LUNDS UNIVERSITET

THE PRESENTATION OF SELF IN FACEBOOK

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20/05/2019

MSc Media and Communication

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Abstract

Erving Goffman's (1959) Theory on Self-Presentation describes how individuals perform roles to project a desired impression on others during face to face interactions. Since the rise of the internet, Goffman's theory extended to the online contexts. Through qualitative analysis, the thesis draws on dramaturgical theory to examine the ways in which facebook users engage in Self Presentation and Impression Management (SPIM) acts, and how these might be constrained by issues of privacy and authenticity. The analysis indicate that there is indeed a correlation between privacy issues on Facebook and self presentation, the participants engage in impression management on the front stage as a way to counterbalance privacy concerns, and the challenges brought by Facebook's collapsed context.

Acknowledgments

This study would never have been possible to realize without the respondents' reflections on their online social practices. So, first of all, I would like to acknowledge my indebtedness to them. Thank you, I wish you all the best!

A special thanks must be addressed to Joanna Doona my supervisor for the work with this thesis. Thank you for intellectual inspiration and your always useful advices, literature tips and ideas. You have been a great support for me on my work with this study and it is with great appreciation I say thank you.

To Annette Hill, thank you for the early feedback and suggestions on the topic, and thank you for introducing me to Gunn Enli, reading her was a pleasure and helpful for my thesis.

Last, but certainly not least, I would like to thank my family, my husband and son, the patience you boys have shown while I have worked with this thesis is amazing, LERATO KE LONA LEO!!

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Chapter 1

Introduction

In 1959, Erving Goffman, proposed the Theory of Self-Presentation; where he uses the imagery of theater in order to portray the nuances and significance of face to face social interactions. According to Goffman (1959), social interactions may be likened to a theater and people in everyday lives are actors playing out various roles on stage; a notion he called self presentation. Self-presentation refers to how people attempt to present themselves and control or shape how others (the audience) view them. It involves expressing oneself and behaving in ways that create a desired impression.

The Internet was officially introduced to the public in the early 1990's, since then, it has completely transformed the way people communicate and interact with one another. According to Mehdizadeh (2010, p.357), by means of the World Wide Web, 'any user with minimal knowledge of the Internet is able to relay information to a vast audience through personal blogging, videos, and photos via interactive Internet sites known as Web 2.0 applications.' These are the sites where individuals can post self relevant information (Mehdizadeh, 2010) and interact with one another. While the impact of the Internet on identity production has been under investigation for over a decade, most of these studies have focused on anonymous online environments, including chat rooms and bulletin boards (McGregor, 2013). More recently, researchers are shifting their attention to self-presentation in less anonymous online communities, known as social networking sites.

Social Networking Sites are settings in which people gather to communicate, share, and discuss ideas (Mehdizadeh, 2010, p.357). Social networking sites enable people to engage in self presentations and interact with others without any face to face, physical contact (Hogan 2010, Van Dijck 2013). In this regard, SNSs re-contextualize social interactions (self presentations and impression management) because performers no longer have to be co-present during social interactions. According to Lupinetti (2015, p.3-4), 'SNSs allow people to create an online entity where they can virtually interact and share their thoughts, beliefs, attitudes, and

experiences with others in the same virtual space.' One might decide to only present certain aspects of their identities and refrain from including information that may damage the intended image that they wish to project.

Among different Social networking sites (SNSs), Facebook is considered the most popular site and has been regarded as 'the world's most frequently visited website' claiming over 2.38 billion monthly active users globally as of the first quarter of 2019 (Statista.com). Facebook was initially created as a student catalogue for Harvard University students in February 2004 and by 2006 it was opened to the general public (Hew, 2011). Facebook is a space where users electronically exhibit some aspects of their everyday lives and its 'build on the ideological and technological foundations of Web 2.0, and [...] allow the creation and exchange of user-generated content' (Kaplan and Haenlein, 2010, p.61). Facebook is an online platform where online social interactions take place (Ellison, Steinfeld, & Lampe, 2007; boyd & Ellison, 2008) and it is also an avenue where users construct and manage their identities through self-presentation (Zhao, Grasmuck, & Martin, 2008; Nadkarni & Hofmann, 2012). Mehdizadeh (2010, p.357) asserts, 'this site offer a highly controlled environment for self presentational behavior-which provides an ideal setting for impression management.' Self presentation is a 'central element in the construction of one's self and efforts to establish a reputation within a social context' (Yang and Brown, 2016, p.402).

This thesis explores the idea of performance relative to Facebook, more specifically by drawing on the theory of Goffman (1959) on self presentation and impression management (SPIM). Goffman's (1959) theory has covered the topic of self-presentation in a detailed way and consists of relevant concepts to explore in the thesis. Goffman's (1959) theory was developed at a time when the Internet was not invented or in use and focused mainly on face to face interactions; the thesis will examine to what extent the theoretical approaches developed for face to face social interactions can be extended to online interactions. It will also examine how online context can extend our understanding of self-presentation. New theories and models are needed to extend Goffman's theory; For example, Goffman has not taken up the

concept of detached self-presentation (Zarghooni, 2007, p.6-7) into account in his dramaturgical approach since in everyday, face-to-face interactions this is not a significance. However, in social network sites (SNSs) such as Facebook, this concept is a basis for understanding self-presentation. During self presentation on Facebook, the performer presents themselves in a detached state (while in front of the screen they are presented inside the screen to others.) It's also important to employ Hogan's (2010) understanding of performances and artifacts/exhibitions, since online self presentation can both be synchronous and asynchronous.

Online social interactions depend more on authenticity illusions and negotiations of an authenticity contract, than face-to-face interaction (Enli, 2015) because of the absence of body language and facial expressions which are deemed important for Goffman's interaction order. This absence of contextual cues and lack of physical presence need to be compensated for by set of authenticity illusions; which are manipulation of various production techniques. Previous literature on self presentation has often used the conceptualization of authenticity like the modernist account of authenticity (McGregor, 2013), this study will focus on the performativity aspect of authenticity in order to understand authenticity as socially constructed rather than inherent (Peterson, 2005).

The existing literature about Self presentation and impression management on Facebook uses quantitative data to consider this social phenomenon (Yang and Brown, 2015, Siedman 2013). The limited number of studies using qualitative approach have focused primarily on how users use online social networks and have focused on facebook profiles as the object of the study (Zhao et al 2008) instead of using qualitative interviews that enable the researcher to get an in-depth understanding of the phenomenon from the user's own perspectives. According to Habsah, Darus and Hua Tan (2016), status updates attracted past research that employed linguistic/textual analysis that examined how Facebook users presented themselves online. Using semi structured interviews as a method of this thesis will allow for users' own account of the phenomenon which is valuable as it will add fresh

perspectives and conceptualizations of concepts explored by the thesis. Therefore, the thesis aims to fill this methodological gap.

Krasnova, Gunther, Spiekermann and Koroleva (2009, p.40) explain that Social networks such as Facebook have 'evolved into popular Web places where users communicate and share updates with friends. This facilitated exchange of information helps create social capital by bringing individuals closer together and maintaining existing relationships.' However, self-presentation and interaction on social networking sites such as Facebook are constrained by privacy related issues (McGregor, 2013). According to Wieschowski (2007), as quoted on Krasnova et al (2009, p.40), 'A chain of privacy-related public scandals, along with related media coverage revealing questionable information handling practices, has started to increase user awareness with respect to the privacy threats users face.' For example, in a rude shock to billions of people around the world, on March 17, 2018, news broke out that more than 50 million Facebook user profiles had been leaked to a UK-based political data analytics provider, Cambridge Analytica. New York Times (2018) reported that the 'firm harvested private information from the Facebook profiles of more than 50 million users without their permission, according to former Cambridge employees, associates and documents, making it one of the largest data leaks in the social network's history.' (New York Times, 2018)

The popularity of Facebook and the ring of privacy scandals it has been involved in makes it an excellent example for studying the conceptualisation of privacy in the context of Web 2.0 and investigating their implications on self presentation. Hierman et al (2016) found that only a limited number of studies examine the impact of user privacy concerns on the dynamics of self-presentation and self-disclosure; therefore the thesis aims to fill this gap. For a critical analysis it is important to discuss privacy concerns on Facebook not simply as the revelation of personal data, but to inquire into the political economy and ownership structures of personal data on Facebook (Cohen,2008). Most contemporary analyses of privacy on web 2.0 and social networking sites neglect this dimension and fail to address the larger issues of privacy and surveillance (Cohen,2008, p.14-15)

Even though Facebook began as a networking site for University students, they have expanded their availability over the years and opened the platform to the public, this means that part of the demographic of people using Facebook are over 22 and out of college. However, existing research has concentrated on the self-presentation practices of adolescents and college/university students. This study aims to expand an understanding of how identity is managed on Facebook by expanding the sample and including young users over the age of 22 in the sample (20-30 years to be specific.) Young people are still relevant because it has been reported that their uses of Facebook declined after the Cambridge scandal (Pew Research Centre). Even though this Pew findings are for the American context, including this age group would provide a better understanding of the causes of decline of use in general and their implications for SPIM. It will also allow the thesis to investigate what Fuchs (2011) discussed in his paper that previous researches claim that young users do not care about privacy and have no technical knowledge of Facebook's privacy tools.

Immediately following this introduction, the thesis will delve into a review of previous literature that will contextualize the thesis within four intersecting areas of interests: Facebook usage, Self presentation and impression management, mediated authenticity and privacy. The thesis will begin with a discussion on SPIM in which the thesis investigates the theory of SPIM posited by Goffman (1959) and explore its relevance to an online context. Then the discussion will move along to SPIM on Facebook to investigate how that can inform self presentation and impression management in the context of everyday lives (Moores, 2012). Following this, mediated authenticity will be discussed and it's relevance for SPIM. The thesis will then move on to discuss the online privacy concerns and management and how that can affect SPIM. Afterwards, a reflection of methodology and methods will be elaborated, emphasizing why qualitative in-depth interviews were chosen as appropriate for this thesis. The research design will be laid out; for example, sampling of the respondents, conducting the interviews, and also the process of analyzing the data collected. The main analysis/discussion of this thesis will focus on two key themes: sharing and identity. The Sharing theme will start this section and discuss the

habitual use of Facebook. The thesis will then links this theme of sharing to the theme of identity by indicating that Facebook is not only used as an attempt to make oneself at home on the internet (Moores, 2012) but also as a practice for the self to engage in self presentation in the context of everyday life. The thesis will conclude in which all the findings and their implications are summarized and suggestions for future research will be made.

Aims and Research Questions

Through qualitative analysis, the thesis draws on dramaturgical theory to examine the ways in which facebook users engage in Self Presentation and Impression Management (SPIM) acts, and how these might be affected by issues of privacy and authenticity. In order to fulfill the study's aims, the following research questions will be explored:

1. What are the authenticity illusions employed by Facebook users
2. What are the mechanisms of privacy practices on Facebook and how that might affect SPIM acts?
3. How do these everyday practices intersect with institutional structures of society?

Chapter 2
Literature Review

Goffman's dramaturgy: Self Presentation

Goffman (1959) used the theatrical metaphor and offered a dramaturgical framework from which social interactions can be studied and understood. As a useful analogy for understanding social interaction, Goffman (1959) considered social interaction as a theatrical stage production in which individuals are actors giving performances before an audience. Goffman believed that when we are born, we are thrust onto a stage called everyday life, and that our socialization consists of learning how to play our assigned roles. We enact our roles in the company of others, who are in turn enacting their roles in interaction with us. The dramaturgical analysis offers a look at the concepts of status and roles. According to Goffman (1959), status is like a part in a

play, and a role serves as a script, supplying dialogue and action for the characters and they are performed for the audiences; roles are patterns of behavior that are representative of our social statuses.

Zarghooni (2007, p.16-17) describes that self presentation online takes place in a detached state, a process he called detached self presentation. During detached self presentation, the Facebook profile is in 'two places at the same time. While the presented self is seen by others who look at the user's profile, the 'real' person is the physical human being sitting behind the computer screen' (Zarghooni, 2007, p.17) or whatever device they are using. The person might be backstage where nobody can observe them whereas their presented self may simultaneously be observed by others (for example uploading a profile picture wearing military clothes while at home wearing pajamas). Zarghooni (2007) highlights that this type of self presentation should not be mistaken as a deception, because the performers might be genuine but their 'self concept might be somehow distanced from their current state' (Zarghooni, 2007, p. 17). Goffman did not account for detached self-presentation in his dramaturgical approach as this is not relevant for face to face interactions; however, this concept will be a basis for understanding the self presentation processes on Facebook.

The dramaturgical perspective suggests that a person's identity is not a stable and independent entity, but rather, it is constantly remade as the person interacts with others. According to Goffman (1959, p. 245) 'The self, then, as a performed character, is not an organic thing that has a specific location, whose fundamental fate is to be born, to mature, and to die; it is a dramatic effect arising diffusely from a scene that is presented and the characteristic issue, the crucial concern, is whether it will be credited or discredited.' For Goffman (1959), identity is something that is done, rather than innate, for example to be a person is to perform being a person. Goffman (1959) explains that there is no aspect of the self which is not touched by the social world, because interactions take place in a wider social order that permits some actions and disallows others. Goffman's (1959) theory of dramaturgy takes the postmodernism stance in conceptualisation of identity and challenges the modernism

view that identities are somehow unified, fixed and stable. According to Hall (1992), the postmodern self is fragmented, not composed of a single but multiple, sometimes contradictory identities which are not fixed. According to Hall (1992, p.277), the postmodern self is 'historically and not biologically, defined. The subject assumes different identities at different times, identities which are not unified around a coherent "self." Within us are contradictory identities. pulling in different directions, so that our identifications are continuously being shifted about.' Post modernism sees identity as a social construction, a process that is never completed; identity cannot be adequately defined or measured, since many characteristics of an individual are in constant change with no fixed reference points. Goffman's (1959) dramaturgical model shows how identities are formed, through the acting out of the multitude of roles; this process involves the performance on one hand and careful deliberation and reflection on the other one (impression management). According to Bullingham (2013, p.102), 'the distance between performer and audience that physical detachment provides makes it easy to conceal aspects of the offline self and embellish the online. Goffman might consider this to be a reflection of the 'splitting' character of the self during interaction where the self is divided.' The online context of Facebook detach the performer from the body and allows the separate existence of fragmented aspects of the self, which makes it easier for the detached self to edit itself and engage in impression management.

Impression Management

Goffman (1959) coined the term Impression Management to refer to individuals' desire to manipulate the impressions that others have of them; according to Birnbaum (2013, p.158) this helps the individual to be seen the way they want to be seen. During an impression management before an audience, the individuals tweak their behaviors and selectively give and give off details (Goffman 1956/1959). According to Bullingham and Vasconcelos (2013, p.101), 'In the case of the former, impressions that the individual intends to produce are communicated, but with the latter, impressions that were not intended to be given are received by the audience.' In addition to the impressions we give and give off, Goffman (1959, p. 57) also established a metaphor called 'the mask' during impression management, the mask

helps to salient/foreground certain aspects of an individual during an interaction while simultaneously backgrounding/marginalizing others. The individual doesn't become somebody else when wearing a mask, 'but rather, as Park (1950) argued and Goffman (1959) later illustrated by citing communities in Shetland and the army soldier, both the mask worn and the hidden person behind it are facets of the same individual' (Bullingham and Vasconcelos, 2013, p.102).

Goffman (1959) explains that impression management takes place before an audience in a specific bounded setting, he draws on Roger Barker's (1968) notion of the 'behavior setting' which he dichotomies as 'front region/front stage' and the 'back region/backstage.' According to Birnbaum (2013, p.158-159) our fronts which are on the front stage are 'socially negotiated, standardized mannerisms, appearances, and settings that help to define the situation for those who observe the performance.' Goffman (1959) observed that people use fronts and perform them according to their understanding of how people in particular roles are supposed to act to convey information to audience members, for example to be an appropriate lecturer, student, mother, waitress etc. Birnbaum (2013, p.159) explains that 'people learn to perform particular fronts through social interaction and develop a repertoire to use across a multitude of settings.' Based on Goffman's (1959) explanations, 'front stage' behavior is how people behave when they know that they are been watched by others. Whatever the setting of front stage behavior, individuals are aware of how others perceive them and what's expected of them which in turn informs how they behave.

Bullingham and Vasconcelos (2013) explain that when in front stage, an actor is conscious of being observed by an audience and will perform to those watching by observing certain rules and social conventions. Failing to do so means losing face and failing to project the image/persona they wish to create (Bullingham and Vasconcelos, 2013). Front stage behavior reflects internalized norms, values, beliefs, cultural practices and expectations for our behavior that are shaped in part by the setting where it occurs and the particular role we play within it. During our everyday lives, we spend most of our lives on the front stage, where we get to deliver our lines and perform. A wedding is a front stage, a classroom lecture is a front stage, even

Facebook is a front stage. Almost any place where we act in front of others is a front stage.

During the interaction, the performer can retreat to the back stage where they don't have to act, they can be themselves and prepare for their return to the front stage. Goffman's (1959, p.488) definition of backstage states that the back stage is where 'the performer can relax; he can drop his front, forgo speaking in his lines, and step out of character.' When the individual returns to the back stage, they feel a sense of relief because they know the actions that would not be condoned in the front stage are free to be expressed. All their actions are not to please anyone in the backstage. Back stage is where facts suppressed in the front stage or various kinds of informal actions may appear. Simply put, how individuals behave back stage can be thought of as freed from the expectations and norms that shape their behaviors when they are in front stage. The individuals are often more relaxed and comfortable when backstage, they let their guard down, and might be what is considered the 'authentic selves.' According to Goffman (1959), the backstage is where the protected self resides and the individuals build a strong barrier between the front and backstage, partly because the individual is vulnerable in the backstage but also in order to preserve the authenticity of the front stage performance.

Facebook and SPIM

Different scholars have developed motives typologies for social network use. These include relationship maintenance (Sheldon 2008, 2009, Joinson 2008, Valentine 2012), virtual community, entertainment (Hart 2011), promoting work/professional advancement (Baek et al., 2011; Papacharissi & Mendelson, 2011), learning/academic purposes (Hew, 2011; Raacke & Bonds-Raacke, 2008, Bosch 2009) and impression management (Kramer and Winter 2008).

Habsah, Darus and Hua Tan (2016, p.2) explain that 'facebook is popularly known among scholars as a platform that offers endless opportunity for individuals to engage in self-presentation and impression management (SPIM). It has applications that generously allow users to engage in different forms of SPIM acts.' According to

Cheng (2014, p.7) ‘Facebook, like any other digital media, has particular “affordances in its environment, what it offers, provides or furnishes, either for good or ill that both enable and shape identity performance.’ However, these ‘affordances do not cause behaviour but constrain or control it’ (Gibson, 1982, p.411). In the context of Facebook, ‘how data is recorded and revealed, how individual interactions are enabled, as well as other available functions, are all affordances of the networking site, which subtly guide and constrain the interactional behaviour of individuals on Facebook’ (Cheng, 2014, p.7).

Impression management through Facebook takes place primarily through users’ profiles; with the options to posting status updates, photos or reposting others’ posts, individuals engage in identity performance where they communicate some aspects of their identities implicitly or explicitly (Habsah et al, 2016; Herring and Kapidzic, 2015). Facebook keeps a near-permanent record of all of the individual’s activities on facebook unless the individual deletes them; and when these activities are viewed in totality, they communicate both the past and present identities of the individuals (Cheng, 2014, p.8.)

Facebook Audience

Within the theory of dramaturgy, there is a recognition that social interactions are shaped by the presence of an audience who witness it. According to Bernie Hogan (2010, p.378), ‘the audience refers to those who observe a specific actor and monitor her/his performance.’ On Facebook, the audiences are basically the ones who can access the users’ Facebook profile, for example the users’ Facebook friends. According to Cheng (2014, p.7-8), Facebook has an important networking function which connect individuals to a multitude of friends from different social groups, which may never intersect during face to face interactions. Boyd (2007) calls this merged audiences, because it includes different contacts such as friends, coworkers, bosses, families, acquaintances and etc merged into a single audience. According to McGregor (2013, p.22), Boyd’s research (2007, 2010) into social networking sites has shown that the merged audience can highlight conflicts of public image between self and identity as performed in differing contexts, for example, between the public

image established in front of family versus friends. In dramaturgical terms, context collapse represents a merging of stages and a confusion as to which fronts are appropriate for the given situation (Papacharissi 2011). This also causes conflicts of public image analogous to Goffman's 'role conflict' in exposing inconsistencies and crossing the bounds of established expectations and relationships (Marwick and Boyd 2010; Goffman 1967).

