

**#CROWDED CONVERSATIONS: AUDIENCE DIVERSITY AND THE AUTHENTIC
SELF**

by

ANJELICA M. MARTINEZ, B.A.

THESIS

Presented to the Graduate Faculty of
The University of Texas at San Antonio
in Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements
for the Degree of

MASTER OF SCIENCE IN PSYCHOLOGY

COMMITTEE MEMBERS:
David R. Pillow, Ph.D., Chair
Meghan A. Crabtree, Ph.D.
Mary McNaughton-Cassill, Ph.D.

THE UNIVERSITY OF TEXAS AT SAN ANTONIO
College of Liberal and Fine Arts
Department of Psychology
May 2020

Copyright 2020 Anjelica M. Martinez
All Rights Reserved

DEDICATION

For my parents, whose unwavering love and faith strengthens and inspires me to pursue the most ambitious of endeavors. I would not be the woman I am today without you both.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

First and foremost, I am deeply indebted to the wonderful advisors and professors who have guided me as I began my training as an experimental psychologist. Even during a time of great unrest and uncertainty, I am privileged to be able to continue my growth within this field under their leadership. Most of all, I am indebted to my ever-patient advisor, David Pillow. It is with his guidance have I developed a love for data statistics and within-person research. Thank you for challenging me past my own expectations. I must also thank my committee members, Drs. Meghan Crabtree and Mary McNaughton-Cassill, for their insight and assistance with helping me pursue social media as my field of research.

I also am incredibly thankful for my family's unwavering support throughout my education. It is only with their support and love may I find the strength to continue pursuing my ambitious goals in training as an experimental psychologist. Thank you for always pushing me in all that I do.

Lastly, I am grateful for the friends I have had the privilege to work and grow alongside with these past two years. Thank you for teaching me the value of friendship during hardship, and the value of persistence in times of self-doubt. Our memories made at UTSA will forever be cherished.

May 2020

#CROWDED CONVERSATIONS: AUDIENCE DIVERSITY AND THE AUTHENTIC SELF

Anjelica Martinez, M.S.
The University of Texas at San Antonio, 2020

Supervising Professor: David Pillow, Ph.D.

Interpersonal communication has dramatically evolved from real-life to online interactions through social media networks. Online communication however comes with caveats, namely, an exact perception of who can see generated content, and how this format influences self-presentational and identity motives. This thesis aimed to fill this gap in this literature on identity need fulfillment and the mediational role of belongingness and distinctiveness on audience diversity. This thesis had UTSA Sona participants (N=560 participants) across Facebook, Twitter, and Instagram. Participants were prescribed eight identities: Political Orientation, Gender, Sexual Orientation, Religious Orientation, Secularism, Race, Introverted/Extroverted, and Anxiousness, and answered questions along each identity and audience variability measurements. Multilevel structural equation modeling revealed significant positive relationships between audience diversity and belongingness, and both belongingness and distinctiveness and authenticity. Significant differences between social medias determined Twitter as associated with the highest reported levels of distinctiveness and belongingness.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Acknowledgements.....	iv
Abstract.....	v
List of Tables	vii
List of Figures.....	viii
Chapter One: Introduction	1
Chapter Two: Literature Review	3
Chapter Three: Study Overview and Methodology	17
Measurements	21
Chapter Four: Results	24
Chapter Five: Discussion and Theoretical Implications	31
Appendix.....	42
References.....	74
Vita	

LIST OF TABLES

Table 1	Direct and indirect within effects of audience diversity on authenticity via belongingness and distinctiveness	25
Table 2	Mean comparisons of belongingness, distinctiveness, and authenticity across Facebook, Instagram, and Twitter	27
Table 3	Direct and indirect between effects of audience diversity on authenticity via belongingness and distinctiveness	29

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1	Proposed model for the mediational effect of belongingness and distinctiveness on the relationship between authenticity and audience diversity17
Figure 2	Direct and indirect effects of audience diversity on identity-level authenticity via motive fulfillment of belongingness and distinctiveness within individuals.....26
Figure 3	Direct and indirect effects of audience diversity on identity-level authenticity via motive fulfillment of belongingness and distinctiveness between individuals30

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION.

Audience Diversity and the Authentic Self

Social networking sites, or social media platforms, are egocentric networks that serve the individual as a personal information outlet (Marwick & Boyd, 2011). Social media sites provide communication mediums for online users to both obtain mass amounts of information from others and to share information with others. It is through social media sites that users construe their identity (Zhao, Grasmuch, & Martin, 2008) and strengthen interpersonal relationships (Trepte, Masur, & Scharnow, 2018). However, there are also negative consequences associated with the growth in popularity of social media. First, meta analyses conducted by Saipoo, Halevi and Vahedi (2020) indicate a negative effect between social media and self-esteem in young adults. Second, addictive social media use is associated with social comparison and lower self-esteem (Andreassen, Pallesen & Griffiths, 2017), mental health problems in adolescents (Keles, McCrae, & Grealish, 2020), and social isolation within older adults (Meshi, Cotten, & Bender, 2019).

Studies have only begun to explore the implications of presenting oneself to large, diverse audiences via social media platforms. In general, enacting identities can fulfill important personal and social motives (Crabtree & Pillow, in press); however, the related task of creating impressions on others carries inherent risks (see Jones & Pittman, 1982). This thesis argues that self-presentational displays of one's identity has risks that are magnified in the social media domain because the audience size increases beyond what is typical for off-line social interactions, and with larger audience sizes comes, more often than not, greater diversity in the relationships one has with audience members and in the perspectives of those members. In

addition, the nature of one's self-presentation might be expected to vary across social network platforms, and hence the risks and benefits of self-presentation on such sites may vary.

The current research proposal is designed to explore the differential benefits and risks of enacting identities and presenting oneself to audiences on social media, with supplemental analyses exploring how audiences and risks and benefits with respect to motive fulfillment vary across social network platforms. Specifically, we propose that perceived variability in one's audience will affect one's sense of distinctiveness and belongingness, which will indirectly affect one's ability to enact an identity so as to feel authentic. Toward exploring these associations, the current proposal draws upon optimal distinctiveness theory (Brewer & Baumeister, 1992) and motivated identity construction theory (Vignoles, 2011). We propose that higher audience diversity perceptions affect one's sense of distinctiveness and belongingness, and in turn, these relationships affect the authentic self.

CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW

Audience Diversity

Audience diversity reflects the variability, concentration, or variety of individuals within one's perceived online audience (McDonald & Dimmick; Marwick & Boyd, 2011). For the presented research, we conceptualize audience diversity as a dualistic construct encompassing two critical criteria: (a) the number of categories that describe various audience members; and, (b) the proportion of audience members that fall into each category (McDonald & Dimmick, 2003). Lieberman (1969) measures diversity with a single value score derived from a homogeneity – heterogeneity continuum while accounting for at least one qualitative variable. Such methodology has been utilized with respect to identity enactment and social anxiety within diversified audience contexts (Kwon, Moon & Stefanone, 2015; Cohrs, Moschner, Maes & Kielmann, 2005).

Within the context of social networking sites, social diversity is defined with respect to all of the audience members that SNS users might expect to view their texts, posts, pictures, videos, or other uploaded information. Online, this audience may be concretely defined by a listed followership or “imaginary” audience (Marwick & Boyd, 2011). This “imaginary” audience may also be considered the “idealized audience” and, within some social media contexts, can extend past the users with whom one interacts directly (Marwick & Boyd, 2011). This audience may be heterogenous or consist of individuals with high variability in beliefs, values, and identities (Marder et al., 2016). This audience may also be homogenous, where the majority of the network consists of individuals sharing similar characteristics. Therefore, these networks may be composed of characteristically similar or dissimilar individuals.

Context Collapse Threat.

Context collapse references the flattening of spatial, temporal, and social boundaries (Marwick & Boyd, 2011). Social interactions are typically segregated offline, but in online environments, they are condensed to fit a singular impression simultaneously to the entire audience. Context collapse may be desirable under specific circumstances (Dennen & Burner, 2017). For instance, social media offers a unique context where users can interact with real life friends, family, and colleagues without face-to-face interaction (Zhao et al., 2008). However, context collapse has been linked with greater audience diversity and tendencies to self-censor brought on by social anxiety (Beam, Child, Hutchens, & Hmielowski, 2018). Because of potential accessibility from certain or unknown audience members, some social networking sites, like Facebook, offer ‘privacy settings,’ through which an individual may impose strict user-generated content settings, thereby directly controlling what is seen by others. The extent to which users have options to limit others’ access varies by social mediums that otherwise may be contained within real-world settings. For the individual identifying as a member of LGBTQ+ community, such collapsing of multiple social boundaries occurs through accidental enactment of their sexual orientation within the “wrong” social context. Within the social media context, someone might upload a photograph taken at a pride parade and tag them in the picture. This may then be seen by all audience members. As such, the individual may fear being “outed”—forced to “come out” to employers or family members in a manner they had not planned. In such a case, the individual may feel more comfortable using a social network platform that does not include these audience members (McLaughlin & Vitak, 2011). Increased expression is also possible where these identities are likely to be ignored by strangers or individuals uninterested in said identities (Miller & Melton, 2015). Members of Facebook, for instance, have reported

‘fleeing’ to Twitter to express desired identities due to fear of consequences of expression (McConnell, Clifford, Korpak, Phillips, & Birkett, 2017; McLaughlin & Vitak, 2011).

One argument explaining this responsive self-censorship toward audience member characteristics stems from the lowest common denominator effect (LDME) (Hogan, 2010). LDME argues that the strictest audience member, or group of audience members, has the strongest effect on user-generated content (Hogan, 2010). The user is also concerned with presenting their most ideal self. Hence, the user must balance the desire to present their ideal self while pleasing the strictest audience member (Hogan, 2010). This strictest audience member holds the strictest values (e.g., a highly religious family member, conservative friend) or the highest expectations of the user (i.e., a potential employer). Marder, Joinson, Shanker, and Thirlaway (2016) stipulated that, rather than the strictest audience member, it is better to account for the valence of specific audiences. This audience member, or group of audience members, is the most central to the individual. Some examples include a characteristically similar group such as peers, or those the user cares for such as family members (Leary & Kowalski, 1995; Marder et al., 2016). This can include fewer members, such as an ingroup the user wishes to join. Despite this emerging literature, how online users negotiate their self-presentation with regards to their audience remains debated.

In summation, the literature with respect to the effects of audience diversity on fulfillment of social needs are inconclusive. Little research has explicitly considered audience diversity within one’s social network, which leaves a large gap in research with regards to understanding social media as a new social medium wherein individuals construct identities and satisfy needs.

Optimal Distinctiveness Theory

Optimal distinctiveness theory (Brewer, 1991) posits that individuals optimize two opposing needs, belongingness and distinctiveness, within the interpersonal domain. The need to belong is conceptually defined as the formation and maintenance of strong, stable interpersonal relationships (Baumeister & Brewer, 1995). While individuals aim for similarity and acceptance from groups (Pickett, Silver, & Brewer, 2002), too much perceived similarity may cause one to lose their sense of individuality (Snyder & Fromkin, 1980). When an individual perceives themselves as too similar to others, the opposing need is threatened.

Therefore, individuals have an inherent drive to maintain balance of, or optimize, both needs. Although optimal distinctiveness has traditionally focused on the sense of belongingness and distinctiveness within one's social group maintenance, how these group processes are transposed to identity-level need satisfaction must be also considered. The underlying forces driving human behavior guide particular motives or certain identity states (Vignoles, 2011; Vignoles & Moncaster, 2007; Vignoles, 2004). For this study the interplay of distinctiveness, belongingness, and authenticity are considered and discussed within an individual level framework. This adaptation is prevalent within motivated identity construction theory (MICT; Vignoles, 2011; Vignoles, Regalia, Manzi, Golledge, & Scabini, 2006) and has been further adapted for other studies of identity and need satisfaction (e.g., Crabtree, 2018).

Belongingness and Social Media

The belongingness hypothesis posits that individuals are dependent upon social networks and the social support provided by others (Baumeister & Leary, 1995). This need is satisfied through frequent, positive, and stable interactions, as well as mutual concern for the well-being of others (Baumeister & Leary, 1995). Dissatisfaction of this need, via rejection or exclusion, is

psychologically detrimental to the individual's self-esteem, (Denissen, Penke, Schmitt, & van Aken, 2008) emotional well-being, and increases anxiety (Baumeister & Tice, 1990).

Due to the innate and "universal" drive to belong within a group (Baumeister & Leary, 1995), it is crucial to address how interpersonal relationships are facilitated in a positive and stable way on social media. It is also essential to examine the conditions under which this effect is strongest.

When constructing one's identity, research does suggest that the facilitated communications found on social networking sites fulfill the psychological need to belong (Nadkarni & Hoffman, 2012; Seidman, 2013). Proposing a dual-factor model explaining self-presentations on Facebook, Nadkarni & Hoffman (2012) posited that motivations for Facebook use were driven by the need for self-presentation and the need to belong. Belongingness satisfaction on Facebook was suggested to be fulfilled by information seeking about others, communicating with others, seeking acceptance, and connecting (Seidman, 2013). Other users may strive to achieve or fantasize about achieving "fame" by gaining mass followings within their platform network (Greenwood, Long, & Cin, 2013) and building social capital (Chang & Chuang, 2011).

