Why the caged bird sings: Cultural factors underlying the use of Online Social Networks among Saudi Arabian and UK users

Thesis submitted by Heyla Selim to the University of Sussex for the qualification of Doctor of Philosophy in Psychology, June 2016

Declaration

This thesis conforms to an 'article format' in which chapters 2, 3, 4 and 5 consist of discrete articles written in a style that is appropriate for publication in peer-reviewed journals. Chapter 1 presents an overview of the subject matter, including a literature review.

Chapter 2 was written by the first author, with feedback and support on the research design, analysis and the manuscript preparation provided by Dr Karen Long (first supervisor).

Chapters 3, 4 and 5 were written by the first author, with feedback provided by Dr Long and Dr Vivian Vignoles on the research design, analysis and manuscript preparation.

An abbreviated version of chapter 3 was published in the *Annual Review of Cybertherapy and Telemedicine* in 2014.

_____

I hereby declare that this thesis has not been and will not be, submitted in whole or in part to another University for the award of any other degree.

Signature:...

<u>University of Sussex</u>

Heyla Selim, submitted for the award of Doctor of Philosophy in Psychology

Why the caged bird sings: Cultural factors underlying the use of Online Social Networks among Saudi Arabian and UK users

Culture hides more than it reveals, and strangely enough what it hides,
it hides most effectively from its own participants. (Edward T. Hall, 1976)

Summary

The 21st century has seen a dramatic rise in Internet access and connectivity across the world. To date, only a small amount of research has been published on the subject of culture and Internet usage. This thesis investigates whether, and how, individuals from two different cultures (Saudi Arabia and the UK) engage with online social networks (OSNs) differently, and what might be the underlying psychological factors explaining such differences.

A first qualitative study used interpretative phenomenological analysis (IPA; Smith, Flowers, & Larkin, 2009) to investigate motivations for using OSNs among Saudi and British participants. Both groups reported that they used OSNs to present a positive self-image, while desiring to maintain a sense of their 'genuine' self in online interactions. For Saudi participants, OSNs also provided opportunities for self-expression that were otherwise unavailable. British participants reported using OSNs for relationship maintenance.

A second qualitative study also looked at motivations, but narrowed the focus to identity motives, applying motivated identity construction theory (Vignoles, 2011) to a thematic analysis of tweets written by citizens of Saudi Arabia and the United Kingdom. Motives for meaning, belonging, distinctiveness, continuity, efficacy, and self-esteem were all detectable in the tweets of both Saudi and British users. The manner in which these motives were pursued varied according to the cultural context of users within the affordances of the online context in which they were communicating.

The research project then aimed to establish a way of measuring differences in online self-presentation strategies, by developing the online self-presentation strategies scale (OSPSS). Items were selected using exploratory structural equation modelling (ESEM). The scale was incorporated in a large-scale (N = 694) quantitative study of Saudi and British OSN users that measured self-presentation strategies, motivations of OSNs use and target audience. Mediation analyses were conducted to find out whether cultural differences in these dimensions were explained by two forms of cultural variation: relational mobility and Schwartz' theory of basic values. Self-enhancement vs. self-transcendence values and relational mobility, more than openness to change vs. conservation values, accounted for mean differences between the groups in motives, targeted audiences and self-presentation strategies.

Together the studies reveal observable differences in the ways in which people from Saudi Arabia and the UK engage with OSNs. These are partially explained by the affordances that social media provide, which compensate for the unavailability of certain modes of expression and communication within offline cultural contexts, and by cultural differences in value priorities.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Chapter 2: Exploring motives for online social networking: An in-depth study among British and Saudi Arabian users

Chapter 3: When writing less is more: Motivated identity construction on Twitter in Saudi Arabia and UK

Chapter 4: Development of the online self-presentation strategies scale (OSPSS)

Chapter 5: Beyond the wall: An investigation of cultural influence on online behaviour in Saudi Arabia and the United Kingdom

APPENDIX 1: Study 1 interview schedule

APPENDIX 2: Study 1 − Full Transcripts & Coding Schemes

APPENDIX 3: Study 2- Tweets Coding

APPENDIX 4: Study 4 recruitment advert

APPENDIX 5: Study 4 information sheet

APPENDIX 6: Study 4 participant consent form

APPENDIX 7: Study 3 − Factors Loading

APPENDIX 8: Study 4 – Online Survey

TABLE OF TABLES

TABLE OF FIGURES

ACKNOWLEDGMENT

This thesis would not have been possible without the support and encouragement of a number of people. While it is impossible to list every student, faculty, staff, family member, and friend who made this thesis possible and kept me going throughout, I extend my deepest thanks and gratitude to everyone who helped in even the smallest way. All of my accomplishments are as much yours as they are mine.

First of all I would like to express my sincere appreciation and thanks for the mentoring, guidance, and leadership provided by my supervisors, Dr Karen Long and Dr Vivian Vignoles. They have contributed a great deal to making this manuscript exist. I appreciate all their contributions that have made my Ph.D. experience productive and fulfilling. I am also grateful for their patience and continuous encouragement.

I would also like to thank my family for the unbelievable amount of support they have given me throughout this long journey. My daughters, Aljohara and Alanoud who have spent the last few years away from their home in Saudi Arabia to be with me. My family back home has also been very important to me; without their encouragement, I would not be able to achieve my goals. In particular I want to say thank you to my father, who supported me in my ambitions but who passed away half way through my journey; I like to imagine he is still here with me, reading this thesis and being as supportive as he has always been.

Thank you to the people on Saudi social media who shared details of my study when I was gathering data, and for the staff at King Saud University who also helped collect participants. The Saudi Arabian Cultural Bureau has taken care of me during my time in the UK, while none of this would have been possible without the scholarship from King Saud University. Thank you also to the friendly staff at Sussex University who helped me to make the most of their facilities.

My supportive friend, Noura Al Bugami, Layla Aljabri has always been there for me during the past few years. Thank you! Prof Saad Abazei was also extremely helpful in volunteering his services for back translation.

Finally, thank you to everyone who helped to support me, smiled at me, or told me that I am a strong woman. Even in my moments of weakness, they lifted me up with their words.

CHAPTER 1

OVERVIEW OF RESEARCH

INTRODUCTION

Six years ago, I left my native Saudi Arabia to study in Canada. The experience of immersing myself in a new culture was exhilarating, as was the chance to do things I would never have been able to do back home. I had more freedom in choosing my personal and professional relationships, to meet new people and to exchange ideas with them. These were opportunities I had been lacking in my home country.

At the same time, I felt sad to leave my large family. I had spent my whole life surrounded by the people I love. Would our relationships remain as they were before? How could I keep up to date with their news, and share my own news with them? Despite my excitement at living abroad, I didn't want to feel 'out of the loop'.

What enabled me to simultaneously adapt to, and enjoy, my new surroundings, as well as stay connected to my family, were the various online social media platforms that have arisen in the past decade, such as WhatsApp, Instagram, and Snapchat. Whereas in the past I would have relied on expensive telephone calls, the asynchronous time interaction of emails, or the even slower pace of letter-writing, such social media allowed me to interact in synchronous time with family members and close friends. I could stay in touch with loved ones, exchange news and ideas, and feel connected to my own culture.

Social media gave me the 'best of both worlds'. Communication was immediate and spontaneous, but I could choose when to engage in interactions. An added bonus of these platforms was that I could choose which parts of my life I wanted to share, and therefore maintain harmony within the family. In other words, I could explore my new environment without being under the watchful eye of more traditionally minded family members, and yet remain in contact with them when I chose.

An unanticipated side effect of finding myself within two cultures at the same time was that I became increasingly aware of cultural differences, particularly the values that influence our motivations and behaviour. Actions that seemed innocuous within my new cultural context were perceived as a threat to the conservative establishment back home – even the use of the online social networks that had allowed me to maintain close relationships with my family. In 2014, the country's leading Muslim cleric, Sheikh Abdul Aziz al Sheikh, referred to Twitter as 'the source of all evil and destruction' (BBC, 2014).

 Al-Sheikh's chief objections to Twitter were that it was used for trivial purposes, and could be used to spread lies about Islam. Behind his comments seemed to lie a fear that public discourse was no longer in the control of the government, and if this were so, public discourse could soon develop into public discontent and even public dissent. The irreverent responses to his claims, by Saudi Twitter users, might have been interpreted by the establishment as confirmation of such fears. A comment that was typical in its sarcasm announced, 'This is why I will repent, and close my account to distance myself from this great evil,' while another openly (albeit politely) challenged the authority of the Sheikh: 'Respected Sheikh, how can you judge something without using it?'[1] (BBC, 2014)

While I was using social media to keep in touch with my family and friends, fulfilling a basic human need of belonging, others back home were also satisfying the basic need of self-expression – as seen in the examples above. I began to think more deeply about the opportunities I now had, that were denied to others: to develop relationships with people from diverse backgrounds, to choose whom I made contact with, and to pursue my goals. I became interested in how online social media might provide opportunities for others like me.

When I came to apply for a doctoral research programme in the UK, then, focusing on online social networks (OSNs) seemed like a choice that was relevant both on a personal level, and also on a wider societal level. I was particularly interested in the influence of culture on usage of OSNs, and also whether these OSNs might themselves 'feed back' into the culture and begin to effect social change – as they had done during the Arab Spring of 2011, during which protesters used platforms such as

---

[1] As a testament to the successful spread of online social media platforms in the Arab world, establishment figures have given up trying to suppress usage of sites such as Twitter, and have instead begun using them to spread their message of resisting societal change (Schanzer & Miller, 2012).

Facebook and Twitter to organise meetings and demonstrations, thereby bypassing state control of media and communication channels.

This thesis presents my research into the complex relationship between cultural context and online context with a focus on the use of Online Social Networks (OSNs).

LITERATURE REVIEW

The early 21st Century has seen a phenomenal growth in Online Social Networks (OSNs). Psychological research into cultural differences in the use of OSNs is an expanding field. The aim of the research described in this thesis is to further our understanding of the cultural differences in the use of OSNs, and to see how they can be explained and predicted by existing psychological theories relating to culture and the self. OSN users in Saudi Arabia and the UK will be examined and compared in order to explore these research questions.

The use of OSNs in Saudi Arabia is particularly fascinating and even controversial. Back in late 2012, The New York Times published an article entitled "Saudis Cross Social Boundaries on Twitter," which reported on Saudis using Twitter to openly criticise the state after the Arab uprisings in 2011 (Worth, 2012). Other OSNs, including Facebook, have also been used for political activism (Freedom House, 2012). Do the conservative and arguably oppressive values of Saudi Arabia, and other cultural factors, influence Saudis to use OSNs in different ways from OSN users in the UK?

The first part of this literature review will outline the cultural theories that will feature heavily in this research: *Schwartz's model of universal human values*, and *relational mobility*. Ultimately, the research will investigate whether these models and ideas can be used to account for and predict the cultural differences in the use of OSNs in the two national groups. This section will begin with a discussion of the concepts of culture that are relevant to understanding the cultural theories used. Although the nature of online social networks is widely known, the statistics regarding their use and the motivations of their users may not be. The second section thus outlines the OSNs being discussed with focus on these details. Third, existing concepts and models relating to the self are discussed in relation to OSNs. These are self-presentation, self-disclosure and identity motives. Self-presentation and self-disclosure in relation to OSNs has

previously been investigated, but little attention has been given to identity motives in this context. Past research in this area is reviewed, providing the background on which the present investigation will build. Finally, having discussed OSNs, cultural theories and concepts relating to the self, in the fourth section, I will examine past research that has focused on cultural differences in these areas.

1. Culture and Cultural Theories

1.1 Definition of Culture

There are numerous diverse definitions of culture given by various authors. Obviously, it is not possible to discuss or even mention all of them. It will only be necessary to mention a few definitions that are relevant to the cultural theories that are drawn on, thereby providing a general but sufficient account of what is meant by the term 'culture'.

In conceptualising culture, Hall (1976, p. 16) notes that cultural traits are shared by groups in a society, but they are not genetically inherited, nor do they exist on their own. A major contribution by Hall to cultural studies is his categorisation of cultures into 'high context' and 'low context' cultures. In the former type, communication between members of a society can proceed without the need for extensive explanation. Meaning is embedded in cultural traditions and understandings, and is often left implicit in the utterances of community members. In low context cultures, the converse is true, and speakers need to be more explicit in conveying meaning. Hall was also influential in advancing understanding of the role of non-verbal factors such as physical proximity (*proxemics*; Hall, 1966) and temporality (*chronemics*; Hall & Hall, 1990) in facilitating communication, and how these factors vary between cultures.

Hofstede (1991, p. 5) defines culture as "the collective programming of the mind which distinguishes the members of one group from another"; this 'collective programming' is passed down through generations with each one contributing to and thus altering it. This is a highly deterministic conception of cultural difference, and suggests that to grow up and live in a particular society entails adhering to the cultural norms of that society. However, such a definition ignores individual differences, and the

importance of these differences in influencing personal beliefs, values and goals. Hofstede's definition also implies rigid and clear demarcations between cultures, and ignores the overlapping and blurring of cultural traditions that often occurs when two cultures interact.

Holden (2006) conceives of culture in terms of cultural values, and proposes that these may be termed instrumental values, institutional values and/or intrinsic values. These three classifications are mutually dependent and rely on each other to structure a general depiction of cultural values. Instrumental values concern cultural values originating from socio-economic aspects. Institutional values refer to the way in which individuals or groups create faith or respect. Intrinsic values concern the cultural values that are exclusive to the cultural division, and are not located anywhere else; this kind of value is very hard to depict. Nevertheless, for Holden, it is linked with thoughts of aesthetic fineness and individual pleasure. Intrinsic value is consequently extremely individual.

The present research does not require commitment to any of these concepts of culture. All the above definitions – with their focus on values, differences in intensity with which values are held, the ability for cultures to develop over time, and the impact that all these factors have on individuals within a culture – help to give the reader a non-specific but sufficient idea of what is implied by culture in the context of this thesis. I will now discuss the cultural theories and models that I draw on in my research.

1.2 Schwartz's Model of Universal Human Values

An influential project in the field of cross-cultural research is Hofstede's (1991) work based on IBM employees in over 30 countries, which proposed six dimensions along which national cultures could be categorised: individualism, power distance, masculinity, uncertainty avoidance, long-term orientation, and indulgence (Hofstede, 1991). Of these dimensions, it has been the individualism-collectivism dimension which has formed the basis of much cross-cultural research in recent decades, and has been used in many studies of cultural differences (e.g. Ardichvili, Maurer, Wentling, & Stuedemann, 2006; Abbas & Mesch, 2015; Peters, Winschiers-Theophilus, & Mennecke, 2015). In general terms, research has tended to classify Western countries as

being individualist in nature (valuing personal freedom and accomplishments), and Eastern countries as collectivistic (prioritising the needs of the wider community and encouraging conformity).

The construct has been developed by the work of Triandis and colleagues, who have further divided individualism and collectivism into 'vertical' and 'horizontal' types. Vertical individualism involves viewing the self as autonomous, but accepting inequality between individuals; vertical collectivism involves viewing the self in terms of one's group membership, and recognising a hierarchy within that group; horizontal individualism involves viewing the self as autonomous, and holding the ideal that individuals should be equal; horizontal collectivism involves viewing the self in terms of one's group membership, but perceiving all group members as equal (Singelis, Triandis, Bhawuk, & Gelfand, 1995). Several scales have been developed to measure individualism and collectivism, including the 14-item Communal Orientation Scale (COS; Clark, Ouellette, Powell, & Milberg, 1987), the 32-item Individualism and Collectivism Scale (Indcol; Singelis et al., 1995), and the 16-item Individualism and Collectivism Scale (also known as the Culture Orientation Scale; Triandis & Gelfand, 1998).

Subsequent research, however, has questioned the validity of this distinction. Schwartz (1990) criticises the individualism-collectivism approach for its focus on what he sees as a false supposition, i.e. that individual interests and ingroup interests act in opposition to one another. Firstly, he argues, that there exist a number of values that serve both the interests of the individual and the ingroup (an example he gives is of wisdom, which brings inner peace to the individual and, through its influence on behaviour, encourages harmony at a group level). Secondly, there are collective goals – which Schwartz refers to as universal goals (e.g. social justice, environmental protection) – that serve the interests of a wider collective than the ingroup, and it is therefore necessary to distinguish between the goals of the ingroup and goals that apply at a universal level. Thirdly, this approach assumes that the respective values of individualism and collectivism form coherent groupings that stand in opposition to one another; an assumption that Schwartz argues is false.

As an alternative to the individualist-collectivist approach of Hofstede and Triandis, Schwartz developed the Theory of Basic Values (1992), which has influenced a high proportion of the numerous recent cross-cultural studies on values. Schwartz

(2012, p. 3) notes that in the social sciences, the concept of values is used to "characterize cultural groups, societies, and individuals, to trace change over time, and to explain the motivational bases of attitudes and behaviour." The model Schwartz (1992) proposes identifies basic values that are recognised by people in all cultures. It states ten motivationally distinct types of values and explains the structure of the dynamic relations between them all (i.e. how the different values combine and conflict with each other).

First, it is essential to understand the concept of value that the model adopts. The conception specifies the following six features that, as Schwartz (2012) explains, are implicit in the work of other relevant researchers (Allport, 1961; Feather, 1995; Kluckhohn, 1951; Morris, 1956; and Rokeach, 1973): 1) values are beliefs linked inextricably to affect; 2) values refer to desirable goals that motivate action; 3) values transcend specific actions and situations; 4) values serve as standards or criteria; 5) values are ordered by importance in relation to one another; and 6) the *relative* importance of multiple values guides action. All values possess these properties, but they differ in respect of the goal or motivation they express.

The ten values the model proposes are defined by their underlying motivation. They derive from one or more of three universal requirements of human existence with which they help people to cope – hence this is why they are considered to be universal. These three requirements are as follows: the survival and welfare needs of groups; the requisites of coordinated social interaction; and the needs of individuals as biological organisms. These ten values are *Self-Direction*, *Stimulation*, *Hedonism*, *Achievement*, *Power*, *Security*, *Conformity*, *Tradition*, *Benevolence*, and *Universalism*.
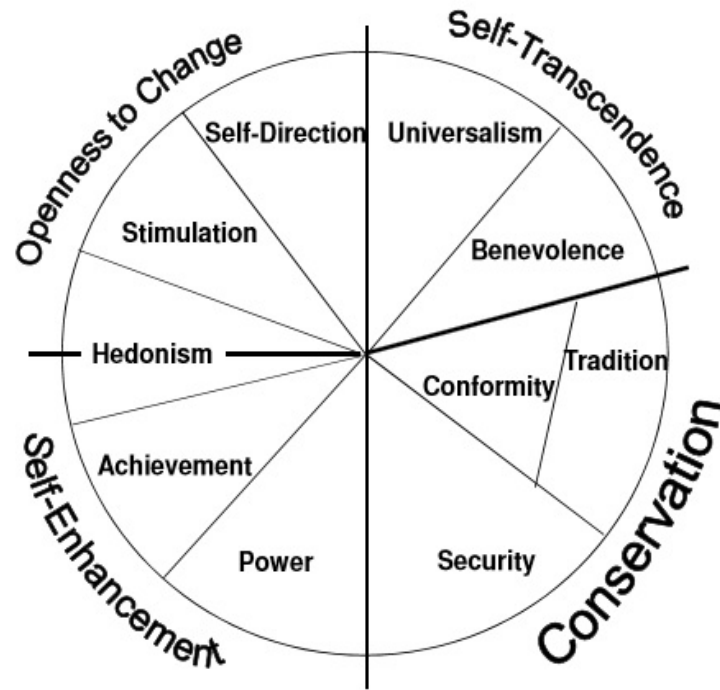
Figure 1. Theoretical Model of Relations Among Motivational Value Types and Two Basic Bipolar Value Dimensions. Schwartz (2012, p. 9).[2]

I will explain the model further with reference to Figure 1, which presents the ten basic values and the dynamic relations among them in a circular arrangement that represents a motivational continuum. As mentioned previously, this model explains the structure of the dynamic relations between them. An action aimed at pursing one value will have consequences that will conflict with some values and be congruent with others: for example, an action in pursuit of *hedonism* could conflict with the value of *benevolence*, but may be congruent with *achievement*. The model thus organizes the values into two bipolar dimensions. The first dimension contrasts '*openness to change*' values (hedonism, stimulation, and self-direction) with '*conservation*' values (security, conformity, and tradition): i.e. the conflict between values that emphasize independence of feelings, thought and action, and readiness for change, with those that emphasize self-restriction, order, preservation of the past, and resistance to change. The second dimension contrasts '*self-enhancement*' (hedonism, achievement, and power) with '*self-transcendence*' values (universalism and benevolence): i.e. the conflict between values

---

[2] The Schwartz model has since been updated to encompass 19 values (Cieciuch et al., 2014); however, we used the 1992 version, with 10 values, as a more parsimonious way of measuring values.

that emphasize concern for the welfare and interests of others, with those that emphasize pursing one's own interests, dominance over others, and relative success.[3]

Finally, according to Schwartz's model, values form a continuum of related motivation; this continuum is also represented in Figure 1. Those values that are adjacent share motivational emphases: for example, *Achievement* and *Hedonism* are adjacent because they share the motivational emphasis of a desire for affectively pleasant arousal. The distance between any two values on the continuum, in either direction, represents the extent of their congruence or conflict: the closer they are, the more congruence there is between their underlying motivations; the more distance there is between them, the more conflict there is between their underlying motivations. Although all cultures will share these basic values, they will differ substantially with respect to how much importance they place on each one: they will have different value "priorities" and "hierarchies" (Schwartz, 2012).

Despite the prominence of this model in research on culture, it barely features in existing research on explaining the differences between cultures with respect to using OSNs. My research will include this model; this inclusion should be an advance on existing research, as existing studies on values suggest that Schwartz's framework has more explanatory power than comparable models. In comparison to Hofstede's (1991) cultural dimensions theory, Schwartz's model captures more elements of culture (Steenkamp, 2001), and may have more ability to explain cultural variation (Schwartz & Ros, 1995). Another method of measuring cultural difference, Relational Mobility, will now be explored in the following section.

1.3 Relational Mobility

'Relational mobility' is defined as the extent to which individuals have opportunities to form new and terminate existing relationships in a given context (Schug, Yuki, & Maddux, 2010; Falk, Heine, Yuki, & Takemura, 2009; Schug, Yuki, Horikawa, & Takemura, 2009; Yuki et al., 2007). In cultures with high relational mobility,

---

[3] *Hedonism* shares elements of both 'openness to change' and 'self-enhancement', which is why it is presented in both. *Tradition* and *Conformity* share a segment on the model as they share the same broad motivational goal (subordinating the self to socially imposed expectations), with *Tradition* towards the periphery to indicate that it conflicts more strongly with the opposing values.

individuals will often experience opportunities to form new relationships, perhaps due to relocating, changing jobs, living in an area of high population, etc. Individuals in cultures with low relational mobility have much fewer opportunities to venture beyond and/or expand their current social network, perhaps because there are few opportunities for relocation and occupational changes, and only a small local population with which they can easily communicate.

Despite being a relatively new theoretical construct in this research area, evidence already suggests that relational mobility can be used to explain various cultural differences. Some of this research will be discussed later in this review. For now, it should be noted that researchers have reported positively on its use in research that examines cultural differences in the use of OSNs (e.g. Schug et al., 2010). Due to its explanatory potential, relational mobility will be examined in my research.

Although there are many ways in which, at least theoretically, researchers can measure relational mobility, *The Relational Mobility Scale* – a 12-item measure that obtains participants' perceptions of relational mobility for those individuals in their local environment (e.g. workplace, neighbourhood, educational institute) using a 6-point scale (1 = *strongly disagree*, to 6 = *strongly agree*) – was developed by Yuki et al. (2007) and used in notable subsequent research (e.g. Falk et al., 2009; Schug et al., 2009). These studies have demonstrated the usefulness of this scale, so in my research too, this scale will be used.

2. Online Social Networks

2.1 Online Social Networks

Online Social Networks can be defined as online platforms that enable their users to maintain and/or establish social relationships online. It should be noted that in previous research, both the terms 'Online Social Networks' (OSNs) and 'Social Networking Sites' (SNSs) are used in an interchangeable manner. There are no apparent advantages for either term, but I will be using the former. The OSNs that will be discussed in my own research are among the most popular in the cultures under analysis. They include Facebook, Twitter, and Instagram. Using various reputable sources, the agency We Are

Social provides statistics on the worldwide usage of some OSNs. The approximate number of active users worldwide, as of April 2016, is as follows: Facebook, 1.59 billion; Twitter, 320 million; and Instagram, 400 million (Statista, 2016).

As my research will compare the use of OSNs in the UK and Saudi Arabia, it is useful to review usage data for both. In June 2013, The Office for National Statistics estimated that there were 64.1 million people in the UK. How many of these people are using OSNs? *Social Media Today* (Rose, 2014) reported on the social media statistics and trends in the UK based on various reputable sources. With regards to UK users, they found the following: Facebook, over 31 million; Twitter, over 15 million. In Saudi Arabia, the population by the end of 2013 was estimated to be just under 30 million (Statista, 2015). According to *Statista* (2015), the famous OSNs had penetrated the following proportions of this population: Facebook, 25%; Twitter, 20%; and Instagram, 17%. Interestingly, while the proportion of Saudis who use Facebook (21%) is much less than the proportion of UK citizens that do (approximately 48% based upon the above statistics), the proportion of Twitter users in each population is comparatively very close (19% and 23% respectively, based upon the above statistics).

As the popularity of OSNs has increased, so too has psychological research on their usage. Psychologists have been interested in the following: how people use OSNs; the different motivations for using OSNs (e.g. Kim, Kim, & Nam, 2010); the influence of OSNs on users' perception (e.g. Junco, 2012); the formation of social capital on OSNs (e.g. Ji, Hwangbo, Yi, Rau, Fang, & Ling, 2010); self-disclosure on OSNs (e.g. Special & Li-Barber, 2012), the relationship between well-being and OSN use (e.g. Manago, Taylor, & Greenfield, 2010); the personality of OSN users (e.g. Moore & McElroy, 2012); and many other areas (see Błachnio, Przepiórka, & Rudnicka, 2013, for a review). A key interest for the current research is motivation for using OSNs, which is discussed in the next section.

2.2 Motivations for Using Online Social Networks

As implied by the definition of OSNs, the general motivations for using them are to maintain pre-existing relationships and to build new ones; it is also a useful means for self-presentation and presentation of one's interests and membership in social networks,

and it impacts social capital (e.g. Ross, Orr, Sisic, Arseneault, Simmering & Orr, 2009). Brandtzæg and Heim (2009) explored the motivations for OSN use in research that combined a large-scale quantitative and qualitative design. 1,200 OSN users were asked open questions about their reasons for using OSNs. Preliminary content analysis offered one clear conclusion: people report many reasons for OSN use. The three most prevalent reasons were (i) to make contact with new people, (ii) to maintain contact with friends, and (iii) general socialising. Other reasons included debating, time-killing, sharing information, free texting, profile surfing, family contact, sharing content, and unspecified fun.

Research support for these motivations can be found, especially with respect to Facebook (e.g. Hew, 2011; Joinson, 2008; Ross et al., 2009). Indeed, to measure people's reasons for using Facebook, Sheldon (2008) proposed a questionnaire with the following six factors: relationship maintenance, passing time, participation in a virtual community, entertainment, 'coolness', and companionship. However, these motivations, like the reasons elicited by Brandtzaeg and Heim (2009), remain largely at a superficial level, and the categories are not clearly defined: 'passing time' and 'entertainment' are very close conceptually, as are 'relationship maintenance' and 'companionship'. 'Participation in a virtual community', meanwhile, seems to confuse motivation with the act itself. It is clear that deeper exploration and unpacking of motivations for using OSNs is needed.