There are different mechanisms that individuals can employ to overcome the challenges of merged audiences. According to Papacharissi (2011, p.307) the individual can then 'engage in multiple mini performances that combine a variety of semiological reference so as to produce a presentation of the self that makes sense to multiple audiences, without sacrificing coherence and continuity.' Marwick and Boyd (2010, p.9) state that the merged audience 'may create a lowest common denominator effect, as individuals only post things they believe their broadest group of acquaintances will find non-offensive.' Goffman described the mechanism of audience segregation which captures the idea that people play different roles in different situations for different audiences, for example we behave differently in front of our friends as opposed to our parents or coworkers, that's why individuals need to engage in audience segregation. Audience segregation is defined as 'actions that are meant to prevent an audience who has been presented with a specific role not to observe another different role played by the same presenter' (Zarghooni, 2007, p.10). Goffman's segregation of audiences is a lot harder in the era of the Internet; different audiences that are typically separated in an offline environment are merged into one big audience in online context. The moment individuals start mixing audiences from different contexts, they go through what Marwick and Boyd (2010) call 'context collapse.' Facebook audiences who are also one's audiences from other social media settings and friends from the offline world for example, might start to feel that one's performance is insincere because how they present their identity in a particular context may differ from from how they present it in another (Haimson and Hoffmann, 2016).

Relevance of Goffman's theory to online interactions.

Goffman's interpretations of performance apply directly to presentation of self on Facebook, for example, by taking and posing for photographs and updating statuses, individuals communicate their identities and manage impressions of themselves. In their article, Bullingham and Vasconcelos (2013, p. 102) discuss Goffman's concept of 'interaction order' which is a concept he adopted for the face-to-face interaction. As quoted on Bullingham and Vasconcelos (2013, p. 102) Goffman argues that telephone conversations are 'a departure from the norm and they are the marginal way to interact socially' because they lack physical cues. Similarly, social networking sites are based on non physical interactions which lack visible cues, and according to Bullingham and Vasconcelos (2013), it has been debated if the interaction order is applicable to these online environments. Even though many studies (Miller 1995, Jenkins 2010) believe that Goffman's theory is applicable to the online environment, there is an acknowledgement that the online context poses certain challenges to some of Goffman's concepts (for example, the mechanism of audience segregation in the era of merged audiences).

However, the concepts put forth in Goffman's work, while meant for face to face interactions, are very useful in terms of understanding interactions online. Goffman's discussion of the front stage and back stage can be applied to impression management on Facebook and creates an interesting motivation for this study. The idea that people guide others and create certain images and desired impressions of self for others to attain knowledge about them, is similar to selective posting online. A user has the ability to post selected content as a way to guide their audience into creating an understanding of them. This allows users to perform a role and present themselves in a way they find most desirable and acceptable to others. Similarly, the user is also part of an audience and reacting to the posts of other users and being guided into creating an impression of them.

Facebook: A familiar sense of place

In his book; *Media, Place and Mobility*; Shaun Moores (2012) aims to explain how people develop feelings of 'at-homeness' in an increasingly mobile world and the role that media play in this process. He frames his argument using Tuan's perspective that focuses on the relation formed to a place based on routine activities; he argues that a place is constituted through repetitive habitual practices that give rise to 'affective attachments' in which 'people are emotionally bound to their material environment' (Tuan, 1974, pp.451-2). Spaces can be empty but Places are constituted when spaces are routinely lived-in and feel familiar (Moores, 2012, p.73). A 'place' can be measured in terms of people's beliefs, feelings, values and perceptions. The notion of place is concerned with an individual's attachment to and 'know-how' of a particular place that makes one 'feel at home' in everyday environments. For him, 'places' are emotionally bounded areas, and 'can be as small as the corner of a room' (Tuan, 1974, p.455), or 'a favorite armchair' (Tuan, 1977:149).

This perspective is relevant for the current thesis as it will allow an illustration on how Facebook platform provides 'at homeness feeling' for its users through habitual use. Additionally it will allow an exploration into how the habitual use of Facebook endows what started out as a mere online space with values and meaning. By locating Facebook as a particular 'place', the thesis will illustrate how an association with a place is based on individualized experiences and activities that create a unique sense of place, which differs from individual to individual. The current thesis will argue that when people establish 'at homeness feeling' through routine practices and everyday activities of Facebook, identities are produced and reproduced.

Through the exploration of new electronic media (the internet, for example) and how they affect us by changing the situational geography of our social lives, Moores (2012) furthers Scannell's (1996) idea of the doubling of place. Moores (2012) explains how media environments create places that allow people to be in more than one place at the same time. Social interactions no longer depend on physical co-presence, internet as a part of everyday life is an important factor of the concept

that someone can be in two places at the same time through media. Media provide a sense of presence (Scannell, 1996) to somebody who is absent.

Mediated Authenticity

According to Enli (2015, p.1), Mediated authenticity is a social construct that 'traffics in representations of reality' and it is achieved through 'an interplay between audience expectations and preconceptions about what determines a sense of the real and media producers' success in delivering content that corresponds these notions.' Enli (2015) explains that mediated authenticity relies on four factors which she named: authenticity illusions, authenticity contract, authenticity puzzle and authenticity scandal.

Enli (2015) describes authenticity illusions as incorporation and adjustments of production techniques such as editing and photoshopping. In social media, they are often created by making reference to offline evidence, for example uploading of photos and profile pictures that identifies a real human being behind the Facebook profile. According to Enli (2015, p. 90), photos on social media have the power to demonstrate authenticity and build intimacy between users. In addition, trustworthy demographic information such as registering with one's real names, age etc are also authenticity illusions that users can employ in social media (Enli, 2015). Enli (2015) explains that authenticity illusions in social media also extend beyond reference to the physical evidence and include social cues more specific for digital communication such as genre conventions and support from one's network. Enli (2015, p.92) explains that 'online identity need confirmation and support from one's network to be considered authentic' and this can be achieved through likes, comments, mentions/tags and follows in social media. Support from networks lend one's performance on social media credibility 'thus making users less critical of the crafted authenticity' (Enli, 2015, p.93). Genre conventions contribute to the authenticity illusion in social media, for example a status update seems real because it imitates the style of posting from previous ones.

Enli (2015, pp.131-137) explains that for the authenticity illusions to work successfully and the authenticity contract to be effective, seven characteristics are especially relevant, only three are relevant for the present study and those are predictability (for example by living up to genre conventions), Imperfection (too perfect is not credible,minor flaws are a marker of authenticity) and Ordinariness (ordinary people, plain and flawed, appearing in the media as opposed to glamorous celebrities or experts).

Enli (2015) illustrates that authenticity illusions are usually accepted and correctly interpreted by the audience and she defines this understanding between producers and audiences as an 'authenticity contract.' Authenticity contract is 'an informal agreement regarding where the line is drawn between reality adjustment and outright fakery' (Enli 2015, p.132). When the authenticity contract is challenged, for example when the authenticity illusions 'become too convincing' or outright fakery, then authenticity scandal happens. Social media audiences are usually keen to solve the authenticity puzzle, that is separating the fake from the real. According to Enli (2015), the situation would usually start with the media audience doubting that the presentation is real (authenticity puzzle) and they would engage in investigations to solving this puzzle which ultimately results in an authenticity scandal. Enli's (2015) conceptualisation of Authenticity is relevant for self presentation and impression managements in Facebook because the authenticity illusions can help build trust among users in a space where there is no physical evidence. They can help enhance dramaturgy; however, they can also be used as a tool to deceive people. Therefore, the present thesis will inquire into the crafting and negotiation of authenticity on Facebook.

Previous Studies on the Presentation of an Online Authentic Self

McGregor (2013, p.21) explains that many social media networks 'have been described as enabling and encouraging self-branding and an idealised self-presentation in keeping with norms of gender, cultural narratives and discourses.' Leonardi's (2009, p.59) research described that social media users employ impression management (strategic and selective disclosure/posting) in order to present an

idealized self. Even though social networks are viewed as enabling an idealized images, they are also reported to discourage inaccurate self presentations. Leonardi (2009, p.67) explains that 'a tension exists between the idealized self and what is known as the authentic self.' As quoted in Herring and Kapidzic (2015, p.4), social networking sites have changed the way users engage in self presentation because in earlier anonymous platforms such as chat rooms, 'it was not uncommon for users to invent nicknames and imagined personas.' However, popular platforms such as Facebook encourages its users to provide truthful personal information, thus the users' self presentation tend to be genuine.

Similarly, the key finding from Bullingham and Vasconcelos (2013, p.9) interview data is that 'participants often attempt to re-create their offline selves online, rather than actively engaging with persona adoption.' Bullingham and Vasconcelos (2013) explains that the recreation of the offline self online is achieved through the personal information that the participants present to their audience. Therefore, authenticity online is identified 'in terms of a close correspondence between the online and offline self' (Marwick 2005, p.2). As quoted on Reinecke and Trepte (2014, p.97), 'the use of one's real name, recognizable pictures that make a user visually identifiable, and the presence of real-world acquaintances such as friends and family in the user's friends list are 'warrants' that provide a connection between the online self- presentation of SNS users and their real world identities.' And fake self-presentation in the presence of warrants is dangerous because they can detect it more easily and discredit it (Warkentin, Woodsworth, Hancock and Cormier, 2010).

Reinecke and Trepte (2014, p.97) demonstrate that while the 'SNS environments generally enable authenticity, their social norms and reinforcing mechanisms make some forms of authentic self-presentation more likely than others.' More specifically, Reinecke and Trepte (2014) suggest that the social character of SNSs makes positive forms of authenticity more likely than negative forms of authentic self-presentation. Forest and Wood (2012) indicate that the positive self- presentation on SNSs influences one's audience reaction, for example positive status updates are more likely to receive more positive feedback from one's Facebook friends than the

negative one, therefore the users are more likely to engage in positive authenticity than negative authenticity. Reinecke and Trepte (2014, p.98) propose the term ‘‘positivity bias in SNS communication’’ to refer to this phenomenon.’ Facebook users are expected to enact a certain degree of authenticity while maintaining a balance between staying private and being public (Schmidt, 2007).

Privacy

Privacy concerns

Since its inception in 2004, Facebook quickly became both a basic tool for and a mirror of social interaction, personal identity, and network building among different people. Unfortunately, Facebook often leads to unintended consequences, such as privacy threats and blurred relationship between the public and private spheres. McGregor’s (2013) study indicate that online self-presentation and impression management are seen as constrained by concerns about privacy issues. Based on insights from focus groups and an empirical study with 210 subjects, Krasnova et al (2009) find that (i) Organizational Threats and (ii) Social Threats stemming from the user environment constitute two underlying dimensions of the construct of privacy concerns in Online Social Networks.

McGregor (2013) claims that privacy concerns have ‘often centred upon the lack of control site users have over who views their profile and what companies do with the data they share, and the risks and consequences of the normalisation of the disclosure of previously private personal data’ (p.23-24). In addition, setting up fake user profiles, and publicizing embarrassing private information to harass individuals are other frequently reported forms of privacy concerns on Facebook (Kessler, 2007; Maher, 2007; Stehr, 2006). Debatin and Lovejoy (2009, p.83), outlines other specific privacy concerns such as ‘inadvertent disclosure of personal information, damaged reputation due to rumors and gossip, unwanted contact and harassment or stalking, surveillance-like structures due to backtracking functions, use of personal data by third-parties, and hacking and identity theft.’

McGregor (2013, p. 23-24) explains, 'critics of Web 2.0 networked social media have claimed that their predominance has meant that the "new online economy is linked to issues of neo-liberal surveillance, corporate control and the exploitation of users' immaterial labour.' User's adoption of social media is a new kind of visibility, wherein everyday interactions more closely resemble surveillance; surveillance refers to 'the covert, sustained, and targeted collection of information, often about an individual or group of individuals' (Trottier, 2012, p.320). For example, not only are social interactions mediated on Facebook, but they also become asynchronous where users watch over each other and these interactions become surveillant in nature. Trottier (2012, p. 319) discussed interpersonal surveillance on Facebook, 'interpersonal social media surveillance renders users visible to one another in a way that warrants a care of the virtual self, including both self-scrutiny, and watching over what peers upload, as this may reflect poorly on oneself.' According to Trottier (2012, p.320), Interpersonal surveillance on Facebook is a mutual phenomenon because the users watch others to keep updated about their lives while they are also being watched by others, and this include parental surveillance as well (Trottier 2012; Cohen 2008; Bryant, E. M., & Marmo, J. 2009).

There are other types of surveillance that takes place through Facebook, for example organizational surveillance; for example, employers (Cohen, 2008) and job seekers (Peluchette and Karl, 2008). In a study conducted in the U.S. of what constitutes appropriate content on social network sites, Peluchette and Karl (2008) found that female participants expressed more concern about future employers seeing some of their pictures and comments, especially those related to alcohol, than males did.

Another organizational threat of privacy concerns relate to the social media platform itself. According to Cohen (2008, p.7) , 'by providing a constant stream of content about the online activities and thoughts of people in one's social networks, Facebook taps into members' productivity through the act of surveillance.' Facebook monetizes the content shared by users into advertising sales and third party use and profit from the unpaid labour of users (Coté and Pybus, 2007). According to Cohen (2008, p.7), the social value (entertainment and socialization) present on Facebook can conceal the

political economy that reflect the patterns of neoliberal capitalism in the digital era; which aims to lower the cost of labour (Terranova, 2004). Instead of employing its own content creators, Facebook engages in the commodification of users' free labour. According to Cohen (2008, p. 17), while there may be some agency present in Facebook use, 'the social networking sites created from the Web 2.0 business model should not be misunderstood as open, 'democratic' spaces in which people can act as they please.' Of course the users can engage in identity presentation and interact with others, however 'the structures (in this case, site design, functionality, privacy settings) are set according to the economic imperative of the company, and participation is constrained or enabled by the economic goals of the site' (Cohen, 2008, p.17).

Fuchs (2011, p.146) characterizes Facebook privacy as a victimization discourse, such research concludes that social networking sites pose privacy threats that make users victims of criminals (identity theft, cyberstalking, data theft, data fraud etc) and surveillance (advertising, capital accumulation, user exploitation.) Frequently, these studies also report that young users lack responsibility and knowledge and put themselves at risk by disclosing too much information online and fail to employ privacy mechanisms. According to Fuchs (2011, p.147), the victimization discourse hold a pessimistic view of online social networks as having negative effects. Fuchs (2011, p.147) explains that this 'techno-pessimistic victimization discourse is also individualistic and ideological. It focuses on the analysis of individual usage behavior without seeing and analyzing how this use is conditioned by the societal context of information technologies, such as surveillance, corporate interests, neoliberalism, and capitalist development.' Therefore, for a critical analysis it is important to discuss privacy on Facebook not simply as the revelation of personal data, but to inquire into the political economy and neoliberal mechanisms of personal data on Facebook; most contemporary analyses of privacy on web 2.0 and social networking sites neglect this dimension.

Privacy Management/ Privacy protective strategies

Stutzman and Kramer-Duffield (2010, p.1555) described privacy management in social network sites as a 'socio- technical activity involving interaction with the technological system and the group context,' this involves a combination of mental and technical strategies. Technical strategy involves using the network's privacy setting to 'regulate content distribution to selected audiences' whereas the mental strategy involves self regulation and self censorship to limit disclosure (Stutzman and Kramer-Duffield, 2010, p.1555). There are various strategies afforded by facebook that users can employ for their privacy management. According to Stutzman and Kramer-Duffield (2010, p.1553), 'common controls include limitation of profile access, item-level access control, as well as remedies such as blocking and hiding other site users.' Facebook also offers its users tools such as 'reviewing the tag' when other users tag them, for example they have an option to allow the tag or remove it. According to Strano and Wattai Queen (2012, p.175) 'untagging offers a somewhat limited suppression of images, since the photographs are still posted on Facebook, and other users may chance upon an undesirable depiction. In some instances, this chance seems too great, and users want the photo to be completely deleted from the site. However, users can only delete images they have posted themselves and, therefore, must ask their friends to delete undesirable images that they may have posted and tagged.'

Similarly, Heirman et al (2016) conducted a study in which privacy strategies were discussed, such as limiting one's level of disclosure on SNSs (similar to mental strategy); controlling the disclosed information by applying privacy settings (similar to technical strategy) and lastly audience or friendship management (similar to technical strategy). According to Heirman et al (2016) few, if any, studies integrated all the strategies into one research model and subsequently ran analyses to test the fit of the entire model; similarly, Stutzman and Kramer-Duffield's (2010) study focused only on the technical strategy. Therefore, the thesis will fill this gap and analyze all the strategies and examine whether they work as independent or interdependent mechanisms for the privacy of Facebook users. The present study will test whether these different strategies are applicable to the way Facebook users manage their

privacy online by adopting different privacy protective/management strategies that work together as a system. Even though Facebook poses severe risks to the users' privacy, it also provide social values to the users; Fogel & Nehmad (2008, p.87) explains that several studies found that 'users continually negotiate and manage the tension between perceived privacy risks and expected benefits' such as facilitating relationships, identity expression etc.

The thesis will challenge the privacy paradox, which is the inconsistency between the concerns of people regarding privacy and their actual behavior, for example the paradox claims that despite young people's concern over their privacy online, they still disclose a lot online and do not use privacy settings to protect their data. Privacy paradox signals the users' tendency towards privacy-compromising behavior online which results in an inconsistency between privacy attitudes and actual behavior (Acquisti, 2004, Barnes, 2006). Previous studies (Joinson et al., 2010, Pötzsch, 2009, Tsai et al., 2006) has shown that while users may show interest in their privacies online and have a positive attitude towards privacy protection behaviour, this rarely results into an actual protective behaviour. A similar pattern has been reported in the context of social networking sites, where users are disclosing personal information without any hesitation despite reported concerns (Hughes-Roberts, 2012, Manier and O'Brien Louch, 2010, Yoo et al., 2012). The utilization of various privacy protection strategies outlined above in the discussion of privacy management are therefore rarely utilized despite the concerns reported by the users.

Miller et al (2016, p.9) proposed a degree of privacy they have termed scalable sociality within a polymedia environment, 'individual users can select the scale of sociality to complement the particular type of relationship and genre of communication involved.' During social interactions, the users must make choices between different forms of social media platforms (eg, whether Facebook, Snapchat, Instagram, WhatsApp, Skype etc). According to Chambers (2017), the platform chosen depend on the relationship, for example some channels of communication are suited for communicating with close intimates, some with overseas parent, some for casual friends and others for looser ties. The idea of scalable sociality in relation to

social media is that one have a genuine scale and that includes both the size of the group and the degree of privacy one choose as appropriate to any particular message (Miller et al 2016, Miller, 2016). For example, social media can support extremely public or private modes of communication for exchanges within large or small groups, according to users' needs, the users can scale up or down depending on their need or desires.

Chapter 3

Methodology

The methodological framework that the current study employs is qualitative. According to Taylor and Bogdan (1998, p.7), Qualitative methodology refers to the research approach that produces descriptive data such as people's spoken words. The subject matter of qualitative research is not quantifiable, rather its meaning is interpreted (Brennen, Steinar Kvale, 1996, p.11). Qualitative research approach creates a wider understanding of behaviour because it focuses on the why and how things happen instead of reducing the research subjects to variables. Qualitative research approach provides abundant data about real life people and situations (De Vaus, 2014; Leedy and Ormrod, 2014). According to Schmidt (2004, p.3), Qualitative research claims to 'describe life- worlds from the inside out, from the point of view of the people who participate. By so doing, it seeks to contribute to a better understanding of social realities and to draw attention to processes, meaning patterns and structural features.'

Qualitative methodology fits the purpose of the present study as it will provide a detailed understanding to the self presentation and impression management (SPIM) phenomenon on Facebook than could be achieved using quantitative methodology. With a few exceptions, previous studies on SPIM in Facebook have used quantitative approach (using methods such as content analysis, questionnaires, surveys etc) which does not provide a detailed description of the phenomenon and does not take account of the views of those involved, and the subjective and social constructs of their world

(Schmidt, 2004, p.5). The qualitative methodology fits well for the investigation of SPIM using Goffman's theory of dramaturgy because both acknowledge that realities are socially constructed, this means that social reality is interpreted by the participants in concrete situations within the framework of their subjective understanding (Schütz 1962). Social constructionism argues that we construct our understanding of the world between ourselves, 'It is through the daily interactions between people in the course of social life that our versions of knowledge become fabricated. Therefore social interaction of all kinds, is of great interest to social constructionists' (Burr,2003, p.4). Social constructionism is crucial for understanding dramaturgy because of its understanding/acceptance of cultural creations and the nature of the individual's environment that ultimately dictate the way in which the individual performs the role of themselves (Berger and Luckmann 1966).