Still, other individuals find heightened belongingness while self-disclosing personal information online. Self-disclosing on instant messenger yielded positive effects of mutual support in a longitudinal study conducted by Trepte, Masur, and Scharkow (2018). This relationship was bidirectional, which yielded positive feedback loops between self-disclosure and social support offered by others. Joinson (2001) has shown that disclosure of personal aspects occurred more frequently in computer-mediated communication situations. As previously mentioned, this likelihood of self-disclosure in online contexts may be hindered by audience diversity as individuals are less likely to enact social identities in larger, diverse audiences (Beam et al.,

2018). However, the exact nature of the relationship between audience diversity and belongingness remains to be explored.

Distinctiveness and Social Media

Distinctiveness is defined as the motive towards a sense of differentiation from others (Vignoles et al., 2001; Brewer, 1991). Perceived dissimilarity can occur in large, heterogeneous, online groups, and has been identified as a strong predictor of one's intent to interact on social networking platforms (Phua, Lu, & Gupta, 2014). However, when audience members have dissimilar values, this relationship becomes inverted. For instance, the lack of sense of uniqueness was not associated with brand endorsement (Phua, Lu, & Gupta, 2014).

At the intergroup level, greater dissimilarity between the self-identification and other groups made salient distinctiveness promoting intergroup biases (Jetten, Spears, and Manstead, 1998). Reactive distinctiveness hypothesis (Jetten et al., 1998) emphasizes how threats to intergroup distinctiveness (i.e., perceived similarity) instigate motivations to introduce dissimilarity. Differentiation, the attempt to differentiate one's group from another (Jetten et al., 1998) refers to the resultant reaction when one's group-level identity is threatened. The technological setting presented by social media offers a large, diversified, perceived audience within which the user belongs to many simultaneous social groups. As individuals select their own online social networking systems, users may construct networks that promote either greatly homogenous audiences via the use of privacy settings or allow their audiences to be heterogeneous by declining to use privacy settings. Examination of the direct associative relationship between motivated identity level distinctiveness and authentic being is, however, insufficient.

Authenticity

Authenticity is a topic that has been heavily researched in recent years. At the global level, authenticity is defined as a tripartite person-centered construct composed of (lack of) self-alienation, authentic living, and (not) accepting external influences (Wood et al., 2008). The first aspect, self-alienation, references the potential incongruity between an individual's consciousness and actual experience, and the extent to which the individual 'self-alienates' from their own true self. Higher self-alienation occurs with high incongruity. The second, authentic living, involves behaving and expressing inner physiological states, emotions, beliefs, and cognitions. The third aspect references the influence of expectations on behavior imposed by others. In essence, true authenticity can be determined when the individual abides by their inner consciousness without the introjection of another's beliefs (Wood et al., 2008).

Authenticity and Social Media. A large body of empirical research on authenticity online supports the psychological benefits of authenticity as a determinant of psychological well-being (Kim & Lee, 2011; Steinfield, Ellison, & Lampe, 2008). Additional research asserts that an online, reciprocal relationship between well-being and authenticity mimics the offline authenticity/well-being relationship (Reinecke & Trepte, 2014). Therefore, communication and interactions between persons, albeit online, is supported as similar to real-world interactions with respect to authenticity.

At the identity level, Vignoles (2004) posited that humans construct and enact identities to meet belongingness, meaning, continuity, distinctiveness, self-esteem, autonomy, and competence needs. Individuals who enacted a self-aspect or social identity reported greater levels of perceived authenticity via the fulfillment of these needs (Crabtree, 2018). More specifically, Crabtree (2018) evaluated the effect of fulfillment of these six needs on concealment and

enactment of a self-selected by the participant. With respect to the current research aims, Crabtree observed the enactment of an identity was significantly positively associated with distinctiveness motive fulfillment. Further, identities that fulfilled distinctive motives were also more central to the participant.

Specifically, with respect to audience influence, extensive literature emphasizes individuals are more likely to be perceived as inauthentic in large audiences (Ellison, Steinfield, & Lampe, 2011; Tong, Van Der Heide, Langwell, & Walther, 2008). However, little research has examined whether one's own perceived sense of authenticity is associated with the audience's diverse nature. One may feel inauthentic as an indirect consequence of concealing a self-aspect, or social identity. Crabtree and Pillow (in press) observed a negative relationship between concealment of an identity and sense of belongingness. This relationship mediated the negative indirect relationship between identity concealment and sense of authenticity (Crabtree and Pillow, in press). These research findings may imply that there are important relations involving audience diversity, self-concealment, belongingness, and inauthenticity, yet research is lacking that draws these relations together in the context of self-expressions using social media. The current study attempts to specify the nature of these relations explicitly.

Cross Platform Differences

Facebook. Since its emergence in 2004, Facebook has an estimated 2.27 billion active users worldwide (Statista, 2019), and established itself as the leading social media site (Lampe, Ellison, & Steinfield, 2008). Within the United States alone, 90% of mobile users report having a Facebook account (Statista, 2019). User interaction on Facebook is initiated via private or direct messaging (*DMs*), commenting on another's update or picture, or, mainly pictorial or texted user content to a shared user interface, or a *wall*. Wall posts consist of shared information from

unaffiliated sources, images, videos, and/ or text from *friends*, or reciprocal relationships for which the user may choose to share information. Mutual permission via *friend requests* is a prerequisite to access generated content. Creation of a Facebook *profile* requires the user's preferred name, gender, date of birth, and email address (Facebook, 2011; Boyd & Hargittati, 2010). With such an extensive reach, a large quantity of research on Facebook considers social needs (see Nadkarni & Hoffman, 2011, Caers et al., 2013; Wilson, Gosling, & Graham, 2012), Big Five personality traits (Marshall et al., 2018), and psychological effects such as self-worth (Toma & Hancock, 2013), and relationship quality (Valkenburg & Peter, 2008). Further, women engaging in posting behaviors such as *selfies*, were more likely to objectify themselves and others who partake in the behavior (Veldhuis, Allewaert, de Waate, Keijer, & Konjin, 2018). Past studies suggest social networks offer opportunities to control one's perception (Peluchette & Karl, 2010), and creation of an ideal image (Michikyan, Dennis, & Subrahmanyam, 2015). For example, those seeking to be perceived as hardworking were less likely to post sexually appealing or offensive information (Michikyan, Dennis & Subrahmanyam, 2015). Despite the extant literature on Facebook, online trends indicate growth in other social networking sites globally: Instagram with 1 billion active users, and Twitter with 326 million active users, (Statista, 2019). Users, particularly young college students, may hold multiple accounts (Quaana-Haase, 2016; Zafarni & Liu, 2016) and are likely to switch accounts dependent on different motivations such as career advancement, or self-promotion (van Dijck, 2013).

Further, the research regarding Facebook use has been largely mixed in young adult populations. For example, bridging social capital has only been supported as a benefit of Facebook use in teenagers with high self-concept and efficacy (Kahai & Lei, 2019). Contrasting with previous literature, Kahai and Lei (2019) propose shifting inter-personal dynamics and

identity theories, such as self-concept, in relation to previous literature to be influenced by competing networks for users.

Instagram. Instagram boasts a “image first, text later” approach to interpersonal communication and relations. Developed in 2010, Instagram provides users with interactions entirely based on photo uploads, videos, and text captions. Unlike Facebook, Instagram contains a directed friendship model; followers may choose to be updated with other’s posts, while having their own set of followers. This feature, like Twitter, does not require relational reciprocity; that is, users do not need to mutually confirm access to each other’s posts, and one may follow the other but the other may not reciprocate. This feature also permits fashion or celebrity account creation that, without privacy settings, can generate vast followings of fans, thus allowing a marketable aspect to Instagram (Phua, Jin & Kim, 2012).

Although Instagram has been associated with greater well-being, high use of the site has been linked with negative self-perceptions and lowered self-esteem (Tiggemann & Zaccardo, 2015) loneliness (Yang, 2016), and symptom onset of psychopathological disorders such orthorexia nervosa (Turner & Lefevre, 2017), anxiety and depressive symptomatology (Sidani et al., 2016; Lup, Trub, & Rosenthal, 2015). In young adult populations, higher rates of narcissism were observed among frequent users (Sheldon & Bryant, 2016). In a social media priming experiment, participants primed with Instagram versus Pinterest, another image-sharing social media experienced intensified self-monitoring behaviors (Kim, Seely, & Jung, 2017). In contrast, those who were primed with Pinterest use experienced self-monitoring behavior depletion.

Twitter. Twitter is a 280 character-limit micro-blogging service (Twitter, 2016). Between 2010 and 2019, active users increased from less than 50 million to nearly 350 million (Statista, 2019). Similar to Instagram, reciprocity of followership is not required. Usage of

twitter, in comparison to Facebook, was associated with openness and Machiavellianism (Marshall et al., 2018). Facebook drove higher levels of narcissism and seeking career enhancing opportunities. Narcissism on Facebook in turn was associated with possessing more likes on posts and career-enhancing opportunities (Marshall et al., 2018). Given the vast use and instant messaging and *retweeting* of topics, it may become impossible for users to accurately determine how many people see their content (Marwick & Boyd, 2011). Users are capable of changing privacy settings so only their intended followership received access to their tweets, or content, and subsequent retweets. However, most opt for this setting, which allows a seemingly infinite set of viewers to access tweets (Marwick & Boyd, 2011). Lacking information about the true audience may cause a phenomenon called “viral trending.” Viral trending refers to circumstances when a tweet generated by one user is repeatedly retweeted by multiple users to newer, larger networks, and seen by an even greater audience. In communication, this phenomenon has accredited twitter with a mass communicative label rather than inherently intercommunicative (French & Babaroza, 2017). Therefore, Twitter has been compared as more akin to newspapers, television, or radios. This is because, rather than being solely driven by communication with an intended audience, such as Facebook and Instagram, Twitter users interact with a massive, undetermined audience (French & Babaroza, 2017). However, it is because of the potential for virality of tweets and the decreased lack of audience knowledge that Twitter may be seen as more of a communicative tool for news outlets and less of a standard social media (Marwick & Boyd, 2011; French & Babaroza, 2017).

Support for Cross-Platform Differences. Among dozens of social networks with large user populations, these three social mediums were selected for their high use in the target young adult population, and trends indicating multiple platform use. Fundamentally, Instagram, Twitter,

and Facebook possess the same qualities offered to its users: a listed followership, user-generated status updates to a general feed, a personal profile, reward system, and private messaging or sharing directly to other users. Given such structural differences in how individuals may enact social identities across multiple networks, more research must be conducted concerning these cross-platform differences. Depending on the social medium, there is also increasing support for norm differences. What is deemed appropriate on Twitter may not be deemed appropriate on Facebook, or online at all (Muscanell, Ewall, & Wingate, 2016). Users may employ tactics to ‘self-cleanse’, where the user removes undesirable content (Lampinen, Tamminen & Oulasvirta, 2009; Peters, Winschiers – Theophilus, & Mennecke, 2015). Facebook and Instagram users, namely, can greatly limit audiences to exclude specific individuals or groups of people. In contrast, Twitter users only have the option to limit their audience to accepted followers.

For this study, we propose the process by which belongingness and distinctiveness needs are met are likely to vary across these social media platforms. Moreover, the structure of these platforms may yield differences in how psychological needs are met and may ultimately impact how authentic individuals feel on these networks.

Audience Diversity and the Network. Some literature has addressed direct association between audience diversity and social identity enactment. For example, exposure to diverse opinions within an audience reduced the likelihood that a Facebook user enacted upon identities specific to political orientation (Kwon, Moon, & Stefanone, 2015). This effect occurred independent of audience size and possible incongruence of the audience with one’s social identity (Kwon et al., 2015). Similarly, French and Babarozza (2017) held network size and diversity constant for their cross-platform analyses. However, this analysis saw that increased, direct communication between friends was expected with larger and more diverse networks

(French & Babarozza, 2017). Marder (2018) observed a heterogenous, diversified audience increased social anxiety associated with ‘liking’ a political candidate’s profile on Facebook. This relationship, in turn, reduced the likelihood of partaking in a desirable enactment of their political orientation identity. Some studies suggest that falsifying one’s presentation or constructing an ‘ideal image’ is negatively associated with well-being (Michikyan et al., 2015). There is also increasing support regarding social media users as more likely to conceal social identities when in the presence of larger audiences (Marder et al., 2016; Vitak et al., 2012).

More specific to perceived audience nature, Crabtree and Pillow (in press) observed network density on Facebook as positively associated with likelihood to disclose information. When the Facebook network was seen as one large conglomerative rather than separate social categories, users were more likely to disclose personal information on Facebook (Crabtree & Pillow, under review). This relationship had a strong indirect effect on increased Facebook use through open self-disclosure on Facebook (Crabtree & Pillow, 2018).

Despite the implications of past research, to our knowledge no research has directly evaluated the effect of heterogenous and homogeneous audiences on the identity-level motives belongingness, distinctiveness, or authenticity.

College Students and Social Media. Young, college-aged students (18-25 years old) are among the most active on social networking sites (Lenhart et al., 2010; Ellison, Heino, & Gibbs, 2006). Young adults also are more likely to hold multiple accounts other than Facebook than older generations (Quan-Haase & Young, 2010). Most current research has emphasized use of social media research within young adult subpopulations for individual identity motive assessment (Miller & Melton, 2015; Zhao, Grasmuch, & Martin, 2008; Michikyan, Dennis & Subrahmanyam, 2015). With respect to audience information, Miller and Melton’s (2015) study

on social media behaviors across domains reported college students as aware and cautious regarding types of individuals with access to their Facebook profile information. Participants reported their Twitter and Facebook as 'harmful' to their image and career if seen by a future employer. Of these, user Twitter profiles were seen as significantly more harmful than Facebook. The most active Twitter users posted one to five times daily, with both types of users logging in multiple times daily (Miller & Melton, 2015). More active use places young adult populations at risk for addictive social media behaviors that may negatively impede self-esteem and life satisfaction (Hawi & Samaha, 2017). Within other research, users acknowledge the harmful risk of public accounts, however, assumedly continue to post irrespective of potential audiences (Denner & Burner, 2017). This literature suggests users yielding to social norms emphasizing open, public, information sharing despite consequences in real-world and the self. Utilization of this population, given its unique characteristic knowledge and advanced use of social media may produce advancing theoretical perspectives of motivated identity theories.