Two hypotheses that can highlight motivations for Facebook use are: 1) the *social enhancement hypothesis* – i.e. "the rich get richer" (Kraut, Kiesler, Boneva, Cummings, Helgeson, & Crawford, 2002); and 2) the *social compensation hypothesis* – i.e. "the poor get richer" (McKenna & Bargh, 2000). Researchers have reviewed these in the context of Facebook (e.g. Sheldon, 2008; Zywica & Danowski, 2008) and the findings provide support for both: individuals that are extroverted and popular offline can use Facebook to increase their popularity (the rich get richer); individuals that are more introverted and lack offline popularity – and who may also lack self-esteem and be experiencing low life satisfaction (Ellison, Steinfield, & Lampe, 2007) – can also use Facebook to build online popularity (social compensation). Interestingly, some research suggests that more time is spent on Facebook by those that can be described as socially anxious and shy, than by those with high self-esteem (Ryan & Xenos, 2011).

Obviously this overview doesn't cover all possible motivations. Research has identified other motivations that are not immediately apparent: for example, young people may use Facebook to aid their education (Lampe, Wohn, Vitak, Ellison, & Wash, 2011). It should be mentioned that *self-presentation* has been identified as a motivation for using Facebook and OSNs in general (e.g. Hew, 2011; Krämer & Winter, 2008; Mehdizadeh, 2010; Nadkarni & Hofmann, 2012); this is a key point that will be discussed in further detail later.

From this overview of the existing research into the motivations for using OSNs, a few critical points can be made. Much of the previous research in this area has only focused on one OSN (Facebook). The differences between OSNs makes it hard to generalise the findings regarding motivations for Facebook use to Twitter, Google+ and other OSNs. The most notable lack within the literature, however, is that existing studies of motivations for OSN use have mainly focused on functional motivations, such as entertainment, maintaining contact, and ease of use. As yet we know very little about the deeper psychological motivations at play when people use OSNs, especially those pertaining to identity motives, self-concepts, and culture. My research will address these gaps by eliciting psychological motivations for usage of several OSNs (specifically Facebook and Twitter) among users in Saudi Arabia and the UK.

3. The Online Self

Concepts, theories and models relating to 'self' existed in psychology long before the internet, let alone OSNs. In the present research, these ideas will help us to understand the cultural differences in use of OSNs between Saudi and UK users. Four areas are considered: self-concept, self-presentation, self-disclosure, and identity motives.

3.1 Self-concept

Self-concept refers to the beliefs that an individual has about himself or herself, in relation to the fundamental question, 'Who am I?' Scholars have suggested that self-concept varies between cultures. Markus and Kitayama (1991) propose a distinction between independent self-construal (typical of Western cultures) and interdependent

self-construal (typical of Eastern cultures). The former places importance on individuality, and views individual behaviour as stemming from people's personal thoughts, feelings, and actions; the latter stresses the importance of community, and understands behaviour as a product of the individual's relationship to the thoughts, feelings, and actions of others. Such a distinction is close to the individualist/collectivist classification discussed earlier in this thesis, and may be reductive in its strict separation between the individual and the communal.

A more nuanced conception of self-concept is provided by Neisser (1988), who distinguishes between five types of self-knowledge: the ecological self (the self as seen in the context of physical environment), the interpersonal self (understanding of the self in relation to others), the extended self (based primarily on our memories and routine activities in which we engage), the private self (the conception of ourself as a unique individual, separate from others), and the conceptual self (what Neisser refers to as 'self-concept' – one's understanding of onself in relation to the roles one inhabits and the qualities that one possesses). Neisser refers to these modes as different *selves*, because of their distinct quality, but asserts that the individual experiences them as consistent and valued aspects of a coherent unified self.

Self-concept has been studied in an online context. Macintosh and Bryson (2008) describe how LGBT teens use OSNs to establish contact with their LGBT peers, and claim that the Internet provides a sphere in which many young people 'come out'. Gajaria and colleagues, meanwhile, reveal how teens with attention deficit/hyperactivity disorder (ADHD) form in-groups via online communities by sharing advice, support and personal testimonies. It is suggested that such groups assist in the process of individuals reframing their diagnosis in a positive light, and achieving a sense of belonging.

Amongst ethnic minorities and intercultural teens, OSNs can contribute towards the formation of a stable and positive self-concept. Grasmuck et al. (2009) found displays of ethnic identity to be prominent on the OSN profile pages of 83 African American, Latino, and Native American college students. When cultural identity faces potential threat, as when individuals move from one cultural context to another, OSNs can help ease the transition and reinforce individuals' sense of self. A case study of a Trinidadian girl moving to the US (McLean, 2010) describes the formation of a unique ethnic identity that draws from both her home culture and her adopted culture, and the

ability to retain old friends and foster new relationships provided by sites such as Facebook.

Other people's perceptions of the self-contribute towards the formation of a self-concept. Individuals will, therefore, adopt strategies to influence how they are perceived by others, which in turn has an impact on their own self-concept. We refer to these strategies as 'self-presentation strategies'. The next section will address self-presentation.

3.2 Self-Presentation

'Self-presentation' is the intentional use of behaviours to regulate others' impressions of ourselves (Goffman, 1959); it is sometimes used interchangeably with the term 'impression management' (Attrill, 2015). Leary (1995, p. 2) similarly describes it as "the process of controlling how one is perceived by other people." Managing these perceptions ultimately enables us to maintain or enhance our self-esteem, regulate social rewards and consequences, and manage our self-concept. Unsurprisingly, the self that tends to be presented is either consistent with the self-concept privately held by the individual or one that is exaggerated favourably (Leary & Kowalski, 1990; Lewis & Neighbors, 2005; Schlenker, 1980). Arkin (1981) distinguishes between two types of self-presentation: acquisitive, which is to seek approval; and protective, which is to avoid disapproval. The former may be achieved through presenting positive aspects of oneself and constructing a desirable image. The latter can be achieved through conformity with the norms of one's social group and modest self-disclosure.

Researchers have identified specific self-presentation techniques that individuals may use, which include the following from Jones and Pittman (1982): *ingratiation* (using favours or flattery to gain liking from others); *self-promotion* (directing others' attention to one's own achievements in order to be perceived as capable); *intimidation* (projecting one's power and ability to punish others in order to be perceived as powerful and dangerous); *supplication* (presenting one's weaknesses and faults in order to receive compassion and assistance from others); and *exemplification* (going beyond what is required or expected to be perceived by others as committed and hardworking). Other tactics include enhancement, excuses, self-handicapping, apologies, justifications,

disclaimers, entitlement, 'sandbagging' (downplaying one's skills or abilities), and 'blasting' (associating oneself with a person or group that is viewed positively by others) (Gibson & Sachau, 2000; Lee, Quigley, Nesler, Corbett, & Tedeschi, 1999; Lewis & Neighbors, 2005).

OSNs have provided people with new methods of self-presentation. Users can tactically create their profile pages, update their status, share images and other content, communicate to other individuals publically, comment on other statuses, and more – though of course not all OSNs share the same features. OSNs and the internet in general can give users distance between themselves and the audience, and this physical detachment makes it easier to conceal parts of the offline self (Bullingham & Vasconcelos, 2013). Hew (2011) found that participants used Facebook to become more popular, partly because it allowed them to present themselves to a larger group.

Unfortunately for the individual, they are not the only person who can present themselves. There can be an inconsistency between other-provided information (OPI) and self-provided information (SPI), with the former coming from others who know the individual in various forms (Rui & Stefanone, 2013a): e.g. posts on wall, uploaded images, mentions in statuses, and comments on the individual's content. OPI is likely to be more credible as others are unlikely to have an interest in the individual's self-presentation; thus, it may have more influence on how the individual is perceived than SPI (Walther, van der Heide, Hamel, & Shulman, 2009; Walther, van der Heide, Kim, Westerman, & Tong, 2008). This is even more problematic for the individual who wishes to present an idealised version of themselves. Indeed, the implicit threat of OPI can motivate users towards authentic rather than false self-presentation (e.g. Back et al., 2010; Toma & Hancock, 2011).

What is 'authentic', however, is open to interpretation. It has been proposed that people construct multiple selves, starting from adolescence, in order to satisfy the norms of the different contexts in which they operate (Harter, 2002). OSNs represent another domain in which people construct identities according to their presumed audience (Zhao, Grasmuck, & Martin, 2008). In a qualitative study of profile work on Facebook and Last.fm, Uski and Lampinen (2014) explored the meaning of being 'real' in these contexts. Artificiality and excessive self-enhancement met with disapproval among participants, whereas 'naturalistic' self-presentation met with approval. In practical terms, this means achieving a balance between quality and quantity of information

shared. 'Realness' does not entail sharing *all* aspects of one's character; rather, to be considered authentic, one's profile must share an appropriate amount of information. However, there was no consensus among participants as to the appropriate level of self-disclosure, or the appropriate number of online friends for a person. Instead, such norms are perceived on an individual basis, according to a person's individual network of online contacts.

This section has introduced the concept of self-presentation and the implications of OSNs for it. Later in this review, research into the cultural differences in self-presentation on OSNs will be examined.

3.3 Self-Disclosure

The concept of self-disclosure varies in the research literature, but not significantly. Jourard (1971) used the term 'self-disclosure' to describe the revelation of information about the self to others. It has also been defined as the revelation of *sensitive* personal information to another (Mayer, Davis, & Schoorman, 1995; Schug et al., 2010 p. 4), which can signal commitment in relationships because the individual is willing to be vulnerable to others. One can self-disclose their feelings, aspirations, dreams, fears, goals, failures, thoughts, likes and dislikes (Barry, 2006). The link with self-presentation is clear: what people self-disclose can help regulate the perception that others have of them.

With the advent of the Internet, scholars have turned their attention to how people self-disclose online, and whether self-disclosure in this context differs from its offline counterpart. Certain research (Parks & Floyd, 1996; Wallace, 1999) suggests that people are quicker to reveal personal information online than they are offline. Attrill and Jalil (2012) offer suggestions as to why this might be the case, including the asynchronous nature of many online interactions (which offers the chance to consider more fully what one reveals, and thereby retain control over the version of self that one presents) and reduced pressure to reciprocate the level of disclosure that one's partner provides in one-on-one communication. The opportunity to remain anonymous may also contribute – a study by Baker (2005) indicated that anonymity in online interactions leads to quicker self-disclosure than in offline interactions.

However, as Attrill (2015) points out, it is necessary to consider the different factors within the online context that influence type and degree of self-disclosure: publicly accessible posts, such as tweets or wall posts on Facebook, might be less sensitive in nature than private messages. This distinction was incorporated in a study by Attrill and Jalil (2011), who noted that the type of personal information shared online is likely to vary as a function of the type of platform used, and the goal that the user hopes to achieve by sharing this information. Attrill (2012) also draws the distinction between voluntary and involuntary self-disclosure; the latter associated with the personal (and 'actual self') information required by certain websites to establish an online profile, buy goods online etc. When an Internet user enters into such an arrangement, s/he is offering personal information as a necessary stage in achieving a desired goal.

With regard to voluntary self-disclosure, OSNs enable people to disclose a significant amount of information to a large audience. Facebook and similar OSNs allow users to create a profile page that can display a chosen amount of basic information (e.g. marital status, religion, political views, favourite quotes, education, and occupation). The ability to share status updates allows users to share thoughts, feelings, opinions, images, videos and more. Users can determine how large their audience is using privacy settings. Typically the information they share can be seen by 'friends' ('followers' or another equivalent), but they can also allow 'friends of friends' (or equivalent) or, indeed, anyone to see it.

If we were to rate people on their level of self-disclosure – whether online or offline – we would find great differences between those who scored highly, in terms of the type of self-disclosure. Taking Facebook users as an example, some may occasionally 'pour their heart out' into a public status, while others may post a status about what they are doing or thinking several times a day. Both of these activities are forms of self-disclosure, but they are different. Clearly, as other researchers have recognised, there are several dimensions to self-disclosure, including amount, depth, breadth, accuracy/honesty, intent, and valence (Altman & Taylor, 1973; Wheeless, 1978; Zhao, Grasmuck, & Martin, 2008). Research on self-disclosure on OSNs has not yet focused on all these dimensions. Hollenbaugh and Ferris (2014) investigated the following: *amount*, referring to the number of disclosures made; *depth*, which refers to how personal and intimate the disclosures are; and *breadth*, which refers to the variety

of the topics that the user discloses about. A further way to distinguish between types of self-disclosure has been used by Freeman and Gelernter (1996) and White (n.d.), who propose the concepts of 'life-streaming' and 'mind-casting'. Broadly speaking, the former refers to sharing the details of one's life, in a linear fashion, such as to construct a coherent narrative/commentary of one's experiences. The latter refers to sharing ideas, such as political or philosophical opinions.

This section has provided an overview of the concept of self-disclosure and its application to OSNs. Later in this review, research into the cultural differences in self-disclosure on OSNs will be examined.

3.4 Identity Motivations

The concept of identity is used very often within psychology and other social sciences (Brubaker & Cooper, 2000; Côté, 2006), and it is also found in the humanities, e.g. philosophy (Noren, 1969) and politics (Nicholson, 2008). A group of academics – whether from the same or different disciplines – could discuss identity and fail to agree on a single definition. Vignoles, Schwartz and Luyckx (2011) discuss the range of answers to the question 'what is identity?' They suggest that many previous conceptions define it at one or more of three different "levels": 1) *individual identity*, which focuses on aspects of self-definition at the level of the individual person, including religious beliefs (MacDonald, 2000), values, beliefs, goals (Marcia, 1966; Waterman, 1999), one's overall 'life story' (McAdams, 2006) and more; 2) *relational identity*, which refers to one's roles in relation to other people (e.g. brother, father, child, customer, partner), and how they are perceived and interpreted by the individual assuming them; and 3) *collective identity*, which focuses on people's identification with the social categories and groups of which they are a member, the meanings that they give to them, and the attitudes, beliefs and emotions that result from identifying with them.

Motived identity construction theory (MICT) conceives of identity as both a personal and social construction; indeed, in explaining MICT, Vignoles (2011, p. 404) defines it as 'all aspects of the image of oneself – as represented in cognition, emotion, and discourse.' Thus, it is not just focused on collective identity. MICT explains how identities are constructed and defended in terms of a constructionist account of identity

motives. By combining insights from several differing approaches to identity (e.g. Gregg, Sedikides, & Gebauer, 2011; Heppner & Kernis, 2011; Spears, 2011; Soenens & Vansteenkiste, 2011), Vignoles proposes that these processes are guided by six identity motives:

1. The *self-esteem* motive: individuals are motivated to construct positive identities

2. The *continuity* motive: individuals are motivated to construct identities that persist over time

3. The *distinctiveness* motive: individuals seek a sense of distinction from others

4. The *meaning* motive: individuals feel a need to see their lives as meaningful

5. The *efficacy* motive: the desire to believe that one is competent and capable of influencing one's environment

6. The *belonging* motive: the need to feel that one is accepted by others

These six motives have been shown to predict the cognitive centrality and/or social enactment of aspects of identity at a variety of levels – including individual, relational, and collective – as well as across a wide range of cultural contexts (Vignoles, 2011). Vignoles suggests that identity motives may represent cultural adaptations to ongoing and often concerning human questions about the meaning of existence, and the requirements of organisation within a society. Although the motives are considered universal, alternative ways of satisfying them may be developed in different cultures (Vignoles et al., 2011).

As MICT can be seen as a strong combination of work in identity theory, and as it has much to offer on understanding cultural differences, it is unfortunate that, to my knowledge, there is no mention of it in the literature on OSNs. Although MICT has not previously been applied to OSN usage, there is some overlap between it and studies within the literature that have examined motives for engaging with OSNs: for example, those which have focused on belonging (Chen, 2011), self-esteem (Tazghini & Siedlecki, 2013), efficacy (Chan, Wu, Hao, Xi & Jin, 2012), and micro-celebrity (Page, 2012). The latter resonates with the motives of distinctiveness and self-esteem. Such studies have focused on single motives in isolation. Presently, no study has looked at the full range of identity motives in relation to OSNs. This is an area I will examine in my own research. The examination will not be a test of MICT itself, but rather it will

test it as a framework for generating a theoretically-informed exploration of how people go about constructing online identities using OSNs in two very different cultural contexts: the UK and Saudi Arabia.

4. Cultural Differences in Usage of Online Social Networks

As mentioned previously, past research has examined some of the above theories and models in relation to cultural differences in the usage of OSNs. In this final section, this research will be reviewed in four parts: first, cultural differences in the motivation to use OSNs; secondly, cultural differences relating to the 'online self'; thirdly, use of OSNs in Anglo cultural contexts; and finally use of OSNs in Arabic cultural contexts.

4.1 The Influence of Cultural Factors on Motivations for Using Online Social Networks

Kim et al. (2010) compared Korean and American college students' use of OSNs. They found that the major reasons for using OSNs were shared by the two populations. These included information, friendship seeking, entertainment, convenience and social support. However, the amount of emphasis placed on the motivations varied between the two groups. The Korean group placed more emphasis on gaining social support from existing relationships, whereas the American group placed more emphasis on entertainment.

Another study compared Facebook use among college students in Namibia and the US (Peters, Winschiers-Theophilus, & Mennecke, 2015). The Namibian users reported that they used Facebook primarily for connecting with friends, old and new. They described it as being fun and less expensive than other means of messaging. Other features they noted included information, the ability to learn about culture, gaming, e-learning, entertainment/socialisation and advertisement. The US participants in this study mentioned similar activities, but also cited other motivations not reported by the Namibian group, including sharing photos, reviewing the photos of others, keeping in

contact with friends and family from whom they are geographically separated, and "creeping" (watching other users' newsfeeds without contributing to them).

The view that the major motivations for using OSNs are shared between different cultures is supported by other research. For example, Khedir (2009) conducted a comparative study of British and Egyptian OSN users, and found that the desires to express opinions, and to establish and maintain new and existing friendships, were all shared. However, other research has also supported the idea that cultures differ with respect to the features of Facebook that they prefer (e.g. Vasaloa, Joinson, & Courvoisier, 2010). It has even been suggested that cultural factors relating to trust may explain the cultural differences in OSN use – Thomson, Yuki, and Ito (2015) compared Japanese and US samples, finding that a lower general level of trust in the former group – related to lower levels of relational mobility – led to greater concerns over privacy when posting online.

The critical points made about the research on the motivations for OSN use also apply here. Facebook has received much of the focus while other OSNs barely feature in the literature. Much of the research has just focused on functional motivations for OSN use, rather than examining motivations with reference to the theories, models and constructs relating to culture, identity and self, which I have discussed in this review. My research will address these limitations.

4.2 Cultural Differences Relating to the Online Self

There is research support for cultural differences with regard to self-presentation on OSNs (e.g. Chu & Choi, 2010). Indeed, Lee-Won, Shim, Joo, and Park (2014) investigated the role of self-consciousness, actual-to-total friends ratio, and culture in positive self-presentation on Facebook. Their samples consisted of college students from the US and South Korea. No evidence was found for an association between self-consciousness and actual-to-total friends ratio, but there was a significant relationship between culture and positive self-presentation: the South Korean sample engaged in positive self-presentation on Facebook to a lesser extent than did the US college students.

As Thomson and Yuki (2013) discuss, basic cultural distinctions have been used to explain and predict such differences. For example, online self-presentation may be present to a much lesser degree in collectivist cultures that emphasize self-effacement (e.g. Cho, 2010) as compared to individualistic cultures that promote independence and self-expression (e.g. Kim & Sherman, 2007). The limitations of such distinctions have previously been discussed (on page 16 of this thesis).

Interestingly, Thomson and Yuki focus on relational mobility (Yuki et al., 2007) to account for cultural differences. They found that the more relational mobility that people have in a culture, the more the people within that culture engage in self-promotion on OSNs; this can also help to account for between- and within-country variance in self-promotion on OSNs. Clearly relational mobility has the potential to account for cultural differences in the use of OSNs, but to what extent. Falk et al. (2009) found evidence for relational mobility as a partial mediator of cultural differences in self-enhancement – a behaviour which is strongly related to self-presentation – between Euro-Canadians and Asian-Canadians, and between Euro-Canadians and Japanese.

Cultural differences in self-presentation may similarly be mediated by other processes, so while relational mobility will be examined in this research, other factors should be considered. In fact, the case of Saudi Arabia raises some interesting possibilities. As mentioned earlier, against their very conservative culture, Saudis have been using OSNs for political criticism and activism (Worth, 2012; Freedom House, 2012). It may be the case that due to cultural restrictions, they are able to express themselves more on OSNs than offline. Consequently, self-presentation and self-disclosure on OSNs in Saudi Arabian culture may also be mediated by such cultural features. This research will explore these interesting possibilities.

Culture is known to have a great impact upon self-disclosure. It can provide criteria regarding what is acceptable to communicate with others and what would be inappropriate. Consequently, we see different styles of self-disclosure in different cultural contexts (Nakanishi, 1987). As Chen (1995) put it, "What, where, and how we should talk is regulated by culture." When comparing Japanese and American samples, Barnlund (1975, 1989) found that Americans were more likely to self-disclose on topics such as sexual adequacy and their physical appearance. Culture could thus be a strong predictor of self-disclosure on OSNs.

Research on cultural differences in self-disclosure, both online and offline, can support this idea. It has been suggested that individualist cultures place more emphasis on self-disclosure (e.g. Adams, Anderson & Adonu, 2004), and their members are more inclined to talk about themselves and request information about others (Gudykunst, Matsumoto, Ting-Toomey, Nishida, Kim, & Heyman et all, 1996). On the other hand, those in collectivist cultures are considered to exhibit lower levels of self-disclosure (e.g. Marshall, Cardon, Norris, Goreva, & D'Souza, 2008). Studies that compare two groups – one from a Western (individualist) culture and one from a non-Western (collectivist) culture – often support these trends: it has been found that American students self-disclose more than Chinese students (Chen, 1995), Japanese students (Schug et al., 2010) and Korean students (Kim and Dindia, 2008). In a comparison of Korean and US users of OSNs, Cho (2010) found less willingness to self-disclose among Korean users, as well as greater emphasis on self-presentation strategies.

Unfortunately, there are problems with much of this research. The populations used are often just students at one university in each of the respective countries. They are thus unlikely to be representative of the larger populations, especially as research has also recognised much variance between sub-cultures within a culture. Such sampling is also in line with the standard Western-Eastern/individualistic-collectivistic distinctions, which can be heavily questioned – as discussed previously. Indeed, a study that compared two Western cultures – Germany and America – in their use of OSNs, found notable differences between them (Wu & Lu, 2013). This why the present research will focus on a revised form of self-construal theory as well as drawing on other the cultural models, constructs and theories presented in this review. Due to the stronger evidential support for these models and theories, my approach has greater potential for understanding and predicting the cultural differences in OSN use that relate to concepts pertaining to the self.

As mentioned earlier, one such construct is relational mobility. Schug et al. (2010) proposed that relational mobility can explain differences both between and within cultures with respect to self-disclosure towards friends: societies and social contexts that are high in relational mobility produce stronger incentives for self-disclosure as a social commitment device. They propose that in social contexts with high relational mobility, maintaining committed relationships requires greater effort: more time and energy must be invested because the relative freedom of individuals to

form new and end existing relationships means that social commitments are relatively fragile. On the other hand, in societies that have low relational mobility, there is less opportunity to create new and terminate existing relationships, meaning that current relationships are more stable and require less effort to maintain.

A comparison may be drawn with the concept of social capital, which refers to the resources that are provided by membership in a social network. Social capital has been conceived variously as a potential tool for reducing inequality (Putnam, 2001) and as a means of *maintaining* inequality (in that networks with high levels of social capital will deploy this capital in the service of preserving the advantages of its members and their affiliates; Bourdieu, 1986). Full incorporation of this theory is beyond the scope of the current thesis, which will focus on relational mobility as a marker of the control that individuals within a particular society have to shape their relational networks.

4.3 Use of Online Social Networks in Anglo Cultural Contexts

As we have seen, much of the previous cross-cultural research on OSN users has compared Western and non-Western cultures, with frequent use of an Anglo cultural context – the United States. This section will provide examples of some findings from this research, and argue that the US and UK, while similar in certain cultural dimensions, are divergent in others.

Hew (2011) reviewed the research on the use of Facebook among students and teachers. Nine motives were identified: (1) To maintain existing relationships; (2) To meet new people; (3) To engage in an activity that is viewed as 'cool' and 'fun'; (4) To increase users' popularity; (5) To pass time; (6) Self-expression or self-presentation; (7) For learning purposes; (8) To store important information such as contact details, photographs or dates; (9) To engage in political activism. In terms of users' behaviour on OSNs, those from 'individualist' societies tend to have more online contacts and engage in self-promotion more often, as well as posting more photos (Rosen, Stefanone & Lackaff, 2010). They also express more concerns about privacy (Wang, Norice, & Cranor, 2011).

Some research has addressed questions of 'authenticity' in users' online self-presentation. Bullingham and Vasconcelos (2013) note that the physical detachment

between the user and their audience allows people to tailor the identity that they present online – by concealing unwanted aspects of the self, and accentuating or embellishing desired aspects. Baker (2009) proposes a more complex working model, in which offline and online selves inform each other, creating a new 'blended identity'. Target audience also appears to be a significant influential factor in how people present themselves online: Zhao, Grasmuck and Martin (2008) conducted content analysis of Facebook accounts, comparing their findings on self-presentation with previous studies on anonymous settings (such as Internet dating sites). On Facebook, where the accuracy of self-provided information can be vetted by one's online contacts, identity construction takes place through 'showing, rather than telling'. Group identity is also favoured over personally narrated identity. In such a context, other-provided information is also relevant in that it can motivate users toward authentic rather than false or idealised self-presentation (Back et al., 2010; Toma & Hancock, 2011). Other research (e.g. Uski and Lampinen, 2014) has explored what 'authentic' or 'real' means in such a context.

What is crucial to note is that little research in this area has used samples from the UK. The present research will change this. Although UK and the US share much in their cultural values, there are evidently differences which could impact on the use of OSNs. For example, Schwartz (2014) measured 77 national groups on seven cultural orientations (affective autonomy, intellectual autonomy, embeddedness, hierarchy, mastery, egalitarianism and harmony) and represented their differences on a map that used multidimensional scaling, COLPOT (Goldreich & Raveh, 1993) and other techniques; although the map indicates similarities between the USA and UK groups on these cultural orientations, it also highlights cultural differences. As Schwartz notes about English speaking cultures, the American culture differs from the others by placing more emphasis on hierarchy and mastery, and less on harmony, intellectual autonomy and egalitarianism. Further support for cultural differences between the US and the UK come from Kitayama, Park, Sevincer, Karasawa, and Uskul (2009): the findings of the study support their prediction that their Western European samples (UK and Germany) would differ from the US sample on measures of 'implicit independence.' The US sample was systematically more independent than the UK and German samples. For example, the UK (and Germany) samples were more likely to associate happiness with social harmony rather than personal achievement. Research findings such as these

provide more reasons for my decision to carry out my own research on UK samples as opposed to simply relying on previous research findings.

4.4 Use of Online Social Networks in Arabic Cultural Contexts

Although, as mentioned earlier, OSN usage in Saudi Arabia (and also other Arabic cultures) has grown significantly, the proportion of the population that uses OSNs is much less than the proportions of many other countries; this is true even among college student populations. Given the popularity of Facebook among college students in other cultures, it is interesting to understand why this is. Aljasir, Woodcock and Harrison (2012) investigated this question and found four main answers: preference for other means of communication (35.5%); no interest in Facebook (31.3%); lack of time to spend on Facebook (16.7%); lack of regular computer access (8.3%); and the remaining (8.3%) specified other reasons.

Due to the cultural background and the controversies mentioned in the introduction, use of OSNs in Arabic cultures is not only interesting to investigate, it is also important; according to Mourtada and Selem (2011) OSNs are increasingly being perceived as important tools for the empowerment of women in Arabic regions. However, men remain twice as likely to be OSN users. The reasons for this fall into two categories: environmental and personal. Environmental factors include cultural constraints and lack of access to ICT. Personal factors include the skills and abilities of the women themselves: e.g. lack of ICT literacy, lack of trust in ICT privacy.

