

## SELF-DISCLOSURE ON SOCIAL NETWORKING SITES

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Our aim was to contribute to the understanding of self-disclosure behavior on social networking sites (SNS). Participants ( $N = 1,294$ ) completed online surveys comprising measures of willingness to disclose personal information on SNS, self-esteem, SNS affinity, self-disclosure, honesty of self-disclosure, subjective norm, self-monitoring skills, and public self-consciousness. Our findings suggest that self-disclosure mediates the impact of communication-based personality characteristics on the use of SNS, and that subjective norm and SNS affinity also have significant independent effects.

*Keywords:* computer-mediated communication, self-disclosure, social network sites, personality characteristics, personal information, online communication, social media.

Social networking sites (SNS) facilitate interaction of networked communities through many-to-many information disclosure practices involving shared multimedia content and personal information posted on public profiles. SNS are differentiated from other online social platforms in that they are egocentric networks with an individual at the center of his or her community. User profiles in SNS serve as a personal information outlet, with the public display of connections being viewed as a signal of the reliability of the user's identity claims (Donath & Boyd, 2004). SNS, therefore, become an environment in which it is the norm to purposefully and publicly disclose one's identity, social

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networks, and social interactions. Given the growing popularity and business potential of SNS, it is important to understand the underlying mechanism that drives this behavior. In this study, our aim was to contribute to the understanding of self-disclosure behavior on SNS by examining how communication-based personality characteristics are related to self-disclosure on SNS and, in turn, how self-disclosure is associated with the use of SNS.

### Theoretical Framework

*Self-disclosure*, which is the act of revealing personal information to others (Derlega, Metts, Petronio, & Margulis, 1993), facilitates establishing mutual understanding, intimacy, and trust in interpersonal relationships. Although previous researchers have made a significant contribution toward the understanding of self-disclosure in computer-mediated communication (CMC), they mostly used experimental settings where participants had no prior interaction of any kind with one other. In this research stream, it has consistently been found that self-disclosure is higher in dyadic CMC than in face-to-face communication situations, as CMC elicits more direct questioning to reduce uncertainty which, in turn, results in more intimate self-disclosure among unacquainted individuals (Bargh, McKenna, & Fitzsimons, 2002; Schouten, Valkenburg, & Peter, 2009). Researchers have also drawn attention to the emergence of new norms of self-disclosure in online settings, as CMC requires purposeful disclosure of personal information in the absence of traditional cues of identity, nonverbal cues, contextual information, and sufficient immediate feedback (Mesch & Beker, 2010).

Research in which the focus is exclusively on self-disclosure on SNS is a relatively recent development. Researchers have reported that although privacy concerns are negatively related to information disclosure, users of SNS often control the unwanted audience by manipulating profile accessibility, and not by cutting down the amount of information revealed in their profiles (e.g., Stutzman, Capra, & Thompson, 2011). On the other hand, Christofides, Muise, and Desmarais (2009) found that disclosure was significantly predicted by the need for popularity, whereas information control was predicted by levels of trust and self-esteem, and not by privacy concerns. Empirical findings regarding the predictors of self-disclosure behavior on SNS are sparse and equivocal. In this study, we emphasized the role of interpersonal differences and examined the relationship between communication-based characteristics and self-disclosure on SNS.

Caplan (2007) postulated that self-disclosure, which has been recognized as a core behavior on SNS, has a positive effect on communication frequency in online contexts. However, the nature of the relationship between self-disclosure

and the use of SNS has not yet been fully explored. To this end, in this study we theorized that self-disclosure is a key factor that fully or partially mediates the effects of personality characteristics on the use of SNS.