CHAPTER 3: STUDY OVERVIEW AND METHODOLOGY

Study Overview

Given the differences in audience perceptions across multiple platforms, as well as the infrastructural differences that exist between these sites, we propose that perceived variability in one's audience (i.e., audience diversity) will positively affect one's sense of distinctiveness and negatively affect one's sense of belongingness in the enactment and concealment of the prescribed social identity. For the current proposal we draw upon optimal distinctiveness theory (Brewer & Baumeister, 1992), motivated identity construction theories (Vignoles, 2011), and the model in Crabtree (2018) for the exploration of the proposed model:

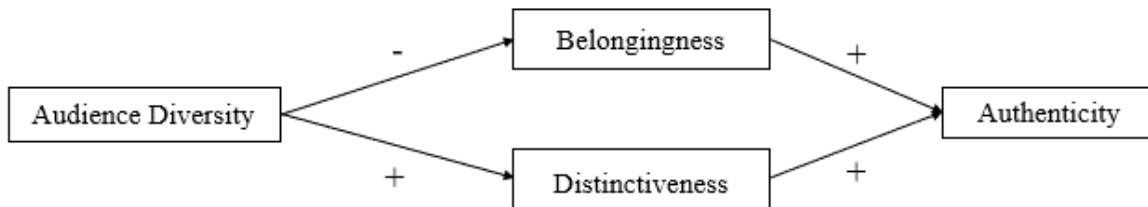


Figure 1 Proposed model for the mediational effect of Belongingness and Distinctiveness on the relationship between Authenticity on Audience Diversity

Hypotheses

The following set of hypotheses explores the effect of perceived audience diversity on Level 1, within-subject, belongingness, distinctiveness, and, in turn, authenticity.

Hypotheses 1a and 1b: Our first subset of hypotheses addresses the direct effects between audience diversity and mediators belongingness and distinctiveness.

H1a. Highly perceived levels of audience diversity (heterogeneous audiences) will have a positive, direct effect on sense of distinctiveness.

H1b. Highly perceived levels of audience diversity will have a positive, direct effect on sense of distinctiveness.

Hypotheses 2a and 2b: Our second subset of hypotheses explains the indirect effects between audience diversity and the mediational effects of belongingness and distinctiveness.

H2a. There will be a positive direct effect on the relationship between distinctiveness and authenticity.

H2b: There will be a positive indirect effect on the relationship between sense of belongingness and authenticity. The belongingness- authenticity pathway is parallel to the pattern researched and observed by Crabtree (2018).

In this thesis, I argue that that the variables that may negatively impact fulfillment of identities will proceed to negatively impede feelings of one's authenticity. Broadly, it is proposed that heterogenous audiences will provide a context and cues that both serve the individual's sense of distinctiveness, however, thwart individual's sense of belongingness, as implicated by Marder (2016). Within this study, Marder (2016) attributed reduced enactment of political orientation enactment determined by highly diversified networks in which they interacted. This model anticipates similar interactions.

Because little research has evaluated audience diversity as a predictor variable across social media platforms, these differences will be explored with the following research question:

RQ: What model differences emerge across the social networking sites Facebook, Twitter and Instagram?

Given possibility to construe or alter others' perception of ourselves, assessments of interpersonal interaction effect on one's fulfillment of identity needs are essential. The exploration of the nature of audience diversity is therefore crucial to understanding how we negotiate our identities online, with the goal to feel our most authentic self. Whether one social media platform provides a better outlet for the expression of one's authentic self is a matter of speculation. Rather than speculate here, we treat these questions as exploratory, given the lack of previous empirical work done on cross-platform comparisons.

Method

Participant Demographics. Participants (N=609, 71.6% female) were recruited through UTSA SONA in exchange for partial course credit towards an Introduction to Psychology course. Of these participants, 94.3% were between the ages 18-24, and 68.3% identified as Hispanic. 62.7% identified as Caucasian or White, 7.5% identified as Black or African American, 6.3% as Asian or Pacific Islander, 2.7% as Native American, and 1.3% as Eastern Indian or Middle Eastern. Additionally, 19% chose not to self-identify or identified as more than one.

Prior to participation, participants were prescreened to be, at minimum, 'somewhat active' on one of the three social media sites: Facebook, Instagram, and Twitter. This includes both active (e.g., "I post regularly.") and passive use (e.g., "I do not post actively but I check my feed often.") If the participant is eligible for more than questionnaire, they were randomly assigned to one of those in which criteria was fulfilled. Of these participants, 49 participants were excluded from the study predetermined by exclusion criteria: (1) prescreen failure, or (2)

missing data. This reduced the total number participants to 560. Of these participants, 32.1% reported Facebook use, 35.1% used Instagram, and 32.8% used Twitter.

Procedure. Participants eligible were first asked to confirm they are users of the specified social media site and provided with an informed consent. Eligible participants completed a self-report questionnaire consisting of all measurements for each of the eight prescribed identities: Political Orientation, Religious Affiliation, Religiosity, Sexual Orientation, Sex, Race, Introversion/Extroversion, and Anxiety/Calm.

First, for each identity, participants were prompted to provide a percentage of audience members' categorization per prescribed identity and provided categories. For the social identity political orientation, participants provided a perceived, approximated percentage of audience members belonging to the categories Strong Republican/Very Conservative, Republican, In the middle- neither, Democrat/ Liberal, Strong Democrat/Very Liberal. Responses were forced summed to account for 100% of the audience network. Participants were then prompted for their own orientation along each identity index to account for dissimilarity. For example, the index political orientation: "I would say that I am: Strong Republican/Conservative, Republican/Conservative, In the middle- neither, Democrat/Liberal, or Strong Democrat/Very Liberal." For full list of identity indices, see Appendix 1.

Last, general participant demographic information was collected including race, gender, and age. This also included social media usage habits, number of accounts followed/followers, and social media group participation. All participants were fully debriefed and informed of the study prior to exiting the survey and receiving credit.

Measurements

Prescribed Identities. Eight prescribed identities were presented to participants for : Political Orientation, Sex, Sexual Orientation, Religious Orientation, Secularism, Race, Introverted/Extroverted, and Anxiety. Previous data from Crabtree (2018) demonstrated higher frequencies of these social identities as being more central to participants and more enacted upon offline. Studies specifically related to political orientation (Marder, 2018), sexual orientation, (McConnell, Clifford, Korpak, & Phillips II), religious affiliation, and other social identities have been cited within the literature. These social identities were also selected as they are mutually exclusive and often identifiable within their perceived audience.

Audience Diversity. For the measurement of audience diversity, Simpson's D_z , the standardized form of Simpson's D was utilized (Simpson, 1949). Simpson's D_z captures general perceived variance within populations according to the participant (Budescu & Budescu, 2012). Importantly, Simpson's D_z satisfies both criteria for capturing audience diversity determined by McDonald and Dimmick (2013): (a) the number of categories that describe various audience members; and, (b) the proportion of audience members that fall into each category. Simpson's D_z , in contrast to its unstandardized form, allows comparisons between multiple diversity indices composed of differing numbers of categories and proportionality. Simpson's D_z considers the full distribution of a population over k categories:

$$D_z = \sum p_i^2 / (1 - \frac{1}{k})$$

where p indicates the proportions, and k indicates the number of categories. Simpson's D_z lies on a 0 – 1 continuum, with 0 having a lack of perceived diversity, and a 1 score having complete diversity with equally proportioned categories. Scores nearing the upper limit of D_z represent greater perceived heterogeneity.

Simpson's D and Simpson's D_z are universal measures of diversity used in conjunction with multiple definitions of diversity. Both have been used within areas of research including communications literature (see McLeod & Hoyd; Eveland & Hively, 2009), political participation audience (Ortiz, 2010), racial/ethnic diversity (Budescu & Budescu, 2012), and biological diversity (see Gottfredson et al. 2008; Juvonen et al., 2006).

Identity-Level Distinctiveness. Two questions measured sense of distinctiveness fulfillment individuals derive from each social identity. Two items were adapted from identity-motive measures created by Crabtree (2018); "How much do you feel that your social identity, [social identity] distinguishes you from your audience on [social media]?" The term "self-aspect" was substituted for "social identity," and questions were adapted as to be within the context of the specified social media. One additional item was adapted from Sheldon and Bettencourt (2002); "To what extent does this social identity, [social identity] make you feel unique within your audience on [social media]?" The two items were measured along a 1-7 Likert-Type scale (1= *Not at all* and 7 = *Extremely*). The social identity the participant self-categorized as within the previous question will be substituted for the identity in brackets.

Identity-Level Belongingness. Two questions measured sense of fulfillment derived from participant motivation to belong within their audience on the social media. One item was adapted from Crabtree (2018); "How much do you feel that your social identity, [social identity], gives you a sense of belonging within your audience on [social media]." As previously adapted, the term "self- aspect" will be substituted for "social identity." One additional item was adopted from Sheldon and Bennencourt (2002); "To what extent does being (a) [social identity] make you feel included in your audience on [social media]?" Both questions are phrased within the

context of the specified social identity along a 1-7 Likert-type scale (1 = *Not at all* to 7 = *Extremely*).

Identity-Level Authenticity. Three items were adapted from Crabtree (2018). Participants will respond to the statements that assess individual felt authenticity with regards to the specified social identity, with (9 = *Strongly Agree* to 1 = *Strongly Disagree*). Example prompts include “I experience being (a) [social identity] to be an authentic part of who I am” and “Being (a) [social identity] is valuable to me.”

CHAPTER FOUR: RESULTS

Primary Analysis Overview

We utilized a multilevel modeling framework to examine both sets of hypotheses. This framework considered the mediational effects of belongingness and distinctiveness on the relationship between audience diversity and authenticity per each prescribed identity. That is, model path coefficients will account for the within-subject multiplicity of each prescribed identity: Political Orientation, Gender, Sexual Orientation, Religious Orientation, Secularism, Race, Introverted/Extroverted, and Anxious/Emotionally Stable. Analyses were conducted using the multilevel modeling for Mplus. The analyses proposed here will specify 2 mediators (i.e., distinctiveness and belongingness). The analyses used 560 participants, with each reporting on 8 identities, yielding 4480 cases. However, 236 individual cases of observations were excluded due to missing or unreported data. For example, if the belongingness component of Political Orientation was missing, the identity Political Orientation was excluded for that individual. All other identity elements were included. This yielded an N of 4246 observations.

Results of Multilevel Model by Hypothesis

Analytic Strategy. The data were analyzed using multilevel modeling. Specifically, a random intercepts only model was estimated using multilevel structural equation modeling (MSEM) was used (Preacher, 2010), MSEM is a unified framework allowing mediation with two levels of analyses. MSEM overcomes the limitations of tradition MLM models by allowing outcome and mediation variables hierarchically organized. The model estimated was fully saturated and thus resulted in a Chi-square of 0. Thus, fit indices are not reported.

Hypothesis 1a and 1b. Our first hypothesis posited a positive, direct effect between audience diversity and the average, identity-level distinctiveness (Hypothesis 1a). By contrast,

we anticipated a negative direct effect between audience diversity and the aggregated mean of identity-level belonging (Hypothesis 1b). Consistent with this first hypothesis, increased heterogeneity within the social media user’s perceived audience was significantly associated with decreased fulfillment of the belonging motive within persons ($\gamma = -.331, p < .001$). By contrast, increased perceived audience diversity was significantly and positively associated with distinctiveness ($\gamma = .334, p < .001$). Therefore, the first hypotheses was supported.

Table 1. Direct and indirect within effects audience diversity on authenticity via belongingness and distinctiveness

Fixed Effects	Belonging	Distinctiveness	Authenticity
Audience Diversity (<i>total effect</i>)	-.331**	.335**	-.884**
Belonging	-	-	.434**
Distinctiveness	-	-	.236**
Effects from Audience Diversity to Authenticity	Belonging	Distinctiveness	Authenticity
Total Indirect	-	-	.229
Indirect effect	-.143**	.079**	-
Random Effects	Belonging	Distinctiveness	Authenticity
Belonging	-	-	1.806**
Distinctiveness	-	-	1.539**

Note: ** $p < .001$, * $p < .05$, $p < .10$

Hypothesis 2a and 2b. Our second hypothesis posited a positive direct effect of motivated identity belonging (2a) on identity-level authenticity, and a positive, direct effect of distinctiveness on authenticity (2b). In support of hypothesis 2a, identity-level belongingness had

a significantly, positive direct effect on within person authenticity ($\gamma = .4337, p < .001$). Also, supporting hypothesis 2b, identity-level distinctiveness had a significant, positive direct effect on identity-level authenticity, ($\gamma = .236, p < .001$). Both hypotheses 2a and 2b were supported. Unstandardized path coefficients are observed in Figure 2 parameter estimates from both hypotheses are summarized in Table 1. In addition, Table 1 displays the total effects and indirect effects relating audience diversity to authenticity, showing that the indirect effects associated with the specified mediational paths were statistically significant.