Alsaggaf (2011) investigated the experiences of young Saudi females on Facebook through 15 semi-structured interviews and an observation of the 'walls' of three of the interviewees. The women interviewed used Facebook to express their feelings and thoughts through status updates; to maintain ties with friends, both old and new; and to be entertained by taking quizzes. He also found that while self-disclosure was very common among these participants, they also appeared to be privacy-conscious. Overall, Facebook allowed these women to be more self-confident and sociable, but some expressed worry over the time it prevented them from spending with friends and family. Even more interestingly and perhaps controversially, Fauad (2009) discusses research into young Arabs' use of Facebook, citing among their motivations

communication with the opposite sex, motivated by desire, as a key reason.

The impact of cultural values on Facebook behaviour in Arab culture was examined by Omoush, Yassen, & Alma'aitah (2012). This study was one of the first to investigate this area. Similarly to other sources discussed in this review, they emphasize how Facebook has provided Arabs a platform for free speech, free expression, self-presentation, self-disclosure, and change in the Arab world – though they may do so behind false names and profiles. They note how Facebook and other OSNs may actually be able to neutralize the effect of some of the traditional cultural values that generally restrict such behaviours. This raises interesting questions for the present research: not only do we wish to understand how Arab cultural values can impact on OSN use, we may also observe how OSN use can overcome and even alter the prevailing conservative Arab values.

Obviously further research can develop our understanding of the use of OSNs in Arab cultures, and how the two interact. One clear gap, which Omoush et al. (2012, p. 2398) identify, is that there is a lack of cross-cultural research between Arabic and other cultures. The studies described above and others look exclusively at the Arab culture, but do not apply their methodology to samples from other cultures. My research will clearly address this gap. Another issue with the existing research is that, like most research on OSN use, it exclusively uses Facebook as an example. The issues this raises have been previously discussed. In my research, I will consider other OSNs (e.g. Twitter) to begin bridging this gap.

5. Conclusion

A comparison of OSN usage in Saudi Arabia and the UK is potentially significant for several reasons. The sphere of OSNs is a relatively new context, and platforms tend to be consistent across cultures – i.e. users in different countries use the same interface, language differences notwithstanding. The online context is distinct from the national context in which a user is posting, and therefore provides an arena in which cultural differences and similarities can be viewed clearly. This thesis is interested in how people are influenced by the society in which they live, in terms of how they engage with OSNs.

Saudi Arabia and the UK are suitable examples of cultures to compare, because they differ greatly on several factors that may influence self-expression. These factors include where each country can be placed on a liberalism-conservatism dimension (the UK is more liberal; Saudi Arabia more conservative), level of control exerted on society by governments (for example, censorship is common in Saudi Arabia, and less so in the UK), and level of equality between genders (the UK, although lagging behind some other European countries, ranks much higher than Saudi Arabia in the gender equality index, United Nations Development Programme, 2015). Choosing to compare two such varying cultures may sacrifice the chance of detecting the subtle differences that mark each national culture as unique (Kohn, 1989), but it is suitable for the aim of this study, which is to shed light on dimensions in which cultures may vary radically, for example cultural values.

The research presented in this thesis will explore some of these differences, how they are manifested online, and whether the online context accentuates or reduces cultural differences. Dimensions considered will include Schwarz's dimension of openness-conservation, as a measure of the degree to which each society seeks to preserve its values or is open to change; relational mobility, to indicate individuals' potential within each context to form new relationships or break old ones; and self-enhancement/self-transcendence, which will reflect the extent to which people hold values that place emphasis on the self or on one's responsibility towards others.

Although research on OSNs and cultural differences is a relatively new field, it is a fast growing one. There are still many key areas that have not yet been explored; indeed, there are probably possibilities that have not been considered here. Previous research has begun to understand the differences and similarities between cultures in their use of OSNs, but this can be developed and new research questions can be asked: relational mobility, self-presentation and self-disclosure have already been examined with respect to cultural differences in OSN use; however, identity motives and Schwartz's cultural values model have not yet been examined in the existing research.

There has been previous research on psychological motivations for using OSNs, especially Facebook. How cultural differences may affect these motivations has been addressed by some researchers, but as the research is lacking on their influence, and as there is none that specifically compares Saudi and UK users (the two populations examined in this research), the first study conducted in the present research will be a

qualitative investigation of this precise comparison. Cultural theories that have great explanatory potential in the OSN context have been discussed. This thesis will investigate whether cultural differences in values and relational mobility can account for cultural differences in online motivations and behaviour. We believe that motivated identity construction theory provides a relevant and useful framework for understanding motives and behaviour across cultures. Thus, in the study reported in Chapter 3, this framework will be applied in a thematic analysis of microblogging (Twitter) behaviour by internet users in Saudi Arabia and the UK, in order to establish how people can construct satisfactory identities in this online context.

These research investigations will contribute to the growing body of work on the cultural differences in the use of OSNs. The most unique and hopefully successful insights will come from applying cultural theories, constructs and models that have previously been neglected in the literature.

METHODS AND MEASURES

Chapter 2 presents a qualitative study of motivations for using OSNs, based on semi-structured interviews carried out in 2012 with four Saudi participants and four British participants. An interview schedule was developed, consisting of 16 open-ended questions. As recommended by Willig (2001), four types of question were included in the schedule: descriptive questions (which aim to elicit a general account of the phenomenon under question), contrast questions (which ask participants to make comparisons), structural questions (which facilitate the organisation of participants' thoughts), and evaluative questions (pertaining to participants' opinions of something or someone).

After transcription, interviews were analysed using interpretative phenomenological analysis (IPA; Smith, Flower, & Larkin, 2009). This is a qualitative method rooted in the critical realist tradition, which presupposes the existence of a 'real world' of experiences, but acknowledges that attempts to understand this real world through language are inherently flawed. The role of the researcher in constructing the data is explicitly owned, and the analytical process attempts to maintain a balance

between participants' accounts of their experiences (the phenomenon) and the researcher's hermeneutic framework (the interpretation), in the production of data.

Chapter 3 describes research on identity motives as they are pursued on Twitter by Saudi and British users. Motivated Identity Construction Theory (Vignoles, 2011) was applied to a thematic analysis of approximately 5,000 tweets written during April and May 2013.

Chapter 4 concerns the development of the online self-presentation strategies scale (OSPSS), which was based on the responses of 694 participants (410 Saudi, 284 British) to an online questionnaire collected from March to May 2014. Exploratory structural equation modelling (ESEM) was used as a method of establishing a factor structure for the data.

Chapter 5 extends the research of chapter 4, by using the same questionnaire data gathered during spring 2014. In addition to the OSPSS, the questionnaire also incorporated two further scales created by the authors. One of these related to motivations for use, and measured two general motivations for using OSNs: *relations maintenance* and *self-focus*. The other was concerned with the audience that users target when posting online; whether people focus on those with whom they have strong ties or weak ties.

A further scale used in the questionnaire was the PVQ21 (Schwartz et al., 2001), a shortened version of Schwartz's Portrait Values Questionnaire, which asked about the values held by participants. Our analysis focusses on items grouped according to the two dimensions covered by the scale: openness to change vs. conservation, and self-enhancement vs. self-transcendence. Finally, the relational mobility scale (Yuki et al., 2007) was employed to measure the extent to which participants had freedom to establish new relationships or break existing ones.

Results for these scales were then employed in mediation analyses that aimed to determine whether mean differences between the groups, in motives, targeted audience and self presentation strategies, could be explained by levels of relational mobility and values held within the two cultures.

SUMMARY OF FINDINGS

Findings of the first study were organised into themes and superordinate theme clusters. The first of these comprised motivations related to the self, which included self-expression, self-presentation, self-contradiction, self-fragmentation, and affirmation. The second covered motivations related to others, which were trust, self-disclosure, privacy, intimacy, and transaction; a further theme, maintaining relationships, was found only among British participants. The third theme cluster collected motivations relating to culture, which were shared goals, public self, belonging, and influencing others; a further theme, cultural pressure and social classifications, was developed from the responses of Saudi participants.

The results of this qualitative study indicated that, although there was substantial overlap between the responses of Saudi and British users of OSNs, there were also notable differences. Our Saudi respondents reported that they were more influenced by societal norms, and consequently employed pseudonyms, fake profile pictures and multiple accounts as strategies facilitating self-expression within a restrictive society. For these participants, OSNs provide a 'pressure valve' that allows them to share their deeply held feelings, beliefs and impulses, and also interact with a wider range of people – most significantly, members of the opposite sex. British participants were more concerned with presenting a 'real' self online, and expressed reluctance to be seen to 'show off' when using OSNs.

The second study found that Twitter users pursue all six of the identity motives proposed by motivated identity construction theory. Self-esteem was pursued by UK users by publicising their tangible achievements, while Saudis focused more on internal qualities. Both sought meaning by sharing details of their daily lives. Continuity was not a very prominent motive, as compared to other motives, perhaps due to the nature of the OSN under question, but was still pursued when users sought to present a coherent and consistent online presence. Users from both cultures sought to satisfy the efficacy motive by sharing political views, and Saudi users were also particularly concerned with influencing others' behaviour on Twitter itself. Belonging seemed to be more of a concern for UK users, while striving for distinctiveness was more apparent among Saudi users; it was suggested that the relative prominence of these motives among participants resulted from the offline affordances provided by each cultural context.

The third study resulted in the development of a valid scale that was compatible with large samples from Saudi Arabia and the UK (albeit with participants drawn largely from student populations), and is the first comprehensive measurement of self-presentation strategies designed specifically to measure online behaviour. Analysis of the results yielded six factors: self-promotion, acceptance seeking, self-disclosure (life streaming), self-disclosure (mind casting), cautious self-presentation, and positive impression management.

The fourth study provided an in-depth analysis of the factors underlying motivations for using OSNs, the audience people target online, and the self-presentation strategies they employ when doing so. British users, from a more relationally mobile cultural context, which values openness to change, are motivated to use OSNs to maintain pre-existing relationships, and therefore target their posts at those with whom they have strong ties. Saudi users, from a less relationally mobile context, which values conservation, focused more on the self and were more likely to target those with whom they had weak ties, than were British users.

Some differences were found in the respective self-presentation strategies used by Saudi and British participants. Self-promotion, life streaming, and acceptance seeking motives were stronger for Saudi participants than they were for British participants. The British participants were more concerned to maintain a positive image, although this motive was important for both cultures. In addition, both samples were equally cautious about their online self-presentation, and both valued the mind-casting aspects of self-disclosure online. These findings are interpreted and discussed in relation to self-presentation opportunities available offline, and also the values and motivations for use expressed by participants.

The research presented in this thesis contributes to our understanding of how people from different cultures engage with OSNs, and suggests the reasons that may lie behind these differences. These findings will be discussed in more depth in the final chapter, along with the conclusions that may be drawn and future directions suggested by this research.

CHAPTER 2

Exploring motives for online social networking: An in-depth study among British and Saudi Arabian users

Heyla A. Selim and Karen M. Long

University of Sussex

Abstract

This paper reports a qualitative study of motivation for using online social networks (OSNs) in two different cultures, Saudi Arabia and the United Kingdom, focusing on motivations related to the self. Interpretative phenomenological analysis (IPA) was used to analyse the results of eight semi-structured interviews (four Saudi, four British). The findings show that, despite some commonalities, differences between cultures still manifest in the different ways in which Saudi and UK users interact with OSNs. Saudi users, from a more conservative culture, revealed that OSNs provide an opportunity for self-expression that is unavailable in the offline world. They showed more awareness of societal norms which manifested in a more pronounced tendency to use pseudonyms, false pictures, and multiple accounts. Some of the consequences of this for individual identity include self-contradiction and self-fragmentation. UK users, while acknowledging the norms of their society, were less likely to report pressure to conform to the expectations of others. They also used OSNs for relationship maintenance, something that was not named as a motivation among Saudi participants. Nevertheless, there were also significant similarities between the two groups, notably in participants' desire to present a positive self-image online, while simultaneously maintaining a sense of their 'genuine' self.

Key message: Despite differences in cultural context, UK and SA users of OSNs share common motivations. However, there are important divergences in motivations that relate to how well identity motives are served in their offline context.

Keywords: Online social networks, identity, motivations, culture, IPA

Introduction

In the last two decades, the sharp rise of Internet usage is arguably blurring the distinctions between national cultures. Internet technology has enabled people across the globe to modify the image they present to others, dramatically changing the landscape of identity construction. Easthope (2009) notes that traditional identity formation is being supplanted by flexible forms of identity that may combine multiple elements. Where identity was once ascribed by place of origin, as well as family name

and reputation, users of online social networks (OSNs) such as Facebook and Twitter now exert the utmost influence in shaping their virtual image to reflect both actual and ideal identities. OSNs provide a medium for users to express themselves beyond physical features and labels, to share experiences, discuss interests, and influence one another in a selective network.

The opportunities for identity construction provided by OSNs are felt particularly keenly in Saudi Arabia, which has the second highest number of active Twitter users in the Arab region (Dubai School of Government, 2011). Although the government exercises strict control over Internet access, blocking material that is considered pornographic, anti-Islamic, or critical of Saudi Arabia, the Royal Family, or other Gulf states (CITC, 2010), OSNs such as Facebook and Twitter are not subject to the same level of censorship. For a new generation of Arabic Internet users, these sites are utilized as a focal ground for identity creation and the development of social bonds, and have played an integral role in determining the society to come (Pempek, Yermolayeva, & Calvert, 2009). The new generation in the Arab world is influenced by both traditional Islamic and contemporary secular cultures; that it might not continue to do so in harmony means that it is imperative to gain insight as to how people in the Arab world engage with OSNs such as Facebook and Twitter.

It has recently been recognized that cultural differences can influence users' behaviour when using OSNs. For example, users in different countries prefer different features of Facebook (Vasaloa, Joinson, & Courvoisier, 2010), and cultural differences can affect users' trust and trustworthiness in social networking sites (Kiyonari, Yamagishi, Cook, & Cheshire, 2006). In a comparison of Korean and US users of OSNs, Cho (2010) found less willingness to self-disclose among Korean users, as well as greater emphasis on self-presentation strategies. Kim, Sohn, and Choi (2011) also compared motivations of OSN users in South Korea and the US, finding that Korean users place greater importance on seeking social support from existing relationships, while American users view entertainment as a stronger motivation for accessing OSNs.

The current study addresses some major gaps in the current literature on OSNs and cultural differences. Firstly, despite the role that OSNs have played in the Arab Spring and the empowerment of women (Dubai School of Government, 2011), few studies have explored the significance of sites such as Facebook and Twitter among Arab users. Furthermore, many (e.g. Alotaibi, 2007; Almasri, 2009) have approached

the topic from a reactionary moral position that the Internet in general, and OSNs in particular, are damaging to traditional Islamic culture.

Secondly, the majority of studies on OSNs and culture have focused on one particular OSN (e.g. Facebook) or on users from one particular region. There is a need for research that considers users from more than one culture. An exception is provided by Khedir (2009), who carried out a comparative study of British and Egyptian OSN users, noting that the most commonly cited motivations for use among both nationalities were to express opinions, connect and maintain relationships with friends, or to renew relationships with old friends. This study suggests a degree of universality in motivations, but more research is necessary to shed further light on the commonalities between users from different cultures.

Thirdly, there is a lack of research that focuses on more than one OSN. It is important to note that differences in online behaviour might not simply stem from differences embedded in the cultures themselves. It is possible, for instance, that a preference for a particular social network amongst members of a specific culture, for whatever reason, may accentuate existing differences, or create new points of divergence. This is because each OSN will favour a particular mode of expression, thus leading to the emergence of norms and values endemic to that OSN.

The most notable lack within the literature, however, is that existing studies of OSNs have focused on functional motivations for use, such as entertainment and ease of use. As yet we know very little about the psychological motivations at play when people use OSNs. There is a gap within the literature for a study of the psychological benefits offered by sites such as Facebook and Twitter, and the ways in which culture might influence which of these benefits are salient for particular users.

The aim of the current study is to address these gaps, by exploring psychological motivations for use of OSNs (Facebook and Twitter) among users in Saudi Arabia and the UK. It is the first study to explore differences and similarities in OSN usage among these two populations; this comparison allows us to explore whether divergent self-construal results in divergent motivations and behaviours related to the self when using OSNs. Another consideration is the possibility of cultural convergence with respect to users' behaviour on social networking sites. Culture itself is shaped by historical processes, but continuously evolves. In the era of globalization, local cultures have more exposure to and interaction with foreign cultures. With the development of web technologies, people can get information and communicate with other people, free from

previous temporal and spatial limitations. The intensity of such interactions can, according to some researchers, result in convergence in terms of cultural values (Gao & Newman, 2005). There is, however, conflicting evidence as to the extent and nature of such convergence, and it appears that unidirectional influence is by no means an inevitable result of cultural contact. Such contact may equally lead to reaffirmation of local values, the selective appropriation of outside cultures, or hybrid forms of cultural production (Smith, Fischer, Vignoles, & Bond, 2013).

The current investigation is the first qualitative study of online identity in relation to culture. One reason for choosing a qualitative methodology is that we wish to take an exploratory approach to understanding motives for using OSNs. Such an open approach is desirable, given the relatively recent establishment of OSNs as a widespread form of communication and self-expression, and the unresolved questions about how these new media interact with previously existing cultural values. A qualitative methodology will allow for the possibility of unforeseen ideas to emerge during the process of research, which is appropriate for an initial engagement with the subject matter, whereas a quantitative methodology might require a narrower focus, closing off other avenues of enquiry.

The chosen research method for this study is the semi-structured interview, with results to be analysed using interpretative phenomenological analysis (IPA). This will allow for an exploration of users' own views on their motives for using OSNs, and provide insight into the sense that Internet users from Saudi Arabia and the UK make of their engagement with OSNs. The small sample size, appropriate to IPA (Smith, Flowers, & Larkin, 2009), will allow for a focused, in-depth approach that minimizes the risk of losing nuances of meaning (Collins & Nicolson, 2002), and indeed can be preferable to larger numbers of interviewees (Crouch & McKenzie, 2006).

The following research questions are posed:

1) How do people in two different cultural contexts understand their motivations for using OSNs?
2) Are there commonalities (despite different cultural contexts) in the motivations of UK and SA OSN users?

3) Are there notable differences between participants from the two cultural contexts in how they make use of OSNs?

Methodology

Research Method

Data for this qualitative study were collected via face-to-face semi-structured interviews and analysed using Interpretive Phenomenological Analysis (IPA) (Smith, Flowers, & Larkin, 2009). An interview schedule, consisting of 16 open-ended questions (see Appendix 1) incorporating four different styles of questions, as recommended by Willig (2001), was used:

• Descriptive questions encourage the interviewee to present a general account of 'what is the case' e.g. 'What are your motives for using OSNs?'

• Contrast questions enable participants to make comparable relations between events e.g. 'What can you observe about yourself that is different now from when you didn't have an OSN account?'

• Structural questions facilitate the organization of the participant's thoughts where categories are identified in an effort to make sense of their world e.g. 'What do you consider to be the main differences between online interactions compared to face to face interaction?'

• Evaluative questions relate to the interviewee's opinions towards someone or something e.g. 'How do you think your personality is reflected in your OSN use?'

In an IPA study, the researcher plays an active role in data-gathering: interviewing participants and then coding the resultant data for themes and theme clusters. As such, the results are informed by the perspectives of both researcher and participant, which Smith and Osborn (2003) refer to as a 'double hermeneutic'. The individual cultural backgrounds of the researchers in the current study, one of whom is Saudi Arabian and the other British, are likely to have influenced our respective interpretations of the data (Elliott, Fischer, & Rennie, 1999), although we consider it a strength to have one interpreter from each culture that we are studying. In terms of validity and reliability, Stiles (1993) argues that, in qualitative research, the former is concerned with trustworthiness of interpretations or conclusions, the latter with trustworthiness of observations or data. The current study acknowledges the subjectivity of the interpretations made, but, in keeping with recommendations made by Yin (1989), data has been filed in such a way that an independent auditor could follow the

progression of the research to check whether a logical path has been taken from initial research to final write-up – annotated transcripts have been retained, along with draft versions of the final theme table (see Appendix 5).

Participants

To obtain the richest information regarding personal usage, active OSNs users were selected to participate. The criteria for active usage were that users log in daily, and had maintained a Facebook profile for at least one year. Participants were drawn from the second largest demographic of OSN users: male and females between the ages of 24 to 51 years old. Participants were recruited via a combination of convenience and snowball sampling (see Appendix 4 for participant recruitment advert).

Table 1 contains information about participants, including age, gender, level of OSN usage, and type of OSN used.

Table 1: Participant Characteristics

Participant	Gender	Age	Daily usage	Experience using OSNs	Education level	OSNs used
UKP1	Female	29	3 hours	5 years	A level, and GSCEs	Facebook MySpace Reddit
UKP2	Male	51	2 hours	3 years	Secondary school	Facebook Twitter
UKP3	Female	25	-	5 years	BA undergrad	Facebook Twitter
UKP4	Male	24	'24 hours'	4 years	A level	Facebook
SAP1	Male	29	5 hours	2 years	Bachelor	Twitter Facebook
SAP2	Male	31	3 hours	3 years	Diploma	Twitter Facebook
SAP3	Female	23	No specific time, but frequently and daily	5 years	-	Twitter Facebook
SAP4	Female	38	2 hours	3 years	Masters	Twitter Facebook Instagram Temblora

Ethical considerations

In order to ensure that the study was performed in accordance with ethical guidelines, certain measures were taken. Participants were informed that their identity would remain

confidential and pseudonyms were used to protect the identity of participants. The participants read an introduction about the nature of the study and were told that the aim was to explore the meaning and experience of being part of the virtual world. All participants read a consent form and had the opportunity to consider and discuss participation in the study before signing a consent form prior to participation in the research study. The participants were informed that if they felt uncomfortable at any stage, the interview could be terminated and a reason for the termination from the interview was not necessary. At the end of the interview participants were thanked for their participation and were debriefed. All questions regarding the study were explained to the participants by the researcher. In addition, the researcher informed the participants that their identity would remain anonymous throughout the study and after the conclusion of the study. All of the data collected from the participants was kept confidential and specific data will never be linked to specific participants.

Procedure

Subsequent to participants' initial agreement to participate, interview times and locations were arranged. Face-to-face interviews were conducted at the convenience of participants; two UK participants were interviewed at their workplaces and two participants were interviewed in their own homes. Saudi Arabian participants were interviewed via Skype. All of the interviews, which ranged in duration from 45 minutes to one hour, were audio-recorded. Interviews. Participants were asked to talk as widely as possible about the different ways in which their virtual interactions affected or influenced their sense of self, emotional experiences and interactions with others. These topic areas served as a guiding framework for the interview rather than a prescriptive line of questioning, which is consistent with IPA. Interviews with British participants were conducted in English, and interviews with Saudi participants were conducted in Arabic, and then translated by the main researcher. The translation was then checked by a native Arabic speaker who was fluent in English, as well as a native English speaker. Participants were debriefed after the interview and remaining questions or concerns were addressed. Copies of individual interview transcripts were made available to the participants on request.

Data Analysis

All interviews were transcribed verbatim and a case-by-case analysis of themes emerging from the interviews was conducted (see Appendix 2). Participants were given pseudonyms for the purposes of anonymity. Interview transcripts were analysed using IPA guidelines articulated by Smith (1995), with transcripts analysed on a case-by-case basis, followed by a case comparison across transcripts. Initial themes were identified, clustered and checked against the data, with an emphasis on meaning rather than frequency of occurrence.

Results/Discussion

The data were organized into themes, which were themselves clustered into three superordinate themes. These were (1) Motivation related to self; (2) Motivation related to others; (3) Motivation related to culture.

1. Motivation related to self

This cluster encompassed the themes of (a) Self-expression, (b) Self-presentation, (c) Self-contradiction/Self-identification, (d) Self-fragmentation, and (e) Affirmation.

(a) Self-expression. The theme of self-expression encompasses a range of concerns including freedom of speech, need for self-knowledge, and expression of the 'true' self. A recurring preoccupation amongst the UK participants was the wish to depict a true-to-life version of self on online social networks. This can be seen in the responses of several participants:

> UKP2: I just put on my profile as me.
>
> UKP3: I want people to know that this is who I am and this is what I believe.
>
> UKP4: people can get, as much as you can from an Internet profile, a pretty good view of who I am, and what I'm like, and what I'm into.

The last response displays scepticism as to how far an Internet profile can accurately represent the nuances of a personality. One participant also expressed disapproval of what she termed 'self-indulgent' Facebook status updates:

> UKP3: I find it so self-indulgent... some of the things that people use as status updates [are] so mundane.

Another participant noted the freedom for self-expression that online social networks provide:

> UKP2: I think that the freedom you get from the websites is brilliant. Because you can talk to other people without fear. But you've got to be careful and honest in what you put.

So freedom of expression comes with a caveat – when expressing oneself on an online social network, it is necessary to present a 'true' self. This is congruent with a study by Jiang, de Bruijn, and De Angeli (2009), which suggested that members of Western societies may be more suspicious of disparity between appearance and content. One Saudi participant echoed these concerns:

> SAP3: I can't feel comfortable if I have double identities, I am the same person in real life and online

However, the ability to present a real self is significantly limited among Saudi participants: neither male nor female participants feel comfortable enough to use their own image as a profile picture, and pseudonyms are also used as a safety strategy (see theme 2b).

A strong theme that emerged from all four Saudi interviews was of OSNs as a 'pressure valve' that allows users to express their emotions and, particularly, their views on issues relating to gender and politics:

> SAP1: I use it to let my feelings out - anger or romantic feelings. It decreases stress and social pressure. If I write something about a social phenomenon and people read it, this gives me relief.

(b) Self-presentation. Impression management (Goffman, 1959) is known to be a central concern of users when interacting with others online and one that emerged as a key theme within the data of the present study. One strategy of self-presentation, as discussed, is the attempt to present a true self online. A second strategy involves the division of the self into two components: the public self and the private self. Broadly speaking, these can be mapped onto Goffman's "front stage/back stage" analogy of self-presentation. OSNs provide the front stage, where an individual is motivated to present himself or herself as an interesting person. The off-line world, meanwhile, forms the back stage where the person can honour societal norms easily and without conflict. In this way, users of OSNs can satisfy themselves and society at the same time.

Self-presentation amongst the UK participants took a number of forms, encompassing ingratiatory self-presentation, and self-promoting self-presentation. Self-presentation strategies included self-effacement:

> UKP4: I don't take myself too seriously. There are plenty of pictures on the Internet of me looking like an absolute idiot. But I'm having fun with people I care about.

There was also disapproval of its opposite, self-aggrandizement, along with the familiar admonishment of dishonest self-presentation strategies:

> UKP2: I'm not going to go out of my way to impress someone with falsehoods or make things up to make myself bigger or better than I am.

Participant 4 characterized self-presentation on online social networks as a balancing act between these two extremes:

> UKP4: How do I think I come across? Well you try not to be too self-deprecating or too arrogant.

Self-monitoring activity, hinted at by this comment, was a key concern for some participants:

UKP3: I think I am constantly thinking about what impression things might be having. And if I think they might make the wrong impression then I will hide them or I'll delete them.

Self-monitoring also takes place among Saudi users of OSNs. One participant said that she shared negative self-opinions, in the service of presenting her true self:

SAP3: I don't like to pretend that I am ideal... because nobody is perfect. So a lot of the time I show my opinion, even the harsh ones because I don't like to feel that I'm ideal.

The same participant also expressed anxiety about how others perceived her. Where UK users did not want to come across as arrogant, this participant did not want to appear as 'talkative':

SAP3: I am deleting all mentions because there are lots of conversations with others and [I want] to avoid being judged as a talkative person if someone visits my page

The other female participant, meanwhile, discussed extensive self-monitoring procedures when posting online:

SAP4: I have so many drafts to reread it many many times before I post them for the public. I never ever post something online before it is written first in note form. Then when I am sure it's good, I post it online.