### **Public Self-Consciousness**

*Public self-consciousness* is defined as a general awareness of the self as a social object (Fenigstein, Scheier, & Buss, 1975). Those who score high on public self-consciousness highly value the impression they make on others. When a profile is created on SNS, it is done so with the knowledge that others may access the content of this profile and with the expectation that the primary audience for the profile will be, at least in the beginning, those who have an offline connection with the profile owner. In this process, self-disclosure, together with other users' posts associated with the profile owner, serve as identity signals (Zhao, Grasmuck, & Martin, 2008). Consequently, identity on SNS becomes a social product constructed collaboratively by the self and his or her social network. Therefore, users are usually acutely aware of the presence of others on SNS. Thus, we proposed the following hypotheses:

**Hypothesis 1a:** Public self-consciousness will positively relate to self-disclosure on SNSs.

**Hypothesis 1b:** Public self-consciousness will positively relate to the use of SNS.

**Hypothesis 1c:** Self-disclosure will mediate the relationship between public self-consciousness and the use of SNS.

### **Subjective Norm**

In the context of this study, *subjective norm* refers to the extent to which an individual perceives frequent use of SNS and self-disclosure behavior on SNS to be normative among significant others (Baker & White, 2010). According to social identity theory, an important part of self-concept is derived from individuals' membership in social groups and categories (Hogg & Abrams, 1988). When individuals define and evaluate themselves as a member of a social group, they construct context-specific explicit or implicit prescriptions concerning the appropriate attitudes and behaviors of ingroup members. These prescriptions are referred to as subjective norms (White, Hogg, & Terry, 2002).

Users of SNS manage their impressions through their online interactions and by choosing their online friends. Therefore, one motive for individuals using SNS may be the desire to publicly announce their social group memberships. SNS also provide the opportunity for individuals to learn socially appropriate types of online behavior by getting critical cues, which may become subjective norms, from others' profiles. Because SNS make public life very visible, we expected that subjective norms would predict both self-disclosure and the use of SNS. Therefore, we proposed the following hypotheses:

**Hypothesis 2a:** Subjective norm will positively relate to self-disclosure on SNS.

**Hypothesis 2b:** Subjective norm will positively relate to the use of SNS.

**Hypothesis 2c:** Self-disclosure will mediate the relationship between subjective norm and the use of SNS.

### **Self-Monitoring Skills**

According to Goffman (1959), social interactions serve the function of presenting an image of the self and people engage in strategic actions to create and maintain a desired image. Given the asynchronous nature of most communication on SNS, users have more time to think about what kind of impression they want others to have of them and can also take their time when crafting their image through self-disclosure. Accordingly, SNS are mainly used to form and manage impressions (Tong, Van Der Heide, Langwell, & Walther, 2008). However, individuals vary in their motivation as well as in their ability to manage impressions of themselves (Leone & Corte, 1994; Snyder, 1974). In the theory of *self-monitoring*, high self-monitors who monitor their behavior to fit different situations are distinguished from low self-monitors, who are more cross-situationally consistent (Snyder, 1974). High self-monitors have access to a greater repertoire of social roles as well as scripts, which enables them to be more strategic in their self-presentations, as they intentionally attempt to be the right person at the right time (Leone & Corte, 1994). Hence, we expected high self-monitors to be more eager to engage in self-disclosure and to use SNS more frequently than do low self-monitors. Thus, we proposed the following hypotheses:

**Hypothesis 3a:** Self-monitoring skills will positively relate to self-disclosure on SNS.

**Hypothesis 3b:** Self-monitoring skills will positively relate to the use of SNS.

**Hypothesis 3c:** Self-disclosure will mediate the relationship between self-monitoring skills and the use of SNS.

### **Self-Esteem**

*Self-esteem*, which refers to an overall positive or negative evaluation of the self (Rosenberg, 1979), has a profound impact on behavior when the behavior is public. People have a need for self-esteem, which they strive to maintain and raise. The use of technology to mediate interpersonal interaction may provide an opportunity for low self-esteem people to engage in public behavior with reduced risk of humiliation and reduced social anxiety. Valkenburg, Peter, and Schouten (2006) found that 78% of the respondents in their friend networking websites study reported receiving predominantly positive feedback from other users of SNS, and also that this positive feedback significantly enhanced the respondents' self-esteem. In addition, Joinson (2004) found that those with lower self-esteem

showed a stronger preference for online communication than did those with higher self-esteem. Therefore, we proposed the following hypotheses:

**Hypothesis 4a:** Self-esteem will negatively relate to self-disclosure on SNS.

**Hypothesis 4b:** Self-esteem will negatively relate to use of SNS.

**Hypothesis 4c:** Self-disclosure will mediate the relationship between self-esteem and use of SNS.

### **SNS Affinity**

*Affinity* is an affective construct, which captures the level of individuals' dependence on a medium to carry out their daily lives (Bigné, Ruiz-Mafé, & Sanz-Balz, 2007). Joinson (2003) posited that actual use of a medium leads to changes in both the psychological state and actual behavior of the user. These effects then feed back to the user, creating a cycle linking the user and the medium through the process of social interaction. Therefore, we expected that SNS affinity would be positively related to the use of SNS.

According to the generative perspective, pioneered by Rheingold (1993), it is suggested that there is an interaction between users' social needs and the perceived technological features of the Internet. This online environment has a generative effect, leading to the formation of new norms of self-disclosure and social interaction (Bargh et al., 2002). When individuals become immersed in an online communication task, a perception of trust is generated that leads to different norms of self-disclosure of online information (Suler, 2004). Hence, we expected that the accuracy and extent of self-disclosure on SNS would be positively related to SNS affinity. Thus, we proposed the following hypotheses:

**Hypothesis 5a:** Affinity will positively relate to self-disclosure on SNS.

**Hypothesis 5b:** Affinity will positively relate to the use of SNS.

**Hypothesis 5c:** Self-disclosure will mediate the relationship between affinity and the use of SNS.

## **Method**

### **Participants**

Via email, we invited members of a nationwide panel of a research firm in Turkey to fill out an online survey in return for an online shop coupon (approximately US\$10). Brief information about the aim of the research was included on the consent form. We selected only those members who had a profile on at least one of the SNS. Over a 2-week period, we received 1,294 responses, representing a response rate of 16.4%. According to *t* test results, there was no significant difference between early and late respondents. Participants comprised 51% men and 49% women, of whom 48% were aged between 15 and 24 years and 52% were aged between 25 and 45 years. Their education level ranged from

elementary school to graduate degree (12% elementary school, 46% high school, 39% college, 3% graduate degree).

### Measures

We compiled a list of mutually exclusive items that captured all types of self-disclosure possible on SNS using the following procedure: Two people examined all means of disclosing personal information on major SNS (e.g., Facebook, Twitter, LinkedIn) to identify all the types of information that can be disclosed on SNS. They went through an intensive workshop and then discussed differences in their findings until they reached a consensus. Their analysis resulted in a list of 12 items. Finally, using the same method, we compiled a second list of all information fields and user actions to operationalize the use of SNS.

We measured the other constructs with 5-point Likert-type scales. Rosenberg's (1979) Self-Esteem Scale was used to measure self-esteem. We used an adapted version of the Mobile Affinity Scale developed by Bigné and colleagues (2007) to measure SNS affinity. We used the three-item Self-Disclosure Scale (Wheless & Grotz, 1976) to measure honesty of self-disclosure, and we used the scale developed by Baker and White (2010) to measure subjective norm. Self-monitoring skills and public self-consciousness were measured with the Self-Monitoring Scale (Lennox & Wolfe, 1984) and the Self-Consciousness Scale (Fenigstein et al., 1975), respectively.

### Results

The result of exploratory factor analysis, which we conducted to assess the dimensionality of self-disclosure on SNS, suggested a two-dimensional structure. The first factor was mainly about the disclosure of memories, thoughts, feelings, interests, opinions, and content that reveals a user's life, that is, describing who the person is, without revealing his or her actual identity. This factor was labeled as *potentially stigmatizing information* (Nosko, Wood, & Molena, 2010). The second factor was about revealing one's identity (i.e., name, contact information) and was labeled as *disclosure of personal identity*. Two items, "sharing of pictures taken with family and friends" and "relationship status," cross-loaded under the two factors and so were excluded from further analysis. Statements that measured accuracy and honesty of disclosure were loaded under a single dimension and labeled as *disclosure honesty*.