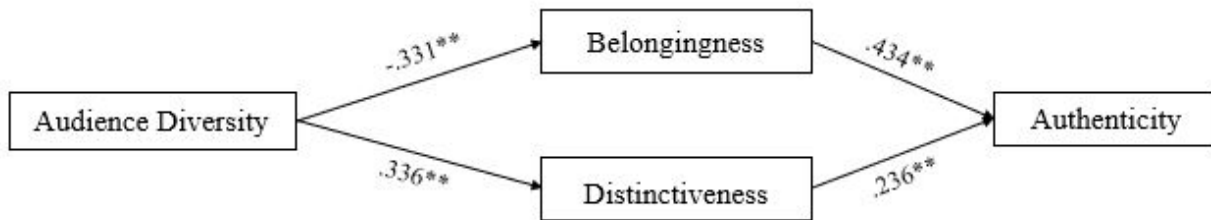


Figure 2: Direct and indirect effects of audience diversity on identity-level authenticity via motive fulfillment of belongingness and distinctiveness within individuals.

** $p < .001$, * $p < .05$

Research Question: What model differences emerge across the social networking sites Facebook, Twitter and Instagram?

Multilevel structural equation modeling was also utilized to compare model coefficients of each social media network: Facebook, Instagram, and Twitter. This framework addresses the supplemental research question by addressing whether the specified model involving the links between audience diversity and authenticity through distinctiveness and belonging.

Given the Level 2 characteristics of social media use, differences were specified at the between-groups level. To observe between person differences across social media platforms, predicted values were taken from a univariate linear regression depicting the regression of each dependent variable, belongingness, distinctiveness, and authenticity, on audience diversity. Two dummy codes were created specifying Twitter as the constant.

Facebook v. Twitter. At the between level, Facebook use had a more negative impact on between level belongingness ($\gamma = -.347$, $SE = .131$, $p = .008$), and a negative impact on distinctiveness ($\gamma = -.380$, $SE = .141$, $p = .007$) than Twitter. Facebook users, in comparison with Twitter, also reported decreased levels of felt authenticity at the between level, although this was nonsignificant ($\gamma = .003$, $SE = .057$, $p = .955$).

Instagram v. Twitter. In comparison with Twitter, Instagram use had a more negative association on belongingness ($\gamma = -.347$, $SE = .131$, $p = .008$). Also, Instagram was associated with lower levels of distinctiveness ($\gamma = -.406$, $SE = .134$, $p = .002$) in comparison to Twitter. Differences between Instagram and Twitter on between level felt authenticity were negative, however nonsignificant ($\gamma = -0.131$, $SE = .123$, $p = .287$). Table 3 summarizes mean differences between social media platforms.

Table 2. Mean comparisons of belongingness, distinctiveness and authenticity across Facebook, Instagram, and Twitter

Predicted Variables	Facebook		Instagram		Twitter	
	<i>M</i>	<i>Std.</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>Std.</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>Std.</i>
Belongingness	3.153	1.377	3.129	1.279	3.477	1.279
Distinctiveness	2.979	1.327	2.918	1.273	3.324	1.323
Authenticity	6.79	1.347	6.679	1.313	6.946	1.258

Supplemental Analysis of Between Effects

In addition to the level 1, within person effects, we also examined the between-person effects at level 2. These effects were explored as supplementary as our hypotheses focused on level 1 effects. Figure 3 displays unstandardized path coefficients between variables. Between person estimates are discussed as the global estimates of each variable, averaged across the eight prescribed identities. For audience diversity, the Level 2 estimate was interpreted as the collapsed network diversity as it is perceived across these prescribed identities. That is, the averaged network diversity of the identities asked (political orientation, religious affiliation, religiosity, sex, race, sexual orientation, introversion, and anxiety), and not the perceived network diversity for that specified platform.

Between persons, there was a nonsignificant, negative association between audience diversity and belonging ($\gamma = -.318, p = .451$). The negative relationship between audience diversity and distinctiveness needs was also nonsignificant at the between- groups level ($\gamma = -.310, p = .457$). In turn, however, increased levels of belonging was not significantly associated with increased levels of authenticity at the between-group level ($\gamma = .078, p = .535$). In contrast, increased levels of distinctiveness was similarly associated with increased levels of authenticity at the between-group level ($\gamma = .277, p = .025$). The parameter estimates of the between effects are summarized within Table 3.

Table 3. Direct and indirect between effects of audience diversity on authenticity via belongingness and distinctiveness

Fixed Effects	Belonging	Distinctiveness	Authenticity
Audience Diversity	-.318	-.310	.535
Facebook	-.355**	-.381**	.950
Instagram	-.346**	-.405**	.264
Belonging	-	-	.078
Distinctiveness	-	-	.277*
Indirect effect of audience diversity on authenticity	-.0546	-.0267	-

Note: ** $p < .001$, * $p < .05$, $p < .10$

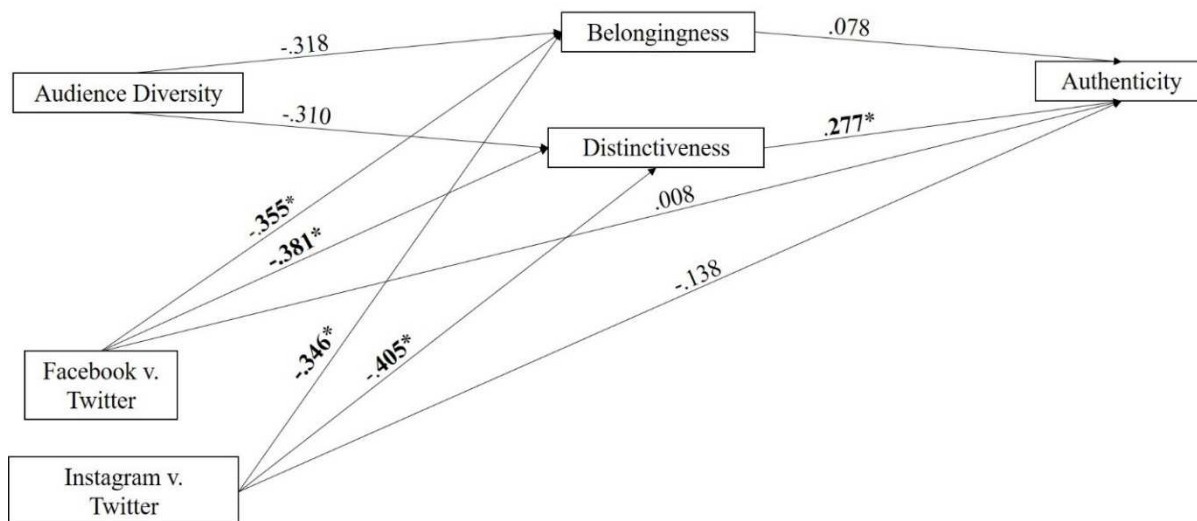


Figure 3: Direct and indirect effects of audience diversity on between-level authenticity via motive fulfillment of belongingness and distinctiveness between individuals.

** $p < .001$, * $p < .05$

CHAPTER FIVE: DISCUSSION AND THEORETICAL IMPLICATIONS

The primary aim of this study was to examine the implications of audience diversity and its impact on distinctiveness and belongingness across multiple identities within the context of Instagram, Facebook, and Twitter. This was examined with a multi-structure mediation model of identity-level belongingness and distinctiveness on the relationship between audience diversity and authenticity. In accordance with our predictions, we observed support of all main hypotheses. Irrespective of the social media platforms, we observed that an increased number of categories making up the audience, or diversity of the audience, was associated with decreased levels of felt belongingness. Conversely, audience diversity was associated with increased levels of felt distinctiveness.

In turn, both belongingness and distinctiveness promoted felt authenticity within the user. That is, with more equal proportions within each category, enactment of that identity satisfied authenticity with thwarted belongingness needs. With respect to distinctiveness, authenticity motivation may also be satisfied with heightened distinctiveness or heightened belongingness wherein both types of audiences, whether largely homogenous or heterogenous. We also examined effects between persons as a supplemental analysis. These effects, observed between persons, were no longer significant between audience diversity and belongingness or distinctiveness, or between belongingness and authenticity. Only the relationship between distinctiveness and authenticity remained significant. This observation provides a foundation of extended need for further investigation of multilevel framework within social media and identity fulfillment needs rather than relying solely on global estimates.

Addressing our research question, we observed significant differences between social media platforms, specifically in relation to Twitter. Those using Twitter reported the highest

levels of felt distinctiveness and belongingness. Twitter users reported the highest levels of authenticity, although this did not significantly differ. This was followed by Facebook. Instagram reported the lowest ratings of all three parameters. There was no significant differences in authenticity, belongingness, or distinctiveness between Facebook and Instagram.

Implications

Optimal Distinctiveness Theory and Authenticity. The results presented offer support for optimal distinctiveness across multiple social media platforms within the person. Optimal distinctiveness theory (Brewer, 1991; Baumeister & Brewer, 1992) posits human satisfaction as a function of two fundamental needs, the need to belong with others and the need to simultaneously remain unique. These needs are opposing; as one need increases, the other decreases. Finding balance between the two satiates an “optimal” level of wellbeing. These results suggest support of satisfaction of both needs simultaneously. The main indicator of this is the opposing directions of the two needs. As the need for belongingness increased as a function of audience diversity, the opposing, distinctiveness need is negated.

Two pathways toward authentic being are then illustrated. One pathway corresponds to thwarted belongingness with heterogenous audiences; with increased levels of audience diversity, the authenticity motive is satisfied via heightened distinctiveness levels. On the contrary, when within a homogenous audience wherein the belongingness motive can be heightened and distinctiveness thwarted, social media users may remain feeling authentic enacting identities. If one identity, whether distinctiveness or belongingness, is thwarted in consequence of the contrasting identity, within the social media network, the user does not feel less true to themselves. This posits an interesting question as to the extent to which audience diversity impacts each identity motive, and if these correspond directly to being either

completely homogenous or completely heterogenous. This offers explanation with the findings illustrated by Marder (2016), where participants reported less enactment of political identity in a politically diversified Facebook network. However, this study did not report an outcome of authentic wellbeing and only considered behavior rather than identity satisfaction.

Audience Diversity-Authenticity as a Function of Identity Needs. The need to belong and the need to remain unique, while supporting optimal distinctiveness theory, also support interest in audience characteristics driving needs satisfactions at the within person level. In turn, within the person, these conflicting needs contributed to heightened felt authenticity. Therefore, authenticity can be inferred as the function of audience diversity via two opposing needs. These results offer insight into the differential responses of eight identities within the persons, namely, Political Orientation, Religiosity, Religious Orientation, Sex, Race, Anxiety, and Introversion/Extroversion.

As mentioned, across both Level 1 and Level 2, model pathways were presented in the same direction and were significant, except for audience diversity and belongingness and distinctiveness at the global level (Level 2). The relationship between distinctiveness and audience diversity reversed in direction, and became negative and insignificant. Global estimates of the pathway between audience diversity and the mediators were therefore insufficient to capture differential belongingness and distinctiveness needs satisfaction within the person. That is, without consideration for different responses to the two mediators across identities within the person, the significance of audience diversity may fail to be observed in support of optimal distinctiveness theory. Across both levels of analyses, distinctiveness and authenticity uniquely contribute to authenticity. Then, for future exploration, there exists the question of where the

‘optimal’ level of identity needs satisfaction of belongingness and distinctiveness exists as it corresponds with audience diversity.

Infrastructural Differences and Perceived Threat of Context Collapse. One possible explanation for emerged differences is the technological infrastructure of all three social media sites that facilitates user experiences. Facebook, Instagram, and Twitter are classified as social networking sites as they are technological grounds wherein users host a broad audience network, share content. The three sites also share technological similarities, such as user ability to post on a general feed, create original content, possess a unique identity and profile, and constrain the audience with whom they share particular identities. However, dissimilarities between the three sites must also be acknowledged as potential drivers for needs satisfaction divergence. Facebook offers unique settings to limit posts by the audiences dramatically. This privacy feature may limit accessibility to certain posts to other specified members, certain groups of people, or purposefully hide posts from other users (Marder et al., 2016; Vitak et al., 2012). Facebook users may also hide their own profile if searched. In short, Facebook users have an advanced range of privacy settings to limit both who views their profile, and who gains access to posts. Most of these privacy settings are shared by Instagram, although not as extensive.

Twitter lacks most of these features. This platform only allows a ‘public’ or ‘private’ feature to all members of that site, irrespective of if they are a direct follower or not. If the profile is set as public, all users have access to generated and shared content on the individual. Users are only able to limit their audience to all posts by having other users send a ‘friend request,’ or seek accessibility permission from the user. Otherwise, posts on mutual friends and original content cannot be seen by others altogether. This introduces lack of complete control over the audiences.