Male Saudi participants seemed to perceive fewer restrictions than Saudi women on what they could or could not say online:

SAP2: At the start, my only motivation for joining Twitter was to show off my skills and to get admiration from people for my knowledge of the subjects I was talking about.

This notion of OSNs as a performative sphere was echoed by UK participant 3:

UKP3: I think a very small percentage of Facebook is for you, that you do things for yourself because you want them. It's much more for an audience. I think it is quite a performance.

(c) Self-contradiction/self-identification. There was some self-contradiction among the UK participants in how they characterized their usage of OSNs and how they viewed themselves as Internet users. For instance, UK participant 1:

> UKP1: I like the fact that other people can see what I've been doing.
> UKP1: I don't really care what people think of me.

UK participant 4, meanwhile, stated that:

> UKP4: if somebody was to talk to me on Facebook, and then talk to me in real life, I don't think they would go, 'Wow, you're a completely different person.'

but then conceded:

> UKP4: They might find things like the way I talk, the way I say things, the way I deliver things, different.

Saudi participants also expressed some self-contradiction. Participant 4 spoke of the contradiction that arises from the disparity between her 'core self' and the self that she is able to present online:

> SAP4: My profile has insufficiency, it doesn't... reflect the deep part of me, but external things such as nationality, daily life [...] I think it reflects me truly, as I am keen to write what I believe in... potentially some of these things don't reflect me purely but I would like to achieve it.

The presentation online of a unified identity is something that has not been achieved but may be something to aspire towards.

(d) Self-fragmentation. Amongst UK participants, self-fragmentation was mainly a concern for participant 3, who maintains two Facebook profiles: personal and professional.

> UKP3: I have these two different kind of... well two different personas is maybe a bit strong but two different, definitely, sides of my personality.

She discussed her struggle to keep these two facets of her identity separate.

> UKP3: I have students trying to add me on my personal one. And I just want to try and remove my two identities.

The potential for anonymity and expression of multiple selves online is a key concept in social identity theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1979). Individuals act according to which 'level of self' – personal, family, national – is currently salient (Turner, Hogg, Oakes, Reicher, & Wetherell, 1987). Moreover, individuals have multiple identities that correspond to the groups to which they perceive themselves to belong. The existence of multiple selves has also been cited by postmodernists as evidence of increased fragmentation of the self (Turkle, 1995). This may be particularly prevalent amongst Saudi users, who must negotiate apparently opposing needs for self-expression and adherence to norms. Indeed, Saudi participants were more likely to use separate online identities to explore discrete facets of self:

> SAP1: I can't say that I have one identity; I assume different identities based on my goals.

Another participant spoke of the protective function of assuming a separate online identity:

> SAP2: when a woman rejects you, it is easy because you have a fake name so no one will know

However, there is also risk associated with cultivating an online persona:

> SAP4: I have fear of having two identities, so people see me differently online than in real life... I wanted them to match each other

(e) Affirmation. Affirmation means receiving positive regard from valued others. Several of the UK participants said that they sought affirmation through their activity on online social networks:

> UKP2: when someone makes a nice comment it makes you feel good. So I want other people to see that... so I do repost those.

Saudi participants were similarly ready to acknowledge the affirmation that OSNs facilitate:

> SAP1: If someone compliments me or leaves nice comments, this gives me a boost and gives me the motive to write and create new ideas. If this compliment comes from a female - even better! Or from a doctor, professor, journalist or writer... this increases my motivation.

OSNs might be particularly suited to the pursuit of self-affirmation, in that it is an asynchronous form of communication that allows users to take time to hone an online persona. Walther (1996) termed this 'Hyperpersonal interaction' and found evidence for it in emails, discussion boards, and online dating websites. One potential option that asynchronous communication affords is to present an idealized self. In the current study, all users engaged in selective self-presentation, but in the service of goals more subtle than simple self-enhancement.

A key factor influencing how users self-present is the nature of the individual's social connections. Saudi users appeared to be keen to escape the roles imposed upon them by significant others and by society as a whole. This was particularly so for Saudi females, who experience greater restrictions on self-expression than do Saudi males offline. UK participants, on the other hand, tended to use OSNs to strengthen or maintain pre-existing social connections rather than present themselves to unknown users. The following cluster addresses the social dimensions of motivations for using OSNs, with cultural considerations discussed in cluster 3.

2. Motivation related to others

The themes in this cluster can be divided into (a) Trust, (b) Self-disclosure, (c) Privacy, (d) Intimacy, and (e) Transaction. An extra theme, (f) Maintaining relationships, was identified in the analysis of UK users.

(a) Trust. The issue of trust when using OSNs had several dimensions for the participants, including the honesty or otherwise of other users, the possibility of one's own words being used against oneself, and personal security.

Just as several participants (see 1(a) above) emphasized that they presented their true selves on OSNs, there was also speculation that others may not be doing likewise:

UKP2: you never can tell if what they are putting up in front of you is real.

This air of suspicion extended to concerns about how the information that they share online might be used against them. This mostly related to personal matters:

UKP2: if you lay yourself open to ridicule or criticism, then you guarantee that someone out there will use it against you at some time.

However, one participant went further in sharing his worries about the potential for more powerful forces (the police and other unspecified agencies) to acquire his personal information for sinister use:

UKP4: I don't trust 'the man', for want of a way of putting it. Like there are rumours the police, they'll use it, things like that.

Saudi participants shared the notion that online interaction provides greater opportunity to deceive:

SAP2: It's easier to pretend on Twitter than it is during face-to-face conversation.

However, it was only the female Saudi participants who expressed a real sense of danger in online interaction, which is likely to be linked to the expected norms of Saudi society regarding women:

SAP3: I am not sure who is following me, what their intention is so no way would I post my personal pictures or talk about serious personal events in my life.

(b) Self-disclosure. Self-disclosure is proposed by Ledbetter (2009) as one of two fundamental orientations (the other being attitude toward online social connection) that influence the use of the Internet to strengthen interpersonal connections. Studies that focus on the collectivist/individualist distinction proposed by Hofstede (2001) have tended to find that individuals within cultures classified as collectivist are less likely to

self-disclose than those in so-called individualist cultures, whether online (Cho, 2010) or more generally (Chen,1995). The current study challenges the individualist-collectivist dimension, as Saudi Arabian users (from a 'collectivist' society) revealed a high level of self-disclosure, although only under the cloak of anonymity.

Despite reservations about trust and privacy, all but one of the UK participants were keen to maintain an open online persona:

UKP1: Everything that I do in real life I do on Facebook so I don't try to hide anything.

The exception was the participant who uses separate Facebook profiles for work and personal life:

UKP3: I'm within a network of staff and it's not really me, it's me at work. So I kind of feel that that is okay. But me as me, I keep it very hidden.

One of the male Saudi participants, meanwhile, spoke positively of the freedom to self-disclose, in contrast to the female users (see previous section):

SAP1: Lots of the time there are some topics I feel free to talk about online that I can't say in real life... such as my opinion of some religious people who talk rubbish.

Notably, though, neither male participant uses his own image for profile pictures, and one uses a pseudonym:

SAP2: I prefer to post a fake picture in my profile... my name is also fake because it gives me the chance to step back or cancel the account without any problems.

As well as anonymity, OSNs provide a sphere in which users, particularly women, can control the level of discourse. Participant 4 used the metaphor of a 'gatekeeper' to explain how the Internet has given users freedom of expression:

SAP4: OSNs give me the golden opportunity to be what I call 'the gatekeeper' so I decide what I should publish and what I shouldn't

(c) Privacy. Privacy is a key concern for many, if not most, users of online social networks. Scare stories regularly emerge on Facebook of how privacy settings have

been changed by the administrators and that private information is at risk, or that the personal details of users have been shared with third party organizations. In the previous section, UK participant 3 noted that she keeps her personal profile hidden. Here we see what 'hidden' means in this context:

> UKP3: On my private Facebook, my personal Facebook, I've got maximum security. I think if you search my name it comes up with a picture and my name. So I haven't completely - because I think there is an even higher security where you can't even search for certain people.

The other participants shared this cautious approach to how accessible their private information was:

> UKP1: I try to be as private as I can. I don't have my personal information, like my mobile number or anything on my Facebook.

Whereas anxiety about privacy among the UK participants mostly related to strangers, at least one Saudi user expressed concern about family members accessing her personal information:

> SAP3: I allow distant relatives to follow me [on Twitter] but not close relatives because they will follow me [because they are] curious about my personal life and then will create trouble for me.

Again, the findings throw into question the collectivist/individualist distinction – Triandis (1989) stated that within collectivist societies, people act in the service of maintaining the integrity of in-groups, and do not seek to create new ties with others outside of the in-group. It is perhaps possible, and worthy of further investigation, that the new sphere of communication provided by OSNs is influencing the behaviour of Saudi Internet users with regard to in-group/out-group connections.

(d) Intimacy. There was ambivalence among the participants about the potential for Facebook to facilitate intimacy. Some users made the distinction between friends and acquaintances:

> UKP1: I think the majority of people on there are more acquaintances than anything.

There was some scepticism as to how intimate it is possible to be when communicating electronically:

UKP3: really you can't convey the emotion that you can in person-to-person

[contact]

Saudi participants were much less ambivalent about the level of intimacy provided by online interaction:

SAP1: If I feel strong emotions, this will be motivation for me to log in immediately and find someone who is feeling the same way.
SAP3: OSNs make me feel closer to others.

An advantage for Saudi users of online communication is the possibility it provides to make contact with a wider spectrum of people:

SAP1: interaction with females is available, while it is blocked in face-to-face contact, except for family members.

OSNs, then, provide social opportunities for users in this culture that might otherwise be prohibited.

(e) Transaction. Online social networks were discussed as places where users can do favours for one another:

UKP3: I had an ex-boss ask me for a recommendation and in return would provide me with one.

However, this behaviour was not limited to professional networking, but was also mentioned in relation to social transactions. As one user put it:

UKP3: I think a lot of social networking is you get what you give. If you're somebody who posts on everybody's page and pokes everybody and messages everybody, then you get it back.

This view of OSN interaction as representing a quid pro quo is borne out by a comment from another participant:

> UKP2: If you like what I've written, then write something back and I'll comment on yours.

Saudi participants were less likely to view online interactions in such terms, although one participant did discuss his usage in transactional terms:

> SAP2: My motivation has gradually changed into a desire to exchange information and communication with others, and to influence them.

(f) Maintaining relationships. All four UK participants stated their appreciation of Facebook for allowing them to re-establish contact with old friends or preventing a loss of contact in the first place:

> UKP4: It's just to help me keep in contact with people. It's probably made me more social. It probably has helped with that, helped me keep in touch, helped me keep abreast.

The theme of maintaining and re-establishing relationships did not arise in the responses of Saudi participants. A possible reason might be that people in Saudi Arabia are less likely to lose contact with close friends or family members in the first place. For one user, using an OSN actually led to the breakdown of a 'real-life' relationship:

> SAP4: One of my actual friends wrote a comment saying that I was a hypocrite because of something that I had posted, so my response was that I asked her to stop following me and I deleted her from my online friend list. This led to the end of our friendship.

3. Motivation related to culture

This cluster comprises the themes of (a) Shared goals, (b) Public self, (c) Belonging, and (d) Influencing others. A further theme, (e) Cultural pressure and social classifications, was identified exclusively in the analysis of Saudi users.

(a) Shared goals. The sharing of ideas recurred as an important theme in the responses of several participants. Popular topics for discussion, amongst both UK and Saudi users, were politics and religion.

> UKP1: We're all very similar in the sense that we're all very political, interested in politics, religion, philosophies, all kind of open minded stuff… we carry on conversations and obviously our personalities are in that as well because we're all interested in the same things
>
> SAP1: I follow hashtags which reflect an important current event, or write about women's rights, religious intolerance, or write quotations from philosophers.

One Saudi participant made an interesting remark that suggests that users of a particular OSN may constitute an in-group, leading to a drift towards group homogeneity:

> SAP1: Each OSN has its own features, so people start to move in the same direction and behave almost the same. Over time I start to behave the same way as other users.

(b) Public self-consciousness. This refers to the awareness of the self as it is viewed by others. This is distinct from private self-consciousness, which refers to the act of introspection (Simon 2004). Participants in the current study displayed an awareness of self as viewed by others in their activities on OSNs:

> UKP4: I tend to pay attention to who's going to see [what I have posted].

There was also the suspicion that other Facebook users may be forming negative opinions of others based on their posts:

> UKP1: It's a very judgmental place to be.

According to one Saudi participant, members of OSNs use the number of friends or followers a person has, as a heuristic to determine that person's worth:

> SAP1: people judge me based on the number of followers. I don't evaluate myself by the number that I have, but it gives me social cachet

Other users reported feeling that they were routinely judged on the content of their posts on OSNs:

> SAP3: Saudi people read my writing as being against them, and I always wonder and think, 'who are you to think that I'm talking about you when I'm just saying my general view?'

(c) Belonging. Belonging refers to acceptance as a member of a group, which could be national, religious, social, familial, etc. (Baumeister & Leary, 1995). Participants were asked about national identity and how they felt it influenced their engagement with OSNs. One UK participant claimed that the Internet has eroded boundaries between different nationalities and cultures:

> UKP2: I think the world is so small now with the likes of Facebook and the Internet that national identities don't tend to make that much difference anymore and they are not that important.

The mechanism by which this process works was hinted at by another participant:

> UKP1: you're meeting people and seeing different people and what things that different people get up to and different cultures that you would never ever have access to before

Nevertheless, some participants did report feeling that their British identity influenced the way in which they use OSNs:

> UKP3: I guess Britain is supposed to be one of the forefront nations of technology and modernization and capitalism. And that is obviously going to fuel the social pressure on involving yourself with the rise of technology and, in particular, social networking.

Different Saudi participants took contrasting approaches to the question of national identity online. One spoke of how pride in his heritage influences his online presentation:

> SAP2: I chose [Eastern man] as a nickname because I am very proud of belonging to an Arabic nation, I have strong national feelings. I like this name because I hold 'Eastern' societal values.

Nevertheless, this same participant discussed an internal struggle between the impulse towards open-mindedness that is facilitated by OSNs, and an in-built conservatism that he attributed to his cultural background:

> SAP2: Even though I behave sometimes like an open-minded person, I feel that I am still strongly related to my eastern society and it is hard to forget about it, it's always entrenched.

Another deliberately conceals her national identity online to avoid being pigeonholed:

> SAP4: In my twitter account I don't point that I am Saudi, firstly because I don't want people to pre-judge me, secondly because I don't want other users to talk to me based on my nationality, thirdly to be able to talk about things other than those related to my usual life, and fourthly I don't want to discuss Saudi issues at all [...] I want twitter to be an open world... I want a new world.

OSNs are seen, then, as a liberating presence in this participant's life.

(d) **Influencing others.** Having an influence over others was a stated aim of online social network use for three of the UK participants. Religion and politics emerged as popular themes:

> UKP1: I post a picture or a phrase relating to some kind of religion, and people will hopefully read it and start thinking a little bit differently.

> UKP4: Through Twitter and Facebook I've connected with specific political organizations and politically active people. And it's a really good way of spreading information and mobilizing, basically.

Saudi participants disagreed on the potential for OSNs to influence the beliefs or actions of others. One user discussed the potential for acting as a long-term influence on others:

> SAP1: I have no way of knowing if my ideas have changed people or not, but I have a theory   that if you present an idea and then someone blocks it, he will still keep it in his mind. After 2, 3, 4 or 10 years another situation will elicit that idea and perhaps he will adopt this idea. I'm not looking for the influence of ideas in the short term.

Another was less optimistic about her ability to influence others:

> SAP3: Our society ignores women's speech and even if I try to talk nothing will change, so I have no interest in persuading others to change because lots of them will argue and misunderstand me just because I am [a] girl and younger than them... so I prefer to keep silent.

(e) Cultural pressure and social classifications. Cultural pressure was a major concern for Saudi participants (as opposed to the milder 'social pressure' discussed by UK participants) and so merits discussion under a separate theme. Unsurprisingly, given some of the responses discussed in previous sections, pressure on women was a recurring motif:

> SAP3: If I write song lyrics or romantic things, religious people right away try to say as Muslim Saudi girl I shouldn't do this, why did you write this, its haram [forbidden], are you in love or in a romantic relationship, whereas it didn't mean anything, its just a song. But if there is western lady who shows her picture they said that's fine but if it comes to Saudi girl no it will be big problem even if she puts on a scarf. We have obvious double standards.

The other female participant argued that OSNs allow women to have a voice and a presence in public life:

> SAP4: OSNs achieved a lot for Saudi ladies. Whereas it is haram [forbidden] to walk alone on the street, now the street is inside her house.

However, it was not just the female participants who use OSNs to escape from the strictures of gender roles:

> SAP1: One strong motivation is that we have a gender separate society, so it's natural that we use technical tools to seek people from the other gender.

...or from the social standards demanded by face-to-face interaction:

> SAP1: on Twitter you can be wearing pyjamas and lying in bed without any type of social pressure – it's much more convenient.

Conclusion

The findings of this study show that despite arguments that the Internet acts as an influence towards the dissolution of cultural boundaries, for the participants in this study differences between cultures still inhere and manifest in the different ways in which Saudi and UK users interact with online social networks. Saudi users, from a

more conservative culture, were seemingly more influenced by societal norms. This did not impinge upon the individual's desire to express inner feelings and viewpoints, but rather manifested in a more pronounced tendency to use pseudonyms, false pictures, and multiple accounts. Some of the consequences of this for individual identity include self-contradiction and self-fragmentation. UK users, while acknowledging the norms of their society, reported feeling less pressure to conform to the expectations of others. Nevertheless, there were also significant similarities between the two groups. It should be noted that these findings are limited to the participants in the current study, which is a small-scale qualitative study and therefore cannot yield generalizable results.

The research questions posed in the introduction are now considered in light of the findings of the current study.

How do people in two different cultural contexts understand their motivations for using OSNs?

One major difference between the Saudi and the UK participants is that UK users explicitly stated a need to present a 'true' self online. Failure to do so would, according to the participants, invite censure from other users, specifically those who know the user in an offline context. There was tacit agreement amongst the participants that the offline self is a 'truer' version of the self than the online self. Although the wish to present a genuine self arose in the responses of some Saudi participants, this motivation was subordinate to self-expression. But the selves that Saudi users of OSNs are permitted to present are limited by societal norms, and so many users, if they wish to express their true feelings, must conceal their identity by using a pseudonym and/or false profile picture. Therefore, Saudi users cannot present a full picture of their true selves to the online world; they must choose those aspects of self that they consider most important.

Again, because of social expectations, Saudi participants discussed a motivation for using OSNs that did not occur in the responses of UK participants. Facebook and, particularly, Twitter act as a 'pressure valve' for Saudis who cannot express themselves in certain ways offline, such as discussing potentially divisive issues. Strikingly, this was mentioned by all four Saudi participants (who live in a conservative society) but was not mentioned by any of the UK participants (from a

more permissive context). It also suggests that OSNs provide a way for Saudi users to present a 'truer' self than they are able to present in the offline world.

Are there commonalities (despite different cultural contexts) in the motivations of UK and SA OSN users?

Both sets of participants use OSNs to receive affirmation, with UK and Saudi users noting the positive effect on self-esteem of favourable comments, retweets (Twitter) and 'likes' (Facebook). It is possible that the structural features of these OSNs facilitate such convergence.

One Saudi participant discussed how she conceals her Saudi identity online, to avoid being judged primarily on her nationality, while another spoke of using English online as a marker of cultural sophistication. We can, then, detect a degree of outside influence over the Saudi users, although it remains outside of the scope of the present study to suggest that this influence comes from exposure to OSNs rather than as a part of a more widespread, longer-term trend. It is also important to note that, despite participants expressing misgivings about limited opportunities for self-expression and social interaction between genders in Saudi Arabia, there were also instances of interviewees describing being proud of their country and, indeed, of the way in which Saudi popular culture has engaged with new social media in the form of OSNs.

Are there notable differences between participants from the two cultural contexts in how they make use of OSNs?

The way that participants reported using OSNs appeared to be influenced significantly by the different cultural contexts that they inhabited. This was apparent in the responses of UK participants, both explicitly and implicitly. Some British users described their sense of being involved in a phenomenon that represents new technology and freedom, while all were keen not to be seen as 'showing off' – perhaps the result of the high value placed on modesty within British culture.

Saudi participants themselves seemed more aware of and able to articulate the influence of their cultural context on their online behaviour. Firstly, Arabic/Saudi identity was an influence on the content of online communications: The Arab Spring, for instance, was mentioned as a common topic of conversation between Saudi users of

OSNs. Secondly, users reported feeling constrained by the pressures of social norms in what they felt able to post online. Thirdly, these same pressures appear to be a driving factor in encouraging Saudis to use OSNs. As noted by some participants, many who are unable to socialize in person with members of the other sex are able to do so in the 'safe' environment of an OSN. In this way, individuals are able to simultaneously uphold social norms while finding a way to circumvent them.

A caveat to the findings presented in this study is that the differences found between Saudi and UK users are possibly the result of preference for a specific OSN: although all participants used several OSNs, SA participants tended to use Twitter more, while UK participants preferred Facebook.

Future directions

This chapter has presented a study of motivations for using online social networks, among British and Saudi Arabian participants. This was a small-scale qualitative using data drawn from interviews with users of OSNs, and therefore relied on the self-reports of participants. It would be useful to take this research on motivations further, which will be done in several ways. Firstly, the next study will take a more direct approach rather than rely on user reports of their online behaviour and motivations for usage. The data to be analysed will be the posts of users themselves, specifically tweets gathered from users from Saudi Arabia and the UK. Secondly, the dataset will be gathered from a much larger cohort of users; each user will have multiple tweets to be analysed, thereby ensuring a large body of data. Thirdly, the next piece of research will focus specifically on *psychological* motivations relating to identity work. This will build on findings discussed in the first paper that raised interesting questions about the interplay between user identity and the ways in which they engage with OSNs (for example, the ways in which national culture places pressure on users to act a certain way, and also how OSNs allow users to relieve themselves of this pressure, to a degree).

The research presented in the current chapter was not theoretically driven, but took a bottom-up approach in which sub-themes and superordinate themes were constructed from close readings of the interview data. By contrast, the next report will incorporate a theoretical framework, motivated identity construction theory (Vignoles, 2011). This will provide structure for the process of data analysis and interpretation, and may shed some light on whether online motivations are qualitatively different from offline motivations.

CHAPTER 3

When writing less is more:
Motivated identity construction on Twitter in Saudi Arabia and UK

Heyla A. Selim, Karen M. Long and Vivian Vignoles

University of Sussex

Abstract

Motivated identity construction theory proposes that identity construction is guided by six universal, but culturally flexible, identity motives: for meaning, belonging, distinctiveness, continuity, efficacy, and self-esteem. The current study applies this framework in a thematic analysis of microblogging (Twitter) behaviour by internet users in Saudi Arabia and the United Kingdom, to establish how people can construct satisfactory identities in this online context. Approximately 5000 tweets from the period April-May 2013 were coded and analysed. Our analysis revealed how the relative prominence of each motive and the ways in which they were pursued appeared to depend on the affordances of both the online social network in question, Twitter, and the cultural context in which the user was posting.

Keywords: Micro-blogging; Thematic analysis; Identity motives; Twitter; Cultural context

Introduction

The rising popularity of online social networks (OSNs), has offered many people a chance to experiment with their identities (Gulotta, Faste, & Mankoff 2012). Several features of online communication facilitate the creation of distinct online identities. Firstly, the user may conceal, change, or emphasise certain aspects of self, because of reduced visual and auditory cues (Schouten, Valkenberg & Peters, 2007). Secondly, although the Internet is not a completely anonymous environment (IP addresses are traceable), it does encourage the perception of user anonymity, which allows for greater freedom in cultivating an online persona. This might mean fabricating elements of their biography or, conversely, reduced inhibition for disclosing certain aspects of their real self (Bargh, McKenna, & Fitzsimons, 2002). Thirdly, the Internet provides the opportunity to communicate with people from all over the world, including those with whom one might be prevented from conversing due to social rules or cultural norms. This study will explore identity construction on the micro-blogging website Twitter, in two different cultural contexts: Saudi Arabia and the United Kingdom.

Twitter

Originally developed for mobile phones, Twitter is a micro-blogging site that allows users ('Tweeters') to post 140-character text updates ('tweets') to anyone who follows their Twitter profile. Initially, users were asked the question 'What are you doing?' and encouraged to share their current activity. As the site has evolved and developed a lexicon of its own, this has been modified to 'Compose new tweet'.

Additionally, various functions have been incorporated into the mechanics of the platform. These include the @ function, which allows the user to direct messages to, or reference, another Tweeter. The option to 'retweet' ('RT') posts by other users allows certain tweets to reach an audience beyond that of the original poster's followers. The hashtag (#) function links together tweets on the same topic, which then form a public conversation about the topic in question, in which any user may participate by including the relevant hashtag in a tweet. For instance, if a user wants to comment on the current crisis in Syria, he or she may include the hashtag #Syria to reach a wider audience. Similarly, users may search for tweets on a particular topic by entering a hashtag into the search bar. If a particular hashtag becomes popular enough, it is said to be 'trending' on Twitter, and will be listed on the front page of the website. This in turn leads to greater interest in that topic; a kind of snowballing effect.

Although Twitter is still in its infancy, already a number of studies have used the site as a context for exploring issues of identity performance and the expression of personal and cultural values. Mischaud (2007) combined a direct approach with a self-report measure, conducting a content analysis of tweets by 60 users, some of whom participated in a questionnaire that elicited views on privacy, content of tweets, and motivations for posting. Only a year after the launch of the site, Mischaud found that almost two-thirds of users were ignoring the question 'What are you doing?' in favour of posting on other topics. Content analysis revealed that more than half of the tweets served the purpose of connecting with family or friends (32%) or sharing information about oneself (23%).

Mischaud noted that users showed awareness of an audience for their postings, and tailored their messages accordingly to establish contact with that audience. Such considerations of performativity are central to Goffman's (1959) work on symbolic interaction. Goffman distinguished between two types of expression. Firstly, there is the traditional form of communication in which an individual *gives* expressions; secondly,

there are expressions that an individual *gives off*. This second type of expression encompasses more than the intended meaning of the communication and the form that the communication takes, expanding to include interpretations made by the receiving audience that are independent of the meaning or impressions that the speaker intended to convey.

Using an online questionnaire disseminated through Twitter itself, Johnson and Yang (2009) examined motives for posting on Twitter (gratifications sought), and user satisfaction (gratifications obtained), and the relationship between the two. In contrast to Mischaud, the researchers concluded that social motives are not a primary influence on Twitter usage, and that users instead tended to access the site for the purposes of information gathering. Agrifoglio, Metallo, Black, and Ferrara (2012) explored the relative contributions of intrinsic and extrinsic motivations in influencing continued usage of Twitter. This study did not discuss motivations relating to identity or values, but rather focused on aspects of the medium itself, such as ease of use and facilitation of play. It was found that perceived ease of use was positively related to perceived usefulness, enjoyment, and playfulness, all of which in turn were positively linked to intention to continue using Twitter.

White (n.d.) examined the specific features of Twitter – @ markers, hashtags and retweets – and how they enable the performance of identity work. This study draws upon Freeman and Gelernter's (1996) concept of 'lifestreaming' to refer to the practice of broadcasting events from one's life to a chronological information stream, and 'mind-casting' – the sharing of ideas, which includes linking to other users' profiles and sites elsewhere on the Internet. These two concepts are useful, in that the encompass the vast majority of activity on OSNs. The former, lifestreaming, announces to users' online contacts, 'This is what I am doing'. The latter, mind-casting, broadcasts to contacts, 'This is what I believe'. Because of platform-specific considerations, such as limited character count and lack of an easily-accessible archive, Twitter lends itself more readily to mind-casting. However, neither tells the whole story about identity work on Twitter. The next two sections introduce the concept of online identity, and the notion of identity motives – the factors that influence the way people construct an identity in their social interactions.