We conducted a confirmatory factor analysis involving all multiitem constructs to assess the psychometric properties of the measures through calculation of incremental fit index (IFI), Tucker-Lewis index (TLI), root mean square error of approximation (RMSEA), and comparative fit index (CFI), as follows:  $\chi^2 = 2937.15$ ,  $df = 743$ ,  $\chi^2/df = 3.95$ , IFI = .93, TLI = .92, RMSEA = .04, NFI = .90,

CFI = .93. Although the reported chi-square to degrees of freedom ratio was higher than the generally recommended threshold, this was a direct result of the large sample size. When the same model was estimated with smaller subsamples (i.e., 200, 500), the ratio fell in line with the recommended < 3. Overall, the fit indices demonstrated an acceptable fit to the model. All standardized factor loadings were higher than .60 ( $p < .001$ ), and average variance extracted (AVE) estimates and composite reliability figures for all factors were above .50 and .75, respectively. These figures provide evidence for convergent validity and internal consistency of the measures. As the AVE values for each construct were higher than the squared correlation estimates involving the construct, discriminant validity was supported (Fornell & Larcker, 1981).

### Model Testing

We used structural equation modeling to test the hypotheses. The overall fit measures indicated that the hypothesized model fitted the data reasonably well,  $\chi^2 = 3432.31$ ,  $df = 746$ ,  $\chi^2/df = 4.60$ , IFI = .91, TLI = .90, RMSEA = .05, CFI = .91. Although the chi-square to degrees of freedom ratio was higher than the recommended value < 3, this was a direct result of the large sample size. Reported fit indices avoid the problem of sample size and suggest an acceptable fit. The standardized regression weights and associated  $t$  values are shown in Table 1. Disclosure of identity was positively affected by subjective norm, SNS affinity, and public self-consciousness, and negatively affected by self-esteem, providing support for Hypotheses 1a, 2a, 4a, and 5a. Disclosure of potentially stigmatizing information (STIG) was positively influenced by subjective norm, SNS affinity, public self-consciousness, and to a lesser extent by self-monitoring skills, which provides support for Hypotheses 1a, 2a, 3a, and 5a. Disclosure honesty was positively affected by subjective norm, public self-consciousness, self-esteem, and self-monitoring skills, providing support for Hypotheses 1a, 2a, 3a, and 4a. As the use of SNS was predicted by STIG, subjective norm, and SNS affinity, Hypotheses 2b and 5b were supported, but Hypotheses 1b, 3b, and 4b were not supported.

Table 1. *SEM Regression Weights and  $t$  Values*

Relationship		Parameter	$t$
Personal identity	← Self-esteem	-.138	-3.973 <sup>a</sup>
Stigmatizing information	← Self-esteem	.005	0.188
Disclosure honesty	← Self-esteem	.100	3.188 <sup>b</sup>
SNS use	← Self-esteem	-.007	-0.340
Personal identity	← Self-monitoring skills	-.019	-0.518
Stigmatizing information	← Self-monitoring skills	.085	2.662 <sup>c</sup>
Disclosure honesty	← Self-monitoring skills	.118	3.250 <sup>b</sup>
SNS use	← Self-monitoring skills	-.005	-0.218

Table 1 continued

Relationship		Parameter	<i>t</i>
Personal identity	← Subjective norms	.287	7.447 <sup>a</sup>
Stigmatizing information	← Subjective norms	.428	12.539 <sup>a</sup>
Disclosure honesty	← Subjective norms	.370	9.953 <sup>a</sup>
SNS use	← Subjective norms	.159	5.887 <sup>a</sup>
Personal identity	← Public self-consciousness	.159	3.331 <sup>a</sup>
Stigmatizing information	← Public self-consciousness	.183	4.322 <sup>a</sup>
Disclosure honesty	← Public self-consciousness	.235	4.916 <sup>a</sup>
SNS use	← Public self-consciousness	.042	1.401
Personal identity	← SNS affinity	.129	3.375 <sup>a</sup>
Stigmatizing information	← SNS affinity	.146	4.493 <sup>a</sup>
Disclosure honesty	← SNS affinity	.046	1.258
SNS use	← SNS affinity	.260	9.919 <sup>a</sup>
SNS use	← Personal identity	-.032	-1.176
SNS use	← Stigmatizing information	.206	6.900 <sup>a</sup>
SNS use	← Disclosure honesty	.003	0.110