Twitter, however, offers the capability of audiences to *retweet*, or share content, to newer followers. When a user *retweets* the content created by another user, that content is shared to the community feed of their own followers, where it may be further shared to newer audiences. Twitter users, opting for the public feature, may have content shared to the entirety of Twitter, irrespective of if they are a direct follower or not. This ability to share to newer audiences is also a function of Instagram and Facebook, however, may more readily used and an important function of information sharing on Twitter (Boyd, Golder, & Lotan, 2010). If the profile is set as public, all Twitter users have access to generated and shared content on the individual. Users are only able to limit their audience to all posts by having other users send a ‘friend request,’ or seek accessibility permission from the user. Otherwise, posts on mutual friends and original content cannot be seen by others altogether. This introduces no control over the audience. Because audience members may be extensive and all-inclusive, this creates a paradox where users no longer care about the content posted as many members can see it (Miller & Melton, 2015). With larger audiences, college-aged social media users cared less about the content posted to Twitter than what was posted to Facebook. As to why this paradox occurs within larger audiences may be explained with the possible real-life relationships that typically exist on Facebook and the threat of context collapse (Beam et al., 2018). Although Twitter’s audience network may be composed of an unintended audience, this audience may have no real-world relationship with the user or does not simply care for the user’s enacted identities. In comparison with Instagram and more notably, Facebook, there lies increased chances of social repercussions attributed to unintended context collapse when the enacted identity is enacted and collapsed across multiple social boundaries. In short, threat of context collapse may not be of importance to users where certain groups exist and in-person social repercussions do not exist. Referring back to our

previous example, a user on Facebook identifying as a member of the LGBTQ+ community may avoid content pertaining to that specific identity due to the possible social repercussions of the stigmatized identity. Their Facebook may consist of audience members from different social circles they are a member of, such as their family, church members, and club affiliations. In threat of context collapse, desirable enactment of particular identities is thwarted in the presence of these audiences (Beam et al., 2018). This threat of context collapse may not be present with other ‘non-stigmatized’ identities, such as being a soccer player, or being a student. That is, self-concealment and/or reported ‘fleeing’ to other sites offers a sanctuary where these identities may be enacted upon safely (McConnell et al., 2017).

Implications of Between Level Social Media Differences. Although there is strong support for within person identity-level differentiation, it is also important to determine possible explanations for the lack of support between audience diversity and belongingness and distinctiveness between persons. To explore lack of support at the between level, we must account for the possible motivations to use specific site(s) over others. Uses and gratifications theory (Dimmick, Sikand & Patterson, 1994; Lin, 1998), considers the underlying motivations for engaging within one medium, whether television, or social platforms, and the benefits the user receives from engagement. This offers extensive qualitative insight into engagement motivations preferences toward social media platforms. For example, on Facebook, the most popular motives reported were relationship maintenance, passing time, entertainment, and companionship (see Ryan, Chester, & Xenos, 2014). Also, is the increasing prevalence of addictive or problematic social media use within young-adult populations (Andreassen, 2015; Ryan, Chester, Reece & Xenos, 2014). Addictive social media use has been shown to be associated with negative life satisfaction across multiple cultural samples of university students

cross-culturally (Blachnio, Przepiorka, & Rudnicka, 2016., 2016; Krasnova, Wenninger, Widjaja, & Buxmann, 2013).

As these three sites did not significantly differ across felt authenticity, these motivated identity needs may be negotiated to maintain authentic well-being. That is, despite thwarted belongingness or distinctiveness, one may achieve felt authenticity irrespective of the selected site(s). This then indicates participant may possess knowledge of the platform or audience proportions, and strategically manipulates enacted identities as to maintain authentic wellbeing fulfillment. This may be in adherence to norms. For example, participants may choose to discuss political orientation on Facebook, where users may know each other in real life, and feel a relaxed sense of belonging. Conversely, participants may choose to enact upon their race or ethnicity identities, and do so in a more diversified audience (i.e., Twitter) where their distinctiveness motive is heightened. User knowledge possession as it pertains to platform differences requires an area for future exploration and research as to how the user responds to components of platforms.

Limitations

First and foremost, the within-effects hypothesis remains strongly supported. However, we must elicit caution pertaining to the lack of precedent examining cross-platform differentiation while maintaining some form of control over personality differences. Mentioned previously, most participants qualified for more than two surveys as they used more than one social media site at least occasionally. This subgroup could then be randomized to one of the studies they met prerequisites for, therefore controlling possible personality differences where across-participant variation may account for unexplained variances. Irrespective, this model is

among the first to estimate belongingness and distinctiveness within the individual and between persons across these three popular social media platforms.

Personality and other Between-Person Differences. Personality differences between those gravitated to each social media use offer one limitation. Three hundred and three participants were randomized if they qualified for two surveys, the remaining 257 only qualified for one social media survey. Irrespective, all participants had preferences for one, or two, sites over others prior to the project commencement, and thus, between-person differences must be noted.

There is extensive literature addressing increased social media use and the users profile types most frequently using specific social media types. For example, extroversion, neuroticism, and openness were positive predictors of increased social media use (Hughes et al., 2012; Wang & Yu, 2012). Women with high narcissism and low self-esteem were the most frequent users of Instagram (Andreassen, et al., 2016). Facebook use has also been associated with users high in self-monitoring -manipulating one's self-presentation- and narcissism (Sheldon & Bryant, 2016). According to Leung (2013) users scoring highly in narcissism are attracted to social media use did not differ across generations. Therefore, prior to conclusively evaluating audience nature as indicators of identity need satisfaction or thwarting, it is also imperative to evaluate the user's own personality characteristics. Whereas audience diversity may account for partial variance of the responses in the predicted variables, personality characteristics that gravitate toward one, or many social medium accounts, may further explain divergence between social mediums.

Generational Effects. We must also recognize the discrepancy in proportion of generational social media usage. According to Pew Research as recently as February 2019, 90% of people aged 18 –29 used social media, followed by 82% of people aged 30 – 49, and 69%

aged 50 – 64. in comparison to 40% of people aged 65+ (Pew Research, 2019). Of those participating on social media, 79% of adults aged 18 – 29 participated on Facebook, 67% participated on Instagram, and 38% participated on Twitter. Comparatively, 79% of adults aged 30 – 49 were also on Facebook, however, 47% were on Instagram and only 26% were on Twitter. In those aged 50 – 64, even more discrepancy emerges as 68% were on Facebook, 23% were on Instagram, and 17% were on Twitter.

Connecting back to context collapse, parents or guardians, employers, and other older generations may have an online presence compared to younger generation accounts on relatively newer social medias, namely, Twitter and Instagram. This would then further elaborate upon threat of unintended contextual collapse. If an undesired population of people (e.g., specific familial members, community leaders) do not have a presence on a particular site, then there may be no threat of context collapse within that social media. The user may then feel as though they belong to the Twitter community if there is no fear of social, real-world repercussions and enact on their true identities, feel like they belong, and feel distinct. For that member of the LGBTQ+ community then, the threat of context is eliminated if older social circles (e.g., parents, grandparents) are not present on that site to begin with. Instead, if the audience is composed primarily of strangers, that individual may enact on this identity with little offline repercussions and alleviate associated anxiety.

We then must elaborate upon why lower levels of belongingness and distinctiveness exist for Facebook and Instagram users. One implication is that, considering generation differences with regards to this sample's participant demographics, audiences ranging between 18-26 years may feel as though they do not truly belong (or feel distinct) as a function of multiple identities within others. In other words, this satisfaction of identity motives may be lowered due to

presence of specific populations on that social media site with characteristics other than a shared identity (e.g., sharing political orientation with an older parent or guardian). Further, Facebook has a wider reach within the United States, with over 90% of adults reporting Facebook use, followed by Instagram at approximately 50% (Statista, 2019). Therefore, there are increased chances of having Facebook or Instagram *friends* who are known offline, thus increasing chances of context collapse (e.g., the chances of that parent or guardian also having a Facebook account). This would then account for the twitter paradox observed in Miller and Melton (2015).

Audience Diversity. Although Simpson's D_z has use history within multiple fields (see McLeod & Hoyd; Eveland & Hively, 2009), caution is elicited for interpretation of audience diversity at the between persons level. The standardized form Simpson's D , at the within level, was applied to the specified, prescribed identity, such as the diversity of political orientation as it corresponded to belongingness, distinctiveness, and felt authenticity for the identity. However, at level 2, audience diversity may only be applied as the collapsed perceived diversity with respect to the prescribed identities given (political orientation, religious orientation, religiosity, sex, race, sexual orientation, introversion, and extroversion). Therefore, it may be insufficient to determine the collapsed audience diversity as equivalent to the network diversity of the participant's platform. Determination and validity of utilizing Simpson's D_z at level 2 must be further explored prior to generalization.

Second, generalizations of the findings must be constrained as identities listed were prescribed rather than at random. Crabtree (2018) in their dissertation similarly had observed a negative relationship between identity-level belongingness and authenticity. However, participants could select eight identities of their choice. Some identities provided by participants were not mutually exclusive (e.g., friendliness, sister, student). Marder (2016) also connects

audience diversity and willingness to enact a political orientation identity, and this is limited to the singular identity. Therefore, the study presented attempted to prescribe identities with mutual exclusive characteristics (e.g., Republican vs. Democratic) while addressing audience diversity as a facilitator of enactment of identities.

Missing Data. Also, a significant amount of missing data was observed, specifically for the political orientation identity. Because these identities were fixed, and not randomized, political orientation was presented first for participants to report category percentages. However, a significant body of participants did not answer proportion of audience members and/or respective measurements. These missing cases resulted in approximately 200 individual observations pertaining to political orientation were excluded from analyses. Reasons for the systemic missing data within this particular identity must be further explored.

Conclusion

In support of our main hypotheses, we observed significant pathways in the within-persons model; higher audience diversity was associated with higher levels of felt distinctiveness and lower levels of felt belongingness. Across these platforms, persons, when evaluating themselves with respect to their Twitter usage, reported higher levels of distinctiveness and belongingness than those on Facebook and Instagram. No significant differences were observed between Instagram and Facebook. Explanations for this divergence between platforms have been offered, including threat of context collapse, generational use of each social site, explanations offered by Uses and Gratification Theory, and the technological infrastructural differences that may facilitate self-disclosure comfort and norms particular to certain identities. This study is among the first that offers exploration of authenticity as a function of motivated identity needs applied within the platform's audience characteristics.

APPENDIX

APPENDIX 1: STUDY QUESTIONNAIRE FOR TWITTER

Start of Block: CONSENT

Title of Study: Hashtag: Crowded Communications

Principal Investigator: David Pillow, Ph.D.

Purpose of the Study and Your Involvement:

We are asking you to take part in a study about how people construct their identities and communicate with others on social media. We are interested in how people share who they are with others, and how people sometimes hide various aspects of themselves from others. There are two primary objectives of the current study: one objective is to examine the effects of sharing and hiding different self-aspects; another objective is to how the nature of one's social media audience relates to these identity-specific behaviors. Findings from this research are expected to help researchers learn more about how people construct and manage their identities in their day to day lives. We invite you to take part in a research study because you are an adult enrolled in college and have a social media account that you sometimes use that may include Facebook, Instagram, Twitter, and/or Reddit.

Participation in the Study:

- Whether or not you take part is up to you.
- Participation is totally voluntary.
- You can agree to take part in the study and later change your mind.
- Your decision not to participate will not be held against you.

You may ask all the questions you want about the study before you decide.

Contact Information: If you have questions, concerns, complaints, or think the research has harmed you, you may talk to the research team at: socialmindslab@gmail.com where you can direct comments to the researcher, Anjelica Martinez. You can also contact the faculty supervisor, Dr. David Pillow, at david.pillow@utsa.edu or at (210) 458-5727. This research is being overseen by an Institutional Review Board ("IRB"). You may also talk to them at (210) 458-6473 or IRB@utsa.edu if you have questions regarding your rights as a research participant or other questions, concerns, or complaints.

Participant Role in the Research Study: If you agree to participate in this study, you will be asked to answer questions about yourself online via a computer-based questionnaire. The study is expected to last approximately 45 to 55 minutes. You will first answer questions about various identities or self-aspects that may describe you, how you share these identities on social media sites, and how others on these sites respond to you. Finally, you will be asked to provide ratings for items that ask about personality factors and your social media network. Here you will be asked to rate the extent to which various statements describe you. After participating in the study, you will

be provided a debriefing to read that explains more about the study, and you will receive credit for participation.

You reported you are a user of the social media site, Twitter. If so, click 'Yes, I own a Twitter account.' If you do not own a Twitter account or this is a mistake, click 'No, I do not own a Twitter account or I use another social media site.'

- Yes, I own a Twitter account
- No, I do not own a Twitter account or I use another social media site

Skip To: End of Block If You reported you are a user of the social media site, Twitter. If so, click 'Yes, I own a Twitter a... = Yes, I own a Twitter account

If You reported you are a user of the social media site, Twitter. If so, click 'Yes, I own a Twitter a... = No, I do not own a Twitter account or I use another social media site.

You reported that you did not own a Twitter account. If you use another social media account and would like to partake in this study, please contact the researcher, Anjelica Martinez, at anjelica.martinez@utsa.edu for possible placement in another condition.

Skip To: End of Survey If You reported that you did not own a Twitter account. If you use another social media account and w...() Is Displayed

End of Block: Default Question Block

Start of Block: ID- 1 Political Orientation

For the purposes of this survey we will be asking questions about how you express yourself on social media. Actions and expressions of an identity can include posts, comments on other users' posts, as well as likes and sharing.

Please note that many of the following questions are set to a timer. The 'continue' option, or red arrow, will not appear until the time has passed.

For the purposes of this study, expressions of self can include:

- a) Posts
 - b) Comments
 - c) Likes (of various sorts)
 - d) Sharing
 - e) All of the above and more
-

What percentage of your audience on Twitter are:

Strong Republican/ Conservative : _____

Republican/ Conservative : _____

In the middle - neither : _____

Democrat/ Liberal : _____

Strong Democrat/ Very Liberal : _____

Total : _____

I would say that I am:

- Strong Republican/Very Conservative
 - Republican/Conservative
 - In the middle- neither
 - Democrat/Liberal
 - Strong Democrat/Very Liberal
-

Page Break

Please answer the following questions about your Political Orientation, being (a) `#{Q3/ChoiceGroup/SelectedChoices}`, on Twitter.