As quoted on Diefenbach (2009, p.876) one of the biggest criticisms of qualitative research is 'that the entire qualitative research process is biased by implicit assumptions, interests, worldview, prejudices, and one-sightedness of the researcher.' Similarly, Bazeley (2013, p.4) explains that 'our interpretation is coloured by our previous and current personal, social and cultural experiences.' Diefenbach (2009, p.877) explains that the way to deal with the downside of researcher's subjectivity is 'mainly by making one's own (implicit) assumptions, interests, and objectives concerning the research and social practice as explicit as possible and to acknowledge, where relevant, one's own philosophical and political perspectives.' In order to minimize the risk of subjective bias during the present study, prior reading was done in order to get different/alternative perspectives on the topic of SPIM in Facebook, this assisted in setting aside the researcher's own perspectives and taken for granted views of the world (Taylor and Bogdan, 1998, p.8). Seale (1998) advises qualitative researchers to distance themselves from the data as a way to ensure objectivity, and to always be reflexive. Seale (1998, p.213) describes reflexivity as an acknowledgement that the researcher approaches the research from a specific position and this affects the approach taken, the questions asked and the analysis produced, for example as a Facebook user myself I had to try to be as objective as possible during the interviews, set aside my personal assumptions and judgements aside and be a good listener.

Methods

Qualitative methods refer to a 'broad class of empirical procedures designed to describe and interpret the experiences of research participants in a context-specific setting' (Ponterotto, 2005, p.128). The method employed by the current thesis is face to face, semi-structured qualitative interviews. This method will enable the thesis to acquire a better understanding of self presentation and impression management on Facebook through the interviewees' points of views than could be obtained through quantitative methods. Through the open ended and flexible interview questions, I would be able to access detailed responses about the users' Facebook Practices, values and opinions which would not be possible through the use of questionnaires for example (Seale, 2012). McGregor explains that (2013, p.45) 'Interviews are, therefore, most appropriate where little is already known about the study phenomenon or where detailed insights are required from individual participants [...] The quality of the data generated is extremely detailed, nuanced and valuable.' The reason for choosing one on one interviews is because 'they allow the interviewer to develop issues that appear of relevance and explore matters in an uninterrupted way. They may be used to gather information that interviewees may be less keen to provide in the context of a focus group for example' (Hansen and Manchin, 2013, p.45)

The interview guide was formulated by paying particular attention to the questions that were able to allow the researcher to explore issues surrounding the users' Facebook practices such as profile constructions, content shared, audience, and privacy related issues. The literature review assisted in shaping the interview guide and the questions were divided into 5 themes: Facebook Use and Profiles, content shared, audience, privacy and authenticity. Before going into the field to conduct interviews, the pilot interview was carried out 10 days prior to the main interviews. Hansen and Machin (2013, p.221) explains that it is essential to pilot the questionnaire prior to actual interviews as this helps in making sure that the interview guide works and it enhances the reliability and validity of the research. Piloting the interview guide assisted in identifying problems and improving the initial interview guide for the present study; for example the reformulation and reorganization of some

questions and themes, for example the theme of 'content shared' came further down on the initial guide which was moved right up as it appeared to be important to discuss content before discussing privacy for example. In relation to reorganization, the change was also made to start the interview with descriptive questions and then moving along to the questions that needed more thinking as the interview commenced. The problem encountered during the pilot was in relation to asking questions according to the themes developed, for example the interviewee would start discussing privacy before we even get to the theme of privacy so I felt like I was repeating the questions when we actually got to that specific theme. This prepared me and was a good experience that enabled me to know what to do when the same instance happened during the actual interview, for example if they started speaking about the specific theme early on, I then jumped to that theme right away and started asking the questions on that theme and returned to the planned structure afterwards. In the few cases where this became an issue this is how I overcame it, this is also supported by the chosen method for the current study because semi structured interviews allow for flexibility.

Sampling: participants

In qualitative research the selection of respondents cannot follow the procedures of quantitative sampling because the purpose is not to count opinions or people but to explore the range of opinions and different representations of an issue. Thus, sampling in qualitative research is concerned with the richness of information and the number of participants required, therefore, depends on the nature of the topic and the resources available. The first step of gathering the data was to decide on the recruitment criteria of the interviewees. I decided on the age criteria of 20-30 years of age for the interviewees mainly because they are in the emerging adulthood which is a good age period allowing identity exploration and development. In addition, there is reported decline on the use of Facebook among the young age group (Pew Research Centre, 2018), therefore, including this age group would provide an understanding of the causes of the decline and its implications for self presentation and impression management. All interviewees needed to be active users of Facebook, by active

meaning that the individual visit Facebook and is logged in to Facebook and uses Facebook features (for example likes, commenting, sharing content etc).

After the criteria was established, the second stage was to start the recruitment process. Snowballing sample was used as the recruitment technique for the current thesis. Seale (1998) explains that snowballing sample is a good way to get contacts however it's disadvantages is that the researcher might end up with similar participants. However, I didn't think that would be a limitation for the current study as the sample was diverse and included interviewees from different countries and different cultures which I believed would add an interesting angle to the research since the study is based on social constructivist methodology which acknowledges subjective understanding of the world. I ended up with 9 interviewees (5 females and 4 males) and there were three main groups of interviewees- those who were students, young stay at home parents and those who had professional jobs.

Conducting interviews

Interviews were conducted in public places; since some interviewees are Lund university students, their interviews were conducted in the Lund university premises. For the other interviewees (including Malmö university students), the interviews were conducted at the city libraries. I tried to avoid conducting interviews at coffee shops because of the noise that could affect the audio and pose challenges during transcription. Prior to the commencement of interviews, all the interviewees were given details of what the interview was for, an outline of the project, assurance of privacy and confidentiality and their rights as participants (e.g withdrawal from the interview and deletion of any data collected from them). After this introduction, the interviewees were then asked to sign a consent form (see appendix 1) which contained the same details they were told during the introduction. Christians (2005, p.144) explains that the consent form is an important ethical procedure that signifies the interviewees consent for participating without coercion. Duration of the interviews ranged from 23 to 60 minutes.

Analysing the Data

All interviews were fully transcribed. Names of the participants were changed in order to protect their confidentiality, instead of using their real names they were identified as numbers (for example, Interviewee 1,2 so forth). Drawing on the work of Glaser and Strauss (1967), I relied on grounded theory to code and re-code the data. Open coding (Seale, 2011, p.370) was performed on all the transcribed interviews where each interview transcript was coded sentence by sentence to ensure that every part of the data was treated equally. Even though some themes had already been deductively formulated prior to the analysis (based on previous studies and theories/approaches used by the current study), I still started with open coding in order to allow more room for capturing of new and unexpected themes that may arise from the data. In this sense, the process was motivated by grounded theory and the data was allowed 'to speak for itself' prior to finalising the theoretical frameworks which they correspond to (Seale 2012, p.372). The open codes were descriptive and consisted of terms that were directly taken from the interview transcripts such as 'keep up with subjects I'm interested in on Reddit, Twitter to stay informed about the world, In a group for vietnamese people living in sweden.' Consistent with deductive and inductive approaches, the open codes were respectively grouped into 4 categories: namely, Facebook Usage, Roles, mediated Authenticity And lastly privacy. All the categories and their subcategories were then grouped into two analytical themes: sharing and identity. The themes were then interpreted in accordance with the study's literature review (theories, concepts and previous studies on SPIM). The writing process of the analysis chapter began in which sections were developed and guided according to the two themes.

Chapter 4

Results and Discussions

This chapter outlines and discusses themes that emerged from the data analysis. The first theme to be discussed is that of sharing, which reveals the role Facebook has come to occupy in people's everyday lives and social interactions. I begin exploring this theme of sharing first because it will lead to an exploration of the second theme:

identity. The theme of sharing will allow exploration in to the social interactions afforded by Facebook and the identities that are performed by the users through the platform. What the interviewees share on Facebook are not merely communicating their media use in the context of their everyday lives but are also performances of identities.

To start of the discussion of the identity theme would be discussion of performativity, how interviewees perform different roles on Facebook. Through the theme of identity, the interviewees articulate an understanding of self on facebook as being similar to their offline. They intentionally manage the impression of their identity online to align with their growing sense of self and offline self through employing various authenticity illusions. The concept of privacy will lastly be discussed under the theme of identity, this will highlight the privacy concerns and management of users, and their implications for SPIM.

Sharing

The theme of sharing can best be understood in the context of how users utilize the Facebook platform (their profile constructions, the content that they share and the rationale for joining/using Facebook) and how that has changed over the years of being on Facebook due to various factors to be discussed in detail as the section progresses. The interviewees articulated various reasons for joining Facebook; the first reason for joining Facebook was because everybody had it which reflect the need for people in keeping up with what's popular or the trend and Facebook continues to be one of the social media platform that is popular among people as reflected by the statistics on the previous study (statista.)

I started it because it was the thing to do, a few friends of mine had it before so I felt like I also wanna be a part of it, I didn't want to miss out (interviewee 6, 29 yrs,worker, South African)

I started the Facebook profile because I didn't wanna be left out of the action when more and more people started using it. I was younger so it was really important to be up with whatever was trending at the time and Facebook seems to be one of those social platforms that had a buzz so basically fear of missing out (interviewee 7, 30yrs,Worker, Swedish)

Interviewees also reported using other social media platforms such as Snapchat, Instagram, Twitter, Reddit, WhatsApp and Pinterest in addition to Facebook. Most of these platforms have similar features (both Instagram and Facebook have stories and filters) and are sometimes linked to one another (direct sharing of photos from Instagram to Facebook). However, there are certain features that make them distinct in their own rights and the interviewees use each platform for different purposes. For example, Instagram is popular among users because it's built mainly on the visuals/pictures and functions as a picture gallery; Facebook is used to connect with family and friends,share memes and news; whereas Twitter is used to keep updated about the world.

I enjoy Snapchat because of its ability to send video messages[…] which is more expressive than just words.it's a way of letting people know what you are doing in real time (interviewee 7, 30yrs, Worker, Swedish)

I like Instagram because the profile is built on pictures, you can like browse through pictures and hashtags...when I draw something it can spread on Instagram but on Facebook no one can see it (Interviewee 4, 27, student, Swedish)

I do my own little site adventures on twitter, so I use it professionally and also follow people I like (Interviewee 5, 22yrs, student, Scottish)

The above quotes can be interpreted using Miller's (2016) concept of scalable sociality. According to Miller (2016) social media platforms are not used in isolation but in relation to one another and this is what the analysis have confirmed. The findings confirm that the interviewees scale their sociality on social media platforms according to their individual needs for example Interviewee 5 uses twitter for hobbies/site adventures (more business oriented) whereas interviewee 8 uses it for fun and following celebrities; same platform but different sociality.

Looking at both Facebook and Instagram for example, Facebook and Instagram both fulfill the need of the interviewees to different extents; for example Facebook satisfies the need for connectivity and relationship maintenance, news and humorous contents whereas Instagram fulfills the need for fun and discovery of just browsing through the

visuals or picture galleries. Instagram is not for reposting others' contents or news articles, so the interviewees would go to Facebook if they wish to engage that way. In Facebook they scale down (primary appeal is connecting with family and friends) where as on Instagram they scale up (to even following celebrities/their role models etc.) Each platform is unique, specialized and scaled for a specific sociality. Twitter is less about maintaining social friendships/connections but more about keeping updated on the here and now or the trending topics, it's more about staying informed about the world.

Connectivity

The interviewees provided different rationale for their Facebook use. One central category that emerged was the importance of connectivity to others, especially in relation to maintaining existing relationships rather than establishing new ones. Only two interviewees mentioned using Facebook as a way to meet new friends and making new connections,

My posts were private back in Vietnam, now it's public because I want more people to know about me as I begin to have totally new life here in Sweden […]I need to expand my network (Interviewee 1, 26yrs, Student, Vietnamese)

I started using Facebook because I wanted to make new friends. I wanted to meet new people from different places and backgrounds(interviewee 8, 29yrs, housewife, South African)

Connection to others appear to be crucial and Facebook provides a pathway for this connection, particularly with those the interviewees have engaged with in their offline lives. The offline and online worlds appear to be interconnected with these group of interviewees because they also use the online space (Facebook) to share and discuss issues happening in the offline world (to be discussed further under content shared). Clearly, the interviewees view Facebook as a useful tool to facilitate the social interactions and relationships maintenance with their existing network.

I use Facebook to check up on what my friends are doing, what they are into and also to gauge the social temperature of what people are into (interviewee 7, 30yrs, Worker, Swedish)

Mostly I have Facebook to connect to the world and to my friends and families, so I can get new information about how it's been in the USA for example (interviewee 2, 26yrs, student, Vietnamese)

What I noticed during the analysis is that the utilization of Facebook as a way to connect and keep updated with family and friends is related to finding ways to be more efficient; for example, some of the interviewees mentioned that sending text messages or phone calls to different family members and friends may be time consuming and costly. Therefore, going on Facebook to find out how everyone is doing is more efficient especially for those who have friends and family living far or scattered across the world (such as interviewees 7,6,2,3,9.) This shows that Facebook connection is not bound by geography but continue to exist synchronously or asynchronously nonetheless. The Facebook platform connect people, with a view to facilitate a borderless society, where users can connect with anyone, anywhere, at any time without time and cost constraints. Interviewees communicate a lot more frequently with people that are far more geographically dispersed. For example, friends and family back in their home countries as majority of them are from different countries living in Sweden.

I like the ability that you can have all your friends in the same place if they are all on Facebook, it's great to be able to somehow enjoy the same experiences as if you were there especially if you have friends who are from other places and other countries. Otherwise, staying in contact with them will take a lot of time as it will require a lot of messaging and a lot of telephone calls (interviewee 7, 30yrs, Worker, Swedish)

if you want to keep contact with someone like some of your old friends who have moved abroad to study in USA, England or Australia, then you cannot call them by mobile phone, it's too expensive so you have Facebook (interviewee 2, 26yrs, student, Vietnamese)

Facebook use emerged as a way to be part of and connect to different Facebook groups. The users reported that they are part of different Facebook groups such as Vietnamese people living in Sweden and feminism groups to name a few. These Facebook groups are virtual communities that are created with the intention of exchanging views on shared interests, and they enable members to interact with one

another, share content, share information, experiences, get advice and receive support. These virtual communities are created and developed around different topics or particular purposes as reflected by the interviewees' quotes below. Being part of these different online communities also reflect the users' multiple identities, and it is only through Facebook groups that users connect with a world beyond those that they have met in person.

I am in a group of Vietnamese people in Sweden, we share information about Sweden, and you can get answers to some questions you might have (interviewee 2, 26yrs, student, Vietnamese)

Facebook became more important to me one and a half a year ago when I got pregnant. I joined some women's group who gave advice to both pregnant women and those that already gave birth (interviewee 9, 25yrs, Housewife, Kenyan)

Mediating Everyday life

Another rationale for using Facebook includes sharing of everyday life, which came through the discussion of content that the interviewees share on their profiles. The original content shared include travelling/site adventures, nature and environment pictures, own pictures (not so much as the further discussion will show), and also the type of entertainment that the interviewees engage with such as the music they are listening to, the movies they are watching and the games they have played. In addition to these original content, the interviewees also reported that they repost content from others such as funny memes/jokes, articles and competition links.

I share experiences of the site adventures I do here in Sweden […] I have lived here or half lived here in Sweden for the past few months just posting photographs mainly of what Lund is like because I don't think anyone I know back home's been here so just to show them what it's like (Interviewee 5, 22yrs, student, Scottish)

A few posts are about music, then the few posts might be about the Netflix movie that I was watching, and then a few of them might be pictures where I was tagged by friends and then some of them are like jokes and memes (interviewee 6, 29yrs, Worker, South African)

In discussing the content that they share on Facebook, the interviewees also discussed what they felt was inappropriate content to share on Facebook, not just in regard to

what they share themselves but also for others. Even though there were some similarities, the findings indicated differences on what is considered inappropriate. What was more interesting is the acknowledgement by the interviewees that what is considered inappropriate is different from person to person. Before they started the discussion, some of them began by mentioning that everybody can post whatever they like on their Facebook and that what they might think is inappropriate might not be inappropriate for others. However, this did not stop them from articulating what they categorized as inappropriate content for Facebook sometimes saying 'I would never post anything like that.' Some users regarded private matters (such as relationship affairs, family affairs, emotional posts) as inappropriate, whereas others regarded sensitive images or videos (war images, animal cruelty, pornography, naked photos, child abuse) as inappropriate to post on facebook.

These findings connect to SPIM in relation of them being audiences. Goffman (1959) asserts in his theory that the individual is both the actor and the audience at the same time during social interactions, reacting to others' presentations as well. This finding confirmed that, the majority of the interviewees in fact described themselves more as observers, stressing that they were there on Facebook to 'keep up' with others than to post what they were doing and feeling themselves. This finding does not show the relationship between performance and audience as one-directional but as bidirectional. Trottier's (2012) discussion of interpersonal surveillance echoes this idea. He explains that interpersonal surveillance during social interactions is mutual, the individual is a watcher but at the same time they are being watched by others.

Furthermore, the above examples reflect that what is considered inappropriate is socially constructed and extremely relative, that's why it differs from person to person. The same behavior may be considered inappropriate by one individual in one society whereas it's regarded as appropriate by another individual in the same or even different society. Individuals in the society define what is appropriate or inappropriate behaviour during social interactions. What it means that behaviours become inappropriate through a process of social construction means that the status of a

behavior as inappropriate lies not in the content of the behavior itself but in the social response to the behavior or to the people who engage in it.

what I personally find inappropriate on Facebook is images that will scar you for example […] images from war and […] animal cruelty. Most of them are to give awareness of what's happening but it ruins your day to see small puppies beaten to death. Pornography is also not acceptable, what you into in your private life shouldn't be put on to social media just the same way you are not allowed to walk in the streets naked (interviewee 7, 30yrs, Worker, Swedish)

When people post half naked photos of themselves because I feel like I would never do that, they can do whatever they want to do but to me that would be so inappropriate because it will always be there on the internet (interviewee 4, 27yrs, student, Swedish)

The users reported that there are some changes in how they use their Facebook; due to different factors such as age/growth, being busy and also because of privacy concerns including bad impressions developed of Facebook over the years of use. For example, some interviewees joined Facebook in 2009, 2010 and for those who didn't provide the exact year they always referenced back to when they were teenagers, which shows that they have been on Facebook for a long time now. Interestingly, some interviewees reported that they are on Facebook everyday but they do not post status updates or contents about themselves like they used to post on the platform. The interviewees ceased to post regularly on Facebook, opting merely to being passive observers: checking their Facebook accounts regularly just to see what others are up to or to check and read in some groups that they are a part of. However, some of them reported that they use the Facebook messenger more than the general Facebook; it appears that they are now opting for more private than public social media use. This finding indicate how the users are changing the platform in to more like a messaging board or a forum where they could just observe and repost others' content rather than sharing one's own content,

I am on Facebook everyday. Don't know exactly how many times in a day. I don't post so often because I am always busy with my studies. (Interviewee 1, 26yrs, student, Vietnamese)

My posting has changed, in the beginning I used a lot of the functions updating statuses, pictures and locations. I used to put up status updates of what I was doing

when I was younger, and emotional status updates as well, but now it's more of an observation and maybe depending on what I'm doing I might post it but not so much status updates. We have experienced Facebook since the beginning and for something that's been around for that long it's difficult to keep up and use it how it's supposed to and facebook platform itself has changed over time, it's gotten worse, more intrusive, these are the factors that have affected the way I use facebook (interviewee 7, 30yrs, Worker, Swedish)

I think [it changed] because I started working and everything else just took top priority over posting (Interviewee 6, 29yrs, Worker, Swedish)

In the beginning I put up so many pictures and wrote my thoughts on Facebook, that was like when I was in high school, I used to post emotional stuff but today I wouldn't do that, I would just go to my closest friends and talk about it (Interviewee 4, 27yrs, student, Swedish)

This finding confirm Global Web Index' claim that there is a massive drop in Facebook sharing. The users' sharing of original and personal information have dropped. Through the discussion with the interviewees, they revealed that they are mostly sharing links, news articles and memes (others' repost) but not so much their personal content. This means that the interviewees are avoiding sharing photos of their private lives or writing long posts about their personal lives.

In this empirical research, Shaun Moore's (2012) concept of everyday life deeply inform the findings of the theme of sharing; highlighting some of its aspects relevant for the theme's interpretation. Shaun Moores explained how media users develop 'at homeness' feeling within the media environment. Using Tuan's (1977) concept of space and place distinction as intrinsic to our being in the world, measured and defined through the values we endow upon certain spaces/places; the findings of this theme illustrate that Facebook started simply as an online space with no value/meaning attached to it; but it transformed into place as it became the constitutive part of everyday routines. As the interviewees habitually use Facebook in the context of their everyday lives and get to know it better, it transforms into a place endowed with social values such as social interactions, connectivity, community belonging and self presentation. The interviewees generally view the way Facebook

facilitates their social interactions as valuable but at the same time they are aware of the negative side of the coin, privacy concerns related to Facebook use.