Online identity

There is evidence suggesting that Internet users vary in the extent to which the self they present online resembles their 'true' offline self (Tosun, 2012). Users of OSNs are free to create an identity that is restricted only by their imagination or by the credulity of those with whom they interact online (Donath, 1999; Boon & Sinclair, 2009). However, undesired consequences of this include loss of trust in others, lower levels of emotional engagement, and an increased sense of isolation. For these authors, therefore, self-presentation strategies online are determined by the *interaction* between offline norms and values, and the opportunities for self-presentation provided by OSNs. Contact with offline acquaintances in an online context can also serve to limit opportunities for idealised self-presentation, due to the presence of 'other-provided information' that might contradict the idealised version of self that the user wishes to present (Rui & Stefanone, 2013).

Identity motives

Integrating insights from various identity theories, motivated identity construction theory (MICT: Vignoles, 2011) proposes that identities are constructed through both personal and social processes, guided by six motivational principles: The *self-esteem* motive means that people are motivated to construct positive identities. The *continuity* motive means that people are motivated to construct identities that persist over time. The *distinctiveness* motive means that people seek a sense of distinction from others. The *meaning* motive relates to the need people feel to see their lives as meaningful. The *efficacy* motive refers to the desire to believe that one is competent and capable of influencing one's environment. The *belonging* motive relates to the need to feel that one is accepted by others. These six motives have been shown to predict the cognitive centrality and/or social enactment of aspects of identity from a variety of domains, including individual, relational, collective, material and place identities, as well as across a wide range of cultural contexts (reviewed by Vignoles, 2011).

Although MICT has not previously been applied to OSN usage, there is some overlap between Vignoles' theory and studies within the literature that have examined motives for engaging with OSNs, which have focused on belonging (Chen, 2011; Nadkarni & Hofmann, 2012), self-esteem (Tazghini & Siedlecki, 2013), efficacy (Chan, Wu, Hao, Xi & Jin, 2012), and micro-celebrity (Page, 2012), which overlaps with the

motives of distinctiveness and self-esteem. Such studies have focused on single motives in isolation; at present, no study has looked at the full range of identity motives in relation to OSNs.

Cultural context

Very little previous research has compared OSN usage in different cultural contexts (for exceptions, see Rui & Stefanone, 2013). Chapter 2 of this thesis explored motivations for using OSNs, finding that users in Saudi Arabia and the UK appeared to use the affordances of OSNs to compensate for what was lacking in their offline environments: self-expression in Saudi Arabia and relationship maintenance in the UK.

The current study aims to build on these findings by focusing on motives related to the construction of an online identity. In contrast to the study by Selim and Long, which relied on self-report data from interviews, this study looks directly at what OSN users post online. It is hoped that by analysing online tweeting behaviour, a more nuanced picture will emerge of how online identity is structured and maintained. Specifically, we examine how cultural considerations and online norms that are still emerging at this relatively early stage of OSNs might influence tweeting behaviour, and how these two factors might interact to impact on the ways people seek to pursue identity motives online. Our goal here is not to test MICT, but to use the theory as a framework to generate a theoretically-informed exploration of how people go about constructing online identities using Twitter in these two very different cultural contexts. A more detailed discussion of why comparison between the UK and Saudi Arabia is important can be found in the conclusion to chapter 1.

Given the novelty of this research area, we believe that an in-depth qualitative approach is desirable, in order to generate new theoretical insights that may be tested subsequently in quantitative research. The following section expands on the rationale for choosing thematic analysis as a research method.

Methodology

Analytic approach

As with the previous chapter, the research presented here is qualitative, but adopts a different methodology. In chapter 2, participants were interviewed about their motivations for using OSNs. Semi-structured interviews were employed to elicit these motivations, and interpretative phenomenological analysis (IPA) was used to analyse interview data and construct themes. The study described in this chapter departs from this methodology by using thematic analysis to analyse a large dataset of tweets. The reason for this is that, where the data in chapter 2 were produced using the 'double hermeneutic' – the researcher interpreted participants' own interpretations of their motivations – the data here is gathered directly from participants' online activity. This is a more direct approach to studying behaviour on OSNs and therefore, it is hoped, avoids some of the bias that is introduced when asking participants to report on their own behaviour. Thematic analysis is appropriate for the study of text produced independently of the research process, as opposed to interpretative phenomenological analysis, where participants are commonly asked to reflect on their experience in the form of an interview, diary or focus group.

Some advantages of thematic analysis are laid out by Braun and Clarke (2006). Foremost of these is the flexibility that thematic analysis affords the researcher. Whereas many qualitative methods stem from a particular epistemological position, thematic analysis is compatible with both realist and constructionist approaches to knowledge. This is valuable for the purposes of the current study, because it reflects MICT's definition of identities as constructed through personal and social psychological processes that occur within the constraints and affordances of social and cultural contexts that have a pre-existing 'reality' independent of the individual (Vignoles, 2011).

The establishment of themes within the data necessarily involves decision making on the part of the researcher. Braun and Clarke (2006) point out that qualitative studies often contain descriptions of themes 'emerging' from data, as if already fully formed and waiting to be discovered. However, the researcher (or researchers) has a major input on which themes are included in the final analysis, and how data items are classified according to this theme structure. The present study does not attempt to describe all the themes that might occur in the Twitter activity of a group of users, or

even to discuss all themes linked to motivation for using Twitter. The specific intention is to focus on the six motives summarized in MICT – and in particular to examine inductively how UK and Saudi Twitter users may go about satisfying each of these six motives in their Tweeting behaviour.

Further considerations regarding the choice of methodology are discussed in the Limitations section.

Procedure

Efforts were made to secure a diverse sample of Twitter users in each country. To this end, we carried out a Twitter search (twitter.com/search-home) of the letter 'A', followed by 'B', 'C', etc., in an effort to introduce an approximation of randomisation in search procedures. These searches returned individual tweets, rather than users (i.e. searches did not disproportionately return tweets from users whose name began with that letter). From the results page, we then selected the fifth Twitter user returned by the search, whose Twitter activity was then assessed as to whether this user met the criteria for inclusion. These criteria were that the user must display a profile picture and biography, be currently active, must have written more than 50 posts, must have used a hashtag in their posts at least once, must have at least 100 followers, and must have had tweets included in another user's favourites list. These criteria were selected as indicators that a particular user is invested in their Twitter profile, has cultivated an online identity, and that this identity has to some extent been ratified by other members of the Twitter community (motivated identity construction theory views identity construction as involving negotiation with an audience). If the fifth user in the search did not fulfil these criteria, the tenth user was considered for inclusion on the same criteria, and then the fifteenth and so on. The same process was used for both UK and Saudi users, yielding a total of 54 users (26 British, 28 Saudi Arabian).

This sample size was considered to be adequate for a study of this nature. Because the study was qualitative rather than quantitative, it was not necessary to achieve a certain level of statistical power; however, it was important to analyse an amount of data sufficient to provide examples of all motives under consideration. A concept that was useful for deciding sample size was that of *theoretical saturation*, introduced by Glaser (1965) in the context of grounded theory, and incorporated by Fugard and Potts (2015) in their discussion of sample sizes for thematic analyses. This concept usually relates to the point in data analysis where researchers decide that the

parameters of categories have been exhausted, and is therefore a *retrospective* decision. In the case of the present study, the researchers made a *prospective* judgement about the amount of data that would be expected to reach saturation, with the proviso that further data could be collected if categories had not reached saturation (and a further acknowledgement that saturation might not be possible if it were found that certain motives did not appear online, or were present to a much lesser degree).

Once users had been selected, tweets from the months of April and May 2013 were analysed for data relating to identity motives. Tweets including hashtags and @ symbols, as well as messages aimed at others users via the use of this latter symbol, were included in the data collection; retweets from other users were not. Also excluded were tweets consisting only of one or more emojis, external links, and very short tweets where more context would be necessary to ascertain meaning. As a result of including @ messages, several Twitter 'conversations' were included in the final dataset, meaning that some content was generated by users other than the initial 'core' of 54. There were a mean of 101.72 codable tweets for each user. Some of the tweets by Saudi users were in English; those that were in Arabic were translated into English before the coding process.[4] The translation was verified by native Arabic and English speakers.

The process of data analysis was carried out according to guidelines specified by Braun and Clarke (2006). The first phase involved *familiarisation with the data*, in which all tweets were read before the process of coding began, and initial notes were made on the content of tweets. Next, tweets were subject to initial coding, which generally consisted of one or two words summarising their content – at this stage the MICT was held in mind, but did not delimit the content of notes. The following stage of analysis involved a methodical application of MICT to the tweets and making judgements about the nature of identity work being performed in each tweet. There was discussion about the potential presence of other themes not covered by the MICT (see discussion in 'Results' section). Finally, tweets were arranged under the headings of each identity motive, and the scope of each category was examined.

The data were coded independently by the researcher and a native English speaker, for the purposes of reliability. The coding process entailed subjective judgements made by the researchers, and therefore no strict criteria for placing tweets within certain categories were decided upon before the process of coding – instead,

---

[4] Therefore, some translated tweets in the current paper are longer than 140 characters.

coding was carried out with the question, 'What is this user hoping to achieve?' in mind. In instances where tweets were coded differently by the researchers, or where there was uncertainty, this was resolved through discussion between the two coders and the other authors of this paper (see Appendix 3 for coded Tweets).

The analysis itself was carried out at a latent or interpretative level, as opposed to a semantic level (Boyatzis, 1998). Given that motivations are often obscured even from the person who is subject to them (Vignoles, 2011), this was considered appropriate to the aims of the research project. For example, tweets about minor aspects of users' lives can be understood at the surface level as banal reportage of the everyday, but at a latent level may be interpreted as a form of self-affirmation which serves the purpose of confirming their presence in the world (Murthy, 2013).

Coding was carried out by the principal researcher and a second coder separately, and codes were subsequently compared. Some tweets were considered as having attempted to satisfy an identity motive, but failed in their effort; frustrated motives were given the code '2'. Tweets can also be judged as satisfying (or frustrating) multiple motives at once. In such cases, more than one motive was ascribed to a tweet. Sample tweets, showing the coding scheme, are displayed in appendix 3.

Criteria for coding tweets were as follows:

Distinctiveness

Tweets were coded under 'distinctiveness' if we interpreted the tweeter's intention as being to distinguish themselves from others. This could be explicit, e.g. posting about a taste, quality, occupation, or interest that marked them out as 'different' (e.g. one's wealth, personality or hobbies). Users might also seek distinctiveness from social norms: this might mean using sarcasm, criticizing the establishment or public figures, or claiming one's rights as a woman (within a patriarchal society).

Self-esteem

Tweets were coded as 'self-esteem' if the perceived aim was to increase, maintain or defend the user's self-regard. This includes tweeters inviting positive feedback by making others aware of significant personal events such as birthdays. Sharing of achievements is also coded as 'self-esteem' – this could be measurable achievements such as running a marathon, or less tangible achievements such as overcoming a fear.

Protective posts, such as those criticizing others who show a lack of respect, are also coded as 'self-esteem'.

Meaning

Tweets in this category are those where users were interpreted to be acting from the motivation to see their life as meaningful. This could be describing their participation in an event or project, expressing desires or wishes for their lives, or simply posting about an activity they were currently undertaking (which can be interpreted as a simple form of self-affirmation – 'I am here!'). Religious posts describing the poster's relationship with God, religion or prayer were considered to be promoting meaning, while posts about one's membership of a religious affiliation (e.g. a poster's status as a Muslim) were coded as 'belonging'.

Continuity

People are motivated to view their identity as connected to their past identity and expected future identity. Tweets coded under 'continuity' could be those about experiences in the user's past (regrets, memories) – particularly in reference to their current identity – or about how they imagine their future (e.g. 'One day I will marry and have 9 children'). Tweets that aim to convey a sense of consistency (of interests, beliefs or activities) were also coded under 'continuity'. Tweets that refer to a specific interest/activity/theme that had been tweeted about previously were coded as satisfying the continuity motive.

Efficacy

When users were perceived to be attempting to influence their audience, or conveying a sense of competence, this was coded as 'efficacy'. Examples of trying to influence others could be posts offering moral instruction or sharing knowledge, or attempting to gather support for a political or social cause. Examples of posts sharing competence could be those about academic work or participation in sport or exercise.

Belonging

Tweets which either seek or affirm acceptance by or inclusion with others were coded as examples of belonging. This might include tweets which indicate or describe a user's membership in a group or their relatedness to particular individuals. Examples of such

groups include family, friendship groups, religions, supporters of a particular cause or sporting club etc.

Ethical Considerations

Participants were not asked for their consent to take part in the study. However, as users of a social media platform in which user-generated content is made available to the general public, privacy was not an issue. For instance, in its privacy policy, Twitter warns users that profile information and public tweets (users may choose to restrict public access to their posts) are searchable and may be gathered by a wide range of users and services, not restricted to a user's followers. Ethical approval was sought and gained from the research ethics committee at a university in South East England.

Results

Our analysis focuses in turn on the identity motives for distinctiveness, self-esteem, meaning, continuity, efficacy, and belonging (Vignoles, 2011). During the process of analysis, other themes were considered, including 'play', 'sharing ideas/knowledge', 'checking in', and 'expressing grievances'. It was decided that these could be understood as 'activities' representing surface meaning, and that at a latent level they could be interpreted as expressions of the underlying identity motives. Our interest lay in how identity work is performed *through* these activities.

Distinctiveness

OSNs provide a valuable context in which to explore how individuals seek to present a distinctive identity. The following tweet asserts the individuality of the poster:

I don't like to live by life's rules, I like to live life through my rules [Saudi28]

There is a sense that tweets such as these are self-fulfilling, i.e. by claiming individuality and broadcasting such a claim, users of OSNs may feel that they are acting in an independent and distinctive way. This user explicitly addresses the idiosyncratic nature of her posts, claiming indifference to the opinions of others:

> My Twitter account is a reference to my feelings, my opinions, to things I have faced. So of course you won't understand it, and I'm not expecting it to fit with you – it fits with me. [Saudi19]

This raises the question, for whom is this user posting? If their claim is taken at face value – that they post for their own benefit, and they do not expect others to understand it – we might wonder why they choose to tweet rather than keep a diary. Is it the case that social media platforms like Twitter and Facebook are blurring the distinction between public and private communication?

One way in which Saudi users pursue distinctiveness as an identity motive is by criticising mainstream Saudi culture. In a cultural context in which social media activity can lead to imprisonment (Kirkland, 2014), this marks the user out as bold and a risk-taker, and therefore signals their distinctiveness. However, these considerations also mean that strategies such as humour must be employed as a way of protecting the user.

Hashtags allow users to express serious opinions in a playful way. Consistent with the 'meta' qualities of discourse on Twitter (i.e. Twitter itself is a prominent topic of discussion on Twitter), a recent popular hashtag among Saudi users is #if_twitter_saudi, which encourages users to speculate on how Twitter would function if it were a Saudi institution:

> #if_twitter_saudi Please wait until we review your tweet [Saudi27]

It is clear from this tweet and others that Saudi users value Twitter for the freedom from social and cultural barriers that it provides, as well as freedom from censorship. Gender issues provide the context for much of the criticism of the Saudi establishment. Females comprise 45% of Twitter users in Saudi Arabia ("Only 24 Arabs", 2013) and the OSN provides an opportunity to discuss the inequalities of Saudi society, under the cloak of anonymity provided by user names and profile pictures that are not their own. The following is a Saudi female's rebuttal to a tweet by a Saudi male:

> Your glorification of the religious man as a symbol of humility and integrity, with his proposal to prevent women from praying at the Kaaba, links humility and integrity with persecution of women, thank you. [Saudi14]

Such a bold response would be unimaginable in face to face interactions in Saudi culture. Thus, Twitter provides an opportunity, which did not exist before the rise of online social media, to distinguish oneself from social norms.

In contrast, British society does not impose similar constraints on offline social expression. UK users were often more playful in their efforts to present a distinctive self on Twitter:

> Saw contemporary dancers represent DNA tonight. Double reminder of the wonder of the human body. *Hunts for pointe shoes* [UK11]

After asserting distinctiveness by broadcasting the fact of her attendance at an esoteric dance performance, the user makes a pun relating to the structure of DNA ('Double reminder') and claims (half seriously?) that she has been inspired to take up (or possibly return to) ballet. The impression given is of a thoughtful, intellectual person who also has a sense of humour.

The playfulness expressed within such posts may be due to the desire of users to avoid boasting, hence self-deprecatory humour features frequently – Selim and Long (2013) found that UK users of OSNs are keen to avoid self-aggrandisement in what they share online.

Self-esteem

The self-esteem motive relates to the impulse to construct a positive identity. On social media sites, a user can measure the popularity of their posts in terms of 'likes' and (on Twitter) 'retweets'. Users appear to boost their self-esteem by eliciting retweets from others, and in fact express displeasure when they are not forthcoming:

> They have no idea what the Re-Tweet button is! #Some_Tweeters [Saudi22]

Number of followers is another prominent marker of popularity, and seems to contribute to the self-esteem of users. This Saudi appears proud that he has gained followers from other countries:

> Thank you for 82 new followers from Kuwait and other countries, just within one week tweepsmap.com/! [Saudi1]

Another strategy for building self-esteem is to share one's achievements with online contacts. We found examples of UK users sharing their career accomplishments (Overheard a lady say to her son 'If I was in my twenties I'd retrain as a doctor'. Resisted the urge to shout 'that's what I'm doing!' [UK7]), their artistic aspirations

('Been cast as Mercutio in my local production of R&J!! A pox on both your houses…' [UK1]), and their physical fitness ('Just got back from a 10k run, Mo Farah eat your heart out' [UK2]).

Notably, the achievements shared by UK users tended to be measurable on an external level, while for Saudi users, esteem seemed to come from a sense of pride at their internal qualities:

> inside of me a wild horse that my dad gambled on, and he won.. My dad taught me how to ride it with dignity, her name is vigour. [Saudi23]

This user prides her autonomy ('wild horse'), but also hints at social duty ('dignity'), balancing two sources of self-esteem identified by Becker et al. (2014).

Saudi users also sought to protect collective self-esteem (the perceived worth of one's group). Although individual identity appears to be the primary concern of Twitter users, events can serve to make one's group membership more salient. The Boston bombing of 15 April 2013, carried out (according to the perpetrators) in the name of Islam, put terrorism and Islam under the international spotlight. As a Saudi citizen and Muslim living in Europe, this user might have felt besieged by the events and the ensuing backlash:

> WHY?! WHY?!!! Screw bombs and terrorism
> #MuslimsArentTerrorists Trend number one <3 [Saudi10]

In this post, a second group identity also appears relevant – her membership of the Twitter community. She is proud that among Twitter users a pro-Islam, pro-inclusion message is the top-trending hashtag. This is a user who posts both in Arabic and English. In this instance, one might expect the user's tweets to revert to Arabic, as they do when she returns to Saudi Arabia and her group membership becomes more immediate. However, there is a message here for non-Muslims and so she writes in English.

Meaning

As mentioned earlier, holding in mind potential latent meanings of tweets, as well as their surface meanings, allows for the unpacking of posts that seemingly provide only the most basic of information. Twitter is a rich source of examples of this kind of

communication, varying subtly in tone and content. Some posts present bare facts, and as such could be considered the 'purest' form of self-affirmation:

> Sleepy [UK17]
> Best coffee ever [Saudi10]

In other posts we can detect meaning at a deeper level, and there is some overlap with other identity motives such as efficacy. expressing competence. In the following tweet, one UK user manages to convey the sense of a busy, fulfilled life:

> Gonna get this essay finished then go to the gym [UK22]

This same user, a student, posts regularly on his study activity. Again, what at first glance appear to be 'filler' tweets might serve a purpose. In the following instance, a possible interpretation is that the Tweeter hopes to instil self-discipline by making public his plans to study.

> Making a revision table online, what a sad bastard I am [UK22]

Arguably, two conflicting motives seem at work here. Firstly, he wants some kind of affirmation, a reward for engaging in tedious but necessary work. Secondly, there is a need to maintain his self-image as a socially desirable individual, hence the self-deprecatory strategy of referring to himself as a 'sad bastard'. Meaning can stem from a 'sense of purpose', and thus people tweeting about important life goals are telling their followers (or themselves) that their lives are meaningful.

> Whenever I feel low I read this poem… it doesn't cheer me up, but at least it reminds me that I'm not the only one suffering [external link to a poem] [UK18]

The user is clearly motivated to share the poem and encourage others to read it; it is possible that the sense of meaning he gains from reading poetry is enhanced by reaching out to others.

We can also detect a similar preoccupation with self-affirmation/meaning amongst Saudi users. One user tweeted a photo of newly bought books:

> I have got all of these books from Riyadh book fair...Reading for me is my life, cannot wait to read them all [Saudi2]

Because the user states that reading is 'her life', the link to the meaning motive is made explicit. We can also detect some overlap with the self-esteem motive, in that reading represents education and knowledge.

Elsewhere, the significance of tweets is less obvious. As an illustration, this user discusses her thwarted desire to eat a certain kind of dessert:

> I would love to get Kunafah [a middle eastern dessert] but I know already that all shops are closed now or they have non-fresh ones: [Saudi12]

Initially this appears to be a fairly meaningless post, of the kind disparaged by critics of microblogging. But even within this mundane post, several ideas are expressed. On the surface, or semantic, level, we learn that the user is desirous of this particular type of dessert, and that she is disappointed that she will be unable to buy the dessert on this particular evening. We also learn that 'non-fresh' versions are unacceptable, which suggests the latent meaning that she is a discerning consumer, and only eats fresh Kunafah. It may also be significant that she is publicising a traditional Arabic dish – in the following tweet the same user affirms her Arabic identity in the context of a positive interaction with another member of her group:

> Because I am Arabic I've got a free coffee. This waiter made my day Pic.twitter.com/qIuOgTRmQM [Saudi12]

It is worth noting that this tweet was posted while the user was travelling in Europe, where her identity as an Arab (and her shared in-group membership with the waiter) might have been especially salient.

Continuity

Closely linked to the meaning motive is the identity motive for *continuity*, which states that individuals are motivated to see their identity as persisting over time. Temporal persistence is relatively easy to detect on, say, Facebook profiles. A common practice on Facebook is to post photos from one's past, such as photos relating to one's school or university days. Continuity is also promoted on Facebook by the introduction of the revamped 'timeline' profile structure, in which the user's life events are arranged along an easy to navigate timeline.

Microblogging, however, is less amenable to promotion of continuity. Twitter, for example, is very much focused on the here and now; something that is hinted at by

the site's focus on what is trending at the present moment. It is possible to access a user's posts from previous months and years, but the process is time-consuming and not encouraged by the site interface. This does not, of course, preclude efforts to discuss long-term continuity in one's identity. This user ponders on the relation of one's past identity to who one is at this moment:

> Keep your precious memories hidden in memory's boxes. If they come back, you will find those heroes now do not deserve your nostalgia… it is just memories that are beautiful. [Saudi4]

This UK user does the same, but in a more playful manner:

@s***** Just seen an old school photo from Miss R****'s class and can't work out which one I am!! You haven't changed though ;) [UK19]

By directing the tweet at a fellow user they are perhaps seeking external validation of this continuity. Users do not just discuss the past, however – this tweeter imagined a future self:

> When I am old and grey I will be able to tell my grandchildren that I saw the great Lionel Messi play #GOAT [UK14]).

Tweeters can also create an impression of consistency across multiple tweets, as shown in the earlier example of UK user22's study plan, and Saudi user12's association of food with Arabic identity. Given that Twitter lends itself more to mind-casting (sharing ideas) than to life-streaming (chronicling one's life) (Freeman & Gelertner, 1996), self-continuity may be achieved by expressing consistent views. Some Twitter profiles announce the user's interests, allegiances, and beliefs within the user's biographical details, which are presented at the top of each user's profile page. If continuity is an important identity motive for Twitter users, we should expect posts to reflect the identity that is presented in these biographies.

For instance, 'Saudi10' introduces herself with the maxim: 'No value in beauty without thought, values and ethics'. Another, who calls herself 'I don't care', describes herself in her biography as 'crazy woman… thinks life is a big game'. For the first user, then, we should expect her postings to focus on considerations of ethical matters, philosophy and values; for the second we would expect to find playfulness within her posts.

These expectations are for the most part confirmed. Many of 'Saudi10's posts aim to draw attention to social issues and stress the importance of one's values. For example, the following tweet responds to a hashtag that encourages Tweeters to name what is positive about their country:

> #Campaign_Count_your_country's_pros Social relationships, compassion and great communication and respect .. Rare to find these things, but they are basic values here [link to photograph] [Saudi10)

The linked image shows a young child kissing an older man's hand as a sign of respect, to illustrate the values she is promoting.

'I don't care' adopts a surreal, humorous tone when tweeting. Sometimes the form and content of her tweets are matched in an obvious way, such as this post that mocks Twitter users as aggressive or crazy:

> There are two types of Twitter user:
> 1 – STFU [Shut The Fuck Up]
> 2 – Who let the dogs out [Saudi16]

When such an individual, whose Twitter persona is heavily invested in play, wants to express more serious thoughts she is faced with a dilemma: discard her playful style and risk contradicting the online identity she has cultivated, or ignore her impulse to share these serious thoughts. This user has found a compromise – or perhaps a synthesis – by managing to maintain a playful style when making a serious post relating to her identity:

> Try to treat me like a vase I'll treat you like a door!!! [Saudi23]

In other words: treat me as if I am fragile then I will show you a harsher side of my personality. As well as reconciling the serious and playful aspects of her identity, the use of simile also allows this user to show an assertive, even aggressive side of her that might meet with approbation if expressed more directly.

A further aspect of continuity is the need for users to feel that the identity that they present publicly is congruent with their 'core' identity, which was a theme of participant responses in Selim and Long's (2013) study. There was similar concern among the tweets that we analysed:

> I don't like to fake my feelings towards anyone.. [Saudi28]

Need to stop saying sorry for things I'm not actually sorry about just to please other people [UK15]

Efficacy

The motive for efficacy refers to an individual's sense that she is competent and capable of influencing her surroundings. It is closely related to distinctiveness, in that by showing that they are competent, people often also demonstrate their distinctiveness. The subjective value of an achievement or skill is multiplied when few others have made similar accomplishments.

Again, though, UK users' expressions of efficacy were tempered by self-deprecation. In the following tweet, this user shares a personal achievement (the award of a scholarship) while offsetting her good news with an expression of concern about her financial ability to sustain her study and a hashtag which mocks her status as an 'eternal student':

YES! I have just received a scholarship that almost covers a term's worth of rent (now to figure out the remaining 11 terms) #eternalstudent [UK25]

Self-presentation in this regard involves a balancing act: The British user seeks to present as competent but modest.

Another strategy by which Saudi users can achieve a sense of competence is by tweeting in English. Just as a Saudi woman posting on gender issues automatically achieves distinctiveness, a Saudi Tweeter posting in English automatically self-presents as knowledgeable and cosmopolitan.

Furthermore, it would seem that posting in English gives this user a greater subjective sense of freedom, allowing for a greater degree of self-disclosure:

I don't have a dirty mind, I have a sexy imagination. [Saudi18]

This focus on the self is in contrast to users who post in Arabic, whose tweets tend to relate to public figures or current affairs.