	Not at all 1	2	3	Moderately 4	5	6	Extremely 7
To what extent do you feel being (a) <code>#{Q3/ChoiceGroup/SelectedChoices}</code> , influenced your actions towards those on Twitter?	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
To what extent did you try to show those on Twitter that you are(a) <code>#{Q3/ChoiceGroup/SelectedChoices}</code> ?	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
To what extent did you feel the need to hide being (a) <code>#{Q3/ChoiceGroup/SelectedChoices}</code> from those on Twitter?	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
To what extent did you avoid expressing being (a) <code>#{Q3/ChoiceGroup/SelectedChoices}</code> , to those on Twitter?	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

Page Break

Answer the following questions about your Political Orientation, [\\${Q3/ChoiceGroup/SelectedChoices}](#), keeping in mind your interactions and experiences on Twitter.

	Not at all 1	2	3	Moderately 4	5	6	Extremely 7
How much do you feel that being (a) \${Q3/ChoiceGroup/SelectedChoices} , distinguishes you from your audience on Twitter?	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
To what extent does being (a) \${Q3/ChoiceGroup/SelectedChoices} , make you feel unique within your audience on Twitter?	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
How much do you feel being (a) \${Q3/ChoiceGroup/SelectedChoices} , gives you a sense of belonging with your audience on Twitter?	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
To what extent does being (a) \${Q3/ChoiceGroup/SelectedChoices} , makes you feel included in your audience on Twitter?	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

Please rate the extent to which you agree to the following statements about your Political Orientation, `#{Q3/ChoiceGroup/SelectedChoices}`, keeping in mind your interactions and experiences on Twitter.

	Strongly Disagree 1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	Strongly Agree 9
I experience being <code>#{Q3/ChoiceGroup/SelectedChoices}</code> to be an authentic part of who I am	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Being <code>#{Q3/ChoiceGroup/SelectedChoices}</code> is valuable to me	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I freely choose to be <code>#{Q3/ChoiceGroup/SelectedChoices}</code>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

 Page Break _____

End of Block: ID- 1 Political Orientation

Start of Block: ID - 2- Religiosity

What percentage of your audience on Twitter are:
 Very Religious: _____
 Religious: _____
 In the middle- neither Religious or Secular: _____
 Secular (i.e., Not Religious): _____
 Very Secular: _____
 Total: _____

I would say that I am:

- Very Religious
- Religious
- In the middle - neither Religious or Secular
- Secular (i.e., Not Religious)
- Very Secular

Page Break

Please rate the extent to which you agree to the following statements about your Religiosity, [\\${Q11/ChoiceGroup/SelectedChoices}](#), keeping in mind your interactions and experiences on Twitter.

	Not at all 1	2	3	Moderately 4	5	6	Extremely 7
To what extent do you feel being (a) \${Q11/ChoiceGroup/SelectedChoice s} , influenced your actions towards those on Twitter?	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
To what extent did you try to show those on Twitter that you are(a) \${Q11/ChoiceGroup/SelectedChoice s} ?	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
To what extent did you feel the need to hide being (a) \${Q11/ChoiceGroup/SelectedChoice s} from those on Twitter?	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
To what extent did you avoid expressing being (a) \${Q11/ChoiceGroup/SelectedChoice s} , to those on Twitter?	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

Page Break

Answer the following questions about your Religiosity, $\{Q11/ChoiceGroup/SelectedChoices\}$, keeping in mind your interactions and experiences on Twitter.

	Not at all 1	2	3	Moderately 4	5	6	Extremely 7
How much do you feel that being (a) $\{Q11/ChoiceGroup/SelectedChoices\}$, distinguishes you from your audience on Twitter?	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
To what extent does being (a) $\{Q11/ChoiceGroup/SelectedChoices\}$, make you feel unique within your audience on Twitter?	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
How much do you feel being (a) $\{Q11/ChoiceGroup/SelectedChoices\}$, gives you a sense of belonging with your audience on Twitter?	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
To what extent does being (a) $\{Q11/ChoiceGroup/SelectedChoices\}$, makes you feel included in your audience on Twitter?	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

Please rate the extent to which you agree to the following statements about your Religiosity, $\{Q11/ChoiceGroup/SelectedChoices\}$, keeping in mind your interactions and experiences on Twitter.

	Strongly Disagree 1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	Strongly Agree 9
I experience being $\{Q11/ChoiceGroup/SelectedChoices\}$ to be an authentic part of who I am	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Being $\{Q11/ChoiceGroup/SelectedChoices\}$ is valuable to me	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I freely choose to be $\{Q11/ChoiceGroup/SelectedChoices\}$	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

End of Block: ID - 2- Religiosity

Start of Block: ID - 3- Religious Affiliation

What percentage of your audience on Twitter are:

Christian: _____

Jewish: _____

Muslim: _____

Other Faiths: _____

Agnostic/Atheist: _____

Total : _____

I would say that I am:

- Christian
 - Jewish
 - Muslim
 - Other Faith
 - Agnostic/ Atheist
-

Page Break

Please rate the extent to which you agree to the following statements about your Religious Affiliation, $\{Q13/ChoiceGroup/SelectedChoices\}$, keeping in mind your interactions and experiences on Twitter.

	Not at all 1	2	3	Moderately 4	5	6	Extremely 7
I experience being (a) $\{Q13/ChoiceGroup/SelectedChoices\}$ to be an authentic part of who I am	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Being (a) $\{Q13/ChoiceGroup/SelectedChoices\}$ is valuable to me	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I freely choose to be (a) $\{Q13/ChoiceGroup/SelectedChoices\}$	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I experience being (a) $\{Q13/ChoiceGroup/SelectedChoices\}$ to be an authentic part of who I am	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

Page Break

Please answer the following questions about your Religious Affiliation, being (a) $\{Q13/ChoiceGroup/SelectedChoices\}$, on Twitter.

	Not at all 1	2	3	Moderately 4	5	6	Extremely 7
To what extent do you feel being (a) $\{Q13/ChoiceGroup/SelectedChoices\}$, influenced your actions towards those on Twitter?	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
To what extent did you try to show those on Twitter that you are(a) $\{Q13/ChoiceGroup/SelectedChoices\}$?	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
To what extent did you feel the need to hide being (a) $\{Q13/ChoiceGroup/SelectedChoices\}$ from those on Twitter?	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
To what extent did you avoid expressing being (a) $\{Q13/ChoiceGroup/SelectedChoices\}$, to those on Twitter?	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

Page Break

Answer the following questions about your Political Orientation, [\\${Q13/ChoiceGroup/SelectedChoices}](#), keeping in mind your interactions and experiences on Twitter.

	Not at all 1	2	3	Moderately 4	5	6	Extremely 7
How much do you feel that being (a) \${Q13/ChoiceGroup/SelectedChoices} , distinguishes you from your audience on Twitter?	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
To what extent does being (a) \${Q13/ChoiceGroup/SelectedChoices} , make you feel unique within your audience on Twitter?	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
How much do you feel being (a) \${Q13/ChoiceGroup/SelectedChoices} , gives you a sense of belonging with your audience on Twitter?	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
To what extent does being (a) \${Q13/ChoiceGroup/SelectedChoices} , makes you feel included in your audience on Twitter?	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

Page Break

End of Block: ID - 3- Religious Affiliation

Start of Block: ID- 4 - Sexual Orientation

What percentage of your audience on Twitter are:

Heterosexual : _____

Homosexual (Lesbian or Gay whether Cisgender or Transgender) : _____

Pansexual (to include Bisexual) : _____

Asexual : _____

Other : _____

Total : _____

I would say that I am:

- Heterosexual
- Homosexual (Lesbian or Gay whether Cisgender or Transgender)
- Pansexual (to include Bisexual)
- Asexual
- Other

Page Break

Please answer the following questions about your Sexual Orientation, being (a) [\\${Q5/ChoiceGroup/SelectedChoices}](#), on Twitter.

	Not at all 1	2	3	Moderately 4	5	6	Extremely 7
To what extent do you feel being (a) \${Q5/ChoiceGroup/SelectedChoices} , influenced your actions towards those on Twitter?	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
To what extent did you try to show those on Twitter that you are(a) \${Q5/ChoiceGroup/SelectedChoices} ?	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
To what extent did you feel the need to hide being (a) \${Q5/ChoiceGroup/SelectedChoices} from those on Twitter?	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
To what extent did you avoid expressing being (a) \${Q5/ChoiceGroup/SelectedChoices} , to those on Twitter?	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

Page Break

Answer the following questions about your Sexual Orientation, $\{Q5/ChoiceGroup/SelectedChoices\}$, keeping in mind your interactions and experiences on Twitter.

	Not at all 1	2	3	Moderately 4	5	6	Extremely 7
How much do you feel that being (a) $\{Q5/ChoiceGroup/SelectedChoices\}$, distinguishes you from your audience on Twitter?	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
To what extent does being (a) $\{Q5/ChoiceGroup/SelectedChoices\}$, make you feel unique within your audience on Twitter?	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
How much do you feel being (a) $\{Q5/ChoiceGroup/SelectedChoices\}$, gives you a sense of belonging with your audience on Twitter?	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
To what extent does being (a) $\{Q5/ChoiceGroup/SelectedChoices\}$, makes you feel included in your audience on Twitter?	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>



Please rate the extent to which you agree to the following statements about your Sexual Orientation, $\{Q5/ChoiceGroup/SelectedChoices\}$, keeping in mind your interactions and experiences on Twitter.

	Strongly Disagree 1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	Strongly Agree 9
I experience being $\{Q5/ChoiceGroup/SelectedChoices\}$ to be an authentic part of who I am	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Being $\{Q5/ChoiceGroup/SelectedChoices\}$ is valuable to me	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I freely choose to be $\{Q5/ChoiceGroup/SelectedChoices\}$	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

End of Block: ID- 4 - Sexual Orientation

Start of Block: ID 5 - Gender

What percentage of your audience on Twitter are:

Male : _____

Female : _____

Nonbinary : _____

Transgender : _____

Total : _____

I would say that I am:

- Male
- Female
- Nonbinary
- Transgender

Page Break

Please rate the extent to which you agree to the following statements about your Gender, `#{Q15/ChoiceGroup/SelectedChoices}`, keeping in mind your interactions and experiences on Twitter.

	Not at all 1	2	3	Moderately 4	5	6	Extremely 7
To what extent do you feel being (a) <code>#{Q15/ChoiceGroup/SelectedChoices}</code> , influenced your actions towards those on Twitter?	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
To what extent did you try to show those on Twitter that you are(a) <code>#{Q15/ChoiceGroup/SelectedChoices}</code> ?	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
To what extent did you feel the need to hide being (a) <code>#{Q15/ChoiceGroup/SelectedChoices}</code> from those on Twitter?	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
To what extent did you avoid expressing being (a) <code>#{Q15/ChoiceGroup/SelectedChoices}</code> , to those on Twitter?	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

Page Break

Answer the following questions about your Gender, $\{Q15/ChoiceGroup/SelectedChoices\}$, keeping in mind your interactions and experiences on Twitter.

	Not at all 1	2	3	Moderately 4	5	6	Extremely 7
How much do you feel that being (a) $\{Q15/ChoiceGroup/SelectedChoices\}$, distinguishes you from your audience on Twitter?	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
To what extent does being (a) $\{Q15/ChoiceGroup/SelectedChoices\}$, make you feel unique within your audience on Twitter?	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
How much do you feel being (a) $\{Q15/ChoiceGroup/SelectedChoices\}$, gives you a sense of belonging with your audience on Twitter?	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
To what extent does being (a) $\{Q15/ChoiceGroup/SelectedChoices\}$, makes you feel included in your audience on Twitter?	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

Please rate the extent to which you agree to the following statements about your Gender, $\{Q15/ChoiceGroup/SelectedChoices\}$, keeping in mind your interactions and experiences on Twitter.

	Strongly Disagree 1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	Strongly Agree 9
I experience being $\{Q15/ChoiceGroup/SelectedChoices\}$ to be an authentic part of who I am	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Being $\{Q15/ChoiceGroup/SelectedChoices\}$ is valuable to me	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I freely choose to be $\{Q15/ChoiceGroup/SelectedChoices\}$	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

What percentage of your audience on Twitter are:

Caucasian (White): _____

Latinx: _____

Asian/ Pacific Islander: _____

Black/ African American: _____

American Indian/ Alaskan Native: _____

Multi-Racial: _____

Total: _____

I would say that I am:

- Caucasian (White)
- Latinx
- Asian/ Pacific Islander
- Black/ African American
- American Indian/ Alaskan Native
- Multi-Racial

Please rate the extent to which you agree to the following statements about your Race/Ethnicity, $\{Q19/ChoiceGroup/SelectedChoices\}$, keeping in mind your interactions and experiences on Twitter.

	Not at all 1	2	3	Moderately 4	5	6	Extremely 7
To what extent do you feel being (a) $\{Q19/ChoiceGroup/SelectedChoices\}$, influenced your actions towards those on Twitter?	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
To what extent did you try to show those on Twitter that you are(a) $\{Q19/ChoiceGroup/SelectedChoices\}$?	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
To what extent did you feel the need to hide being (a) $\{Q19/ChoiceGroup/SelectedChoices\}$ from those on Twitter?	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
To what extent did you avoid expressing being (a) $\{Q19/ChoiceGroup/SelectedChoices\}$, to those on Twitter?	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

Page Break

Answer the following questions about your Race/Ethnicity, [\\${Q19/ChoiceGroup/SelectedChoices}](#), keeping in mind your interactions and experiences on Twitter.