Scannell's (1996) concept of presencing becomes important because the findings confirm that Facebook decreases the significance of physical presence in the context of everyday lives and has changed the way that individuals interact with one another dramatically. Users can now be present without a required physical proximity; for example, the Facebook performer is absent from the audiences who are in turn absent from each other as they view a particular presentation. The audiences are not where the play is being performed but situated in their own separate environments (the doubling of place); for example when the performer sees a picture of a friends' new born baby on Facebook for instance, they feel the presence of being there and enjoying that moment with the parents (Interviewee 7) even though they are physically absent. This is what Scannell (1996) means by presencing afforded by media, the user being in two places at the same time (doubling of place).

The notion of doubling of place also links to Zarghooni's (2007) concept of detached self presentation; the Facebook profile is in two places at the same time. While the presented self is seen by the audiences who look at the user's profile, the "real" person is the physical human sitting behind the device and updating the status update or uploading an image. As Zarghooni (2007) explains, the performer is engaged in self-presentation in a detached state; while he is backstage and nobody can observe him, his presented self may simultaneously be front stage on Facebook and observed by the audience (his Facebook friends). The performer is somehow distanced from their current state for example being back home while sharing vacation pictures on Facebook. As already mentioned in the literature review chapter, Goffman (1959) has not taken detached self-presentation into account in his dramaturgical approach as it's not relevant for face to face interactions.

Identity

This section will begin by discussing the performativity/dramaturgy aspect of identity which will be done through the context of how people play different roles on Facebook. Closely intertwined with this concept of self presentation is that of impression management which discusses how self presentation (performances) can be tweaked to create a desired impression. Discussion about authenticity performance will be made in order to outline various authenticity illusions that interviewees employ to enhance their dramaturgy as genuine. And lastly, the section will discuss privacy which is seen as a constraint for both Goffman's (1959) concepts of genuine self presentation and impression management.

Identity performance and roles

Beyond the ways in which Facebook is deeply embedded in the day-to-day lives of its users, it's use is also connected to their developing sense of self and Identity performances. As users express their identities explicitly and implicitly through the content that they share (original and reposts) on Facebook, they are also utilizing the platform to perform aspects of their identities in the presence of their Facebook audience. This presentation becomes apparent when the users discussed explicitly the roles that they perform on Facebook, the examples below show different roles played such as the comic, the artist, friendly socialite and social justice advocate:

One that sticks out to me is this role of social justice warrior from time to time […] when I see some injustices happening in the world that's been fact checked I like to repost that just to let people know of certain struggles that are experienced by certain groups of people in the world. Other than that I try to be funny, funny social justice warrior person (interviewee 7, 30yrs, Worker, Swedish)

My Facebook shows that I am a sweet person, outgoing, can be crazy at times and very understanding and friendly person (Interviewee 8, 29yrs, Housewife, South African)

I'm a Painter, and I'm working, I'm a witness supporter, I go to court and support witnesses and I also do meditation so sometimes I share the stuff that they are putting up on their Facebook (Interviewee 4, 27yrs, student, Swedish)

It is important to note that the roles that the users play on Facebook wasn't only expressed explicitly towards answering the interview question 'what roles do you play on Facebook?' Some of the roles were expressed implicitly through the discussion of content that the interviewees shared. For example, one interviewee suffers from anxiety attacks so she advocates for mental health awareness through humor in her posting. In discussing the content that she shares on Facebook and the types of groups that she follows, Interviewee 4 showed a good example of engaging in multiple role presentations (feminist, human right activist, cat lover, artist/painter). Another good example is that of the two users who described that the image they are portraying on Facebook centers a lot around their family lives hence playing roles of moms and wives:

I share that I am in love, that I have kids and I love my kids and I'm showing people that it's possible to be in love (Interviewee 8, 29yrs, Housewife, South African)

The last post I made myself was about mental health awareness and stuff like that because I suffer from anxiety so I try to share as much awareness about that as possible, I found a group on Facebook, they usually post memes about anxiety awareness so I usually try to post stuff like that, that personally affect my life (Interviewee 6, 29yrs, Worker, South African)

Here I shared an article from a group kvinna till kvinna and it's about rape of a 12 years old in India and her brothers raped her […] And here I shared like a petition for a woman who was arrested from Iran, she is like fighting for human rights so just because of that she got imprisoned […] But sometimes I share funny things, like this is about me and my cat for example, and then I share my own art (Interviewee 4, 27yrs, student, Swedish)

This subsection reflects dramaturgy and how people's identities are performed through different roles. These findings indicate that the Facebook self is clearly not a unique singular representation but rather a multifaceted and fragmented depiction of the self that has many different versions pulling in different directions, each with its own characteristics and targeted audience (Hall,1992). For example their professional identities might contradict their social identities, hence creating doubt upon their professional images.

Goffman (1959) asserts that identity is something that is done, interviewees perform their identities on the Facebook stage in the presence of their Facebook friends as their audience. The Facebook self can be interpreted as what Stuart Hall (1992) calls 'the postmodern self.' The postmodern discussion around identity centers around the idea that identities are not stable but are constantly remade as the person interacts with others. This is confirmed by the above findings that identities are unstable or they are 'the moveable feast' (Hall, 1992), the idea that they are formed and transformed continuously. The interviewees have assumed different identity roles at different times through their history on Facebook. Some of them reflected back to their past Facebook use and expressed their past role of being teenagers and how carefree they played that role on Facebook. They were emotional human beings sharing every aspect of their teenage lives online without any concerns or considerations, but now they have evolved into reserved, matured individuals concerned with projecting a certain image on Facebook. Their Facebooks as a whole (if they didn't go back to delete past content, which was only reported by Interviewee 6) show this journey of who they once were, how they have now changed and who they are becoming. Their recent posts could be interpreted as providing a representation of who they are now whereas their past posts reflect who they once were; therefore, highlighting that identities are not stable but ever changing.

Recreating offline identity online

The interviewees reported that their online selves are the same as their offline selves. This finding share similarities with the previous studies (Herring and Kapidzic,2015; Bullingham and Vasconcelos,2013) that users tend to present online identities that are similar to their offline identities. It is clear that Facebook is not viewed as a distinct online space in which users engage in imaginative role plays or adopt new personas during their self presentations. The performances, interactions, connections and context of Facebook are tightly intertwined with other aspects of interviewees' lives which suggest that their online performances are closely connected to their offline selves.

My Facebook doesn't show so much information, I also don't talk a lot about myself in real life […] I may look anti social because I don't post much on Facebook, but of course I am anti social a bit so maybe that's the right impression (Interviewee 3, 23yrs, student, Swedish/Canadian)

It's similar, obviously my offline self is an advanced version of my Facebook self, it's more compact…I try to highlight certain things on Facebook, you don't have time to unpack yourself or who you are on Facebook, plus it's also a little bit of if you want to know me, if you wanna get to know me then reach out, Facebook is like a trailer of who I am, if you enjoy it just reach out (Interviewee 7, 30yrs, Worker, Swedish)

I put a bit of everything, I love poetry so I have always put that out on facebook, I love music, u know, it's bit and pieces of my identity shared on Facebook, it wouldn't really be the whole picture (Interviewee 6,29yrs,Worker, South African)

The analysis show that the interviewees depicted a tailored version of themselves in keeping up with the social conventions of being respectful and not causing offense. None generated self presentations that were disconnected from their everyday lived experiences. The interviewees didn't report any identity experimentation; however, they did report that they are more positive on Facebook and they try to avoid negativity. This is evidence of what Reinecke and Trepte (2014) call the positivity bias; which means that the positive aspects of their identities (for example happy, always smiling, kind, caring for others:human rights etc) are highlighted while their negative aspects are backgrounded. It appears that the interviewees are constantly involved in the 'picture perfect effect.' The analysis indicate that the interviewees engage in the carefully selected and filtered versions of their daily realities and are more cautious about the versions of their identities that they want to portray. This is not to say that the interviewees engage in fake self presentations, but they select and filter with special care what they want to show and what they want to background; this is what Goffman (1959) calls impression management. Their self presentations is based on rather carefully filtered versions of themselves over deeper and more complex representations.

Between myself and the online self, I would say online I do share few positives experiences but certain negative things that happens I haven't shared those on Facebook (Interviewee 5, 22yrs, Student, Scottish)

I think with my Facebook life I look happy, I come across as I don't have problems, like I'm living this perfect life, I'm this perfect mother and perfect wife but of which I have my days…It's still the same people, it's just that I don't share everything, they only see one side of who I am. But that I am sharing is still who I am offline (Interviewee 8, 29yrs, Housewife,South African)

I want people to think of me as a fun, happy person. It's kind of personal branding, I don't want to be negative and miserable (Interviewee 1, 26yrs, student, Vietnamese)

Previous studies (Reinecke and Trepte 2014, Warkentin et al 2010) report that the presence of one's offline friends in their online context is a warrant of genuine self presentation, usually providing the link between the online and offline context. Warkentin et al (2010) report that presenting a different online self from the offline self in the presence of the warrants is dangerous, easily detectable and can be discredited by the warrants. It appears that the discrepancy between the online and offline self is problematic for the interviewees and it appears to be the interviewees' conceptualisation of fake self presentations. The findings indicate that the interviewees have a high degree of familiarity with their Facebook friends, they reported that they have had a face-to-face offline interactions with them at some point.

This list of warrants usually consists of friends from different context such as family, close friends, acquaintances, classmates, colleagues, ex colleagues, bosses and even childhood friends. These examples are evidence of 'merged audience' on Facebook. The presence of merged audience on Facebook can be interpreted as also signaling identity multiplicity of the interviewees as it shows that they belong to different, multiple social groups. Merged audience (McGregor 2013, Boyd 2008) pose a considerable challenge when it comes to self presentation and users' privacy (which will be discussed in the privacy subsection). Self performances in the collapsed context where audiences are merged into a single audience are constrained and tend to conform to established social norms (Brennan & Pettit, 2004; Douglas & McGarty, 2001). Even though familiarity with one's Facebook friends is a good warrant for genuine self presentation; merging them causes identity suppression and conforming to norms as the interviewees said themselves that they rather not post offending, controversial or negative content in the presence of their coworkers, bosses and

family members. This also connects to the above discussion on positivity bias and ties in to the notion of wearing a mask (Goffman, 1959) as the person's other versions often get suppressed and become hidden behind the mask.

When I meet someone at school, at the workplace and I make friends with them on Facebook. Sometimes friends of friends like we know each other, we go to the same university but not the same class. Sometimes my sister, my family. (interviewee 2, 26yrs, student, Vietnamese)

Usually my family, and people I know maybe from my childhood that I haven't talked to anything for like 20 years or something, and colleagues, old colleagues also (Interviewee 4, 27yrs, student, Swedish)

Mediated Authenticity

The analysis indicate different authenticity illusions that were employed by interviewees to enhance their dramaturgy; to mediate the self presentation that appears real and genuine. The interviewees' acceptance of the similarities between their online and offline selves above lend credence to the perception that the mediated is real and according to Enli (2015), it is a good illusion of authenticity. She explains that the lack of physical evidence online is often compensated for its absence by references to IRL (in real life) artefacts such as profile pictures, support from offline networks (such as liking, commenting, tags and mentions) and trustworthy demographic information (such as the interviewees' real names, ages, current cities, home towns, etc that they provided on their Facebook homepages.) Linking the interviewees' Facebook profiles to the offline world and the real person behind the profile was achieved through these authenticity illusions. Some of the interviewees reported that they would never accept a friend request from someone without a profile picture, as that comes across as the profile being fake.

I revealed that I am from Oskarshamn, I live in Malmö, I am single, before I revealed where I was working, I revealed that I am a student also in Malmö and what program I am doing. I think my age is on also, it says I was born 1992 (Interviewee 4,27yrs, student, Swedish)

I use my real name and real profile picture on my Facebook , I have revealed where I study, where I'm from (Interviewee 1, 26yrs, student, Vietnamese)

I usually accept people that I know, mainly, and if I don't know you, I usually like to try to go in your profile first before I accept you and check if you have posted a lot, then I can see how you are a little bit. But I try not to add many unknown people as possible (Interviewee 6, 29yrs,Worker,South African)

If I accept you I always go to your profile and find out what type of things you post, I don't accept people who post a lot about what's going on with the government […] I check when they started their Facebook, if they have been on facebook for too long and have a lot of posts I just check their friends. I don't accept if their Facebook is still new, (Interviewee 8, 29yrs, Housewife, South African)

The interviewees' Facebook profiles seem to provide the imperfections and ordinariness that Enli (2015) regard as authenticity illusions, they share with each other their ordinary and imperfect lived in experiences. The interviewees are just ordinary people living in their ordinary everyday life settings which is relatable as opposed to glamorous celebrity like lifestyles. For example when two users discussed what they thought was fake on Facebook they both alluded to other users faking glamour through what they posted online, Interviewee 1 made an example of the girl she knew from the offline context who would borrow and pose with expensive bags and pretended they were hers, and interviewee 8 also made a similar example by mentioning that a person would pose in front of/with expensive things and not acknowledge that they don't own those things. These examples show that users want ordinariness that they can relate to. Their posts especially pictures are amateurish, plain and flawed which are all considered authentic because it challenges the overtly edited and polished content that can be achieved through expert photography. I discussed these two together and not separate them as they appear to be closely related, in social media what's imperfect/flawed is usually referred to as ordinary and amateurish

I receive a lot of compliments on how I am raising my kids. My Facebook friends compliment my posts and how I'm living my life, it doesn't look fake, it just looks random, it's not about perfection […] so I have followers who really enjoy seeing my posts (Interviewee 8, 29yrs, Housewife,South African)

I prefer facebook stories over posting on my wall because I don't have to overthink it, I just post it, I don't have to edit it, it does not have to be perfect and it only lasts 24 hours and get deleted so even if it's bad quality it disappears but the status update or picture get stuck on my wall. (Interviewee 1, 26yrs, student, Vietnamese)

Some people borrow expensive handbags and pretend like it's theirs on Facebook, they pose with the bag and pretend like it's theirs, I think that's very fake (Interviewee 1, 26yrs, student, Vietnamese)

The last authenticity illusion employed by some of the interviewees was through the genre conventions of Facebook, for example, photo editing and repetitive posting. Enli (2015) explains that mediated authenticity is achieved through authenticity illusions which range from minor adjustments such as editing or photoshopping; some of the interviewees agreed that they occasionally edited their pictures before they put them up on Facebook. This is typically expected on social media nowadays and the audiences know this authenticity illusion specific for Facebook and accept it in what Enli (2015) calls the 'authenticity contract.' The audiences are aware that the person might look slightly different in person, but of course overediting where the person looks completely different might result in an 'authenticity scandal' (Enli, 2015.)

I edit my pictures, I usually try to edit it as lightly as possible so that it doesn't really change a lot because I don't want people to see me in person and be like ooh my gosh your pictures were too edited (Interviewee 6, 29yrs, Worker, South African)

I don't use the filters on Facebook, I like Instagram filters, sometimes I go into Instagram and change a filter and save it and if I like it then I post it on Facebook (Interviewee 4, 27yrs, Student, Swedish)

Sometimes when you take a photo it doesn't have a perfect light or its blurry so usually I go to photo editing program like photoshop and make the photo lighter and delete some unnecessary stuff (interviewee 2, 26yrs, Student, Vietnamese)

Based on the above examples, it becomes clear that the interviewees do not regard photo editing as fake, as long as it doesn't change one's looks completely. This is where the authenticity contract becomes visible and negotiated on Facebook, for example you can edit your photos but not too much that it becomes deceptive or fake.

Repetitiveness of posting was also discussed as important, for example the profiles with less posting challenged the norm of Facebook and the authenticity contract, and created an authenticity puzzle of whether the profile was fake or real. Some of the interviewees admitted that they would never accept friend requests from such profiles.

There was a similar puzzle to those profiles with no profile pictures (as the norm is to have an identifiable profile picture on Facebook) and new profiles were also seen as having a higher probability of being fake (Interviewees 8.)

It becomes clear that the interviewees conceptualize being fake as a self presentation that is disembodied from one's offline reality (own things on Facebook that you don't own IRL and being someone on Facebook that you are not IRL.) This confirms the findings of the previous studies (Bullingham and Vasconcelos 2013, Marwick 2005, Reinecke and Trepte 2014) that the offline and online are closely intertwined, as authenticity online is measured in terms of embodiment to the offline. The findings of the present study indicate that the interviewees conceptualise inauthenticity in two ways; having a real profile but lying about who you are (when your Facebook reality is disembodied from your offline reality); and the second type is fake profiles that spams, tag other users in adverts or inappropriate content, or even bots (two interviewees reported to be victims of spam and bots profiles.)

Privacy

Privacy Concerns

Previous studies (McGregor 2013, Debatin and Lovejoy 2009, Kessler, 2007; Maher, 2007; Stehr, 2006) claim that self presentation and impression management are challenged and constrained by various privacy concerns that users have about their online privacy. Similar to Krasnova et al (2009), two dimensions of privacy concerns emerged from the interviewees' data: social and organizational/institutional concerns.

Social concern

Social concerns are privacy concerns stemming from the negativity from other users. The interviewees reported different social concerns such as identity theft, rumors, gossips (Debatin and Lovejoy 2009), bullying,tagging users in inappropriate content such as pornography and also a concern of family members (especially parents) seeing something that might offend them.

One of my ex boyfriend' sister was bashing me on her Facebook […] I left him so she was angry with me because he needed me, then I was a bad person obviously and she tried to make me look bad (Interviewee 4, 27yrs, Student, Swedish)

there was an incident three years ago where some girl was using all my pictures and created her own profile, it was very very weird because when I went in to her profile I was just like wow, this is a whole another life. So after that incident I closed off my Facebook and all of my social media because it felt really weird that someone else was using my content as their own, I actually felt violated in a way (Interviewee 6, 29yrs, Worker, South African)

some certain people judge what you say, so it's not nice when you share about yourself and people gossip about that, like how bad you are, how rude you are, they just make something up (interviewee 2, 26yrs,Student, Vietnamese)

My profile was hacked and porn videos posted on my wall it brought questions from my family and friends as we are Christians. That was just the worst thing ever (interviewee 9, 25yrs, Housewife, Kenyan)

Taken altogether, the social privacy concerns that the users have are the uncontrollable actions from both familiar and unfamiliar people, however the most reported concern was mainly from unfamiliar individuals. This finding suggests that users do have a better understanding of how their friends, family, and other people who are part of their Facebook network may threaten their privacy. This category also echoes the same claims by Trottier (2012, p. 319) when he discussed interpersonal surveillance on social media. The interviewees are aware of 'interpersonal social media surveillance' which makes them visible to others, especially their parents (Trottier 2012, Cohen 2008, Bryant and Marmo 2009). Just as Trottier (2012) discussed, this require a care of the virtual self; where the users are concerned and watch over what others upload about them or on their profiles as this may reflect poorly on them. For example, being tagged on pornography or having it being posted on one's hacked account can give a wrong impression about the user. The users feel strongly about what information is included on their profiles, and they carefully and actively manage this.

Organizational threat

Another privacy concern that the users reported related to organizational/institutional threats from companies (eg employers and job seekers). There was an awareness that

those working needed to be more conscious and cautious of the possibility that their employers (Cohen 2008) and coworkers may check what they share on Facebook, solidifying their need to provide a positive presentation to avoid putting doubt on their professional identities. Interviewees 6 and 7 explained that even though sometimes they want to vent about their coworkers on Facebook, they refrain from doing it because their coworkers/bosses might see it which might consequently affect them at work. Interviewee 1, who is a university student seemed very aware that her status/role as a student will end and she needed to become aware of her online presentations and how they might be interpreted by prospective employers; this echoes similar findings by Peluchette and Karl (2008.)

> I have had bad experiences when someone tagged me on things using inappropriate words or phrases that we use when we are together, I have my bosses there and they would not understand the ways that we speak to each other or the type of language we use, or the type of jokes we tell each other. (Interviewee 7, 30yrs, Worker, Swedish)

> I don't like to post so much personal stuff, especially on sensitive controversial topics. I don't like being negative on facebook […] my boss, or maybe future employers might look at my Facebook and judge me on what I write there (Interviewee 1, 26yrs, Student,Vietnamese).