Note. <sup>a</sup>  $p < .001$ , <sup>b</sup>  $p < .005$ , <sup>c</sup>  $p < .01$ .

We found that the use of SNS was related to only a single dimension of self-disclosure, that is, STIG. Therefore, to satisfy the three conditions of mediation (Baron & Kenney, 1986), we explored the suspected mediation effect by running three consecutive regression analyses for each personality characteristic that related significantly to STIG. First, we assessed the mediating effect of STIG on the relationship between public self-consciousness (PCONS) and use of SNS (USE): (1) PCONS was significantly related to STIG ( $t = 16.39$ ,  $p < .001$ ); (2) PCONS was significantly related to USE ( $t = 12.84$ ,  $p < .001$ ); and (3) when STIG was introduced into the relationship, PCONS remained significant but with a smaller effect size ( $t = 5.26$ ,  $p < .001$ ), revealing a partial mediation effect. Thus, Hypothesis 1c was partially supported.

Second, we assessed the mediating effect of STIG on the relationship between subjective norm (SNORM) and USE as follows: (1) SNORM was significantly related to STIG ( $t = 26.11$ ,  $p < .001$ ); (2) SNORM was significantly related to USE ( $t = 23.72$ ,  $p < .001$ ); and (3) when STIG was introduced into the relationship, SNORM remained significant but with a smaller effect size ( $t = 12.99$ ,  $p < .001$ ), indicating a partial mediation effect. Thus, Hypothesis 2c was partially supported.

Third, we assessed the mediating effect of STIG on the relationship between self-monitoring skills (MON) and USE as follows: (1) MON was significantly related to STIG ( $t = 12.98$ ,  $p < .001$ ); (2) MON was significantly related to USE ( $t = 9.99$ ,  $p < .001$ ); and (3) when STIG was introduced into the relationship, MON remained significant but with a smaller effect size ( $t = 3.78$ ,  $p < .001$ ). Thus, Hypothesis 3c was partially supported.



Finally, we assessed the mediating effect of STIG on the relationship between affinity (AFF) and USE as follows: (1) AFF was significantly related to STIG ( $t = 16.59, p < .001$ ); (2) AFF was significantly related to USE ( $t = 21.63, p < .001$ ); and (3) when STIG was introduced into the relationship, PCONS remained significant but with a slightly smaller effect size ( $t = 14.64, p < .001$ ), indicating a partial mediation effect. Thus, Hypothesis 5c was partially supported. As self-esteem was not significantly related to STIG, Hypothesis 4c was not supported.

## Discussion

Overall, our results provided support for the conceptual model, in that STIG significantly predicted the participants' use of SNS, along with subjective norm and SNS affinity. Public self-consciousness and self-monitoring skills indirectly influenced the use of SNSs through STIG. Disclosure of personal identity information, on the other hand, was not related to the use of SNS. These findings contribute significantly to the literature. First, the fact that STIG was related to the use of SNS, but disclosure of personal identity information was not, led us to speculate that the nature of the relationship between self-disclosure behavior and communication frequency may be contingent on the type of information being disclosed. This supposition may reconcile the different views regarding the existence and valence of this relationship (e.g., Caplan, 2007; Ledbetter et al., 2011). Second, as we found that SNS affinity significantly influenced the use of SNSs, it can be claimed that the use of SNS is addictive to some extent, and that past use is highly predictive of future use. Third, as we found that self-disclosure was significantly related to public self-consciousness and subjective norm, it can be argued that the likelihood of content being picked up and forwarded by an SNS user may increase if that content fortifies, or is at least congruent with, the self-image that the user is trying to portray. Similarly, the likelihood of a user posting in a community on SNS would be higher if being a member of this community contributes to the desired self-image of the user. The significant positive relationship we found between public self-consciousness and self-disclosure contradicts previous findings of studies conducted in other CMC settings (Schouten et al., 2009). We attribute this discrepancy to the unique acquaintance-based social interaction on SNS.