Feelings of self-efficacy might also be achieved through successfully influencing others. Using hashtags or hyperlinks is an economical way to share ideas with others and influence them, and a strategy that is unique to the online context:

Come on folks.. You know you want to! "The new target is half a million sigs on the #IainDuncanSmith petition. change.org/en-GB/petition…" [UK21]

Saudi users, too, use hashtags in this way. We have already looked at the #if_twitter_saudi hashtag, which invited users to criticise mainstream culture in a humorous way. The #Twitter_trial hashtag refers to the imprisonment of a Tweeter who had expressed support for Egypt's Muslim Brotherhood and others who had criticised the Saudi government. In this instance the criticism is not cloaked in humour:

> #Twitter_trial A new approach to suppressing and hiding the truth [Saudi22]

This tweet seems to be a wry comment to the effect that new opportunities for expression (i.e. online social media) lead to new ways of suppression. Still others are more explicit in their criticism of the Saudi establishment:

> We lost out because of Wahabism, the highest educational level they have is primary level, and they have a black past. [Saudi9]

The same user is bold in other tweets, questioning segregation of the sexes and drawing attention to what he sees as hypocritical in Saudi society. Significantly, he does not reveal his offline identity in his Twitter profile; to do so would entail a risk to his liberty.

As well as engagement with the offline world in the service of influencing others, users also seek to influence the behaviour of others *on* Twitter. This was particularly common amongst Saudi users, where it is possible to detect an emergent moral code for Twitter:

> Replying to tweets where there is abuse of others is a kind of gossiping! [Saudi8]

Belonging

That the wish to feel connected to others, and accepted by them, is a common motive among users of OSNs should not come as a surprise; after all, we are discussing *social* networks. We found a number of direct references to group membership among Saudi ('The worst choice these days is to be a religious man' [Saudi1]) and British ('Feels good to be back in the UK' [UK8]) users. One might expect to find similar posts on any

social media platform. Twitter, however, offers a context-specific way of seeking belonging; the @ symbol.

We have already discussed the importance of retweets in signalling the acceptance of others, and thus providing a route to self-esteem (Leary, Haupt, Strausser & Chokel, 1998). In the medium of Twitter, another obvious way in which a sense of relatedness is achieved is through the use of the @ symbol to target messages at certain other users, which is often favoured over sending a direct private message. Goffman's (1959) front stage/back stage distinction is relevant here. Direct messages take place back stage, and meaning is constructed between two people: References, words, humorous content, and so on, may only be understood by the two people in question. @ messages are uttered on the front stage, and have an audience – i.e. the followers of the user in question.

Why would a Twitter user choose to display their personal messages in this way? One reason is that many @ messages are not intended as personal messages *per se* but actually have the wider audience as their primary target. Similarly, many @ messages on Twitter have the aim of drawing the attention to one's followers to the Twitter page of the addressee (when a name is preceded by the @ symbol, users can click on it to access that person's page):

> @O******s84 Well done O*** & all the @ukuncut protestors today. You did us proud. Keep speaking that truth to power, won't you! [UK20]

Using the @ function in this way is to invite a shared experience. Other messages serve the function of self-presentation or self-disclosure. Twitter itself is a recurring theme in such messages:

> @Gr******ey I've just become the average twitter user. Doubt it will last for long, but I thought you'd like to be kept in the loop ;-) [UK9]

This is hardly surprising, given that the one thing that all Twitter users have in common is that they use Twitter. In this example, the subject matter is *belonging.* Although the tweet states that the poster has become the 'average twitter user', distances the user from this position by expressing doubt that this situation will last and through an implied irony regarding her membership of this group.

The @ function also allows users to conduct a conversation that can be seen by any followers, a phenomenon that can be understood as a process of joint self-

disclosure. The following conversation shows two users (UK4 and a friend) engaged in mutual social support during revision for exams:

> @H******ss you bossing the biology?
> @B_******ki yes mate ;)
> @H******ss I'm gonna leave that til later on, gonna get all the other shit revised first haha
> @B_******ki it's a pain int arse like eh?
> @H******ss I know who needs it eh

The content of the posts is negligible; what matters to these users is the minimal contact that tweeting in this way allows. Thus they can accomplish other tasks (in this case studying for an exam) while remaining in contact with a friend. Simultaneously, contact is maintained to a lesser extent with anyone who follows either user. By broadcasting the conversation in this way, then, both users are in service of the goals of relatedness and self-affirmation; reminding their followers that they are still there, despite the social isolation enforced by imminent exams.

Discussion

In this study, we explored the strategies used by UK and Saudi Twitter users to construct their online identities. Specifically, we used the theoretical framework of MICT (Vignoles 2011) to help us interpret the identity work that might be underlying participants' online communications. We found evidence of potential strategies to satisfy all six identity motives proposed by the MICT among users of Twitter in both Saudi Arabia and the UK. There was variation, however, in the ways in which users in these two cultural contexts sought to satisfy these identity motives.

We were interested to detect whether Twitter users are influenced or restricted in their pursuit of identity goals by other users, by their wider cultural context, or by the medium itself. On Facebook a user might pursue belonging by posting a photo album and tagging their friends, meaning by 'checking in' at a venue, self-esteem by sharing their work and education history on their profile, efficacy by linking to a newspaper editorial, and continuity by sharing a childhood photo, on Twitter all identity work is performed through the basic tweet. Furthermore, despite the different types of posts – retweets, @ messages, photographs – the basic format of all tweets is the same: a text-based post limited to 140 characters with the option to include a link or photograph.

Yet, users often seemed to be pursuing more than one motive – thus accomplishing quite complex identity work – within a single tweet.

Indeed, many tweets that we analysed could conceivably have been interpreted as fulfilling more than one identity motive. For example, posting about an achievement could be a way for a user to boost their *self-esteem*, but also as indicating their *efficacy* (in terms of competence) or their *individuality* (if the achievement is uncommon). Equally, the achievement might bring *meaning* to their life, signal membership of a group (*belonging*) or represent an ongoing project in which they are engaged, for example losing weight or gaining a skill – in which case the post could satisfy the *continuity* motive.

Self-esteem

As noted, UK users pursued self-esteem by publicising things they had done (self-presentation), whereas Saudi users focused more on their internal qualities (self-disclosure). Other studies also suggest that self-esteem is a key factor that drives use of OSNs. Toma and Hancock (2013) found that users of Facebook gain self-affirmation through tending their online profile, and that threats to the ego spur users to repair their self-image via their Facebook profile.

Some researchers have questioned the generalizability of the self-esteem motive to non-Western cultures. However, the evidence of Heine et al. (2001) and Muramoto (2003) suggests that people in non-Western cultures do strive to increase their self-esteem, but use different strategies to do so. Becker et al. (2014) concluded that participants in different societies derived self-esteem from aspects of themselves that best fulfilled the prevailing values in their cultural contexts.

Among UK users, a strategy that was deployed concomitantly with self-efficacy/esteem was humour, often in the form of self-deprecation. Consistent with Selim and Long (2013), this appears to be a shield against accusations of arrogance or boastfulness.

Efficacy

Self-efficacy refers to a person's sense that s/he is capable of influencing their surroundings. As noted in the introduction, the evolution of Twitter has been influenced significantly by the site's users – for example, the introduction of the hashtag function.

One notable trend within the data was that users wrote posts that were intended to influence the ways in which other people use Twitter. This was apparent within Saudi posts, but less so among UK users.

Both UK and Saudi users attempted to influence others by posting on political topics. There is a sense that OSNs provide greater opportunity for people within *both* cultures to share political views, but for different reasons. In the UK, considerations of etiquette can mean that it is rare for people to discuss politics with anyone other than those within their close social circle. Twitter and similar OSNs provide the opportunity to broadcast one's political views to a wider audience; individuals become bolder in expressing opinions online (Debatin, 2008), perhaps because such behaviour is considered less risky outside of a face-to-face interaction. In Saudi Arabia, what allows people to post on political topics online is the perceived anonymity provided by OSNs (Selim & Long, 2013).

Meaning

Users pursued the motive for meaning through self-affirmation via statements that shared what a particular user was doing at that moment. Murthy (2013) notes that such seemingly banal posts serve an important identity-affirming function – even if the user is not aware that she is doing so when making the post. More obviously meaningful posts shared information about ongoing projects, personal achievements, and abilities. In this respect, users appeared to affirm meaning in conjunction with satisfying the identity motives of efficacy, self-esteem and distinctiveness.

Continuity

Expressions of self-continuity were somewhat less prominent within the tweets that we analysed. As discussed earlier, continuity may be more easily satisfied within the affordances of social networks, such as Facebook, that encourage users to present an overview of their life as a whole, whereas Twitter is focused very much on the 'here and now'. Nonetheless, users found various ways to establish a sense of continuity despite the constraints of the format. Chief among these tactics was an attempt to portray consistency of character, by posting tweets that reflect the values championed in profile descriptions.

Distinctiveness and belonging

Saudi and UK users appeared to pursue distinctiveness and belonging online to differing degrees. Against stereotypical expectations of individualist and collectivist cultures, Saudi users appeared to be more invested in pursuing distinctiveness, whereas UK users appeared to invest more effort in pursuing belonging. A tentative explanation for this is that Saudi users gain a sense of belonging in their regular lives, in which family and social bonds are especially important. However, because of the restrictive social norms of Saudi culture, they have less of an opportunity to pursue distinctiveness, and so they seek this online. UK users, meanwhile, are perhaps more isolated in their everyday lives, and so are more likely to pursue a sense of belonging in their online activity.

This finding is consistent with interview responses in Selim and Long's (2013) study, where UK participants said that they used OSNs such as Facebook in order to connect with people and maintain relationships, while Saudi users reported using OSNs more for purposes of self-expression, and indeed often used pseudonyms and false profile pictures in order that their account remained inaccessible to those who knew them in the offline world. Therefore, we should not argue that these motives are more or less important in general for UK and Saudi individuals, but that they differ in terms of the contextual opportunities to fulfil each of these motives offline. We argue that online identity motives are not necessarily different from offline motives, but that some are more prominent in an online context because of the different opportunities afforded by online social media.

Such an interpretation is consistent with the conceptualization of identity motives in MICT as universal—in that needs for meaning, continuity, belonging, distinctiveness, efficacy, and self-esteem are present across all cultures—but also flexible: individuals within different cultures will satisfy these motives in different ways, depending on the beliefs, values and opportunities present in their particular cultural context (Vignoles, 2009, 2011; for empirical support, see Becker et al., 2012, 2014).

This suggests that Saudi people pursue both belonging and distinctiveness, but do so to a different extent in different spheres. The need for belonging is served especially by offline social and familial bonds, but the tight norms that these entail can stifle the search for distinctiveness, which is then pursued in the online world. Although Saudi culture is traditionally perceived as collectivistic, this applies at the level of environmental 'affordances' and is not necessarily reflected in individual cultural

members' personal values. Social and cultural structures are not amenable to individualism; OSNs, on the other hand, are very suited to this goal.

Such an interpretation is consistent with the work of Brewer (1991, 2003), who argued that individuals seek to achieve a balance between distinctiveness and inclusion within a social group. Our findings suggest that the new ways of performing identity work that are provided by OSNs contribute significantly towards individuals' ability to satisfy both the belonging and distinctiveness motives. In terms of the relative importance of identity motives in different cultures, Triandis (1995) argues that the need for belonging is more prominent among members of collectivist societies. Brewer and Roccas (2001) provide a counterpoint to this view, suggesting that that the need for belonging may be as important, if not more so, in so-called individualist cultures; and that, likewise, the need for distinctiveness is likely to be stronger in 'collectivist' contexts where it is not satisfied.

Empirical support for this hypothesis was provided in a study by Becker et al. (2012), who found the distinctiveness motive to be stronger in more collectivist nations. Significantly, though, the concept of distinctiveness was constructed in different ways according to the values of the particular cultural context – individualist societies were more likely to link distinctiveness with separateness and difference, while collectivist contexts tended to associate it with social status. The findings of the current study support the idea that members of 'collectivist' societies do pursue distinctiveness – in line with the notion of online contexts compensating for the affordances that may be lacking offline – but not the idea that distinctiveness is associated among this group with social status. Perhaps the medium itself, Twitter, promotes individuality and thus the pursuit of distinctiveness in a number of different ways.

Limitations and future directions

In this interpretivist approach, our grounding in theories of self-presentation and identity processes would have sensitised us to signs of identity work within the data we analysed, and our interpretation was explicitly guided by the motivational constructs portrayed within MICT (Vignoles, 2011). We do not claim that identity work is the only function served by the tweets that we analysed, only that it is one function. Future research could use experiments or diary methods to test the identity-related functions of tweeting that we have proposed here.

Nonetheless, we can claim that our interpretations are not entirely idiosyncratic, based on some of the criteria that have been proposed for evaluating qualitative research. These include bringing particular attention to the context (e.g. culture, type of OSN) in which the data were gathered (Stiles, 1993), acknowledging our active role in interpreting and classifying the data, and providing a credibility check by using multiple researchers (Elliot, Fischer, and Rennie, 1999). We have also aimed to provide sufficient verbatim material to allow readers to interrogate—and if necessary disagree with—the interpretations we have offered.

Notably, our findings did not neatly reflect our initial expectations, providing some measure of 'reflexive validity' (Stiles, 1993). At the outset, we expected that UK and Saudi users would display more differences in the way they used Twitter. In fact, there was unexpected consistency between the two groups of users. The key differences seemed to reside not in underlying motives but in the affordances of both the OSN they are using, and the cultural context of their 'offline' lives. In drawing attention to the importance of affordances, the research also yielded new theoretical insights, fulfilling the criterion of generativity (Carlsen and Dutton, 2011).

This raises a point worth considering: some motives (e.g. continuity) might have received comparatively less attention in this study because we focused on only one OSN, i.e. Twitter. As discussed above, OSN users are rewarded for certain types of posts with positive feedback from other users. Internet users have access to a huge amount of information on a daily basis, and inevitably they engage in heuristic filtering processes to determine which information is relevant to their interests. If a tweet stands out as particularly interesting or unusual, they are more likely to follow that user. This process may encourage Twitter users to pursue distinctiveness in their posts. It is easy to imagine a scenario in which an internet user displays certain identity motives on Twitter and others on Facebook – a study of their posts on just one of these OSNs might lead one to assume that only the motivations on display there are important for that individual, whereas if both OSNs had been considered, additional motives may be represented.

Conclusion

Our findings suggest that using MCIT (Vignoles, 2011) to explore identity motives in online context may yield valuable results. All of the motivations identified within MICT could be detected within the tweets that we analysed for this study, among both Saudi and UK users. However, these motivations were pursued to different degrees and in different ways. This does not mean, necessarily, that the motivations differ in importance to the two groups, but rather that the interaction between cultural background and the opportunities afforded by the particular OSN under consideration, Twitter, impact on the ways people construct and maintain an online identity.

Subsequent research presented in this thesis will elaborate on the findings presented thus far, by adopting a quantitative methodology. The IPA study, based on interview data, as well as the thematic analysis of tweets presented in the current chapter, both suggest that users of OSNs adopt a range of self-presentation strategies when posting online, in order to fulfil identity motives that are important to them. What is required in order to add validity to these claims is some way to measure the relative importance of motives and prevalence of online behaviours among both British and Saudi OSN users.

The next theoretical stage is to conduct a large-scale quantitative study of OSN users in these two cultures, incorporating cultural orientation, motivations for usage, and online behaviour – including eliciting information about *how* people present themselves online, and *whom* they target when posting. Before such a study can be carried out, however, it will be necessary to develop an appropriate measure of online self-presentation strategies. At present, despite the existence of several established measures of self-presentation strategies, there is a lack of a reliable, valid measurement tool for examining those strategies used in an *online* context. Chapter 4 will describe the development of the online self-presentation strategies scale (OSPSS), and chapter 5 will discuss the large-scale quantitative research of which this scale forms a part.

CHAPTER 4

Development of the online self-presentation strategies scale (OSPSS)

Heyla A. Selim, Karen M. Long and Vivian Vignoles

University of Sussex

Abstract

Self-presentation is an important aspect of online behaviour, but there is currently no universal measurement tool to assess the ways in which people present themselves online. The lack of such a scale is significant, due to the possibility that self-presentation strategies in the relatively new online context may differ from their offline counterparts. This paper describes the development of the online self-presentation strategies scale (OSPSS), which was based on the responses of 410 Saudi Arabian participants and 284 British participants. Factor analysis supported a six-factor structure, comprising the self-presentation strategies of self-promotion, positive impression management, self-disclosure (mind casting), self-disclosure (life streaming), cautious self-presentation, and acceptance seeking. Limitations and implications for future directions are discussed.

Introduction

The Internet has had a profound effect on the ways that people present themselves in everyday life. In the last decade, the rise of online social networks (OSNs) such as Facebook, Twitter and Instagram has established a new dimension for self-presentation, and many people now maintain an online identity in addition to their offline identity. But is there any real difference in the way people present themselves online, when compared to offline self-presentation? Ellison (2006) suggests that new communication technology is influencing and shaping people's presented selves. By contrast, Attrill (2015) argues that OSNs are 'tools' employed by people to pursue the same self-presentation strategies as they would in an offline context, but perhaps in different ways. At present, we do not have a firm understanding of how people present themselves online, due to the lack of any established, comprehensive measure. This paper hopes to address this lack, and describes the construction of a measurement scale to assess the self-presentation strategies that people use online.

Self-presentation

Before discussing research surrounding online self-presentation, it is useful to look at a definition of what 'self-presentation' means, and how scholars have attempted to define the dimensions of self-presentation in an offline context. Self-presentation has been

defined as an attempt to control the images which are presented to others, and to persuade others to accept these images (Goffman, 1959). It has been distinguished from impression management but some researchers use it interchangeably (see Leary and Kowalski, 1990). In Goffman's original concept, self-presentation is motivated by two main concerns: seeking approval and avoiding disapproval.

Subsequent researchers have operationalized these two concerns into two different forms of self-presentation. Tedeschi and colleagues proposed that self-presentation takes two forms: assertive self-presentation (characterised by affirming positive aspects of the self, in order to develop or create an identity) and defensive self-presentation (characterised by repudiating perceived negative aspects of the self, so as to defend or restore an identity that has been threatened) (Tedeschi and Lindskold, 1976; Tedeschi and Melburg, 1984). Similarly, Arkin (1981) described 'acquisitive' and 'protective' self-presentation. When engaging in the former, individuals seek approval by portraying themselves in a positive light, and so depict themselves as attractive and desirable. The aim of protective self-presentation is avoiding disapproval, and it is characterised by neutral expressions, conformity, and modest self-disclosure.

Self-presentation is not solely concerned with the individual's own qualities, but expands to include people and things that are linked with the self. Rosenfeld, Giacalone, and Riordan (1995) used Arkin's dimensions of acquisitive and protective self-presentation and added two further dimensions of their own: direct self-presentation (which is concerned with the self) and indirect self-presentation (which is an attempt to control the people and things with which he or she is seen to be associated). Examples of indirect self-presentation would include the concepts of 'BIRGing' (basking in reflected glory; i.e. benefiting from positive associations with others; Cialdini et al., 1976) and 'CORFing' (cutting off reflected failure; i.e. seeking to distance oneself from others' shortcomings; Wann & Branscombe, 1990).

The efforts that people make in order to present themselves in a positive light have been understood in terms of strategies and tactics (e.g. Lewis & Neighbors, 2005). Strategies refer to overall plans or general approaches to a task. They take place over longer periods of time, and are less likely to change in response to changing circumstances. Tactics are shorter-term plans or procedures that may form part of a larger strategy. They are subject to change when circumstances dictate, and can often be adjusted or conceived 'on the hoof'.

Jones and Pittman (1982) suggested five types of self-presentation strategy: self-promotion, ingratiation, exemplification, supplication, and intimidation. Each is linked with a specific goal that the individual hopes to achieve in relation to others. For example, supplication might be used in order to elicit help from others, or to excuse poor performance on a task. Bolino and Turnley (1999) used these dimensions in a study of impression management in organisations; their findings supported Jones and Pittman's taxonomy.

In terms of tactics, Lee, Quigley, Nesler, Corbett, and Tedeschi (1999) developed the 12-item Self-presentation Tactics Scale (SPT), which included the assertive tactics of Ingratiation, Intimidation, Supplication, Entitlement, Enhancement, Blasting, and Exemplification, and the defensive tactics of Excuse, Justification, Disclaimer, Self-handicapping, Apology.

 The overlap between the dimensions described by these two scales suggests that the boundaries between strategies and tactics are not always well defined. The current study is interested in strategies rather than tactics, and therefore seeks to elicit information about OSN users' general or typical approaches to how they present themselves online.

The parameters of offline self-presentation, then, have been explored extensively by social psychologists. A number of dimensions have been proposed, and different ways of conceptualising self-presentation have been implemented. By comparison, research into online self-presentation is still at an early stage, and we lack understanding of the extent to which online self-presentation diverges or adheres to its offline equivalent.

Online self-presentation

Goffman's seminal work *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life* (1959) used the metaphor of theatre to describe individuals' 'front stage' and 'back stage' behaviour. While the former takes place in front of an audience, and influences how an individual behaves (or 'performs'), the latter takes place in private, and so does not demand 'performance' for a particular audience. Goffman's conceptualisation has been applied to online identity (e.g. Bullingham & Vasconcelos, 2013) as a way of understanding how people use selective self-presentation to create a desirable online persona.

Perhaps because of a common perception of self-presentation on OSNs as less open or 'true' than offline self-presentation, some approaches have focused on 'honesty' as a key factor. Tidwell and Walther (2002) and Kimmerle and Cress (2008) both proposed opposing factors of 'positive' and 'honest' self-presentation in relation to online communication. Kim and Lee (2011) included measures of both constructs in a study of the effects of number of Facebook friends and self-presentation strategies on subjective well-being. Positive self-presentation was directly associated with subjective well-being, while the link between well-being and honest self-presentation was mediated through perceived social support. Similarly, Amichai-Hamburger, Wainapel, and Fox (2002) introduced the 'Real-me' questionnaire in a study of the links between personality factors and Internet usage, finding that introverted and neurotic people locate their real self on the Internet, while extroverts and those scoring low on neuroticism locate their real self offline. The utility of this scale, however, is limited in that it consists of only four items, two of which were closed 'yes or no' questions. The findings of a study by Back et al. (2010) suggest that, contrary to the theory that OSN users present an idealised version of themselves (Manago, Graham, Greenfield, & Salimkhan, 2008), Facebook profiles closely reflect users' actual personality.

Acquisitive (or assertive) self-presentation online has been measured by asking about number and frequency of wall posts and images that participants had placed on their Facebook page (Rui & Stefanone, 2013a). Smock (2010) looked at protective self-presentation on Facebook, dividing users' strategies into repudiative and subtractive categories. Repudiative strategies are used to deny certain characteristics about the self, by claiming 'innocence', justifying one's actions, or engaging in compensatory behaviours. Subtractive strategies involve removing unwanted information about the self, by untagging oneself in photos, or deleting undesirable posts on one's profile page. Rui and Stefanone (2013b) developed this concept by constructing a scale measuring protective strategies in response to unwanted wall posts. Sample items included 'I asked my friend(s) to remove the photo'.

Existing studies of online self-presentation, then, have tended to focus on specific aspects, and to date no studies have attempted to look at online self-presentation strategies as a whole. Moreover, the studies discussed above looked at OSN usage of participants from a particular country in isolation (specifically, English-speaking countries), and as such, shed no light on possible differences in online self-

presentation between users from different cultures. The next section will consider existing literature on cultural impact on OSN usage.

The role of culture in self-presentation on OSNs

Gudykunst (1997) notes that a person's culture is likely to shape their communication style. A number of studies have examined how communication, both verbal and non-verbal, is influenced by cultural background (Kurman & Sriram, 1997; Kim & Papacharissi, 2003; Park, Baek, & Cha, 2014). Self-presentation is an important aspect of communication, and there is some evidence to suggest that people from different cultural contexts favour different self-presentation strategies. Much of this research has compared North American and East Asian samples, and suggests that positive self-presentation is encouraged within the former context but not the latter (Baumeister et al., 1989; Heine & Lehman, 1999; Heine et al., 2000). This distinction is also applicable to OSNs, according to studies by Lee-Won, Shim, Joo, and Park (2014) and Mazur and Li (2016).

There is, then, a lack of research into online self-presentation as it occurs in Arabic cultures. There is also a lack of effective measurement tools for comparing self-presentation across cultures. Long and Zhang (2014) examined the role of self-construal in self-presentation motives among OSN users in the UK and Japan. Self-expression, maintaining privacy, and attention seeking were found to be strong motives among both groups. There was less support for impression management and modesty. To measure motives in this study, the authors created a scale with five factors: image management, self-expression, maintaining privacy, attention seeking, and modest concern. The focus of this study, however, was motivations rather than strategies, and, like previous studies mentioned, it was conducted in a European/East Asian context and might not be applicable to an 'honour' culture such as Saudi Arabia. The current study aims to address some of these gaps in the literature, by developing a scale measuring online self-presentation strategies in Saudi Arabia and the UK.

The approach outlined in this paper differs from that used by previous attempts to examine self-presentation on OSNs. These tend to focus on one aspect of OSNs, such as wall posts or profile pictures. The current study treats self-presentation on OSNs in a holistic manner by using self-report measures relating to many aspects of online identity.

Understanding how people present themselves online is important, given the growing trend of online interaction as a popular mode of communication. Having an online self-presentation scale validated in two cultures would provide a valuable theoretical and methodological link between culture, online behaviours and outcomes.

Methodology

Participants and Procedure

Data were gathered in Saudi Arabia and the UK via an online survey which ran from March to May 2014. The sample was mixed, as it included non-student participants, but mainly consisted of students at King Saud University in Riyadh, Saudi Arabia, and the University of Sussex, United Kingdom. Students at King Saud University were contacted via their lecturers, who were approached and asked to send out emails to potential participants. At the University of Sussex, psychology students were invited to participate in exchange for course credits. Although we used convenience sampling, this is a valid option for this research because undergraduate students are heavy OSN users. Non-students were recruited from public areas such as libraries, train stations and cafes, by handing out an information sheet including a link to the online survey. A total of 694 people completed the surveys, comprising 410 and 284 responses for the Saudi and British surveys, respectively. In the British sample, 64 (23%) were male and 220 (77%) were female. In the Saudi sample, 67 (16%) were male and 344 (84%) were female. In terms of age, the UK sample ranged from 18 to 52 years old ($M = 20.63$, $SD = 4.73$); while the Saudi sample, ranged from 18 to 52 years old ($M = 25.65$, $SD = 7.57$). The majority of the participants were university students in both samples (UK = 93%, SA = 60%). In total, the preferred OSNs were Twitter (74%), Instagram (68%) and Facebook (53%). This rank varied by participants. Among the UK sample, Facebook was used by all the participants (100%), followed by Instagram (62%) and by Twitter (59%). In contrast, in the SA sample the most used OSN was Twitter (85%), then Instagram (73%) followed by Facebook (22%). In both samples, about 8 out 10 of the participants spent at least one hour a day on their preferred OSN (UK = 80%, SA = 83%). Data gathered for this study were also used for the research described in chapter 5.

Measures

As there is no widely accepted conceptual definition of online self-presentation strategies in the research literature, items for the OSPSS were developed by using various resources. Two previous qualitative studies (Selim & Long, 2013; Selim, Long & Vignoles, 2014) examined, respectively, motives for using OSNs, and how identity motives are pursued on Twitter. These, along with previous approaches to measuring self-presentation (e.g. Long & Zhang, 2014; Kim & Lee, 2011), informed our choice of items. The authors also brainstormed ideas for items, selecting only those on which all three authors agreed. The authors created an item pool of 110 items in English. These items used a 6-point Likert scale rating system, where 1 = strongly disagree and 6 = strongly agree.

These items were translated into Arabic by the corresponding author. It was then back-translated into English by a third party, and this version was checked against the original by a native English speaker. Some items were considered to have translation issues. For example, certain phrases were extremely difficult to translate into Arabic, and in the process lost crucial aspects of meaning. These items were excised. Other questions addressed concepts that were specific to British culture, and were not appropriate for an Arabic audience. These, too, were taken out of the final questionnaire. In total, 12 items were removed, leaving an item pool of 98 items before the analyses presented here.