In addition, majority of the participants expressed concerns of how their privacy might be handled by Facebook as mainly negative using words such as scary, sketchy and very bad. The respondents expressed concern about Facebook selling their personal data to third parties, information leaks, tracking their activities and targeted advertising. These findings reveal that users have developed a bad impression and mistrust over Facebook, stemming from the ring of its reported privacy scandals. The main channels participants have of knowing how their information is handled by Facebook is through the news; and this has caused the users of the platform to not fully trust the motives and judgement of those that operate the platform. On March 17, 2018, news broke out about the Cambridge Analytica/Facebook scandal, which was referred to as a data breach because the users were not notified that their data might be shared with a third party. Therefore, adding up with other previously reported scandals against Facebook, this has caused increased concerns among users where they now don’t trust what Facebook does with their data.

I use Facebook less […] I feel like Facebook has a lot of scandal about leaking like personal information to other institutions like google or some type of advertising, I feel like that's violating my own privacy so mostly I use Facebook to keep in contact with my friends and gather new information (interviewee 2, 26yrs, Student, Vietnamese)

They do a lot of advertising, and I feel like since the whole scandal of them selling your information I don't think it's a space that it used to be anymore because before I shared freely and openly but lately I feel very cautious about sharing my information and everything else because I still at the back of my mind wonder if they gonna sell it to a corporation, and I noticed that now when you search for certain things on google when you go back to Facebook those certain things appear and they are advertised back to you, and I'm just like, are they keeping tabs on me now, it's a bit scary on it's own (Interviewee 6, 29yrs, Worker, South African)

The findings of organizational concerns can be interpreted using organizational surveillance (Fuchs 2011, Cohen 2008) and neoliberal capitalism (Cohen 2008, McGregor 2013). Facebook is a capitalist company that generates revenue predominantly from advertising; their monetization is achieved through targeted personalized advertising, which means that it tailors advertisements to the consumption interests of the users. According to Fuchs (2011), Facebook uses mass surveillance on its users' data and use it for economic purposes, for example selling it to advertisers. But this mass surveillance is personalized and individualized at the same time because the detailed analysis of the interests and browsing behavior of each user and the comparison to the online behavior and interests of other users allows to sort the users into consumer interest groups and to provide each individual user with advertisements that, based on algorithmic selection and comparison mechanisms, are believed to reflect the user's consumption interests (Fuchs, 2011, p. 149). For this form of Internet surveillance to work, user generated content is needed, which is the specific characteristics of web 2.0. These findings reflect the commodification and exploitation of users' free labour by Facebook.

Privacy Management

The discussion above shows that the interviewees are aware of and are concerned about multiple privacy risks they face on the Facebook platform. As a result, they try

to mitigate these risks by relying on various privacy management strategies. The next subsection will critically discuss the strategies employed and their implications for individual self-disclosure and self presentation.

Privacy Management Strategies

Overall, it was not just that the interviewees use social media in their everyday routines, but they also consumed a lot of time thinking about what they would post, editing what they posted, and deleting/untagging what others posted about them if it did not match a particular identity that they were attempting to communicate. To manage their privacy and the challenges of merged audiences, the analysis reveals that interviewees conceptualize privacy as an ability to control their Facebook space and their data (the information that they share or are shared about them and how they are perceived.) To achieve privacy, the interviewees use Facebook's technical affordances and mental strategies in an attempt to have control over what information is disclosed about them and what information is consumed by whom.

The study by Stutzman and Kramer-Duffield (2010) reported that there are two types of strategies that the SNS users often employ to manage privacy online and that is technical and mental strategies. The analysis of the thesis has been able to identify both these privacy management strategies as employed by the interviewees. The analysis shows that these strategies are used as a system, and not in isolation; for example the interviewees still regulate themselves on Facebook at the same time they use Facebook's privacy controls to determine who have access to their content.

Technical Strategies

Friend requests and privacy status

The technical strategy that the interviewees employed for the privacy of their Facebook profiles was to limit the audience who have access to their personal information by being restrictive of who they accepted as friends (Debatin et al. 2009; Madden et al. 2013; Young and Quan-Haase 2013). As already discussed under Mediated Authenticity sub section, the interviewees reported that they normally accept people they have met IRL and refrain from accepting strangers. Based on my

interpretation, this could be to avoid negativity, trolling, spamming and even bullying as the interview data implies that these types of social threats normally come from unknown people:

When you have so many people as your Facebook friends you do wanna also be true to yourself and display who you are to the people that know you, which could be taken out of context by people that don't know you well (Interviewee 7, 30yrs, Worker, Swedish)

I never get angry feedback but I also don't post that much. And also my Facebook is so personal there are only people I know who knows me so there are no strangers who can be mean (Interviewee 3, 23yrs, Student, Swedish/Canadian)

I have never really get any negativity on my facebook, thats why its important to choose who you accept as your friend and consider the content to share on Facebook (Interviewee 1, 26yrs, Student, Vietnamese)

The interviewees reported utilization of profile's privacy setting, this setting limits access to the interviewees' profile to friends only or friends of friends, these are the two commonly used (Stutzman and Kramer-Duffield 2010; Young and Quan-Haase 2009). Ellison, Steinfield & Lampe (2007) discovered that the category 'friend' is a broad and ambiguous term in the online context and may include anyone from an intimate friend to a casual acquaintance.

Filtering Content

As already discussed that there was a case of context collapse/merged audience in relation to the network that the interviewees interact with on Facebook; this has posed challenges for them as they attempt to manage different social worlds simultaneously, particularly when the norms and values of these worlds differ. in addition the collapsed context has created a sense of privacy loss for the interviewees as some audiences might see the content not intended for them. In an effort to reclaim a sense of control over this, few interviewees reported that they use Facebook's setting to segment their audiences. For example manually filtering content based on who they think is appropriate to view certain posts or not. The interviewees' experiences highlight how challenging it can be to meaningfully control information flow in the era of merged audiences where content is typically accessible,

Certain posts might just go out to your friends and depending on how many bosses you have you can exclude your bosses, the same things with family. There are certain things that I posted that I don't want my mom to have to call me and ask me to explain what it means so yeah I've limited definitely bosses, coworkers and family from viewing certain things I posted (Interviewee 7, 30yrs, Worker, Swedish)

I always think of my family before I post, if I think my post is gonna offend one specific person I would block them from seeing the post and just post it (Interviewee 8, 29yrs, Housewife, South African)

The above quotes reflect that Goffman's (1959) notion of audience segregation is applicable on Facebook. Through filtering content on Facebook, the users try to engage in front region control so that their audiences from other context might not chance upon the performance that is not intended for them. For example, Interviewee 7 mentioned that he doesn't want his boss to see how he behaves and jokes with his friends on Facebook.

Tagging Reviews and Deletion

While users can control what they post on their profiles by using the privacy setting discussed above, they have far less control over what others post about them or how these practices shape how they are seen. Therefore, it appears to be crucial for users to have the tag review system on where they can still somehow control what kind of information is disclosed about them by choosing what tags to accept or deny on their timelines. The interviewees reported that they are most likely to deny tags if,

someone post a selfie and then they tag me, I don't understand why are they tagging me, why am I supposed to be involved in their faces, should I comment or what, I'm not sure what they want from me. If I look funny I don't accept, most people tend to choose pictures that they look nice on (Interviewee 8, 29yrs, Housewife, South African)

I have been tagged in a pornographic video and I feel like it was embarrassing because it wasn't even me in that video […] I was pretty upset about that because I didn't even know how long it had been on my profile before I noticed it and before I could untag it, my wall is closed off now, not everyone can post on my wall so now I feel more chilled about being tagged in certain things. (Interviewee 6, 29yrs, Worker, South African)

Some friends maybe they take a picture of me and put it on Facebook and I don't like it, maybe I feel like I am so ugly then I don't accept the tag (Interviewee 4, 27yrs, Student, Swedish)

It has been highlighted by Strano and Wattai (2012) that untagging doesn't offer full privacy protection as the tag would still be available somewhere on Facebook; therefore, the users expressed that sometimes they would ask their friends to delete/remove the tag completely and sometimes report the post to Facebook if the friends doesn't comply.

I obviously ask can you at least untag me or can you at least, can you untag me and then perhaps if they continue and not do that then perhaps report the image or report the video or whatever it is and say you know it's unwanted content of me (Interviewee 5, 22yrs, student, Scottish)

I would probably just have gone on to your DM and just told you can you please untag me because I didn't like this certain picture and stuff like that (Interviewee 6, 29yrs, Worker, South African)

The discussion on technical strategies show that in order to achieve privacy, the interviewees must use Facebook's technical affordances in an attempt to have control over what information is disclosed about them, what information is consumed by whom and who have access to their information. As the discussion shows, Facebook has built in functions such as tag reviews, manually filtering content, manually accepting or deleting friend requests and privacy for the whole Facebook profile. Just like scaling the general sociality that the users want from different platforms (eg snapchat for expressive video messages, Facebook for relationship maintenance and twitter for staying informed/world updates), the discussion about technical strategies also reflect Miller's (2016) concept of scalable sociality. The findings indicate how interviewees scaled their profiles downward, for example to more private accounts; they have greater choices over the degree of privacy or size of group they wish to communicate or interact with (Miller et al 2016). There were only two interviewees who had public profiles, they left their content and personal information open for the entire world to see. What's interesting is that they have also expressed privacy concerns for example one had been hacked before and she also expressed concern

about bullies (Interviewee 9). Even though they don't utilize the privacy setting for their overall profile, they do utilize other strategies such as tag reviews and filtering content.

Mental Strategy

For situations where segregating audience is not performed, all the interviewees then have to produce a performance that make sense to these multiple audiences, through engaging in self regulation strategy, which was the most common used mental strategy than self censorship. As Facebook is primarily used for relationships/friendships management, it is unsurprising that the majority of the participants shared a concern of not wanting to cause offence or be disrespectful with their posts. Having coworkers, bosses and elders (parents and relatives) as one's Facebook Friends play a huge impact on the types of posts the interviewees make. They reported that they don't want to offend or have to explain certain posts; so the best solution was to refrain from making controversial/sensitive posts at all, which is a good example of self regulation. Self censorship was also used where users would go back to delete past posts, but it wasn't used to the highest extent as self regulation, only one user reported it.

I mostly have family on my Facebook… I don't feel like I can just post freely or whatever I wanna post, I try to mind what I post because a lot of my aunts are on my Facebook, I don't want them reaching out to me and being like that post that was just crazy (Interviewee 6, 29yrs, Worker, South African)

I have a lot of my bosses on Facebook now, I can't really put up raw truth of certain facts because a lot of stuff you post on Facebook is without context and people like to take what you say out of context […] I try to be cautious so it's not disrespectful (Interviewee 7, 30yrs, Worker, Swedish)

If I have something that I really wanna post and know it will offend my family, then I would rather not post it (Interviewee 8, 29yrs, Housewife, South African)

There is a lot of stuff that I went back and took away and I deleted it because I felt like that was over sharing, there was a lot of moments where I feel like I was really upset so instead of talking to other people around me at the time, I said it on Facebook, it was like my personal therapist in a way(Interviewee 6, 29yrs, Worker, Swedish)

Unlike technical strategies which are used to protect the interviewees mostly against social concern and employer/bosses, mental strategies seem to protect the interviewees against all concerns reported (including Facebook, advertisers etc). The way in which the interviewees can protect their personal information online is by not disclosing too much information (Debatin et al. 2009; Madden et al. 2013; Young and Quan-Haase 2009). The interviewees carefully consider the appropriateness of information they disclose online, instead of sharing without restraint. The thesis confirm previous research that many SNS users are less likely to disclose particular information if they anticipate that it might be problematic (Lampinen, Tamminen, and Oulasvirta 2009; Young and Quan-Haase 2009). Similarly to Yang (2016, p. 405), the findings of this subsection confirm that users put thought into what they post, for example postings that involve more elaborated or intimate details about them go through a process of self reflection and results in self restraint/regulation. Suggesting that their self presentations result from careful assessment of contextual norms (Yang, 2016).

A central norm related to self-regulation includes avoiding embarrassing/inappropriate contents and a need not to offend others, thus conforming to social conventions. Although there is a consensus that users posted embarrassing or inappropriate things online, this behavior was always contextualized as something that 'other' people did and not something that the interviewees would do themselves. In this regard, interviewees also expressed not only regulating their own posts, but also being critical to how other people were presenting their identities online as well which came through what they thought were inappropriate content to share on Facebook as already discussed. Because the interviewees cannot really control other users' posts on Facebook, they expressed that the better way to dealing with this would be to unfriend those Facebook friends and sometimes even block them in extreme cases.

let's say maybe you are posting stuff that I don't like or you are saying stuff that I don't like then usually I don't have a problem unfriending you (Interviewee 6, 29yrs, Worker, South African)

I had people that I am friends with but I don't like what they post or I have never seen them comment or like my posts then I unfriend them (Interviewee 8, 29yrs, Housewife, South African)

The overall findings show that users are fully aware and literate about privacy tools afforded by Facebook. The findings also indicate that there is a significant effect of privacy towards self presentation because as interviewees reported, they tend to reduce the amount of information disclosed as a response to their concerns regarding institutional concerns and additionally, they become more conscious and restrictive about the information they reveal as a result of Social Threats. Therefore, due to privacy concerns, the content shared by users is abundant in impression management. The findings indicate that Privacy concerns are changing the ways individuals disclose information about themselves, for example a drop in posting/amount reduction and selective disclosure and control of the information to be released are strategies to counterbalance privacy concerns. Basically, front stage presentation is a way to counterbalance the privacy concerns that users have about Facebook.

Chapter 5

Conclusion

Drawing on Goffman's theory of dramaturgy, this thesis aimed to examine ways in which Facebook users engaged in self presentation and impression management, and how these might be affected by issues of privacy and authenticity. Through the findings from the interviews, this thesis has indicated the habitual ways in which Facebook users utilize their profiles. The results indicate that users scale their sociality on Facebook according to their different individual needs. These findings have indicated that Facebook platform is not just a meaningless online space for users where they can just share their everyday lives but its a space endowed with social values. Through sharing of original content (such as landscape photos, nature, travelling pictures), which wasn't done to the highest extent as reposting others' contents (articles, memes etc) the participants not only mediate their everyday lives but they also communicate different aspects of their multiple identities in the presence

of a merged audience consisting of networks from their offline context such as family, friends, bosses/colleagues, classmates and acquaintances.

The interviewees employed different authenticity illusions to enhance their self presentations as genuine and credible. Mediated authenticity was mostly achieved through references to IRL artifacts; such as publishing trustful demographic information (age, place of residence, hometown,birthday etc); through uploading real profile pictures that linked the profile to the real person, and also the support (tags, likes, comments etc) from their offline network lent credence to their self presentations. As is shown by the results of this thesis, the offline life is often taken as the 'reality', which online life must aim to approximate, and 'authenticity' is conceptualised by the users to mean 'same to offline self/life' and presenting the self that is disembodied from one's offline reality is regarded as being fake. Having an offline network as one's Facebook friends is a warrant for authenticity as the previous studies have indicated, and as the users have attested themselves, there is a high expectation to effortlessly present an online self that mirrors the offline self. However, the presentation was always tweaked to present a carefully filtered version of the offline self. This reflect Goffman's concept that when in front stage, individuals deliberately chose to present a given identity, where certain qualities are suppressed whereas other qualities are emphasized, thus editing the self. The participants of the thesis reported that they always presented positive aspects of their identities online as opposed to the negative ones, thus engaging in positivity bias. The ability to being selective about what was revealed online enabled idealized narrative. This lacked a realistic balance of complex presentations between the good and the bad, and constituted a carefully produced performance that only had a positive storyline, fitting people into various pre-set roles that suppressed the other aspects of their identities.

Overall, it appears that one is expected to edit themselves on Facebook, People on the internet expect you to edit yourself by keeping the private away from the public. One interviewee made an interesting remark that Facebook is like trailers of our lives, only showing the perfect highlights. Being conscious of what one posted on Facebook is similar to how people are also concerned of their acts and speech in FtF

communications. Just like in FTF interactions we are expected to regulate and edit our behaviours and not do anything that might be culturally inappropriate or frowned upon. Both interactions have one primary goal that is to influence the impression by others.

Even though merged warrants encourage genuine self presentations, there seems to be a contradictory pull where this arrangement is seen to encourage the self presentations that contradict the idea of being genuine, as the results of the thesis has shown that the presence of bosses and parents on one's friend's list is a constraint to self presentation as some versions of the selves get suppressed and this results in impression management which threaten authenticity. As Davis and Jurgenson (2014) explains, 'context can be understood in terms of role identities and associated networks. Individuals relate to each other via different social roles and present themselves as a function of the context—constructing a situation-specific dimension of their identity.' Because each context entails different norms and expectations, presenting oneself appropriately for one context may not work for other context that is merged in Facebook, the interviewees seem to be aware and therefore tend to conform naturally to the norms of Facebook, one example being the positivity bias, they dare not express negativity or controversy especially to a large part of their audience.

The study's findings has been able to identify two conceptualizations of privacy concerns relating to Facebook use, such as social and organizational/institutional concerns. Social concerns include negativity from other users such as identity theft, gossips, bullying, parental surveillance and tagging one in inappropriate contents such as pornography. The second privacy dimension include organizational threats such as employer/job seeker surveillance and the major concern was in relation to Facebook's surveillance. The interviewees seem to be concerned more about the institutional/organizational concerns than about social privacy concerns. It appears that the users believe in some agency to dealing with social privacy concerns, and Facebook itself provide them with technical affordances to achieve that level of control, this is perhaps why they expressed less concern over the privacy threats from other users, because they believe that they can somehow control it. They worry more

about the unintended use of personal data by Facebook as that's something that they cannot control, well, at least not technically.

The findings indicated different strategies that interviewees employed to overcome these concerns they expressed; such as technical strategies of setting their Facebook profiles to friends only or friends of friends, only accepting friend requests from people they knew offline, enabling tag review tool, and manually filtering content to segregate their merged audience. In addition, mental strategy was used in which the users engaged in self regulation. This thesis challenged the privacy paradox, as the results show there was consistency between reported concerns and users engaging in privacy management to overcome the reported concerns. The thesis challenges the privacy paradox and advance the opinion that young users are knowledgeable about facebook's technical privacy tools and take responsibility to ensure their online privacy.

The thesis has been able to identify that there is a correlation between privacy issues on Facebook and self presentation, the participants engage in impression management on the front stage as a way to counterbalance privacy concerns, they are mindful of what they share as a way not to offend parents/employers and reduce the amount of personal content they post on Facebook to protect themselves from organizational threats. The users reported that they used to share a lot of personal content on Facebook, but now they are very cautious. Each individual is continually engaged in a personal adjustment process in which they balance the desire for their privacy with the desire for sharing everyday lives and identity presentations.

These dynamics may have drastic negative consequences for the sustainability of Facebook and ruin it's public value as Fuchs (2011) have articulated. If users continue to feel like they are unable to construct their identities, in the desired way, they may in the end leave the network, as they have already reported that they have reduced their participation level. Users are now less likely to share personal information on Facebook, instead they are opting to reposting contents such as funny videos, news or memes. They have now reduced the value of Facebook sharing activity. Rising

privacy concerns have begun to compel users to reconsider their self presentations on Facebook. Privacy concerns are impacting negatively on the way users engage in self presentation by undermining their ability to control their social context, conflicting audiences in their friends lists limit/constrain their self-expressions. Users are confronting privacy concerns and collapsed contexts on Facebook by not sharing personal content. Of course this impact negatively on Facebook as it's business model rely on user generated content.

The findings from this thesis indicated different aspects of Goffman framework in understanding the process of self presentation and construction of online identities and its constraints. The various cases explored here demonstrate that Goffman's original framework is, not only still applicable, but also of great usefulness as an explanatory framework for understanding identity through interaction and presentation of self in the online context. Equally, the online environment, with its challenges for the interaction order and enhanced potential for editing the self, can offer opportunities to contribute to further developing Goffman's framework, namely, by suggesting that there are different degrees in editing the self, and by exploring the grey areas between what's real and fake, as the thesis shows, it's quite a grey area, and often contradicting, for example some of the interviewees mentioned that they will never accept a friend request from a profile with no or less posting, and yet reported that they post less on their facebook profiles.

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Appendices

Appendix 1
Consent form

Consent Form

Self presentation and impression management on Facebook.

Masters Thesis in Media and Communication Studies,

Lund University

Researcher: Bonolo Mothoagae

This research seeks to explore the presence of media as a resource of an everyday life. I will ask questions regarding Facebook and about the users' Facebook practices and norms. The interview will last between 30-45 minutes and the data will only be used within the confinement of my masters thesis at Lund university.

