和时长,从而可以视作消磨时间的一种动机;同时,观众对主播的外观、性格和行为的积极评价也能提高观看意愿和延长观看时长。早期研究已经指出:消磨时间、对主播的喜爱程度和窥私欲都是观看者选择观看吃播视频的可能因素(Stein & Yeo, 2021; 陈禹毅, 2017)。

4. 吃播带来的影响

4.1. 降低孤独感

许多研究者发现, 观看者观看吃播可以加强彼此之间的亲密感, 有助于那些独居、寻求陪伴的人克服孤独感和疏离感(Donnar, 2017; Woo, 2018)。由于观看吃播的行为通常会在深夜或独自用餐时, 所以也有研究者认为, 一部分吃播通过提供简单的食谱或单独吃饭的画面, 在主播和观众之间建立了准社会关系, 并提供了归属感, 满足了独居观众的情感需求(Park & Hong, 2017)。

4.2. 增加食物摄入

研究显示, 观看吃播会增加食物的摄入和消费行为(Kim et al., 2022; Lee & Wan, 2023; Song, 2023; Song et al., 2023), 并促进了更多的外出就餐(Manafi Anari & Eghtesadi, 2023)和点外卖的行为(Yun et al., 2020)。这一影响无疑是一把双刃剑, 一方面, 观看健康食物的吃播可能促进更健康的饮食选择; 另一方面, 也可能增加不健康食物的选择和摄入(Wu et al., 2023)。

对于个体观看吃播后吃得更多这一现象的解释, 研究者认为主要的原因在于陪伴(Kircaburun et al., 2020b; Polivy & Pliner, 2015; Spence et al., 2019)和模仿(Kircaburun et al., 2020b; Spence et al., 2019)两方面。有关进食与社会促进作用的研究表明, 与他人一起进食的人通常比独自进食的人吃得更多(de Castro & de Castro, 1989), 并且在场的人越多, 个体吃得就越多(Heatherton et al., 1998)。一项比较个体分别在视频通话“云共餐”和观看吃播时进食的研究发现, 云共餐会减少更多的孤独感, 并且相比于观看吃播时, 摄食量和对不健康食物的选择都相对较少(Wang et al., 2021)。

与观看暴力视频导致儿童模仿暴力行为增加的情况类似, 研究表明人们在与他人一起用餐时会根据同伴的进食量调整自己的食量(Herman & Polivy, 2005), 这种模仿行为也会出现在虚拟互动中(Larsen et al., 2010), 并且会受到模仿者对被模仿者态度的影响(Lakin & Chartrand, 2003)。因此, 当主播摄入大量食物却保持苗条身形时, 观看者可能更容易产生不恰当的模仿行为(Hermans et al., 2012; McFerran et al., 2010)。

观看吃播带来的负面影响甚至会导致恢复期的暴食症患者复发(Strand & Gustafsson, 2020)。一项有关与饮食相关的社交媒体内容对身体形象和饮食行为影响的系统回顾发现, 观看食物广告视频可能会造成更多的对不健康食物的选择和消费意愿, 而暴饮暴食的吃播视频与不健康的饮食行为和进食障碍有关。

除此之外, 大量暴饮暴食视频的流行甚至有可能潜移默化地改变个体对正常饮食的认识, 造成“吃那么多也是正常的”误解(Kircaburun et al., 2020b; Spence et al., 2019), 但这种改变似乎会受到不同文化的影响(李德顺等, 2023)。

4.3. 减少食物摄入

关于观看吃播后减少食物摄入的假设, 一些研究提出了替代性进食假说(Bruno & Chung, 2017; Donnar, 2017)。一项研究利用展示“正在进食”和“吃掉一口”食物的静态图片进行了实验。结果发现被试在看到后者时, 其进食欲望和对食物味道等性质的想象强度都有所下降, 但都高于仅仅是看到“持有食物”的图片(Palcu et al., 2019)。除此之外, 通过比较观看角色继续进食与角色吃完食物的视频, 研究发现观看者在观看继续进食的视频后会选择进食相同的食物种类, 但观看进食完成的视频后, 个体似乎会选择另一种口味的零食, 但作者并未引入控制组进行比较(Zhou et al., 2017)。

替代性进食一般发生在个体暴露于提供了感官满足的食物图片或视频下, 而这种现象更多会在有关高热量食物的吃播视频中被发现。这种现象被认为是由于食物的视觉和听觉刺激触发了观众对相似食物的记忆, 或是在心理上模拟进食过程造成的。这种模拟进食, 即使在缺少视觉刺激的情况下, 通过在想象中重复食用也可能减少后续的实际食物摄入(Morewedge et al., 2010)。

Kircaburun et al. (2020b)等研究者提出了另一种假说：由于个体从吃播视频中获得的声音或想象的感觉过于理想化，他们在现实生活中的进食体验可能因此而降低，这种体验的不匹配可能导致食欲减退，甚至引发厌食的症状。