	Not at all 1	2	3	Moderately 4	5	6	Extremely 7
How much do you feel that being (a) \${Q19/ChoiceGroup/SelectedChoices} , distinguishes you from your audience on Twitter?	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
To what extent does being (a) \${Q19/ChoiceGroup/SelectedChoices} , make you feel unique within your audience on Twitter?	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
How much do you feel being (a) \${Q19/ChoiceGroup/SelectedChoices} , gives you a sense of belonging with your audience on Twitter?	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
To what extent does being (a) \${Q19/ChoiceGroup/SelectedChoices} , makes you feel included in your audience on Twitter?	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

Please rate the extent to which you agree to the following statements about your Race/Ethnicity, **#{Q19/ChoiceGroup/SelectedChoices}**, keeping in mind your interactions and experiences on Twitter.

	Strongly Disagree 1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	Strongly Agree 9
I experience being #{Q19/ChoiceGroup/SelectedChoices} to be an authentic part of who I am	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Being #{Q19/ChoiceGroup/SelectedChoices} is valuable to me	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I freely choose to be #{Q19/ChoiceGroup/SelectedChoices}	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

End of Block: ID 6- Race

Start of Block: ID 7- Anxious/ Calm

What percentage of your audience on Twitter are:

Very Anxious/ Neurotic : _____

Anxious/ Neurotic : _____

In the middle - neither anxious or calm : _____

Carefree/Calm : _____

Very Carefree/Calm : _____

Total : _____

I would say that I am:

- Very Anxious/Neurotic
- Anxious/Neurotic
- In the middle- neither anxious or calm
- Carefree/Calm
- Very Carefree/Calm

Page Break

Please rate the extent to which you agree to the following statements about your Anxiousness, [\\${Q17/ChoiceGroup/SelectedChoices}](#), keeping in mind your interactions and experiences on Twitter.

	Not at all 1	2	3	Moderately 4	5	6	Extremely 7
To what extent do you feel being (a) \${Q17/ChoiceGroup/SelectedChoices} , influenced your actions towards those on Twitter?	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
To what extent did you try to show those on Twitter that you are(a) \${Q17/ChoiceGroup/SelectedChoices} ?	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
To what extent did you feel the need to hide being (a) \${Q17/ChoiceGroup/SelectedChoices} from those on Twitter?	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
To what extent did you avoid expressing being (a) \${Q17/ChoiceGroup/SelectedChoices} , to those on Twitter?	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

Page Break

Answer the following questions about your Anxiousness, [\\${Q17/ChoiceGroup/SelectedChoices}](#), keeping in mind your interactions and experiences on Twitter.

	Not at all 1	2	3	Moderately 4	5	6	Extremely 7
How much do you feel that being (a) \${Q17/ChoiceGroup/SelectedChoices} , distinguishes you from your audience on Twitter?	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
To what extent does being (a) \${Q17/ChoiceGroup/SelectedChoices} , make you feel unique within your audience on Twitter?	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
How much do you feel being (a) \${Q17/ChoiceGroup/SelectedChoices} , gives you a sense of belonging with your audience on Twitter?	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
To what extent does being (a) \${Q17/ChoiceGroup/SelectedChoices} , makes you feel included in your audience on Twitter?	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>



Please rate the extent to which you agree to the following statements about your Anxiousness, $\{Q17/ChoiceGroup/SelectedChoices\}$, keeping in mind your interactions and experiences on Twitter.

	Strongly Disagree 1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	Strongly Agree 9
I experience being $\{Q17/ChoiceGroup/SelectedChoices\}$ to be an authentic part of who I am	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Being $\{Q17/ChoiceGroup/SelectedChoices\}$ is valuable to me	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I freely choose to be $\{Q17/ChoiceGroup/SelectedChoices\}$	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

End of Block: ID 7- Anxious/Calm

Start of Block: ID -8 - Introvert/Extrovert

What percentage of your audience on Twitter are:
 Very Introverted/Quiet : _____
 Introverted/Quiet : _____
 In the middle - neither Introverted or Extroverted: _____
 Extroverted/Outgoing: _____
 Very Extroverted/Outgoing: _____
 Total: _____



I would say that I am:

- Very Introverted/Quiet
- Introverted/Quiet
- In the middle- neither Introverted or Extroverted
- Extroverted/Outgoing
- Very Extroverted/Outgoing

Page Break

Please rate the extent to which you agree to the following statements about your Introversion/Extroversion, $\{Q21/ChoiceGroup/SelectedChoices\}$, keeping in mind your interactions and experiences on Twitter.

	Not at all 1	2	3	Moderately 4	5	6	Extremely 7
To what extent do you feel being (a) $\{Q21/ChoiceGroup/SelectedChoices\}$, influenced your actions towards those on Twitter?	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
To what extent did you try to show those on Twitter that you are (a) $\{Q21/ChoiceGroup/SelectedChoices\}$?	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
To what extent did you feel the need to hide being (a) $\{Q21/ChoiceGroup/SelectedChoices\}$ from those on Twitter?	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
To what extent did you avoid expressing being (a) $\{Q21/ChoiceGroup/SelectedChoices\}$, to those on Twitter?	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

Page Break

Answer the following questions about your Introversion/Extroversion, $\{Q21/ChoiceGroup/SelectedChoices\}$, keeping in mind your interactions and experiences on Twitter.

	Not at all 1	2	3	Moderately 4	5	6	Extremely 7
How much do you feel that being (a) $\{Q21/ChoiceGroup/SelectedChoices\}$, distinguishes you from your audience on Twitter?	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
To what extent does being (a) $\{Q21/ChoiceGroup/SelectedChoices\}$, make you feel unique within your audience on Twitter?	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
How much do you feel being (a) $\{Q21/ChoiceGroup/SelectedChoices\}$, gives you a sense of belonging with your audience on Twitter?	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
To what extent does being (a) $\{Q21/ChoiceGroup/SelectedChoices\}$, makes you feel included in your audience on Twitter?	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>



Please rate the extent to which you agree to the following statements about your Introversion/Extroversion, $\{Q21/ChoiceGroup/SelectedChoices\}$, keeping in mind your interactions and experiences on Twitter.

	Strongly Disagree 1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	Strongly Agree 9
I experience being $\{Q21/ChoiceGroup/SelectedChoices\}$ to be an authentic part of who I am	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Being $\{Q21/ChoiceGroup/SelectedChoices\}$ is valuable to me	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I freely choose to be $\{Q21/ChoiceGroup/SelectedChoices\}$	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

Page Break

End of Block: ID -8 - Introvert/ Extrovert

Start of Block: Positive Induction Task

What are two things that you really like about yourself? These could be anything from physical features to special skills or talents. List the items in the column on the left, than briefly state in one or two sentences why you like that part of yourself in the column on the right.

	What do you like about yourself?	Why do you like that part of yourself?
	(1)	(1)
1 (1)		
2 (2)		

End of Block: Positive Induction Task

Start of Block: Demographic

What is your gender?

- Male
- Female
- Other Gender Identity



What is your age?

- Under 18
- 18 - 24
- 25 - 34
- 35 - 44
- 45 - 54
- 55 - 64
- 65 - 74
- 75 - 84
- 85 or older
- Decline to answer

Are you Spanish, Hispanic, or Latino or none of these?

- Yes
- None of these

Which of the following racial groups best describes you?

- Black or African American
- Caucasian or White
- Asian or Pacific Islander
- Native American
- Eastern Indian or Middle Eastern
- Some Combination of the Above
- None of the Above or Decline to Answer

What is your classification?

- Freshman
- Sophomore
- Junior
- Senior
- Decline to answer

DEBRIEFING

The University of Texas at San Antonio

Audience Diversity and Social Media

Dear Participant:

Thank you very much for your participation! The current study was designed to examine a couple of questions. First, you should know that the study you have just participated in is related to a new program of research our lab is undertaking to understand the nature of our audience and its influences when using social networking sites, namely, Twitter, Instagram, and Facebook (i.e., your Facebook friends list or Reddit community). This research is important because with many competing social networking sites, the nature of our audience may consist of individuals who share similar characteristics to each other, or “social identities,” and many who do not. Very diverse audiences are referred to “heterogenous” audiences, and very similar audiences are called “homogenous” audiences. How diverse (homogenous) or similar (homogenous) our audiences may influence many perceptions, such as the way we negotiate what identities we choose to enact or not to enact, and our sense of identity fulfillment. Specifically, our hypotheses stemmed from Optimal Distinctiveness Theory, which states that within groups we have two competing needs; our need to be similar to others, or belong, and our need to be unique and distinct. Social media therefore offers a new context for application of this theory.

Although there has been much research on identity negotiation both online and offline, little has directly examined differences between platforms, or considered the influence of a diverse network on these two needs. We believe that adding these elements will provide insight on how individuals strategically post, comment, or like certain content across different online contexts.

If you are unhappy with the study, or would like to speak to the head researcher, please contact Dr. David Pillow at David.Pillow@utsa.edu or 210-458-5727. If, for some reason, this study has been stressful to you, please let us know. The Institutional Review Board may be contacted at (210) 458-6473. If you wish, you may contact the UTSA Counseling Services at 210-458-4140. This concludes your participation in the study. We warmly thank you for your participation. We also hope you have found some educational value in participating in our research. If you have any questions you may contact Dr. David Pillow at 210-458-5727 or Anjelica Martinez at 815-354-8309.

If we may ask one more favor: Please do not share information regarding the discussion you had today with any student who might be taking introductory psychology until the end of the semester. It is important that participants are able to respond naturally to questions. If informed about the study before participating, individuals will not be able to contribute valid information, and may distort findings that we expect to publish in scientific journals.

Thanks again and best of luck to you in your academic endeavors.

Dr. David Pillow
Department of Psychology

Anjelica Martinez, B.A.
Department of Psychology

End of Block: Debrief

****All items listed above will be used for each social media platform (Facebook, Instagram, and Twitter). 'Twitter' will be changed to respective social media platform.**

REFERENCES

- Anderson, K. E. (2015). Ask me anything: What is Reddit? *Library Hi Tech News*, 5, 8–11.
- Andreassen, C. S., Pallesen, S. & Griffiths, M. D. (2017). The relationship between addictive use of social media, narcissism, and self-esteem: Findings from a large national survey. *Addictive Behaviors*, 64, 287 – 293.
- Argesti, A., & Argesti, B. F. (1978). Statistical analysis of qualitative variation. In K.F. Schauessler (Ed.), *Sociological methodology* (Vol. 9, pp. 204 – 237). San Francisco, CA: Jossey- Bass.
- Baumeister, R. F., & Leary, M. R. (1995). The need to belong: Desire for interpersonal attachments as a fundamental human motivation. *Psychological Bulletin*, 117(3), 497–529.
- Baumeister, R. F., & Tice, D. M. (1990). Anxiety and social exclusion. *Journal of Social and Clinical Psychology*, 9(2), 165–195.
- Blachnio, A., Przepiorka, A. & Rudnicka, P. (2016). Narcissism and self-esteem as predictors of dimensions of Facebook use. *Personality and Individual Differences*, 90(2016), 296 – 301.
- Budescu, D. V. & Budescu, M. (2012). How to measure diversity when you must. *American Psychological Association*, 17(2), 215–227.
- Caers, R., Feyter, T. D. De Couck, M., Stough, T., Vigna, C., Du Bois, C. (2013). Facebook: A literature review. *New Media & Society*, 15, 982–1002.
- Chang, H. H., & Chuang, S. S. (2011). Social capital and individual motivations on knowledge sharing: Participant involvement as a moderator. *Information and Management*, 48(2011), 9–18.

- Cohrs, J. C., Moschner, B., Maes, B., Kielmann, S. (2005). The motivational bases of right-wing authoritarianism and social dominance orientation: Relations to values and attitudes in the aftermath of September 11, 2001. *Society for Personality and Social Psychology*, 31(10), 1425 – 1434.
- Costello, M. & Hawdon, J. (2018). Who are the online extremists among us? Sociodemographic characteristics, social networking, and online experiences of those who produce online hate materials. *Violence and Gender*, 5(1), 55-60.
- Crabtree, M. A. & Pillow, D. R. (in press). Authentic identity enactment and concealment.
- Crabtree, M. A., & Pillow, D. R. (2018). Extending the Dual Factor Model of Facebook use: Social motives and network density predict Facebook use through impression management and open self-disclosure. *Personality and Individual Differences*, 133(2018) 34 – 40.
- Dennen, V. P., Burner, K. J. (2017). Identity, context collapse, and Facebook use in higher education: Putting presence and privacy at odds. *Distance Education*, 38(2), 173 – 192.
- Denissen, J. J. A., & Penke, L. (2008). Motivational individual reaction norms underlying the Five-Factor model of personality: First steps towards a theory-based conceptual framework. *Journal of Research in Personality*, 42(5), 1285 – 1302.
- Dimmick, J.W., Sikand, J., & Patterson, S. J. (1994). The gratifications of the household telephone. *Communication Research*, 21(5), 643 – 663.
- Ellison, N. Heino, R., & Gibbs, J. (2006). Managing self- presentation online: Self- presentation processes in the online dating environment. *Journal of Computer-Mediated Communication*, 11(2).