I would like to record the interview and use the dialogue to present my findings and I will only do these with your written consent. Please feel free to say as much or as little as you want. You can decide not to answer any question, or to stop the interview any time you want. I ensure that the interview will be treated confidentially and your identity and your Facebook profile will remain anonymous.

If you agree to take part in this study, please sign your name below:

Age _____

Nationality _____

Signature & Date _____

Appendix 2

Interview guide

INTERVIEW GUIDE

FACEBOOK USE AND PROFILES

- What do you typically use Facebook for
- How often are you on Facebook? How often do you post? Has this remained the same over the years or has it changed? Why do you think it has changed?
- What do you get from posting on facebook? The importance of facebook in your life?
- Why did you start a Facebook profile
- What other social media platforms do you use? What do you use them for? And what do you like about them?
- What is your overall perspective on Facebook/what's your impression of facebook as a corporatiom: what do you like about it and what do you dislike about it

CONTENT

- What content do you share (what kind of status update, photos, videos etc
- When you post about yourself, Can you please describe for me in details what do you post about? What are you comfortable posting and what are you uncomfortable posting about yourself?
- Can you please describe for me what type of contents do you consider appropriate/inappropriate to post on Facebook?
- Please take me through your posting process, would you describe it as spontaneous, thought through or both??? Editing process, Staged photography etc
- What do you think is the overall impression of your Facebook profile…..Like what certain image do you think your Facebook conveys, for example when somebody goes through your profile what impressions do you think they getting from it, what do you feel it says about you
- -Can you tell me about the different roles that you play on Facebook (Do you share only certain parts/versions of your identity or your whole identity)
- Are you concerned with how people perceive you based on your Facebook postings? Why or why not?

AUDIENCE

- Tell me about your Facebook friends? Who are they? eg family, close friends, coworkers, strangers etc?.....How do u deal with that in terms of what content to share? like some content might be appropriate for a certain group and inappropriate for the other, so how do u control that,like who sees what and who shouldn't see what?
- What kinds of friends do you accept when you get a friend request (people you know, strangers etc) Who do you not want on your Facebook?
- What type of responses have you received on your Facebook posts, tell me about some memorable feedbacks, positive or negative? Did they affected how you posted on the future?

PRIVACY

- What's the privacy status of your Facebook profile: public or private? Why?
- What privacy concerns do you have with facebook? Have you ever experienced anything negative if so tell me about it and how did you react, did you change your privacy setting, unfriended, blocked etc???? In what circumstances do you use unfriend or blocking tool?
- Please describe for me how do you deal with unwanted content of you shared by your Facebook friends (untag, deletion) What are u normally to untangling (unflattering pics, etc)
- What types of personal private information have you revealed on your profile bio (e.g. birthday, hometown, contact information, work information
- So everything you revealed is real? Like real age, real name or do you use nickname?

AUTHENTICITY

- How would you describe your facebook self in relation to your offline self?
- What do you consider real/fake on facebook
- What's the importance of being real or fake on facebook

Is there anything you would like to add?

Appendix 3

Interview 7 Transcript
Age:30
Nationality: Swedish
Occupation: Employee

What do you typically use Facebook for
I typically use Facebook to check up on what my friends are doing, what they are into and also kind of gauge the temperature, social temperature of what people are into, what they are saying if it's real or if it's not real it doesn't matter but it gives me a picture of what my close friends are doing and what the people I just know of are doing in general.

How often are you on Facebook?
I'm on Facebook at least once a day

How often do you post?
I have periods of time where I just merely watch, observe and then I go into a period of posting, I mostly repost I don't post a lot of original content.

Has this remained the same over the years or has it changed?
No, it has changed in the beginning I used a lot of the functions updating statuses, pictures and locations and really being into Facebook but now it's more of an observation and for maybe depending on what I'm doing I might post it but definitely not so much status updates

Why do you think it has changed?
I think because people really don't care, I honestly think if, two things, either that people don't care or care too much and they start asking questions that require u to now explain further why u post what u posted but most of the posts can be of just a moment.

So that's basically why, is there anything else
Uuum sometimes age eeeh, I do believe that we have experienced Facebook more or less since the beginning and for something that's been around for that long it's difficult to keep up and use it how it's suppose to and Facebook platform itself has changed over the time, it's gotten some might say worse, more intrusive, some might say it's better but those are the factors that have affected the way I use Facebook

What do you get from posting on facebook? The importance of facebook in your life?
The value of Facebook is to gauge what's happening and it's a way of knowing that u can communicate if need be with people without having, and just to knowing in general what people are doing without having to ask them, it's like an introverted way of being social

Why did you start a Facebook profile
I started the Facebook profile because I didn't wanna be left out of the action when more and more people started using it. Uuum and I was younger so it was really important to be up with whatever was trending at the time and Facebook seems to be one of those social platforms that had a buzz so basically fear of missing out

What other social media platforms do you use?
Currently I use Instagram, Facebook, Snapchat, I think those are the three, Twitter I occasionally use once again more of an observation I don't write, just to look at what other people are doing. What other exists, it's Instagram, Facebook, Twitter, Snapchat yah.

What do you use them for?
Uuum Snapchat communication, thats more of a messaging service. Instagram once again observation of what other people are doing but also I like to use it as a gallery because I enjoy pictures I enjoy media, so just to be able to put up pictures, have it more or less as a gallery, as a daily display of pictures, not necessarily artistic but just pictures in general u know

And what do you like about these in comparison to Facebook especially
Uuum Instagram because of the pictures, I see, I love pictures, if Facebook was more picture oriented I mean u can upload pictures but this is strictly pictures, no status update, the focus is just pictures, that's what I enjoy about it. And when Instagram first came out I actually predicted it being used for marketing uuum was kind of trying to decode a way of using it as a marketing tool, that's what I, actually social media for me also is a way of marketing, it's a brilliant way of marketing actually because it is tidying your social interactions and sneaking in ways of advertising not only products but people as well and yourself, u could be yourself as a product or a brand, u can definitely market that kind of way. Snapchat I enjoy because of its ability to send, if u don't enjoy writing u can send a quick video of what u have to say which is more expressive than just words. It's a way of letting people know what u are doing in real time. Uuum these platforms have kind of bled into each other so that u are able to use Snapchat functions in Facebook and Instagram to an extent but obviously

Snapchat is stronger being Snapchat, and Facebook is good at what it does, and Instagram also is good, although they all share the same kind of features

What is your overall perspective on Facebook/what's your impression of facebook as a corporation: what do you like about it and what do you dislike about it
As a company Facebook definitely is, to quote the famous word if it's free then you are the product, it's definitely, it's using its users to make money for sure without the users partaking in any of the so called dividend of this money that's been made, definitely if u are in to, if are concerned about your data and information being used that u can guarantee Facebook is doing. Personally I don't care that my data is being used, nothing to hide so to speak but I'm aware that once it's on the internet it's fair game because I don't control that information anymore. So that's kind of what my view is on Facebook it's not, I don't see it as that big bad wolf as most people do, I mean by default I know if I'm on the internet my information is out there

Interesting, actually I've interviewed many people and they didn't have that view that u have, everyone is just like against it so it's kind interesting to hear a different view
Yeah I mean if u put yourself out there it's naive to think that a corporation or company who doesn't charge u for their services has any sort of integrity to keep your information, first of all I don't think people read the terms and agreements on anything they click on on the internet because they are about twenty pages long and the font is about 9 so it's a lot of text and no one is reading that and somewhere in that text is that your information is somehow fair game so I'm accepting of that and I know that human nature, if u are on the internet, it's fair,it's like if u upload your picture years from now if you search your name that picture can come up under your name for some strange reasons

Is there anything u like about it in particular
I like the ability that u can have all your friends in the same place if they are all on Facebook, it's great to be able to somehow enjoy the same experiences as if u were there especially if u have friends whose from other places and other countries. Let's say a good friend of yourself or acquaintance of yours has a child now u somehow get to experience the joys with everyone else of this person displaying their new born baby and u like wow, so and so is a father or a mother congratulations. Otherwise if u have a large amount of friends not only closer but acquaintances that u have met over time, staying in contact with all these people will actually take a lot of your time as it will require a lot of messaging a lot of telephone calls, so just being able to see while u are scrolling oh so and so just gave birth well congratulations, u now know that

What uuum I think u have said a little bit of what content do you share but can we go a little bit into details

On Facebook, to be honest right now I just mostly repost memes. Funny memes that are relatable is usually what I repost from other people, I never upload original memes or anything it's a repost of what I think is funny or views, certain views that I have be it life views, political views. To be honest a lot of political stuff goes on Facebook because it feels like this is sort of how I would like to present my brand of who I am and these are my beliefs, through my posts u get to know what I believe and how I feel about society, I like to occasionally also post pictures but those are pictures that I share from Instagram. Uuum

Picture of you
Not only of me but whatever I find is appropriate for Facebook, couz u don't want to flood people's timelines with stuff they don't care about

Have u talked about the status update, what kind do u put up
Uuum I use to be very, I used to put up status update when I was younger when I started Facebook I used to put up status update of what I was doing and more of how I was feeling and then usually emotional status update used to be a large part of it if u feel a certain way at the moment u lash out and just write the status update uuum but with time u realize that there is consequences for our actions and these updates that u post in the heat of the moment might not reflect the way that u feel minutes, hours and day later on and it's now on the internet, it's now on your profile for people to see and decide to have an opinion upon which might not necessarily be the way u feel at that moment so I tend to refrain from doing that but we are all humans we sometimes slip up when u put something up. For example if something happens at work sometimes u do feel like writing something about people at work on your Facebook and u remember your boss is on Facebook and that could have a negative effect but sometimes u wanna put stuff on Facebook so that people can know, if it's towards u u know it's towards u, I mean, u know, it's like what do u call that, passive aggressive, then obviously as humans we try not to do such things but it happens. I haven't personally done it in a long time

How would you categorize the content that u share, is it negative/positive or both
It depends on what your outlook is, I feel like it's mostly positive things as it's memes and funny things but some of the political things can hit home for some people and feel like I have a narrow view of certain things. Sometimes yeah, I personally feel like it's all positive and people can learn from it if they are open to it

When you post about yourself, Can you please describe for me in details what do you post about? What are you comfortable posting and what are you uncomfortable posting about yourself?
Videos, I haven't posted a video in years I don't even remember how that is done, videos it's not something I usually post. Pictures I usually post

things that are from Instagram and usually it's, if it's not a picture of myself it's usually a nature picture because I find those beautiful and I mean why not share my environment, that's in the form of pictures and because of Instagram I don't feel like there is a need to now repost every single thing on Facebook, just certain highlights I feel are necessary. And I feel also like it's a performance piece where u have your largest audience you post to, if u have a more active audience on Facebook I tend to post certain things that I know will give feedback or response. Status wise like I said I don't usually post a lot, location I sometimes post location that is if you want people to know where you are, if u doing something out of the ordinary and u want to let people know that listen I've travelled I am no longer in this vicinity I'm in another country I might do a location post to show people that this is what we doing and who we with, and also tagging people, let's say there is a special occasion for example of going to see a comedian u might want to share that with your friends and share who u are with. Uuum I'm not gonna lie to u, sometimes Facebook can be used as a humble brag, uuum but it's in the most humble way possible.

Can you please describe for me what type of contents do you consider appropriate/inappropriate to post on Facebook?
I feel anything appropriate is something that u wouldn't mind seeing in your Facebook, what is inappropriate would be, what I personally find inappropriate on Facebook is images that will scar u for example, I think Facebook now has done something where u don't have to see the image u have to actively click on it for it to be unblurred so they unblur it, that used to be a problem back in the days where they could put up images from war, maybe a decapitated head or something like that and that's not something you'd wanna see first thing in the morning scrolling through your timeline and anything disturbing, animal cruelty is another one although most of them are to give awareness of what's happening, it kind of ruins your day to see small puppies being beaten to death, it's, I mean it's reality that we have to all face but it's inappropriate on Facebook, there is a time and place for everything. Also apart from those gruesome images and videos pornography is another thing that's not acceptable uuum what u into in your private life shouldn't be put on to social media just as the same way u are not allowed to walk in the streets naked. To each their own but keep it behind closed doors because u never know whose, if I'm opening up my Facebook at lunch at work I don't want the person sitting next to me to now go oooh what is this guy now looking at. Not suitable for work images should be, they should do something about that. I think it's appropriate to have your political views put on Facebook but I feel that people shouldn't be upset when u challenge them. I think it should be open for u to now have a discussion in the comment as long as u keep it with a good tone so to speak and not get hurt by what's been said, if someone has an opposing view and then block the comments so that only what u have to say is been heard, uuum I think it's appropriate that people see views if I have anything political to put up I do feel like I invite people to challenge it and I have a chance or platform now to voice why I believe that way, and if someone is able to change my views through logic or common sense or explanation or more information I welcome that

Please take me through your posting process, would you describe it as spontaneous, thought through or both??? Editing process, Staged photography etc
It's a mixture of both to be honest is what I believe a lot of people do is fake what do u call it uuuuuum uuuuuum uuuuum

Preplanned spontaneity
Yeah that, pre planned spontaneity, u have an image in mind, 100 percent spontaneous it's not because if I'm traveling somewhere obviously I take a certain picture like this should be great u know depending on what u have to do to the picture, usually some people have to think of a good caption, it's not really of the top, u kind of plan in your head on this trip I would like to take a great picture of this somehow, so it's planned spontaneity

And the editing process and things like that
For pictures it depend, because now these days the cameras are so great on our actual phones so a lot of post editing is not needed, but in the past when camera phones wasn't as good a little bit of editing was required maybe brightness, and simple things like maybe a filter, just to enhance the image. Other than that these days it's snap and post

What do you think is the overall impression of your Facebook profile…..Like what certain image do you think your Facebook conveys, for example when somebody goes through your profile what impressions do you think they getting from it, what do you feel it says about you
I actually don't know the image because I can only view it from how I see it

Yeah, from your perspective
From my perspective I think it's just a normal Facebook, I'm dormant most of the time I know, mostly liking other people's stuff and occasionally sharing funny things I think it's a very regular Facebook, I'm not too active, I wouldn't say shallow because I don't really go into how I feel and personal feelings. Depending if u are able to read through the lines then look at the stuff I post, it depends on how many people see it because I know Facebook has algorithms that determine how often a person sees what u post. So it's really hard to say how I view, because I feel very very standard, very normal

But uuum let's say I'm a film producer, whatever and I'm making a movie about u based on your Facebook, what story do u think I'm gonna tell, maybe to help u a little bit, like this guy is this certain way blah blah
Uum story, definitely not an action movie, probably boring documentary I would say because there is

not a lot of stuff happening. Uuuum little bit of comedy as I try to post funny things or what I deem as funny I honestly don't know, I haven't really thought about that.

Can you tell me about the different roles that you play on Facebook (Do you share only certain parts/versions of your identity or your whole identity)
Yeah I mean, one that sticks out to me is this role of social justice warrior from time to time, mostly it's because of what other people post on Facebook uuum but now knowing that to be cautious because not everything posted on Facebook is necessarily true uuum people don't like to fact check, I am becoming better with that where I see something, if something fits my narrative too well that means it is designed around your narrative which usually it's not so u need further research to look into it and the social justice front, when I see some injustices happening in the world that's been fact checked I like to repost that just to let people know of certain struggles that are experienced by certain people, certain groups of people in the world. Other than that I try to be funny and yeah, funny social justice warrior person

And that's like the front u putting up, and in terms of family life
I don't really, as my mom is on Facebook and my mom's ability to use Facebook is not very advanced I don't usually use it to communicate that

Are you concerned with how people perceive you based on your Facebook postings? Why or why not?
I was in the past, not so much anymore because it's a bitter pill to swallow whenever I usually, like I said I try to fact check things or whatever I do post will have some base in the truth or what not, and up for people to actually research themselves further if they are interested. Yeah I used to care but now, obviously it's because I have a lot of my bosses on Facebook now, I can't really put up raw truth of certain facts because a lot of stuff u post on Facebook is without context and people like to take what u say out of context uuum so I don't care but at the same time I do care depending on the mood,but I try to be cautious so it's not disrespectful

Tell me about your Facebook friends? Who are they? eg family, close friends, coworkers, strangers etc?.....
Well obviously I have a lot of good friends on Facebook and a lot of people that u met maybe once, not so much anymore, this is more when I lived in South Africa it was more like hey check me out on Facebook cool and then u add them on Facebook, I try not to have bosses and people I work with on Facebook but it's deemed, I feel like it's strange to deny your boss like, have them sitting on your friend request list and u have to go to work and see them and like u know, u did not accept my friend request. I find it very strange so I do have a few of my bosses, quite a few of my coworkers, uuum a lot of good friends and equally a lot of acquaintances, people I met at least once or twice, yeah those are the people, and family of course

So what kinds of friend request do u accept, so u don't have strangers at all
Certain strangers have requested but once again I might not like what they post and then I unfriend them. Complete random strangers I don't accept your facebook request, I try not to. If we have mutual friend together I would like to believe that we have met at some point I just don't remember, if we have more than three mutual friend then yeah I can accept u, depending on who these mutual friends are as well

What type of responses have you received on your Facebook posts, tell me about some memorable feedbacks, positive or negative? Did they affected how you posted on the future? We can actually go through your Facebook posts as we speak if u don't mind
No problem, responses in the form of comments. Well, nothing negative, one of the last post I received a comment on was a post I made of two newspaper articles from the daily mirror concerning the New Zealand terrorist attack, on how they displayed or how they reported the massacre in comparison with the killing at the club in America where they basically stated that the isis maniac kills fifty in gay club while towards the New Zealand terrorist they write angelic boy who grew up into an evil far right mass killer, the way the newspaper, same newspaper, two different articles they demonize the person of color killing people while all they say with this other killer is that he is an angelic boy, so now obviously I received comments on that from people agreeing with my thought process on why this is so. Which I would deem as positive, other than that I usually get likes, because I tend to post pictures and funny things and people tend to agree and occasionally share further

Let's say for example, like u said u like to put up landscape pictures and things like that, if u would put a picture and it gets a lot of likes, does that steer u in the right direction like oooh these are the kind of posts that I need to make more
Definitely, If someone likes a certain type of picture a lot I tend to obviously feel good about it as people seem to appreciate the pictures I've taken or taken time to look at them or interact with them so that obviously influences the way I post, I tend to post a lot of those pictures then

What's the privacy status of your Facebook profile: public or private? Why?
The people that I don't know I think they can just view a very basic information, I don't think they can view anything apart from maybe where I live and stuff. But not a lot

So it's set on friends
Friends of friends I think, I'm not too sure

Why is that
Because I want people to be curious and actually

send me a friend request if they really want to know, they I know u are curious

What privacy concerns do you have with facebook?
Like I said earlier I'm full aware that as soon as I upload, it doesn't matter if I click on super private it's on the internet, someone somewhere will have access to it beyond my control, to think otherwise will be very naive because Facebook is not my program it's a platform by which we all share uuum the usage of, someone else is in control, so privacy I don't obviously want certain information to be, obviously when it comes to financial things like your banking details, things like that obviously that can actually affect my money directly that I would want out there or anyone having access to. Forms of pictures and information for marketing purposes couz which I do believe a lot of what Facebook is, it's basically a catalogue for marketing and Facebook obviously sell your information to the highest bidder in order for them to sell or data get in understanding how they sell things to u, that I'm fully aware of, personally I think that's why they pretty much created Facebook I would do it too because I think it's a smart move from a business point of view so I am fine with the way it is, if I don't want it to be known or, I don't put it out, I don't take pictures of my credit card or my debit card and put it online couz I want that information to be very private

Have you ever experienced anything negative if so tell me about it and how did you react, did you change your privacy setting
Not really, I haven't had anyone steal my pictures and pretend to be me, which I obviously haha, I mean my pictures are unfortunately not that interesting or I'm not that good looking enough for someone to try to pretend to be me, uuum no, I haven't had any overly negative experiences, if someone was to ever say something rude simple block them. I haven't experienced any online bullying, uuum I have had arguments with people on the comments which I felt some types of way about uum depending on how the argument ended, if u get the last word in there and arguments in Facebook comments is like a gladiator show because everyone can see and depending on how many likes each answer gets I feel like it's like it's who ever wins the argument, because u can have all the facts in the world but if that person that u argue with has 20 likes in what he say and one person has liked what u said u definitely feel like people are agreeing with what he is saying and that can rub u off in a wrong way because u are losing an argument, it doesn't matter what it's about, it's just the fact that you've publicly lost an argument, those are probably the only bad experiences I've had and then u know, then deleting the whole thing and then people are like ooooh we can't read, he's butt hurt now, I mean those are, that's human nature. That's about it I don't have any other bad experiences

And the unfriended, blocked button u just mentioned, In what circumstances do you use unfriend or blocking tool?