Examples of items that were removed include 'You try not to be too self-deprecating' and 'You find it easier to talk about sensitive issues on OSNs than offline'. The former was developed from interview data in the first study, in which a British participant described the necessity to position himself in between the undesirable extremes of arrogance and self-criticism. There was a sense, supported by data from study two, that British OSN users employ self-deprecation as a humorous way of deflecting potential accusations of arrogance – but that there was an optimal amount of this, beyond which a user might be perceived as disingenuous or negative. The latter item was also based on responses in the first study (see chapter 2), where respondents spoke about the need to protect personal information online. The term 'sensitive' was chosen as a term that would be flexible enough to apply to the respective privacy concerns of Saudi and British users. However, the item did not load sufficiently onto any of the extracted factors, which suggests that 'sensitive' was too open to interpretation for participants.

Two versions of the questionnaire were created, containing the retained 98 items, one in English and one in Arabic. We used Google Drive software, to turn this into an online survey.

Overview of Analytical Strategy

Using factor analytic techniques, we sought to reduce the total 98 items to a set of interpretable dimensions. The stages of analysis are listed below.

Stage 1: Single-group random intercept exploratory factor analysis for each country
We first subjected the items to factor analysis using a random intercept model specification (Aichholzer, 2014), with quartimin retention. This model permits us to account for acquiescence while at the same time to fit a measurement model. We followed Preacher et al.'s (2013) model selection procedure to identify how many factors were needed to explain the item matrix. After a sensible amount of factors were identified, we reduced the remainder matrix of items by common item selection criteria: by excluding low loading items ($\beta < .4$), and excluding items with cross loadings. We implemented this procedure for each country first.

Stage 2: Cross-tabulation of solutions
In the second stage, we cross-tabulated the factor solutions for each country, in order to identify groups of items that factored together in both countries, to provide the overall factors. Direct comparison was carried out within Excel to compare loadings. By selecting items with $\beta > .4$ and no cross-loadings, we excluded 27 items from the item pool. (See Appendix 7) is a 4x4 matrix that shows the four-factor solutions for each group, which lists items that fall under each combination of factors within the two solutions, which was used to decide on the final model. There were a potential 16 combinations, of which only six had a substantial number of items; these items formed dimensions that we judged to be interpretable. Therefore, at this stage we came to expect six factors for our multi-group analyses.

Stage 3: Multi-group RI-EFA for item selection
Following these two stages, we used a random intercept model (Aichholzer, 2014) with a multi-group specification, using geomin rotation. We used this procedure to further

evaluate how many factors should be extracted from the 71 remaining items, under a model selection framework. Similarly to the previous step, we reduced the remainder item matrix by common item selection criteria – items were discarded by low loadings ($\beta < .4$) and cross-loadings.

After these steps, we reached a 20 item selection model with 6 factors, which is reported in tables 2a and 2b, on pages 115 and 116. This final solution was then subject to measurement invariance assessment. Finally, we provide correlations of each factor to other variables, as evidence of divergent and convergent validity. Earlier models are included in Appendix 7.

Results

Factor extraction

Stage 1

To determine the number of factors of the item matrix, we first specified a random intercept model (Aichholzer, 2014). This model allows to control for acquiescence in a latent way, by specifying a single factor that captures measurement noise. This additional factor, is called random intercept factor, which is orthogonal to any other specified factor and where each item loads on it by one unit. We used this specification, and fit 20 different models: with 1 to 20 factors, as in a common exploratory factor analysis; plus, this random intercept factor. Thus, every item was allowed to load in each factor, and to the random intercept factor. We conducted this series of analysis for each group: thus, 20 models for SA participants, and 20 models for UK participants. Table 1 depicts the fit indices for each model, and for each group.

Table 1: Factor retention criteria for the complete item pool

	Factors	AIC		BIC		RMSEA		RMSEA.LB	
SA	1	130313.569		131498.335		.062		.060	
	2	127901.267		129475.601		.052		.050	
	3	126698.627		128658.512		.046	*	.045	*
	4	126220.650		128562.069	*	.044		.042	
	5	125904.284		128623.223		.043		.041	
	6	125734.525		128826.966		.043		.041	
	7	125580.063		129041.990		.043		.041	
	8	125580.063		129041.990		.043		.041	
	9	125325.291		129514.142		.042		.040	
	10	125223.635		129769.925		.042		.040	
	11	125148.234		130047.945		.043		.041	
	12	125088.883		130338.000		.049		.047	
	13	125019.359		130613.866		.044		.043	
	14	124952.882		130888.763		.042		.041	
	15	124916.048		131189.285		.045		.043	
	16	124876.187		131482.765		.044		.042	
	17	124839.650		131775.553		.045		.043	
	18	124809.602		132070.815		.045		.043	
	19	124779.456		132361.961		.046		.044	
	20	124745.559	*	132645.340		.044		.042	
UK	1	85017.984		86094.431		.071		.069	
	2	83334.173		84764.571		.062		.060	
	3	82423.585		84204.285		.057		.055	
	4	82021.782		84149.134	*	.055		.053	
	5	81692.539		84162.895		.053		.051	
	6	81461.768		84271.478		.052		.050	
	7	80698.337		86398.035		.052		.050	
	8	81082.289		84559.761		.050		.048	*
	9	80981.942		84787.822		.050		.048	
	10	80895.114		85025.753		.050		.048	
	11	80828.783		85280.532		.051		.049	
	12	80787.608		85556.817		.050		.048	
	13	80764.948		85847.969		.053		.051	
	14	80716.656		86109.840		.050		.048	
	15	80698.337		86398.035		.052		.050	
	16	80676.024		86678.587		.052		.050	
	17	80658.566		86960.345		.051		.049	
	18	80652.629		87249.974		.053		.051	
	19	80645.360	*	87534.623		.051		.049	
	20	80656.431		87833.964		.053		.050	

Note: AIC = Akaike's information criterion; BIC = Bayesian information criterion; RMSEA = root mean square error of approximation; RMSEA.LB = RMSEA 90% confidence interval lower bound; * = indicate selected model.

All fitted models were estimated with robust Maximum Likelihood (MLR) with quartimin rotation. We used the following criteria based on the suggestions of Preacher et al. (2013): AIC, BIC, RMSEA, RMSEA.LB.

AIC criterion, which is the model with the lowest AIC, suggests as many factors as were fitted on the SA sample (20 factors), and 19 factors on the UK sample. The BIC suggests 4 factors on both samples, while the RMSEA.LB suggests 3 factors for the SA and 8 factors for the UK sample. The AIC is a good selection criterion in searching for cross validation, while RMSEA.LB and BIC are fit indexes which favour the data generation process (Preacher et al., 2013). We inspected BIC and RMSEA.LB solutions, and opted for the first. These were more interpretable, in spite of the differences between the selected solutions for SA and UK participants.

Stage 2

By content, we identified four plausible factors, which were subsumed within each country's factor solution. Two factors were then split into two factors each, which resulted in 6 factors in total. These plausible structures were more in line with our previous studies (Selim & Long, 2013; Selim, Long & Vignoles, 2014), where the way users behave in online social networks differentiated the content they produced for self-presentation: either for promotion, for acceptance from others or for positive impression; the type and level of self-disclosure they engaged in, and how cautious they were with their personal identity.

By selecting items with these contents, and by common item criteria ($\beta > .4$ and no cross loadings), we excluded 27 items from the item pool. Two countries were then compared in terms of item groupings and two other criteria (see Appendix 7).

Stage 3

We subjected the remaining 71 items to a multi-group factor analysis with a random intercept (see Appendix 7). This model allows fitting a measurement model with constraints, in which both samples are assessed with the same amount of factors at the same time; while accounting for acquiescence. We fitted a series of 6 factor solutions in an iterative way to select the best fitting items. By content inspection, and common item

selection criteria – similar criteria to that mentioned above – we finally reached a 6 factor solution with 20 items. Tables 2a and 2b depict the factor loadings of the 6 factor solution over the 20 selected items, for both groups as a metric solution. This model specification constrains unstandardized loadings to be equal between groups, while specifying the same amount of factors for each group (Geiser, 2012; Beaujean, 2014).

Two items in the Saudi sample had loadings below .40. One of these items (item number 12) loaded at .39, which is quite marginal, and has a higher loading in the UK sample (B = .44), which is why we decided to retain it. The other one (item number 15) had low loadings in both samples (B = .32 in SA, and B = .35 in the UK). Although this is low, the item was retained because it was stable across all of the attempts.

Table 2a: Six factor metric solution, SA sample

	1		2		3		4		5		6	
You write proud comments about your past accomplishments.	**.79**	**(.15)**	-.01	(.02)	-.02	(.03)	.04	(.04)	.00	(.02)	-.22	(.0
If you won an award, you'd post about this on your page.	**.68**	**(.14)**	-.11	(.09)	-.04	(.07)	.08	(.08)	.04	(.06)	.05	(.0
You post links/photos/comments that make other users aware of your talents	**.61**	**(.12)**	.11	(.10)	.07	(.09)	-.06	(.07)	-.03	(.05)	.06	(.0
Your posts let other users know how hard you have been working or studying.	**.45**	**(.11)**	.12	(.10)	.06	(.08)	-.14	(.07)	.23	(.09)	.01	(.0
You like/retweet others posts/photos so they will like you.	-.01	(.04)	**.69**	**(.11)**	-.02	(.06)	.02	(.05)	.03	(.05)	-.01	(.0
You praise other users for their posts so that they will consider you to be a nice person.	-.04	(.04)	**.68**	**(.11)**	.04	(.07)	.03	(.05)	.05	(.07)	.08	(.0
You try to look cool.	.06	(.08)	**.49**	**(.09)**	-.01	(.07)	.14	(.12)	-.02	(.04)	.05	(.0
You post things in order to get compliments.	.12	(.09)	**.44**	**(.10)**	.20	(.09)	.04	(.07)	.09	(.09)	-.03	(.0
You usually select the pictures or comments you will post carefully.	-.05	(.05)	-.13	(.14)	**.84**	**(.15)**	.06	(.07)	.08	(.10)	.03	(.0
You decide not to post material because you don't want everyone to know what you are doing	.08	(.09)	.06	(.08)	**.54**	**(.16)**	-.14	(.11)	-.10	(.10)	-.12	(.1
On OSNs people judge each other based on their postings so you need to be careful	.11	(.08)	.01	(.04)	**.46**	**(.12)**	.17	(.10)	.00	(.05)	.02	(.0
You care how you will be seen by other people.	-.04	(.05)	.08	(.07)	**.39**	**(.12)**	.26	(.11)	-.05	(.07)	.05	(.0
You try to create a good impression	.04	(.06)	.01	(.03)	.02	(.03)	**.91**	**(.11)**	-.01	(.03)	-.06	(.0
You try to create an attractive impression of yourself on your page.	-.02	(.03)	.05	(.05)	.10	(.11)	**.72**	**(.17)**	.04	(.03)	.06	(.0
You usually post things to show yourself in the best possible light.	.07	(.06)	.19	(.09)	.23	(.08)	**.32**	**(.10)**	.00	(.04)	.03	(.0
You like to share your everyday details (what you are up to) with other users	.02	(.05)	.01	(.04)	.01	(.03)	.01	(.03)	**.79**	**(.15)**	.00	(.0
Your profile is full of everyday small details.	.01	(.04)	.04	(.05)	-.14	(.08)	-.02	(.04)	**.68**	**(.12)**	.01	(.0
You want to show people who you are and what you believe in.	.02	(.04)	.03	(.04)	.04	(.07)	-.02	(.05)	-.12	(.09)	**.75**	**(.1
You want other users to have a clear idea of what you're like, and what you're into	.03	(.06)	.05	(.06)	-.09	(.08)	.03	(.06)	.03	(.06)	**.72**	**(.1
You express yourself freely on OSNs.	.02	(.05)	-.26	(.09)	.02	(.04)	.04	(.05)	.22	(.10)	**.52**	**(.1

Note: standardized estimates, and standard errors in parentheses. Bold text highlights loadings higher than .4; 1 = Self-promotion; 2 = Acceptance seeking; 3 = Cautious self-presentation; 4 = Positive impression management; 5 = Self-disclosure (life streaming); 6 = Depth self-disclosure (mind casting).

Table 2b: Six factor metric solution, UK sample

	1		2		3		4		5		6	
You write proud comments about your past accomplishments.	**.88**	**(.11)**	-.01	(.02)	-.02	(.03)	.03	(.03)	.00	(.03)	-.20	(.0
If you won an award, you'd post about this on your page.	**.74**	**(.11)**	-.10	(.09)	-.04	(.06)	.06	(.07)	.05	(.07)	.04	(.0
You post links/photos/comments that make other users aware of your talents	**.67**	**(.09)**	.10	(.09)	.07	(.09)	-.05	(.06)	-.03	(.06)	.05	(.0
Your posts let other users know how hard you have been working or studying.	**.49**	**(.10)**	.11	(.09)	.06	(.08)	-.12	(.06)	.27	(.10)	.01	(.0
You like/retweet others posts/photos so they will like you.	-.01	(.05)	**.74**	**(.10)**	-.02	(.06)	.02	(.05)	.04	(.07)	-.01	(.0
You praise other users for their posts so that they will consider you to be a nice person.	-.04	(.05)	**.70**	**(.09)**	.05	(.07)	.03	(.05)	.07	(.09)	.08	(.0
You try to look cool.	.08	(.10)	**.53**	**(.09)**	-.02	(.08)	.14	(.12)	-.03	(.06)	.05	(.0
You post things in order to get compliments.	.14	(.10)	**.44**	**(.09)**	.21	(.08)	.03	(.06)	.11	(.10)	-.03	(.0
You usually select the pictures or comments you will post carefully.	-.05	(.06)	-.13	(.14)	**.87**	**(.15)**	.05	(.07)	.10	(.12)	.03	(.0
You decide not to post material because you don't want everyone to know what you are doing	.09	(.10)	.06	(.08)	**.53**	**(.13)**	-.12	(.10)	-.12	(.12)	-.11	(.10
On OSNs people judge each other based on their postings so you need to be careful	.14	(.09)	.01	(.04)	**.50**	**(.11)**	.16	(.09)	.00	(.07)	.02	(.0
You care how you will be seen by other people.	-.05	(.07)	.09	(.08)	**.44**	**(.13)**	.25	(.11)	-.07	(.10)	.05	(.0
You try to create a good impression	.06	(.07)	.02	(.04)	.02	(.04)	**.96**	**(.13)**	-.02	(.04)	-.08	(.0
You try to create an attractive impression of yourself on your page.	-.02	(.04)	.05	(.05)	.12	(.13)	**.74**	**(.20)**	.05	(.05)	.07	(.0
You usually post things to show yourself in the best possible light.	.10	(.09)	.24	(.10)	.29	(.11)	**.35**	**(.13)**	.00	(.06)	.03	(.0
You like to share your everyday details (what you are up to) with other users.	.02	(.06)	.01	(.04)	.01	(.03)	.01	(.03)	**.96**	**(.14)**	.00	(.0
Your profile is full of everyday small details.	.02	(.05)	.03	(.05)	-.13	(.08)	-.01	(.03)	**.79**	**(.11)**	.01	(.0
You want to show people who you are and what you believe in.	.02	(.06)	.03	(.04)	.05	(.08)	-.02	(.05)	-.17	(.12)	**.78**	**(.1**
You want other users to have a clear idea of what you're like, and what you're into	.04	(.07)	.06	(.06)	-.09	(.09)	.02	(.05)	.05	(.08)	**.74**	**(.1**
You express yourself freely on OSNs.	.02	(.06)	-.27	(.09)	.02	(.05)	.03	(.05)	.28	(.12)	**.51**	**(.1**

Note: standardized estimates, and standard errors in parentheses. Bold text highlights loadings higher than .4; 1 = Self-promotion; 2 = Acceptance seeking; 3 = Cautious self-presentation; 4 = Positive impression management; 5 = Self-disclosure (life streaming); 6 = Depth self-disclosure (mind casting).

Retained factors

Standardized loadings for each item were all above .4, which are above cut off criteria (Kline, 2010). Factor 1 (items 1, 2, 3, 4) was defined as Self-promotion; factor 2 (items 5, 6, 7, 8) as Acceptance seeking; factor 3 (items 9, 10, 11, 12) as Cautious self-presentation; factor 4 (13, 14, 15) as Positive impression management; factor 5 (items 16, 17) as Self-disclosure life streaming; and factor 6 (items 18, 19, 20) was defined as Depth self-disclosure mind casting.

The self-promotion factor distinguishes between those users who actively produce content which highlights their talents, awards, and achievements. Examples of items that were retained include 'If you won an award, you'd post about this on your page' and 'Your posts let other users know how hard you have been working or studying'. These two items were included in the self-promotion subscale, and were developed from observations made in study two (see chapter 3) about the different ways in which British and Saudi users pursued the self-esteem identity motive. UK users tended to share information about tangible achievements (e.g. winning an award), while Saudi users focused more on internal qualities (e.g. a strong work ethic). The two items mentioned loaded on to a subscale with two others: 'You write proud comments about your past accomplishments' and 'You post links/photos/comments that make other users aware of your talents'. The item with the highest loading is "You write proud comments about your past accomplishments".

The acceptance seeking factor measures whether users produce content driven by the acceptance of others ("You praise other users for their posts so that they will consider you to be a nice person"). Cautious self-presentation captures how self-regulated users are when deciding whether or not to post content ("You decide not to post material because you don't want everyone to know what you are doing"). The positive impression management factor assesses if users intend to present themselves in online networks under a positive light ("You try to create an attractive impression of yourself on your page"). Self-disclosure life streaming measures if users are prone to sharing their current live events as these are happening ("You like to share your everyday details (what you are up to) with other users"). In contrast, depth self-disclosure mind casting measures if users produce content which reveals who they are; their 'true' self ("You want to show people who you are and what you believe in").

Invariance

Given the language differences, between the two applications for the SA group and the UK group, we compared the expected measurement for both groups. We assessed the measurement equivalence of the 6 factor solution with the 20 selected items over these two groups. We fitted four measurement solutions in incremental steps, requiring more parameters to be equal between groups: configural, metric, scalar, and strict. In the first model, the configural solution, we specified the same amount of factors for each group, and fixed the means to zero. In the second step, the metric solution, we additionally constrained factor loadings to be equal between groups. In the third step, the scalar solution, item intercepts were fixed to be equal between groups, and factor means were referentially constrained (these are fixed to zero for one group, and estimated for the second). Finally, in the fourth step, the strictest solution, factor loadings, item intercepts and residuals were held equal. Given the nested nature of these series of models, these can be compared. Table 3 displays the fit indexes for each model, and the model test comparison, based on the Satorra-Bentler corrected chi square (Satorra & Bentler, 2001).

Out of the four measurement models, only three were able to converge. The strict model did not converge. Thus, Table 3 only summarizes the fit indexes for the configural, metric and scalar solutions. These three models present a model with room for improvement: their absolute fit indexes (χ^2) were all significant. However, by inspecting the RMSEA, SRMR and CFI, all these solutions present a model within acceptable thresholds (RMSEA $<= .05$; SRMR $<= .05$; CFI $> .95$).

Table 3: Model Fit and model comparison

Model Fit

	MLR χ²	SCF	df	CFI	RMSEA	SRMR
Configural	296.39	0.95	168	0.97	0.05	0.02
Metric	414.56	1.13	252	0.96	0.04	0.04
Scalar	484.63	1.1	265	0.95	0.05	0.05

Model Comparison

	Δχ²	df	p	ΔCFI	ΔRMSEA	ΔSRMR
Configural vs Metric	125.29	84	<.01	-0.01	-0.01	0.02
Metric vs Scalar	122.1	13	<.01	-0.01	0.01	0.01

Note: Model fit: All chi square tests were significant. MLR χ² = Chi Square from robust maximum likelihood estimator; SCF = scaling correction factor, df = degrees of freedom of the fitted model; CFI = comparative fit index; RMSEA = root mean square error of approximation; SRMR = standardized root mean square residual. Model Comparison: Δχ² = corrected chi square comparison between models, df = degrees of freedom for model comparison; $p = p$ value for the chi square test between nested models. ΔCFI = CFI difference between models; ΔRMSEA = RMSEA difference between models; ΔSRMR = SRMR between models.

When models were compared to each other, each step, from the less constrained model (i.e configural) to the more constrained models (i.e. metric and scalar), all comparisons were significant for the most demanding test (Δχ²). However, this comparison is deemed too strict, and alternative fit differences have been proposed (Achholzer, 2015; Chen, 2007; Cheung & Rensvold, 2002). In particular, Chen (2007) proposed a change of ≥ -.010 in CFI, jointly to change of ≥ .015 in RMSEA or ≥ .030 in SRMR would be indicative of lack of invariance for loadings (configural vs metric). Furthermore, Cheung and Rensvold (2002) propose similar differences for comparing intercept (scalar) and residual invariance: ≥ -.010 in CFI, jointly to change of ≥ .015 in RMSEA or ≥. 010 in SRMR. With these later criteria, the measurement models hold scalar invariance. As such, these allow for latent comparisons between groups, on latent means, variances and covariance (Beaujean, 2014).

Validity

Given the factors the online self-presentation strategies cover, we have directional expectations between these factors and other online behaviours. The simple comparison between these factors, by means of correlations with other indexes, can shed light in terms of how convergent or divergent these factors are. We use a different measure of self-disclosure to provide convergent validity for the self-disclosure factors; and we used single items questions regarding online identifications to evaluate convergent validity of cautious self-presentation.

The self-disclosure measures we used for comparison were the four subscales of the General Disclosiveness Scale (GDS; Wheeless, 1978; Wheeless & Grotz, 1976). This scale measures individuals' self-disclosure in terms of an individual's general disposal towards self-disclosure rather than their self-disclosure directed at a particular individual or group. We used tendency to disclose generally rather than average disclosure between dyads, which could be misleading because of variability in disclosure behaviour online (e.g., people might be expected to disclose substantially more to an established friend than to a new acquaintance). Items were modified to refer to online interactions. For example, a sample item measuring honesty was "I am always honest in my self-disclosures to those I meet online." Respondents were asked to rate their level of agreement with each statement on a 5- point Likert-type scale ranging from 1 = *strongly disagree* to 5 = *strongly agree.* These scales include four dimensions of self-disclosure: honesty (4 items; UK: α = .62; SA: α = .54), amount (3 items; UK: α = .64; SA: α = .51[5]), conscious intent (3 items; UK: α = .59; SA: α = .71), and valence (positive or negative, with a single item each). We created composite scores, by averaging items by subscale; with the exemption of valence, which were used as single items.

We expected depth self-disclosure to correlate with the amount and honesty subscales of the GDS. We expected self-promotion to correlate with the frequency with which participants updated their account, which was a measure included in the online questionnaire. Additionally, in the online questionnaire we asked participants to state how they identify themselves in online networks: by using their real name, a

---

[5] Although .70 is often considered to be an acceptable minimum for Cronbach's alpha measure of reliability (Bland & Altman, 1997), it was necessary in this instance to accept a lower alpha, due to the necessary trade-off between cross-cultural validity (which requires fewer items) and reliability (which requires more items).

pseudonym, or a nickname. We expected that more cautious users would be less likely to use their actual name in online platforms.

Table 4 displays the estimated correlations between the 6 factors of online presentation, with the 4 derived subscales of the GDS, and with frequency of account updates and how users identify themselves online. To estimate these correlations, we included the General Disclosiveness subscales, frequency of updates and name used as observed variables. Then, we estimated the standardized covariance between our specified factors and these observed measures with a robust maximum likelihood estimator; hence these estimates can be interpreted as correlations between proposed latent factors, and these observed indicators.

Users with higher levels of cautious self-presentation were also less likely to disclose personal information (UK: $r = -.44$, $p<.01$; SA: $r = -.18$, p<.01), see Amount column in Table 4. Additionally, users with higher levels of this factors were more prone to use a nickname in online networks; especially in the UK, but not among SA participants (UK: $r = .15$, $p<.05$; SA: $r = -.07$, $p = .27$). Similarly, the relationship between self-promotion and frequency of account updates was significant for the UK sample ($r = .30$, $p<.01$) but not for the SA sample ($r = .03$, $p = .63$). The picture regarding depth self-disclosure was not so clear: there was a significant correlation between this factor and amount of self-disclosure for the Saudi sample ($r = .48$, $p < .01$), but not for the British sample ($r = .23$, $p = .07$) – although this was just below the threshold for significance. For the relationship between depth self-disclosure and honesty, correlations were non-significant (UK: $r = -.11$, $p = .25$; SA: $r = .10$, $p = .28$).

Table 4: Correlations between factors with disclosure variables

		1	2	3	4	5	Frequency of account use	Real name use	Pseudonym	Nickname	Conscious intent	Amount	Positive content	Negative content	Honesty
UK 1.	Self Promotion						.30 **	.03	-.04	-.02	.05	-.39 **	.16 *	.20 **	.22 **
2.	Acceptance Seeking	.30 **					.05	-.04	.04	.04	-.16 *	-.11	.21 **	-.02	.37 **
3.	Cautious self-presentation	.43 **	.29 *				.44 **	-.09	.06	.15 *	-.07	-.44 **	.26 **	-.04	.32 **
4.	Positive Impression management	.45 **	.33 **	.22			.21 *	.09	.06	-.10	.26 **	-.38 **	.20 **	.08	.23 **
5.	Self disclosure life streaming	.26	.46 **	.02	.41 **		-.03	.08	-.15 *	-.06	.05	.10	-.07	.24 **	-.01
6.	Depth Self Disclosure Mind Casting	.11	.35	-.23	.21	.31	.02	-.08	-.03	-.04	.16	.23	-.18	.12	-.11
SA 1.	Self Promotion						.03	.17 *	-.09	-.07	.30 **	.00	.14 *	.37 **	.38 **
2.	Acceptance Seeking	.69 **					.09	.10	.06	.03	.09	.00	.08	.20 **	.30 **
3.	Cautious self-presentation	.80 **	.68 **				.24 **	.12	-.02	-.07	.15	-.18 *	.19 **	.16 *	.45 **
4.	Positive Impression management	.55 **	.34 *	.51 **			.12	.17 **	-.18 **	-.10	.60 **	.02	.12	.29 **	.28 **
5.	Self disclosure life streaming	.78 **	.59 **	.53 **	.58 **		.07	.05	-.08	-.07	.41 **	.17 **	.04	.41 **	.24 **
6.	Depth Self Disclosure Mind Casting	.35	.43 *	.13	.41 *	.52 **	-.03	.01	.03	.00	.46 **	.48 **	-.05	.35 **	.10

Note: ** p <.01; * p<.05

General discussion

Different factor structures were found in the two countries, but it was possible to identify six factors that were subsumed within both of those structures. These factors were interpreted as measuring self-promotion, acceptance seeking, self-disclosure (life streaming), self-disclosure (mind casting), cautious self-presentation, and positive impression management. The factor structure was reliable in both groups. As described above, in the 'Validity' section, these factors were considered to have validity when measured against comparable scales.

An advantage of the scale presented in this study is that it was designed specifically for an online context; it was not reliant on previous offline measures for the development of scale items. Although some items (e.g. 'You try to look cool'; Long & Zhang, 2014) were taken from other self-presentation scales, most were based on the findings of two previous qualitative studies by the authors (Selim & Long, 2013, 2014).

Another advantage that this scale has over other measures of online self-presentation is its scope; there are six sub-scales, covering diverse aspects of self-presentation as it occurs on OSNs: self-promotion, acceptance seeking, self-disclosure (life streaming), self-disclosure (mind casting), cautious self-presentation, and positive impression management. Previous research has mostly homed in on much more specific aspects of self-presentation, and as such is somewhat reductive. Studies (e.g. Kim &

Lee, 2011) that have proposed a dichotomy between 'honest' and 'positive' self-presentation, for example, presume the existence of a discrete self that is taken to represent the 'truth' about a person; this is usually associated with an individual's offline self. In fact, people may have multiple selves that apply in different situations depending on whom they are interacting with, and the specific norms of that context. By contrast, the OSPSS presents a much more nuanced interpretation of users' online behaviour, with an understanding that the same person might implement varying (and sometimes even contradictory) self-presentation strategies.