大多数现有的研究表明，观看吃播视频似乎主要导致食物摄入和购买量的增加，出于替代性进食的动机去观看吃播视频反而会增加过度进食的风险。然而，我们必须指出，有关吃播的研究大多集中在传播学领域，在心理学领域相对缺乏严谨的实证性研究。此外，这些研究在实验设计、实验材料和被试群体的选择上存在显著的异质性，因此迫切需要更多的深入研究以获得更加可靠的结论。

4.4. 增大成瘾风险

观看吃播视频，作为一种应对负面情绪和提供快感的方式，引发了研究者对其可能会发展为潜在行为成瘾问题的担忧(Kircaburun et al., 2020b)。这种情况与近年来悄然兴起的短视频成瘾或社交媒体成瘾现象类似，个体可能因逃避现实而沉迷其中。

5. 观看吃播时可能的神经机制

Chen et al. (2016)基于前人研究总结出的核心饮食网络把控制个体饮食行为的神经通路划分为腹侧奖励途径和背侧控制途径。研究者认为，食物线索，尤其是被描述为美味的或健康的食物，会激活个体的饮食模拟行为，通过眶额叶评估食物的奖励价值，激发消费欲望，而背外侧前额叶则根据享乐需求和健康需求的平衡来调控个体的行为(Miller, 2000; Murray et al., 2007; van der Laan et al., 2011)。特别地，眶额叶会根据身体此刻的能量平衡调节食物的奖励价值，也就是说，饱腹感的增强会使眶额叶的激活减少，从而下调对相同食物的奖励价值预测。而对食物成瘾的个体，随着成瘾程度的加深，食物的实际奖励价值下降，但预期奖励价值升高。肥胖个体与食物成瘾者展示出相似的神经活动模式(Stice et al., 2008)，这可能解释了肥胖个体相对于健康体重个体为何会摄入更多食物。尽管在肥胖个体中，腹侧奖励途径的活动度普遍高于正常体重个体，其背侧通路的活动强度则呈现了不同的研究结果。其中一些研究发现肥胖个体在进食前面对食物线索时的背外侧前额叶激活程度较低，在进食后激活增强(Dimitropoulos et al., 2012)，但有些则认为肥胖个体在进食前对食物线索的背外侧前额叶激活更高(Batterink et al., 2010; Bruce et al., 2010)。

此外，之前的大量研究都基于美食图片展开，发现仅仅通过阅读描述食物口感和味道的词汇或观看美食图片，就能激活相关的味觉处理脑区以及与咀嚼、吞咽动作相关的脑区(Chen et al., 2016; Nakamura et al., 2020)，模拟吃东西的体验。观看食物图片也会增强腹侧通路的大脑活动，而奖励敏感的个体对美味食物的图片表现出了更强烈的反应。近几年一些研究也将目光投向了观看食品广告对个体脑激活的影响上，有研究者认为动态食物广告相比食物图片而言能更有力地激活个体的饮食行为(Gearhardt et al., 2014)。观看食品广告时，个体的奖赏脑区、视觉注意相关脑区和感觉运动加工脑区均被激活，而感觉运动相关的脑区也与味觉加工和咀嚼吞咽动作有关(Bruce et al., 2016; Chen et al., 2016; Nakamura et al., 2020; Rapuano et al., 2016)。高热量食物线索激活视觉和运动区更为显著，但受到饱腹水平的调节(Rothmund et al., 2007)，这可能与有关镜像神经元的假说有关，即：看到他人的行为后，会引起自身相应脑区的激活。但吃播与食品广告的表现形式上存在根本性的差异。按照镜像神经元的假说来看，在个体模拟了主播整体的进食过程后，自己也会出现一定程度的饱足感。这种解释无疑与现有的研究结论相悖。

6. 总结及未来展望

本文回顾了观众观看吃播视频的潜在动机、对个体的影响以及背后的可能神经机制。现有研究表明，观看吃播视频的动机主要是出于替代性满足、获取信息、享受、暴露和吸引力五个方面。虽然许多理论

性研究均提及吃播可能会带来替代性满足这一观点，但多数实证研究显示观看吃播视频往往会增加食物的摄入与购买量，甚至有诱发暴食症复发的风险。

然而，目前对于吃播造成影响的研究仍然存在一些局限，在未来研究中可以有所改进。首先，在材料选择上，对与研究无关的变量的控制需要考虑得更加全面。未来研究可以思考是否可以通过自制实验材料的方式对无关变量进行控制。其次，在研究设计方面，应更深入探讨不同动机下不同群体观看吃播的影响，正如 Kim et al. (2022)所做的研究所示，不同的观看动机在观看时长和饮食习惯得分中具有中介效应。当个体以获取信息为动机观看吃播时，可能会引发更健康的食物选择；而以情感满足为目的观看时，则可能导致不健康食物的选择增加。最后，观看吃播视频是否与观看食物广告的视频共享相同的神经机制，仍需更多研究来进一步探讨。

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