If people tag u on things, I have had bad experiences but yeah if one of these people u don't know too well write a comment on something that is using words or phrases that u might use when u see a person but it's not appropriate to be put on Facebook as I do have my bosses there and they would not understand the ways that we speak to each other or the type of language that we use, or the type of jokes we tell each other, it might not be appropriate to have them on Facebook. If u don't get the warming of me explaining to u why u can't post these kind of stuff in my wall or underneath my pictures then I will be forced to take action and block u or unfriend u. Yeah that can be included also as a bad experience of people writing things on my wall that are not suitable for other eyes

And the untagging how do u go about that
If there is any picture that I feel like I don't look too flattering I would untag that picture and make sure that it cannot be seen on my profile

In terms of your Facebook friends, we talked about all these different friends from different contexts so I wanted to ask u how do u deal with it, because u just said that someone might share something on your Facebook that might be inappropriate for your boss, like how do u deal with that in terms of what content to share?
I have done it in the past where I, certain things if I do, like because u have so many people as your Facebook friends u do wanna also be true to yourself and display who u are to the people that know u, which could be taken out of context by people that don't know u well, so certain posts might just go out to your friends and depending on how many people, bosses u have u can exclude your bosses the same things with family. There are certain things that I posted that I don't want my mom have to call me and ask me to explain what does this mean so yeah I've limited definitely bosses, coworkers and family from viewing certain things I posted

What types of personal private information have you revealed on your profile(e.g. birthday, hometown, contact information, work information
Uuum basic information, yeah, u could actually see that, I do have my studies, when I have studied, where I have lived, it's about it

So everything you revealed is real? Like real age, real name or do you use nickname?
It's all real, I've provided my real name, and the profile pictures where I always look the best, it's always me, no avatars, I use myself

How would you describe your facebook self in relation to your offline self?
I'd like to say similar, obviously my offline self is an advanced version of my Facebook self, it's more compact, what u can't show on Facebook is nuance, not everything is black and white, mostly it's always grey, different shades of grey uuum and that can be seen when u meet me on my online self,but I try to highlight certain things on Facebook, u don't have

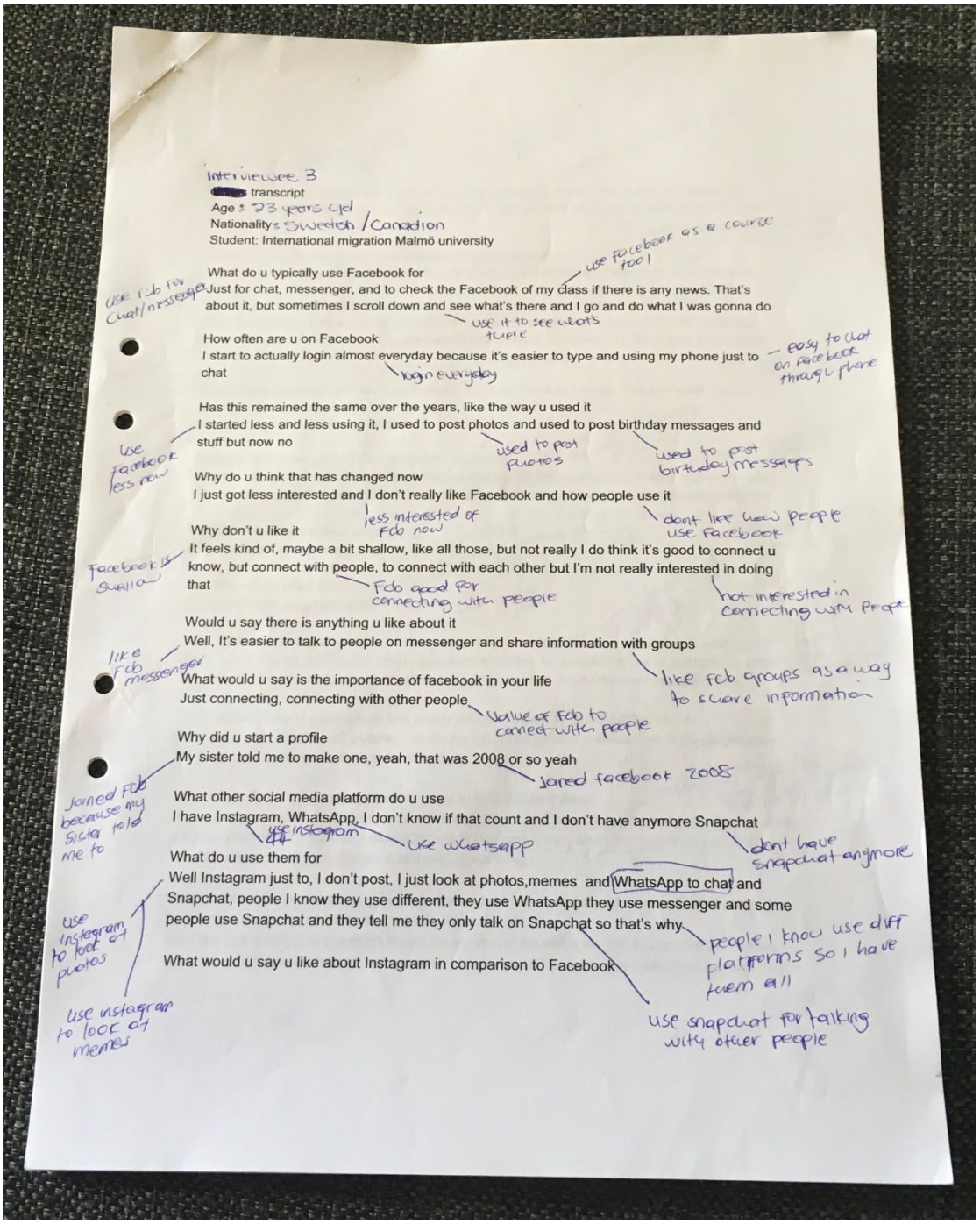
time to unpack yourself or who u are on Facebook, plus it's also a little bit of if u want to know me, if u wanna get to know me then reach out, Facebook is like a trailer of who I am, if u enjoy it just reach out

What do you consider fake on facebook
I don't consider anything fake unless it's actually a fake profile, where everything you've put in that profile has nothing to do with you. Otherwise everything tells me about yourself, if u are a person who don't like to put in your own picture in there and put in pictures of kittens as your picture that tells me something about u, so everything tells me something about u, so I wouldn't say it's really fake, I would say it's more of an extension of who you are because there is a reason for everything that a person does on Facebook, because it's their face towards the digital social landscape, there is a reason why u just don't throw in a picture of kitten there because u couldn't find anything else, u put that up for a reason and that in turn tells me something about u, what it tells me about u is my interpretation of it, might not be an intended reason why u did it but in that sense, I don't think anything is really fake, it's just telling me something about u, for example if u put up a picture of something else as yourself then that tells me something about you as well, you are probably insecure about yourself, so u want other people to think a certain way about you by using other pictures so yeah that's how I feel about fakeness it's all in some way truth, depending on how u interpret it

What's the importance of being real on facebook
The importance of being real depending on how much transparent u want to be, if u real on Facebook good for u, if u put everything out on Facebook then u know it's depending on who u have as friends, if they are your good friends and u see them putting out some fake stuff on Facebook u might know why because they are good friends, you have a level of understanding or it could be a sign that your friend needs help and u need to speak to them why are they putting these pictures or saying these things when u know it's not true. So I don't know if the importance of being real, I suppose it's for your audience depending on what u want to give out or what u wanna say, yeah yeah

That was everything I had for u, is there anything you would like to add?
I think that was interesting, if there are any other questions I would be glad to answer them, this was fun. I think u covered more.

Appendix 4
coded page
interview 3



Interviewee 3
[redacted] transcript
Age: 23 years old
Nationality: Swedish / Canadian
Student: International migration Malmö university

What do u typically use Facebook for
Just for chat, messenger, and to check the Facebook of my class if there is any news. That's about it, but sometimes I scroll down and see what's there and I go and do what I was gonna do

How often are u on Facebook
I start to actually login almost everyday because it's easier to type and using my phone just to chat

Has this remained the same over the years, like the way u used it
I started less and less using it, I used to post photos and used to post birthday messages and stuff but now no

Why do u think that has changed now
I just got less interested and I don't really like Facebook and how people use it

Why don't u like it
It feels kind of, maybe a bit shallow, like all those, but not really I do think it's good to connect u know, but connect with people, to connect with each other but I'm not really interested in doing that

Would u say there is anything u like about it
Well, It's easier to talk to people on messenger and share information with groups

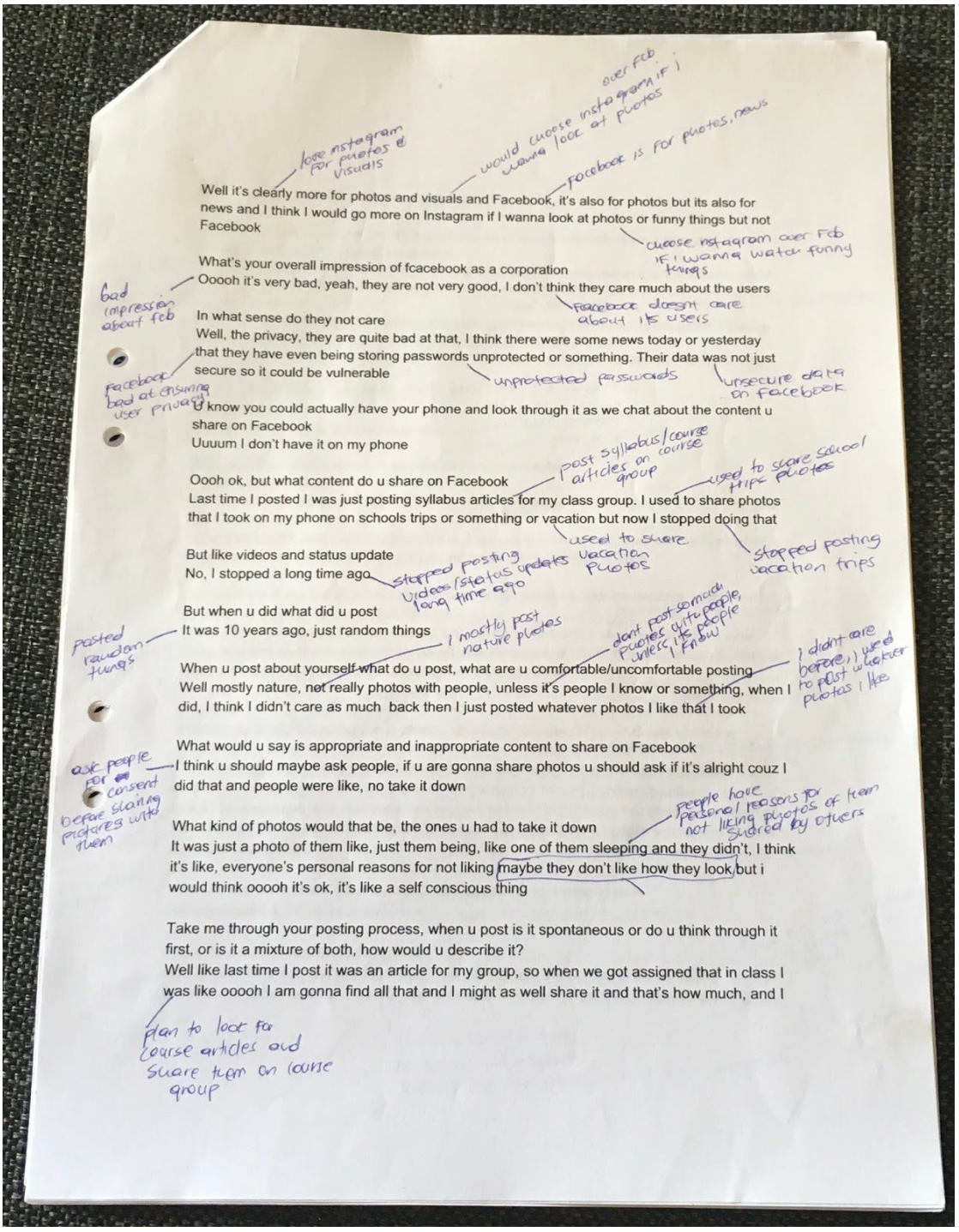
What would u say is the importance of facebook in your life
Just connecting, connecting with other people

Why did u start a profile
My sister told me to make one, yeah, that was 2008 or so yeah

What other social media platform do u use
I have Instagram, WhatsApp, I don't know if that count and I don't have anymore Snapchat

What do u use them for
Well Instagram just to, I don't post, I just look at photos,memes and WhatsApp to chat and Snapchat, people I know they use different, they use WhatsApp they use messenger and some people use Snapchat and they tell me they only talk on Snapchat so that's why

What would u say u like about Instagram in comparison to Facebook



Well it's clearly more for photos and visuals and Facebook, it's also for photos but its also for news and I think I would go more on Instagram if I wanna look at photos or funny things but not Facebook

What's your overall impression of fcacebook as a corporation
Ooooh it's very bad, yeah, they are not very good, I don't think they care much about the users

In what sense do they not care
Well, the privacy, they are quite bad at that, I think there were some news today or yesterday that they have even being storing passwords unprotected or something. Their data was not just secure so it could be vulnerable

U know you could actually have your phone and look through it as we chat about the content u share on Facebook
Uuuum I don't have it on my phone

Oooh ok, but what content do u share on Facebook
Last time I posted I was just posting syllabus articles for my class group. I used to share photos that I took on my phone on schools trips or something or vacation but now I stopped doing that

But like videos and status update
No, I stopped a long time ago

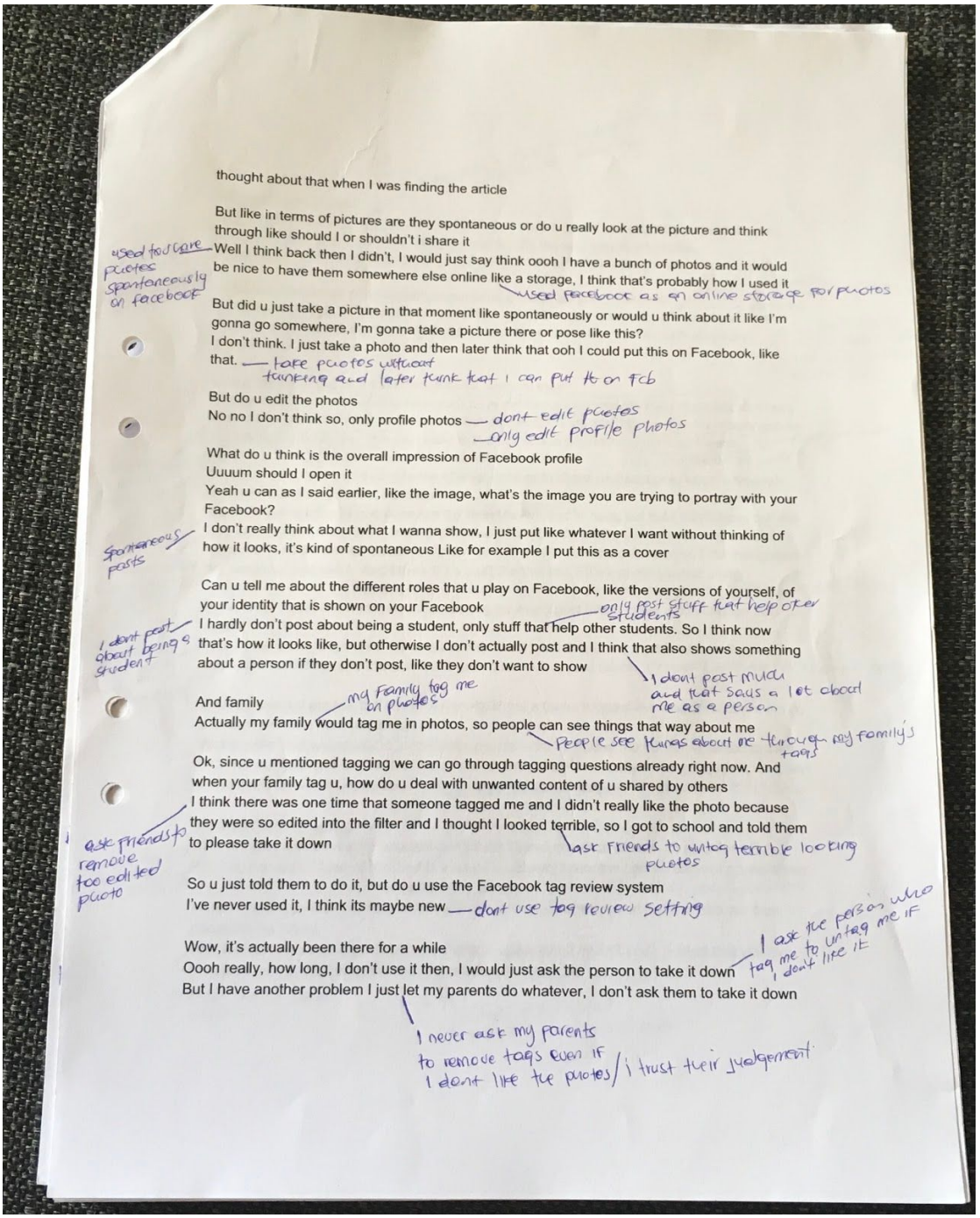
But when u did what did u post
It was 10 years ago, just random things

When u post about yourself what do u post, what are u comfortable/uncomfortable posting
Well mostly nature, not really photos with people, unless it's people I know or something, when I did, I think I didn't care as much back then I just posted whatever photos I like that I took

What would u say is appropriate and inappropriate content to share on Facebook
I think u should maybe ask people, if u are gonna share photos u should ask if it's alright couz I did that and people were like, no take it down

What kind of photos would that be, the ones u had to take it down
It was just a photo of them like, just them being, like one of them sleeping and they didn't, I think it's like, everyone's personal reasons for not liking maybe they don't like how they look but i would think ooooh it's ok, it's like a self conscious thing

Take me through your posting process, when u post is it spontaneous or do u think through it first, or is it a mixture of both, how would u describe it?
Well like last time I post it was an article for my group, so when we got assigned that in class I was like ooooh I am gonna find all that and I might as well share it and that's how much, and I



thought about that when I was finding the article

But like in terms of pictures are they spontaneous or do u really look at the picture and think through like should I or shouldn't i share it

used for core photos spontaneously on facebook

Well I think back then I didn't, I would just say think oooh I have a bunch of photos and it would be nice to have them somewhere else online like a storage, I think that's probably how I used it

used facebook as an online storage for photos

But did u just take a picture in that moment like spontaneously or would u think about it like I'm gonna go somewhere, I'm gonna take a picture there or pose like this?

I don't think. I just take a photo and then later think that ooh I could put this on Facebook, like that. — take photos without thinking and later think that I can put it on fcb

But do u edit the photos

No no I don't think so, only profile photos — dont edit photos only edit profile photos

What do u think is the overall impression of Facebook profile

Uuuum should I open it

Yeah u can as I said earlier, like the image, what's the image you are trying to portray with your Facebook?