- Ellison, N.B., Steinfield, C., & Lampe, C. (2007). The benefits of Facebook “friends”: Social capital and college students’ use of online social network sites. *Journal of Computer-Mediated Communication, 12*, 1143–1168.
- Eveland, W. P., Hively, M. H. (2009). Political discussion frequency, network size, and “heterogeneity” of discussion as predictors of political knowledge and participation. *Journal of Communication, 59*, 205 –224.
- French, M., & Bazarova, N. N. (2017). Is anybody out there? Understanding mass-personal communication through expectations for response across social media platforms. *Journal of Computer-Mediated Communication, 22*(2017), 303 –319.
- Greenwood, D. Long, C.R., & Cin, S. D. (2013). Fame and the social self: The need to belong, narcissism, and relatedness to predict the appeal of fame, in press.
- Hawi, N. S. & Samaha, M. (2017). The relations among social media addiction, self-esteem, and life satisfaction in university students. *Social Science Computer Review, 35*(5), 576 – 586.
- Hughes, D. J., Rowe, M., Batey, M. & Lee, A. (2012). A tale of two sites: Twitter vs. Facebook and the personality predictors of social media usage. *Computers in Human Behavior, 28*(2), 561 – 569.
- Jetten, J., Spears, R. & Manstead, A. S. R. (1998). Defining dimensions of distinctiveness: Group variability makes a difference to differentiation. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 74*(6), 1481 – 1492.
- Joinson, A. N. (2001). Self-disclosure in computer-mediated communication: The role of self-awareness and visual anonymity. *European Journal of Social Psychology, 31*, 177 – 192.

- Kahai, S. S. & Lei, Y. Building social capital with Facebook: Type of network, availability of other media, and social self-efficacy matter. *International Journal of Human-Computer Studies*, 130, 113–129.
- Keles, B., McCrae, N. & Graelish, A. (2019). A systematic review: The influence of social media on depression, anxiety and psychological distress in adolescents. *International Journal of Adolescence and Youth*, 25(1), 79 – 93.
- Kim, J., & Lee, J. -E. R. (2011). The Facebook path to happiness: Effects of the number of Facebook friends and self-presentation on subjective well-being. *Cyberpsychology, Behavior, and Social Networking*, 14, 359–364.
- Kim, D. H., Seely, N. K., & Jung, J.- H. (2017). Do you prefer, Pinterest or Instagram? The role of image-sharing SNSs and self-monitoring in enhancing ad effectiveness. *Computers in Human Behavior*, 70(2017), 535–543.
- Krasnova, H. & Wenninger, H., Widjaja, T. & Buxmann, P.. (2013). Envy on Facebook: A hidden threat to users' life satisfaction? International Conference on Wirtschaftsinformatik (WI).
- Kwon, K. H., Moon, S.-I. & Stefanone, M.A. (2015). Unspeaking on Facebook? Testing network effects on self-censorship of political expressions in social networking sites. *Quality & Quantity*, 2015(45), 1417 –1435.
- Lampinen, A., Tamminen, S., & Oulasvirta, A. (2009). “All my people right here, right now”: Management of group co-presence on a social networking site. In Proceedings of the ACM 2009 International Conference on Supporting Group Work (GROUP '09) (pp. 281–290). New York, NY: ACM.
- Leary, M. R. (1996). Self-presentation: Impression management and interpersonal behaviour. Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press.

- Lee, E., Lee, J.-A., Moon, J. H., & Sung, Y. S. (2015). Pictures speak louder than words: Motivations for using Instagram. *Cyberpsychology, Behavior, and Social Networking*, *18*(9), 552–556.
- Leung, L. (2013). Generational differences in content generation in social media: The roles of the gratifications sought and of narcissism. *Computers in Human Behavior*, *29*(3), 997 – 1006.
- Lieberson, S. (1969). Measuring population diversity. *American Sociological Review*, 850 – 862.
- Marder, B., Joinson, A., Shankar, A., Thirlaway, K. (2016). Strength matters: Self- presentation to the strongest audience rather than the lowest common denominator when face with multiple audiences in social network sites. *Computers in Human Behavior*, *61*(2016), 56 – 62.
- Marder, B. (2018). Trumped by context collapse: Examination of ‘Liking’ political candidates in the presence of audience diversity
- Marshall, T.C., Ferenczi, N. Lefringhausen, K., Hill, S. & Deng, J. (2018). Intellectual, Narcissistic, or Machiavellian? How twitter users differ from Facebook-only users, why they use twitter, and what they tweet about. *Psychology of Popular Media Culture*.
doi:10.1037/ppm0000209
- Marwick, A. E., & Boyd, D. (2011). I tweet honestly, I tweet passionately: Twitter users, context collapse, and the imagined audience. *New Media & Society*, *13*, 114 – 133.
- McConnell, E. A., Clifford, A., Korpak, A. K. & Phillips, G. (2017). Identity, victimization, and support: Facebook experiences and mental health among LGBTQ youth. *Computers in Human Behavior*, *70*(2017), 237–244.

- Meshi, D., Cotton, S. R., Bender, A. R. (2019). Problematic social media use and perceived social isolation in older adults: A cross-sectional study. *Gerontology*, 1 – 9.
- Michikyan, M. Dennis, J. & Subrahmanyam, K. (2015). Can you guess who I am? Real, ideal, and false self-presentation on Facebook among emerging adults. *Society for the Study of Emerging Adulthood*, 3(1) 55–64.
- Miller, R., & Melton, J. (2015). College students and risk-taking behaviour on Twitter versus Facebook. *Behaviour & Information Technology*, 34 (7), 678–684.
- Muscanell, N. L., Ewell, P. J., & Wingate, V. S. (2016). “S/He posted that?! Perceptions of topic appropriateness and reactions to status updates on social networking sites. *Translational Issues in Psychological Science*, 2, 216 – 226.
- Doi: 2332-2136/16/\$12.00
- Nadkarni A., & Hofmann, S. G. (2012). Why do people use Facebook? *Personality and Individual Difference*, 52,(2012) 243-249.
- Peluchette J and Karl K (2010) Examining students’ intended image on Facebook: “What were they thinking?” *The Journal of Education for Business*, 85, 30–37.
- Peters, A. N., Winshiers- Theophilus, H. & Mennecke, B. E. (2015). Cultural influences on Facebook practices: A comparative study of college students in Namibia and the United States. *Computers in Human Behaviors*, 49, 259 – 271.
- Doi: 10.1016/j.chb.2015.02.065
- Phua, J., Jin, S. V., & Kim, J. (2017). Gratifications of using Facebook, Twitter, Instagram, or Snapchat to follow brands: The moderating effect of social comparison, trust, tie strength, and network homophily on brand identification, brand engagement, brand commitment, and membership intention. *Telematics and Informatics*, 24, 412–424.

- Pickett, C. L., Silver, M.D., Brewer, M. B. (2002). The impact of assimilation and differentiation needs on perceived group importance and judgments of ingroup size. *Society for Personality and Social Psychology*, 28(4), 546 – 558.
- Preacher, K. J., Zyphur, M. J., & Zhang, Z. (2010). A general multilevel SEM framework for assessing multilevel mediation. *Psychological Methods*, 15(3), 209-233.
- Quan-Haase, A., Young, A. L. (2010). Uses and gratifications of social media: A comparison of Facebook and instant messaging. *Bulletin of Science, Technology & Society*, 30, 350-361.
Doi: 10.1177/0270467610380009
- Reinecke, L. & Trepte, S. (2014). Authenticity and well-being on social network sites: A two-wave longitudinal study on the effects of online authenticity and the positivity bias in SNS communication. *Computers in Human Behavior*, 30(2014), 95 – 102.
- Ryan, T., Chester, A., Reece, J., & Xenos, S. (2014). The uses and abuses of Facebook: A review of Facebook addiction. *Journal of Behavioral Addictions*. 133 – 148.
- Saiphoo, A. N., Dahoah Halevi, L., & Vehdi, Z. (2020). Social networking site use and self-esteem: A meta-analytic review. *Personality and Individual Differences*, 153.
- Seidman, G. Self-presentation and belonging on Facebook: How personality influences social media use and motivations. *Personality and Individual Differences*, 54(2013), 402 – 407.
- Sidani, J. E., Shensa, A., Radovic, A., Miller, E., Colditz, J. B., Hoffman, B. L., Giles, L. M. & Primack, B. A. (2016). Association between social media use and depression among US young adults. *Depression & Anxiety*, 33(4), 323 – 331.
- Sheldon, K. M., & Bettencourt, B. A. (2002). Psychological need-satisfaction and subjective well-being within social groups. *British Journal of Social Psychology*, 41, 25 – 38.

- Snyder, C. R., & Fromkin, H. L. (1980). *The search for uniqueness and valuation of scarcity*. In Gergen, K. J., Greenburg, M. S., Willis, R. H. (eds). Springer: Boston, MA.
- Sowles, S. J., Krauss, M. J., Gebremedhn, L., & Cavazos-Rehg, P. A. (2017). “I feel like I’ve hit the bottom and have no idea what to do:” Supportive social networking on Reddit for individuals with a desire to quit cannabis use. *Substance Abuse*, 38(4), 477-482. Doi: 10.1080/08897077.2017.1354956
- Statista. (2019). Most popular social networks worldwide as of January 2019, ranked by number of active users (in millions). <https://www.statista.com/statistics/272014/global-social-networks-ranked-by-number-of-users/>
- Statista. (2019). Most popular mobile social networking apps in the United States as of October by monthly users (in millions). <https://www.statista.com/statistics/248074/most-popular-us-social-networking-apps-ranked-by-audience/>
- Statista (2019). Most popular social networks of teenagers in the United States from fall 2012 to fall 2018. <https://www.statista.com/statistics/250172/social-network-usage-of-us-teens-and-young-adults/>
- Teachman, J. D. (1980). Analysis of population diversity. *Sociological Methods & Research*, 8, 341 – 362.
- Tiggemann, M. & Zaccardo, M. (2016). ‘Strong is the new skinny’: A content analysis of #fitspiration images on Instagram. *Journal of Health Psychology*.
- Toma, C. L., & Hancock, J. T. (2013). Self-affirmation underlies Facebook use. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 39, 321 – 331

- Tong, S. T., Van Der Heide, B., Langwell, L. & Walther, J. B. (2008). Too much of a good thing? The relationship between number of friends and interpersonal impressions on Facebook. *Journal of Computer-Mediated Communication, 13*(3), 531 – 549
- Trepte, S. Masur, P. K., Scharnow, M. (2018). Mutual friends' social support and self-disclosure in face-to-face and instant messenger communication. *The Journal of Social Psychology, 158*(4), 430 – 445.
- Turner, P. G., Lefevre, C. E., (2017). Instagram use is linked to increased symptoms of orthorexia nervosa. *Eating and Weight Disorders-Studies on Anorexia, Bulimia and Obesity, 22*(2), 227–284.
- Valkenburg, P. M., & Peter, J. (2009). The effects of instant messaging on the quality of adolescents' existing friendship: A longitudinal study. *Journal of Communication, 59*, 79–97.
- van Dijk, J. (2013). “You have one identity”: Performing the self on Facebook and LinkedIn. *Media, Culture & Society, 35*(2), 199 – 215.
- Veldhuis, J., Alleva, J. M., Bij de Vaate, A. J. D., Keijer, M. & Konijn. (2018). Me, my selfie, and I: The relations between selfie behaviors, body image, self-objectification, and self-esteem in young women. *Psychology of Popular Media Culture.*
- Vignoles, V. L., Chrysoschoou, X., & Breakwell, G. M. (2002). Sources of distinctives: Position, difference, and separateness in the identities of Anglican parish priests. *European Journal of Social Psychology, 32*, 761–780.
- Vignoles, V. L., Gollledge, J., Regalia, C., Mazi, C., Scabini, E. (2006). Beyond self-esteem: Influence of multiple motives on identity construction. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 90*(2), 308 – 333.

- Vignoles, V. L. & Moncaster, N. J. (2007). Identity motives and in-group favouritism: A new approach to individual differences in intergroup discrimination. *British Journal of Social Psychology, 46*, 91–113.
- Vitak, J., & McLaughlin, C. (2011, May). A Picture's Worth a Thousand Words, But Friendships Matter More. Paper presented at the 61st annual conference of the International Communication Association, Boston, MA
- Vitak, J. (2012). The impact of context collapse and privacy on social network site disclosures. *Journal of Broadcasting and Electronic Media, 56*(4), 451–470.
- Wang, X. & Yu, C. (2012). Social media peer communication and impacts on purchase intentions: A consumer socialization framework. *Journal of Interactive Marketing, 26*(4), 198 – 208.
- Wilson, R. E., Gosling, S.D., & Graham, L. T. (2012). A review of Facebook research in the social sciences. *Association for Psychological Sciences, 7*(3) 203–220.
- Wood, A. M., Maltby, J. Linley, P. A (2008). The authenticity personality: A theoretical and empirical conceptualization and the development of the authenticity scale. *Journal of Counseling Psychology, 55*(3), 385–399.
- Zafarani, R., & Liu, H. (2016). Users joining multiple sites: Friendship and popularity variations across sites. *Information Fusion, 28*, 83–89.

VITA

Anjelica Mercedes Martinez is from San Antonio, TX. In addition to completing her M.S. in Psychology at the University of Texas at San Antonio, she graduated with honors from the University of the Incarnate Word with her B.A. in Psychology, a minor in Sociology, and concentration in Experimental Psychology. She will begin her PhD in Psychology at University of Houston. She intends to continue her research in social media and its impacts on relationships, self-stigmatizing behavior, and sense of authenticity.