We found it interesting that, according to our findings, the predictive function of disclosure of personal identity and potentially stigmatizing information is not identical. Although both were predicted by subjective norm, SNS affinity, and public self-consciousness, disclosure of personal identity was negatively influenced by self-esteem, whereas STIG was further enhanced by self-monitoring skills. We also found it interesting that our results showed self-esteem as inversely related to disclosure of personal identity, whereas it was positively

related to disclosure honesty. It may be that those who have lower self-esteem than do others, use SNS to enhance their self-image, helping them to overcome the feeling of inferiority through strengthening their social identity. However, their self-disclosures may not always be accurate representations of reality. On the other hand, we found that those with higher self-esteem tended to make fewer, but more honest, self-disclosures.

### Conclusion and Directions for Further Research

In this study, we have offered insights into self-disclosure behavior on SNS. We subjected a list of potential communication-based personality characteristics that might be related to disclosure behavior on SNS to empirical analysis to reveal their influence on the decision to post or not to post, and what to post, on SNSs. We found substantial empirical evidence supporting the proposed relationships.

The amount and nature of socially acceptable self-disclosure, social norms, and the meaning attached to the term social are highly contingent on the cultural context. Although SNS are growing exponentially in popularity worldwide, the underlying process and the relative importance of antecedents of self-disclosure in SNS may differ across cultures. Therefore, the research stream would benefit greatly from studies conducted in a cross-cultural setting.

Wheless and Grotz (1976) conceptualized self-disclosure as having five distinctive dimensions: (a) consciously intended disclosure, (b) amount of disclosure, (c) positive-negative nature of disclosure, (d) honesty-accuracy of the disclosure, and (e) control of the general depth or intimacy of disclosure. Future researchers of the nature of self-disclosure on SNS may also scrutinize the positive-negative nature of disclosure and the control of the general depth or intimacy of disclosure dimensions. These dimensions may be related to other psychological characteristics, as well as the factors we examined in this study.

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## Appendix

Construct	Item
Personal identity	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• I disclose my personal identification information (name, hometown, gender, age, occupation).</li> <li>• I disclose my online contact information (email, Skype, MSN).</li> <li>• I disclose my physical contact information (cell phone, address).</li> </ul>
Potentially stigmatizing information	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• I announce my real-time whereabouts.</li> <li>• I post statements reflecting my feelings.</li> <li>• I post statements and engage in actions revealing my interests and hobbies.</li> <li>• I post statements and engage in actions reflecting my opinions and ideas.</li> <li>• I share my own experiences and memories.</li> <li>• I post statements and engage in actions that reveal my political stance.</li> <li>• I share content and engage in actions that reveal my lifestyle.</li> </ul>
Disclosure honesty	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• I disclose my personal identification information (name, hometown, gender, age, occupation) as accurately as possible.</li> <li>• I use my own photograph in my profile.</li> <li>• I am honest in my self-disclosures in my profile and in my posts.</li> </ul>
SNS use	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• I share content (stories, articles, videos, pictures, status, whereabouts) that I create through SNS.</li> <li>• I share content (stories, articles, videos, pictures, status, whereabouts) created by others that I come across while surfing the Internet or in others' profiles.</li> <li>• I post comments in response to content shared by others.</li> <li>• I interact with content shared by others via "liking" or "tagging."</li> <li>• I join fan pages, groups and/or events in SNS.</li> <li>• I tag multimedia content (pictures, videos, podcasts) shared by others.</li> <li>• I make posts to others' walls or profiles.</li> </ul>