Spontaneous posts

I don't really think about what I wanna show, I just put like whatever I want without thinking of how it looks, it's kind of spontaneous Like for example I put this as a cover

Can u tell me about the different roles that u play on Facebook, like the versions of yourself, of your identity that is shown on your Facebook

only post stuff that help other students

I dont post about being a student

I hardly don't post about being a student, only stuff that help other students. So I think now that's how it looks like, but otherwise I don't actually post and I think that also shows something about a person if they don't post, like they don't want to show

I dont post much and that says a lot about me as a person

And family

my family tag me on photos

Actually my family would tag me in photos, so people can see things that way about me

People see things about me through my family's tags

Ok, since u mentioned tagging we can go through tagging questions already right now. And when your family tag u, how do u deal with unwanted content of u shared by others

ask friends to remove too edited photo

I think there was one time that someone tagged me and I didn't really like the photo because they were so edited into the filter and I thought I looked terrible, so I got to school and told them to please take it down

ask friends to untag terrible looking photos

So u just told them to do it, but do u use the Facebook tag review system

I've never used it, I think its maybe new — dont use tag review setting

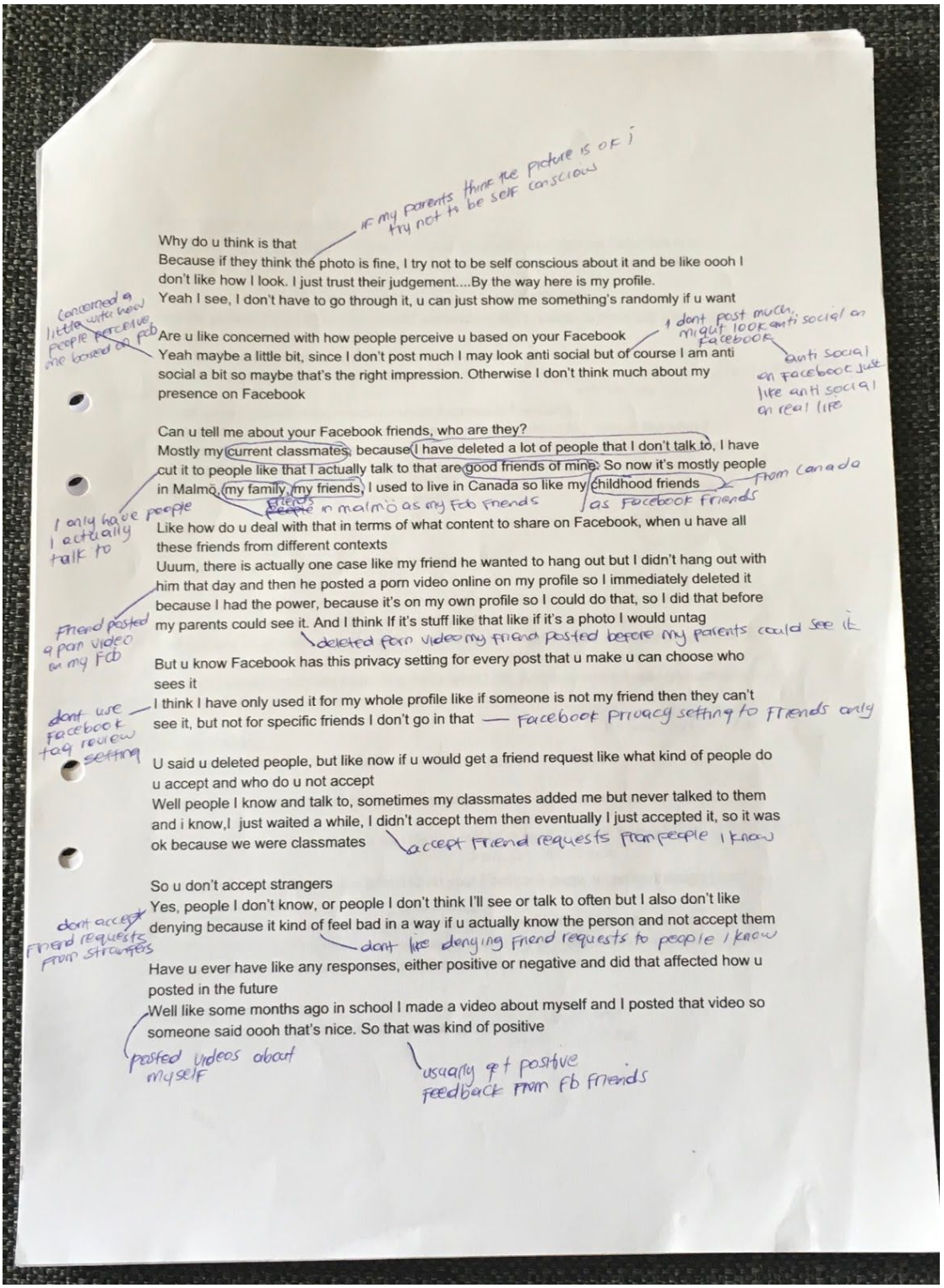
Wow, it's actually been there for a while

Oooh really, how long, I don't use it then, I would just ask the person to take it down

I ask the person who tag me to untag me if I dont like it

But I have another problem I just let my parents do whatever, I don't ask them to take it down

I never ask my parents to remove tags even if I dont like the photos / i trust their judgement



Why do u think is that
Because if they think the photo is fine, I try not to be self conscious about it and be like oooh I don't like how I look. I just trust their judgement....By the way here is my profile.
Yeah I see, I don't have to go through it, u can just show me something's randomly if u want

Are u like concerned with how people perceive u based on your Facebook
Yeah maybe a little bit, since I don't post much I may look anti social but of course I am anti social a bit so maybe that's the right impression. Otherwise I don't think much about my presence on Facebook

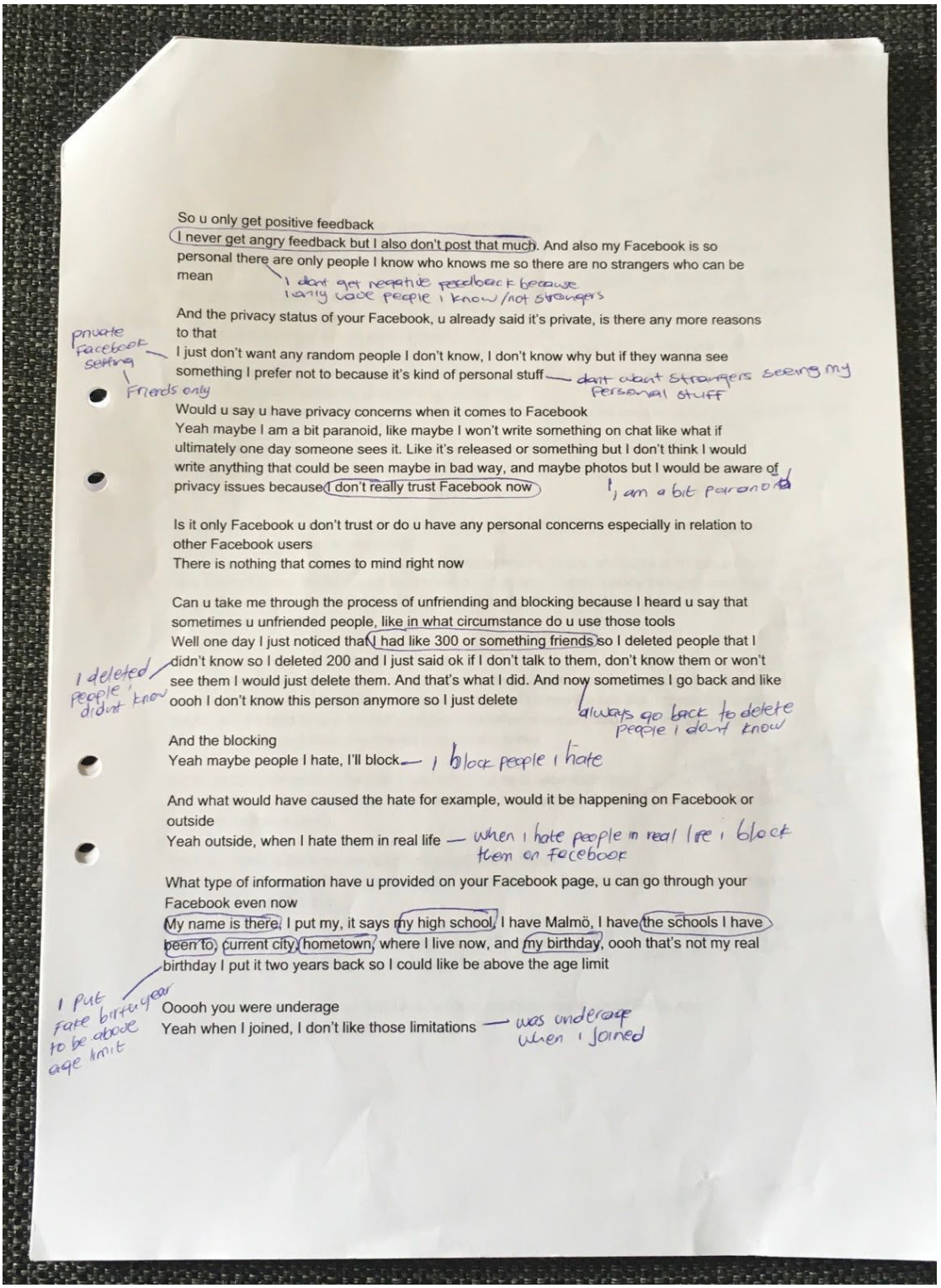
Can u tell me about your Facebook friends, who are they?
Mostly my current classmates, because I have deleted a lot of people that I don't talk to, I have cut it to people like that I actually talk to that are good friends of mine. So now it's mostly people in Malmö, my family, my friends, I used to live in Canada so like my childhood friends
Like how do u deal with that in terms of what content to share on Facebook, when u have all these friends from different contexts
Uuum, there is actually one case like my friend he wanted to hang out but I didn't hang out with him that day and then he posted a porn video online on my profile so I immediately deleted it because I had the power, because it's on my own profile so I could do that, so I did that before my parents could see it. And I think If it's stuff like that like if it's a photo I would untag

But u know Facebook has this privacy setting for every post that u make u can choose who sees it
I think I have only used it for my whole profile like if someone is not my friend then they can't see it, but not for specific friends I don't go in that

U said u deleted people, but like now if u would get a friend request like what kind of people do u accept and who do u not accept
Well people I know and talk to, sometimes my classmates added me but never talked to them and i know,I just waited a while, I didn't accept them then eventually I just accepted it, so it was ok because we were classmates

So u don't accept strangers
Yes, people I don't know, or people I don't think I'll see or talk to often but I also don't like denying because it kind of feel bad in a way if u actually know the person and not accept them

Have u ever have like any responses, either positive or negative and did that affected how u posted in the future
Well like some months ago in school I made a video about myself and I posted that video so someone said oooh that's nice. So that was kind of positive



So u only get positive feedback
I never get angry feedback but I also don't post that much. And also my Facebook is so personal there are only people I know who knows me so there are no strangers who can be mean

I dont get negative feedback because I only have people I know / not strangers

And the privacy status of your Facebook, u already said it's private, is there any more reasons to that
I just don't want any random people I don't know, I don't know why but if they wanna see something I prefer not to because it's kind of personal stuff

private Facebook setting — Friends only

dont want strangers seeing my personal stuff

Would u say u have privacy concerns when it comes to Facebook
Yeah maybe I am a bit paranoid, like maybe I won't write something on chat like what if ultimately one day someone sees it. Like it's released or something but I don't think I would write anything that could be seen maybe in bad way, and maybe photos but I would be aware of privacy issues because I don't really trust Facebook now

I am a bit paranoid

Is it only Facebook u don't trust or do u have any personal concerns especially in relation to other Facebook users
There is nothing that comes to mind right now

Can u take me through the process of unfriending and blocking because I heard u say that sometimes u unfriended people, like in what circumstance do u use those tools
Well one day I just noticed that I had like 300 or something friends so I deleted people that I didn't know so I deleted 200 and I just said ok if I don't talk to them, don't know them or won't see them I would just delete them. And that's what I did. And now sometimes I go back and like oooh I don't know this person anymore so I just delete

I deleted people I didnt know

always go back to delete people I dont know

And the blocking
Yeah maybe people I hate, I'll block

I block people I hate

And what would have caused the hate for example, would it be happening on Facebook or outside
Yeah outside, when I hate them in real life

when I hate people in real life I block them on facebook

What type of information have u provided on your Facebook page, u can go through your Facebook even now
My name is there, I put my, it says my high school, I have Malmö, I have the schools I have been to, current city, hometown, where I live now, and my birthday, oooh that's not my real birthday I put it two years back so I could like be above the age limit

I put fake birth year to be above age limit

Ooooh you were underage
Yeah when I joined, I don't like those limitations

was underage when I joined

So the birthday is not real, but the name is real on Facebook
Yeah the name is real, and the date is really actually, it's just the year that's not real, that's the only fake thing

everything real except birth year

And your profile picture, what kind do u use usually
It's always picture of myself, but also I put, I like when I'm far away, or dark because I didn't really wanna show my face but now it shows

use pictures of myself as profile pics
use dark pics of myself as pp
use far away pics as profile pics
I dont like to show my face
but now my face shows

Ooooh interesting, but those two here I see them that are so dark or u are far away, why didn't u wanna show your Facebook, what's the reason for that
Yeah maybe just personal consciousness, or shy and didn't wanna be seen

shy for my face to be seen

Is there any status update that u wanna show me, then maybe we can chat a little about it
Yeah like, it's random stuff. This is like 10-11 years ago that I completely forgot about. It's about flying

Ooooh, so we just talked about your birth year being fake but like how would u describe your Facebook self in relation to offline self
Well maybe it doesn't show so much information on my Facebook and I also don't talk a lot about myself in real life so maybe it's the same in that way, I haven't really thought about how my profile, what persona it gives or if it gives one at all, I think it would maybe seem like it doesn't show so much

I dont talk a lot about myself in real life so my facebook is the same, it doesnt show much

What do u consider being fake on Facebook
I guess it would be from the photos, I think that's also judegemental, but it could be a part of knowing them as well, about their real personalities but I mean if u see like, I guess like a selfie maybe, but it's hard to say, it's really judgemental when u see a photo and think someone is a fake but sometimes it looks like that so even from a photo

But in deciding someone is fake on Facebook what do u base that from
Yeah it's always, like think of that person based on how they are in real life, maybe a video that shows more than a photo

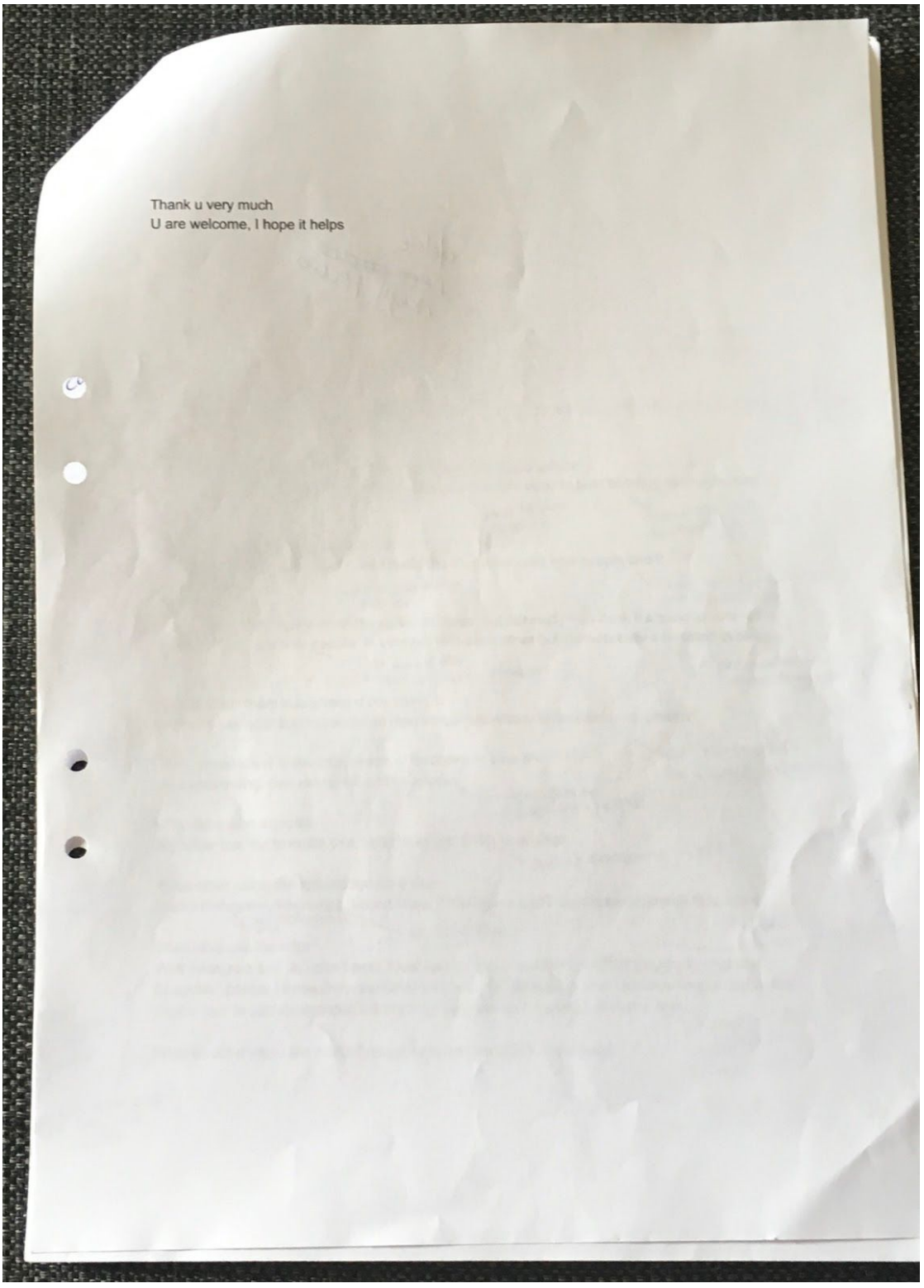
people are fake if they show different personality on Facebook from the one in real life

What do u think is the importance of being real on Facebook
I think it's just important for people to be real and not have a fake self, maybe they enjoy it but I personally just don't like it

But what do u think people get from being fake on Facebook
Maybe they enjoy something they don't have in real life

people are fake to enjoy what they dont have in real life

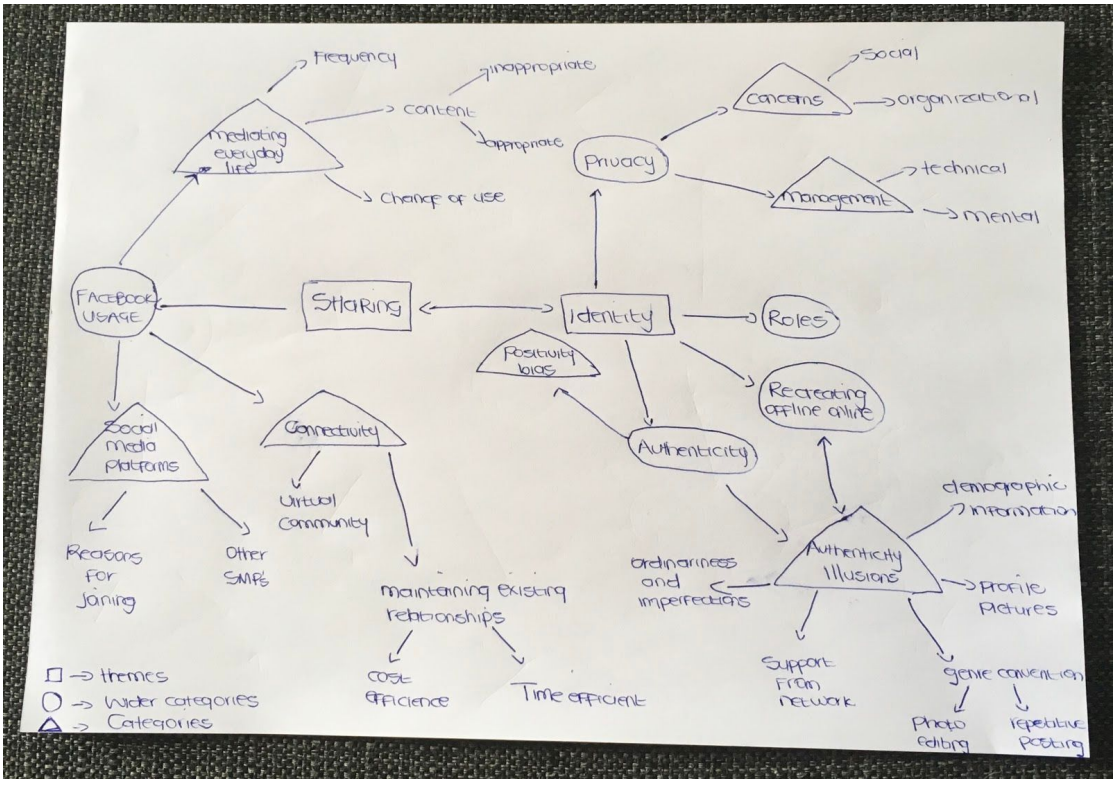
So that was all the questions I had for u. Is there anything else u would like to add
No I think we covered everything


Thank u very much
U are welcome, I hope it helps

Appendix 5

Overview Table of Themes and Categories

THEMES	WIDER CATEGORIES	CATEGORIES	SUB-CATEGORIES	SUB SUB CATEGORIES
Sharing	Facebook Usage	Social Media Platform	Reasons for joining	
			Other SMP used	
		Connectivity	Maintaining existing relationships	Cost efficiency
				Time efficient
			Virtual community	
		Mediating everyday life	Content shared	Appropriate content
				Inappropriate content
			Change of Use	
			Frequency	
Identity	Roles			
	Recreating offline identity online		Support from network	
		Illusions	Profile pictures	
	Authenticity		Demographic information	
			Ordinariness and imperfections	
			Genre conventions	
		Positivity Bias		
		Concerns	Social concerns	
	Privacy		Organizational concerns	
			Technical strategies	
		Management	Mental Strategies	

Appendix 6

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