The diverse characteristics of the participants in the current study is another strength. Findings presented in previous studies have almost exclusively been based on student samples, which are somewhat homogeneous in terms of social status, educational level, and age. By contrast, this study used a general sample that included both students and non-students, ranging widely in age. Where once Internet usage was mostly the preserve of the young, OSNs are now used by many older people; it is hoped that the sample used in this research reflects this new reality.

Moreover, when cross-cultural comparison has been incorporated in previous research, it has almost overwhelmingly involved comparisons between North Americans and East Asians. Given the advanced technological status of countries such as the USA, Canada, South Korea and Japan, this is not wholly surprising. Such is the progression of computer-mediated communication and Internet technology, however, OSNs have become hugely popular in many more countries over the last 10 years, and with Internet coverage increasing by around 20 percent annually in the Arab world (Mohammed Bin Rashid School of Government, 2014), it is important for researchers in online behaviour to widen the scope of interest to countries such as Saudi Arabia, as we have done in the current study.

Furthermore, comparisons between North American and East Asian cultures tend to reinforce the individualist-collectivist cultural paradigm, the validity of which has been questioned by Vignoles et al. (2016). Saudi Arabia represents a conservative society, in which family ties and tradition are valued more highly than in the UK. However, to conceptualise Saudi Arabia as 'collectivist' and the UK as 'individualist' would be an over-simplification. Minkov (2008) suggests that Saudi Arabia is among the countries whose citizens score highest on 'monumentalism', which is a construct closely linked to self-enhancement – not what one would expect from a 'collectivist'

society. By developing the OSPSS with British and Saudi participants, we hope to avoid promoting a simplistic opposition between 'West' and 'East'.

Future research using the OSPS scale might also reveal information about how online behaviour is dictated by – or perhaps stands in opposition to – offline cultural norms. As such, it could be extremely useful in helping us to understand whether cultural norms are internalised by individuals or operate on a societal level and are reinforced by cultural institutions. If we were to find, for example, that differences between individuals from two cultures are blurred when it comes to online behaviour, this could lend support to the idea that OSNs are causing cultural convergence – or, alternatively, that the gap between cultures was not so large in the first place, and that OSNs provide the affordances for individuals to move beyond the constraints of cultural norms.

Limitations and future directions

A limitation of the research presented in this study is that the scale has been developed to measure behaviour (i.e. the ways in which people present themselves online), but relies on self-reports of that behaviour. It is possible that respondents' self-reported online behaviour does not accurately reflect how they actually behave online, either because of desirability factors or because people are not very skilled in assessing their own online behaviour. Validation of the OSPSS was carried out using another self-report scale (Wheeless & Grotz, 1976), which supports the validity of the measure, but also produced some unexpected results which bear further investigation. Therefore, further validation of the scale could be carried out by analysing online content (Tweets or Facebook posts) and rating them according to the six strategies named in the OSPSS. Future research might also apply the OSPSS in other cultural contexts, and comparing the findings to the results that might be expected from previous cross-cultural comparative research.

Another limitation is that some of the subscales may have limited efficacy due to a small number of items. This is particularly true for the self-disclosure (life streaming) subscale, which consists of only two items ('You like to share your everyday details (what you are up to) with other users' and 'Your profile is full of everyday small details'). The conclusions that can be drawn about self-disclosure may therefore be somewhat limited.

The OSPSS was developed using participants from two diverse cultures, and results indicated that participants in these two cultures vary in the ways they present themselves online. The next stage will be to test how, and why, this variation occurs. The following chapter presents a study of the factors that underlie cultural differences in online self-presentation, and also incorporates another measure of online behaviour – the audience to whom users direct their posts – as well as a quantitative measure of motivation. The OSPSS will be employed as a measure of the self-presentation strategies adopted by OSN users from Saudi Arabia and the UK. Path analysis will be used as a way of unpacking the links between cultural values, motivations and online behaviour.

CHAPTER 5

Beyond the wall: An investigation of cultural influence on online behaviour in Saudi Arabia and the United Kingdom.

Heyla Selim, Karen Long, and Vivian Vignoles

University of Sussex

Abstract

Psychological research into cultural differences in the use of Online Social Networks (OSNs) is a growing field. Here, we investigate whether cultural differences in values and relational mobility account for cultural differences in online motivations and behaviour. More specifically, we test whether cultural differences in OSNs activity with respect to motivations for use, targeted audience and self-presentation strategies, are mediated by Basic Human Values or Relational Mobility, in a survey with samples from Saudi Arabia ($N = 410$) and the UK ($N = 284$). In terms of motivations, both groups used OSNs for relationship maintenance and to fulfil a self-focus motive, but with British participants significantly higher on relations maintenance and Saudis significantly higher on self-focus. With regard to online behaviour, British participants had a stronger preference for strong ties and scored significantly higher than Saudis on positive impression management. Saudi participants were more likely to target weak ties than UK respondents, and scored significantly higher than British users on self-promotion, self-disclosure life streaming, and acceptance seeking motives. Mediation analyses revealed that these differences were partially explained by a greater focus on self-enhancement (vs. self-transcendence) values among Saudi participants and by higher relational mobility among UK participants. A greater focus on openness to change (vs. conservation) values among UK participants, reflecting cultural individualism, did not explain the pattern of differences observed in online motivations and behaviour.

Keywords: Online social networks, Culture, Values, Relational mobility

Introduction

The use of online social networks (OSNs) in Arab countries is particularly fascinating and even controversial. Twitter has been described as the "source of all evil and devastation" by Saudi Arabia's top Muslim cleric, who is also considered to be one of the most influential Muslims in the world (Morse, 2014). He made several other highly negative comments about Twitter, which were all met by resistance from many Saudis, who are known to be among the most prolific users (Schanzer & Miller, 2012). The basis for the cleric's attack on Twitter was that such social media platforms were

eroding traditional values that had prevailed within the culture. The dispute over Twitter was therefore representative of wider debate within Saudi Arabia which centred on issues of conservatism vs. reform, tradition vs. progress, and so on. Twitter represented a threat to the establishment for the reason that it provided a platform for these issues to be discussed. Indeed, it has been argued that social media played a prominent role during the 'Arab Spring' of 2011, during which time protests against governments across the Middle East were organised largely via websites such as Twitter and Facebook (Eltantawy & Wiest, 2011). Following these events, incidents of Saudi citizens openly criticizing the government on OSNs were reported in Western media such as the *New York Times* (Worth, 2012).

The emergence of online social networks has revolutionised the way in which people communicate with each other. It is now possible to establish and maintain relationships with people from across the globe, with whom we may never have had actual, face-to-face contact (Lewis & George, 2008). It has even been proposed that this new communication paradigm is eroding cross-cultural differences (Lin, 2012). However, another strand of thought suggests that, in the face of globalized digital communication, distinct cultural variation not only remains but plays an integral role in the ways in which people engage with this new technology. The controversy over Twitter in Saudi Arabia indicates that the rise of social media platforms has not occurred within a vacuum. OSNs usage is likely to reflect, and interact with, the cultures of those who use OSNs.

Existing research has compared different cultures on a variety of OSN behaviours and motivations (Cho, 2010; Rui & Stefanone, 2013b; Lee-Won, Shim, Joo, & Park, 2014). Some of this research has attempted to explain and predict these differences with regards to existing cultural theories and constructs. Pflug (2011) used anthropologist Edward T. Hall's conception of high and low-context cultures – which differ in the level to which their communications cater to pre-existing in-group understanding – to compare Twitter users from India (a high-context culture) and Germany (a low-context culture), finding that the former posted less private information than did the latter. It has also been suggested that high-context OSNs users ask fewer questions on Facebook and Twitter (Acar, Takamura, Sakamoto, & Nishimuta, 2013).

Another framework of understanding that researchers have employed is Hofstede's theory of cultural dimensions, which proposes five dimensions on which cultures vary: power distance (the perception of a power gap between different groups in society), individualism/collectivism, uncertainty avoidance, masculinity, and long/short-term orientation. A number of studies have employed a distinction between 'individualist' and 'collectivist' cultures. Rosen, Stefanone, and Lackaff (2010) found that OSNs users from individualist societies tend to have more online contacts (including more people whom they haven't met face-to-face), self-promote more often and share more photos; the authors suggested that the greater value placed on personal achievement within these cultures leads to competition for attention on OSNs, and that sharing photos is an easy, popular way to seek attention. Privacy is another area in which cultures vary – in a comparison of OSNs users from China (a collectivistic society that is long-term oriented) and the USA (an individualistic, short-term society), the latter showed more concern about privacy (Wang, Norice, & Cranor, 2011).

Gudykunst, Yang, and Nishida (1987) proposed public self-consciousness as a mediating factor through which culture exerts an influence on behaviour. High public self-consciousness – i.e. a high level of awareness of how one appears to others (Fenigstein, Scheier, & Buss, 1975) – can lead to more strategic self-presentation to preserve a valued self-image. Intuitively, one might expect this to be the case for OSNs users from collectivist cultures, because of an emphasis on one's role within a community. However, according to Gudykunst et al. (1987), the importance of personal achievement within individualist cultures means that people exhibit a higher level of public self-consciousness and are more concerned about negative appraisals of their image, and therefore are more likely to engage in protective self-presentation. This position has been argued in relation to the offline world (Schlenker, 1975; Doherty & Schlenker, 1991) as well as the online world (Gudykunst et al., 1996). In a comparison between American ('individualist') and Singaporean ('collectivist') Facebook users, Rui and Stefanone (2013b) found that the former were more likely to engage in protective self-presentation by removing unwanted photo tags.

Rui and Stefanone's study is typical of much of the literature on self-presentation strategies found within different cultures, in that it uses participants from North America as representative of an individualist culture, and participants from East Asia to represent a collectivist culture. Similar studies have found that the former tend

to hold more positive and favourable self-views (Heine & Lehman, 1999) and are more likely to avoid disclosing negative information about the self to others (Kitayama, Markus, Matsumoto, & Norasakkunkit, 1997; Heine, Takata, & Lehman, 2000). By contrast, East Asians are less likely to exhibit positive self-presentation strategies, and more likely to engage in self-criticism (Kitayama et al., 1997; Heine, Lehman, Markus, & Kitayama, 1999). Existing literature, then, seems to indicate that self-presentation varies between cultures. What is unclear, however, is what factors might lie behind such cultural differences. We hope to move beyond simply stating how cultures differ in their use of OSNs, by exploring these underlying factors.

The current study employs two existing cultural theories to further our understanding of why individuals from two societies might differ in how they use OSNs: Schwartz's (1992) Theory of Basic Values, and Yuki's (2007) concept of relational mobility. These two constructs will be used to help understand why users from Saudi Arabia and the United Kingdom might differ in their motivation for using OSNs, and in their behaviour online.

Schwartz's Theory of Basic Values

Schwartz's (1992) Theory of Basic Values offers a more nuanced and extensive interpretation of cultural difference than does the collectivism/individualism dichotomy often used to contrast 'Eastern' and 'Western' cultures. As Vignoles et al. (2016) point out, this dichotomy is reductive and does not capture the variation that exists within or between national cultures. Instead, Schwartz proposes ten universal values, which are displayed to a greater or lesser extent among all cultures of the world, and also among individual people and subcultures. These are *Self-Direction*, *Stimulation*, *Hedonism*, *Achievement*, *Power*, *Security*, *Conformity*, *Tradition*, *Benevolence*, and *Universalism*.

These values are defined by underlying motivations, derived from one or more of three universal requirements of human existence with which they help to cope – hence, they are considered to be universal. These three requirements are: survival and welfare needs of groups; requisites of coordinated social interaction; and needs of individuals as biological organisms. An action aimed at pursuing one value will have consequences that will conflict with some values and be congruent with others: for example, an action in pursuit of *hedonism* could conflict with the value of *benevolence*, but may be congruent with *achievement*. The model thus organizes the values into two

bipolar dimensions. The first dimension contrasts 'openness to change' values (hedonism, stimulation, and self-direction) with 'conservation' values (security, conformity, and tradition): i.e. the conflict between values that emphasize independence of feelings, thought and action, and readiness for change, with those that emphasize self-restriction, order, preservation of the past, and resistance to change. The second dimension contrasts 'self-enhancement' (hedonism[6], achievement, and power) with 'self-transcendence' values (universalism and benevolence): i.e. the conflict between values that emphasize concern for the welfare and interests of others, with those that emphasize pursuing one's own interests, dominance over others, and relative success.

Schwartz (1994) states that people from cultures traditionally viewed as 'individualistic' are more likely to display the values of achievement, hedonism, power, self-direction and stimulation. Such values 'serve the self by making the self feel good, be distinguished, and be independent' (Schwartz, 1990, p. 140). By contrast, those within a more 'collectivistic' context tend to be motivated by benevolence, conformity and tradition. Subsequent research has indicated, however that the individualism-collectivism distinction aligns more closely with the openness vs. conservation dimension than with self-enhancement vs. self-transcendence. Recent papers by Becker et al. (2012) and Owe et al. (2013) have used openness vs. conservation values as an indicator of individualism vs. collectivism. The Theory of Basic Values has influenced a high proportion of the numerous recent cross-cultural studies on values (Boer & Fischer, 2013; Vauclair & Fischer, 2011; Gouvela, de Albuquerque, Clemente, & Espinosa, 2002). However, despite the prominence of this model in research on culture, to the best of our knowledge it does not feature in existing research on explaining the differences between cultures with respect to using OSNs.

In this study we employ Schwarz's model to measure not online behaviour, but the underlying cultural values that we expect to influence behaviour online. We expect UK participants to score more highly than Saudi participants in openness to change (vs. conservation), based on our understanding of Saudi Arabia as a more traditionalist, conservative society than the UK. The dimension of self-enhancement (vs. self-transcendence) is less predictable, as there are few studies exploring the link between culture and self-enhancement. One example is Minkov's (2008) study of

---

[6] Schwarz positioned hedonism at the boundary between self-enhancement and openness to change, and proposed that it could belong to either. In this study we treated it as the former.

'monumentalism', similar to self-enhancement, which compared countries and provinces on this construct. Of 81 territories sampled, Saudi Arabia ranked third, and the UK ranked 46. From this study, one might expect Saudi participants to self-enhance more than British participants, but a definite prediction cannot be drawn from such a limited evidence base.

Relational mobility

'Relational mobility' is defined as the extent to which individuals have opportunities to form new and terminate existing relationships in a given context (Yuki et al., 2007; Falk, Heine, Yuki, & Takemura, 2009; Schug, Yuki, Horikawa, & Takemura, 2009; Schug, Yuki, & Maddux, 2010). In cultures with high relational mobility, individuals will often experience opportunities to form new relationships, perhaps due to relocating, changing jobs, living in an area of high population, etc. Individuals in cultures with low relational mobility have much fewer opportunities to venture beyond and/or expand their current social network, perhaps because there are few opportunities for relocation and occupational changes, and only a small local population with which they can easily communicate.

Despite being a relatively new theoretical construct in this research area, evidence already suggests that relational mobility can be used to explain various cultural differences in the use of OSNs. For example, Thomson and Yuki (2013) focus on relational mobility to account for cultural differences between Japan and the US in self-presentation on OSNs. They found that the more relational mobility that people have in a culture, the more the people within that culture engage in self-promotion on OSNs; this can also help to account for between- and within-country variance in self-promotion on OSNs. Falk et al. (2009) cite evidence for relational mobility as a partial mediator of cultural differences in self-enhancement (a behaviour which is strongly related to self-presentation) – between Euro-Canadians and Asian-Canadians, and between Euro-Canadians and Japanese. Additionally, Schug et al. (2010) propose that relational mobility can explain the differences both between and within cultures with respect to self-disclosure towards friends.

Although there is a lack of literature on relational mobility in Saudi Arabia and the UK, we expect relational mobility scores to be higher for UK participants than for

Saudi participants. This is based on our conception of Saudi Arabia as a society which places an emphasis on familial ties and has constructed certain boundaries that prevent citizens from freely socializing (e.g. with non-family members of a different gender, or with people from a different culture or social class). The UK can be viewed as a similar society to the US, which is considered to be high in relational mobility (Thomson, Yuki, & Ito, 2015).

Motivations for OSNs use

Like other researchers (e.g. Kim et al., 2010; Peters, Winschiers-Theophilus, & Mennecke, 2015; Khedir, 2009), we are interested in why people use OSNs and how these motivations differ between cultures. Several studies have investigated motivations for using OSNs, finding that most users cite reasons such as maintaining contact with friends and family, making new friends, general socialising, and others (Brandtzaeg & Heim, 2009; Hew, 2011; Joinson, 2008; Ross et al., 2009).

Yet these studies target mainly functional motivations, including making friends, maintaining contact with existing social contacts, and entertainment. It is therefore important that we expand the research of OSNs usage in different cultures to uncover additional motivating factors and behaviours, including those influenced by cultural and psychological needs and desires. Exploratory research by Brandtzaeg and Heim (2009) found that people reported reasons such as profile surfing, sharing information, debating, time-killing, free texting, family contact, sharing content, and unspecified fun. Research support for these motivations can be found, especially with respect to Facebook (e.g. Hew, 2011; Joinson, 2008; Ross et al., 2009). Self-presentation has also been identified as a motivation for using Facebook and OSNs in general (e.g. Hew, 2011; Krämer & Winter, 2008; Mehdizadeh, 2010; Nadkarni & Hofmann, 2012). In a qualitative study by Selim and Long (2013), Saudi Arabian participants named self-expression as a motivation for posting on OSNs, in situations where, because of cultural norms, they were unable to do so offline. British participants also used OSNs to perform tasks that were difficult to achieve offline, notably maintaining relationships. The findings of this study suggested that OSNs function as a tool to help users compensate for what is missing from their offline lives.

A cultural factor that may be a motivator among Saudi Arabian users is conformity, which is promoted at both an institutional level and at the level of everyday interaction (Al Lily, 2011). The expectation that citizens should conform to such a pervasive degree makes it difficult to detect variation in individually-held values and perceptions, as disclosing 'unacceptable' views might be dangerous for the individual. Online, however, Saudi citizens are freer to express their true beliefs, as they are protected by the anonymity that online profiles can provide. Therefore, examining online behaviour can contribute to our understanding of the values and beliefs of Saudi Arabians. Selim and Long (2013) found that Saudi users employ strategies such as pseudonyms and fake profile pictures to allow them greater freedom of expression when posting online.

In this research we focus on two broader categories of motivation for OSNs use: self-focus motivations and relations maintenance motivations. Self-focus motivations refer to goals such as speaking freely, expressing one's emotions, and letting people know your beliefs. Relations maintenance motivations include keeping in contact with people after relocating, finding people one has not seen for a while (e.g. old school friend), and maintaining contact with those you are unable to see regularly in person. We focus on these two broad categories of motivation because it is expected that their prevalence can differ across cultures; in this case, Saudi Arabia and the UK.

Our predictions were that the UK sample would be more highly motivated to maintain relationships, while motivations for the Saudi sample would relate more to self-focus. There are several reasons for these predictions. Selim and Long (2013) found that UK users appreciated OSNs because it helped them to maintain and/or establish relationships with friends whereas this reason was not noted among the Saudi participants. One possible explanation for this is that UK OSNs users live in a culture with high relational mobility and are thus, in geographical terms, often moving away from people with whom they have strong ties (e.g. going to university, changing job, travelling); they therefore may use OSNs to maintain relationships with their strong ties. Also, in the findings from our previous research and a variety of other sources (Al-Saggaf & Simmons, 2015; Guta & Karolak, 2015), we observe regular occurrences of the idea that, in their arguably oppressive culture, Saudis find that OSNs act as a 'pressure valve' that enables them to express their emotions and views on gender, politics and other controversial matters – though it may be through an OSN account

with a pseudonym. Consequently, we expected the Saudi Arabian sample in the present study to be more inclined towards a focus on the self.

Online behaviour – self-presentation strategies

In the current study we are interested in two aspects of online behaviour: which self-presentation strategies OSN users employ when posting online, and whom they target with their posts.

'Self-presentation' is the intentional use of behaviours to regulate others' impressions of ourselves (Goffman, 1959); it is also known as 'impression management'. Managing these perceptions ultimately enables us to maintain or enhance our self-esteem, regulate social rewards and consequences, and manage our self-concept. Unsurprisingly, the self that tends to be presented is either consistent with the self-concept privately held by the individual or one that is exaggerated favourably (Leary & Kowalski, 1990; Lewis & Neighbors, 2005; Schlenker, 1980). OSNs provide users with new methods of self-presentation. Users can tactically create their profile pages, update their status, share images and other content, communicate with other individuals publically, comment on other users' posts, and more – though of course not all OSNs share the same features. OSNs and the internet in general can give users distance between themselves and the audience, and this physical detachment makes it easier to conceal parts of the offline self (Bullingham & Vasconcelos, 2013).

Existing studies have investigated cultural influence on the self-presentation strategies people from different cultures use when posting on OSNs. Lee-Won, Shim, Joo, and Park (2014) found culture to be a significant influence on how people present themselves online. In their study, US participants engaged in positive self-presentation on Facebook more than did participants from South Korea. The authors linked these findings to earlier work suggesting that positive self-presentation is encouraged in North America (Baumeister et al., 1989; Heine et al., 2000), but not in East Asia. Heine and Lehman (1999) found a similar trend, in that North Americans, compared to Japanese participants, were more likely to exhibit favourable self-views. Similar divergence between OSN users from North America and East Asia was observed by Mazur and Li (2016), who compared young adults in China and the US. Although positive self-presentation is encouraged in the US, and is similarly acceptable in the UK (Long &

Zhang, 2014), East Asian countries do not have cultures that parallel those of the Middle East. For example, based on characterisations of 'honour cultures' by Leung and Cohen (2011), Saudi Arabia may qualify as an honour culture whereas cultures in East Asia might be better described as 'face cultures'. In the former, honour has both internal and external qualities: one must be aware of one's own worth, but that worth should also be recognized by others (Leung & Cohen, 2011).

Abbas and Mesch (2015), in a study of Facebook use among Palestinian youth in Israel, concluded that privacy concerns linked to trust and cultural values play a significant role in determining whether people use OSNs to maintain existing relationships or create new ones. Privacy was also a central point of comparison between Facebook users from the US and Namibia in a study by Peters, Winschiers-Theophilus, and Mennecke (2015), who found that, while the former are increasingly engaging in self-censorship online, the latter – from a society that places a strong emphasis on family and community – are more open and transparent in their Facebook usage.

The current study uses the online self-presentation strategies scale (OSPSS) developed by Selim, Long and Vignoles (2015). The six dimensions in this scale are *self-promotion*, *positive impression management*, *self-disclosure (mind casting)*, *self-disclosure (life streaming)*, *cautious self-presentation*, and *acceptance seeking*.

We expect Saudi Arabians to score more highly on self-promotion and positive impression management. Although previous studies have indicated higher scores in positive self-presentation among Western cultures (Heine & Lehman, 1999; Mazur & Li, 2016), these cultural comparisons have been made between North American and East Asian cultures. The latter are categorised as 'face' cultures, rather than 'honour' cultures like Saudi Arabia (Leung & Cohen, 2011; Al-Ruwaitea, 2014), and therefore these findings might diverge from those of the current study. Of more relevance might be work on monumentalism by Minkov (2008), which have influenced our predictions on these aspects of self-presentation.

Similar considerations are taken into account when predicting levels of cautious self-presentation and acceptance seeking. Saudi participants might be more cautious when posting online, because of the greater consequences of violating the expected social norms within their society. However, this might be mitigated by the use of pseudonymous online profiles that mask users' real identities from their offline social networks (particularly families). Acceptance seeking might also be influenced by whom

users are targeting online. If Saudis are targeting mostly those with whom they have weak ties, acceptance seeking might be higher among this population, as there might be less need to seek acceptance from those with whom one already has strong ties.

Online behaviour – self-disclosure

Two of the strategies named in the OSPSS relate to self-disclosure, which is often understood as the revealing of sensitive personal information to another (Schug et al., 2010; Mayer, Davis, & Schoorman, 1995). Whereas the concept of self-presentation refers to the ways in which people display aspects of their lives and personalities (i.e. the *how*), self-disclosure refers to the choices people make about what they reveal, and to what extent they do this (i.e. the *what* and the *how much*). Selective revealing of information about oneself can influence how one is seen by others. In the context of OSNs, users can tailor the information that they disclose to others, in terms of content and amount, using privacy settings. People vary in the degree to which they self-disclose, and the ways in which they do so. Different dimensions of self-disclosure have been named, including amount, depth, breadth, accuracy/honesty, intent, and valence (Altman & Taylor, 1973; Wheeless, 1978; Zhao, Grasmuck, & Martin, 2008). Attrill (2012) distinguishes between 'voluntary' and 'involuntary' forms of self-disclosure. The former concerns information which we choose to share with others in the material we post online. This could take the form of expressed opinions, activity updates, sharing emotions, or photographs of ourselves or those close to us. The latter – so-called 'involuntary' self-disclosure, pertains to the information we share in order to gain access to online services (e.g. the information required when signing up to an OSN, or when purchasing an item online).

In this study we asked participants about two aspects of self-disclosure: mind casting (demonstrating what one believes in; one's deeply held beliefs and interests) and life streaming (sharing everyday details of what one has been doing) (Freeman & Gelertner, 1996). Previous literature suggests that people from 'individualist' cultures are more comfortable with self-disclosure, perhaps because of the high value that such cultures place on achievement, which is possibly valued at a higher level than privacy (Lowry, Cao, & Everard, 2011). Because of the expected lower need for privacy among UK participants, we might expect them to score more highly on life-streaming. This may be offset, however, by the common practice among Saudi users of using

pseudonyms and non-personal (or 'fake') profile pictures. In this case, Saudi users might score higher than UK users as OSNs provide an opportunity for self-disclosure that may be absent in the offline world. Similarly, it is difficult to predict differences in mind-casting. Although UK users might come from a culture that encourages self-expression (and therefore we would expect higher levels of mind-casting), it might be that the very absence of opportunity for sharing ideas in Saudi Arabia (Selim & Long, 2014) might lead to higher levels of *online* mind-casting among participants, as this would be their only chance to do so.

The question of whether self-disclosure differs according to whether it takes place online or offline has been considered in a number of studies. These studies focus largely on level of self-disclosure, and offer divergent conclusions. Some (Coleman, Paternite, & Sherman, 1999; Joinson, 2001) suggest that a greater degree of disclosure occurs online; others (Chan & Cheng, 2004; Schiffrin, Edelman, Falkenstern, & Stewart, 2010) draw the opposite conclusion. Still more (Buote, Wood, & Pratt, 2009; Mallen, Day, & Green, 2003) find no differences in degree of disclosure online or offline. A systematic review by Nguyen, Bin, and Campbell (2012) supports the notion that self-disclosure occurs to roughly the same degree online and offline, but also emphasizes the importance of moderating factors such as the context and mode of interaction, and the relationship between the communicators.

Online behaviour – targeted audience

There are comparatively few existing studies on whom users target when posting on OSNs. Selim and Long (2013) investigated motivations for use of OSNs in a qualitative study of British and Saudi Arabian participants; the theme 'maintaining relationships' was only present among participants from the UK, suggesting that British users targeted those with whom they had pre-existing relationships (i.e. strong ties). Similarly, Cardon et al. (2009) found that participants from so-called 'collectivist' nations (China, Egypt, India, Korea, Macao, Thailand and Turkey) had more online social contacts whom they had never met in person, than did participants from 'individualist' nations (Sweden, United States). By contrast, Khedir (2009) found that both British and Egyptian participants used OSNs to maintain relationships with friends, and to renew

relationships with old friends.

A theory that has been applied to OSN usage is 'context collapse', which refers to the fact that multiple social contexts are gathered together in a person's online social network. Behaviours and communication intended for a particular group of people are in fact accessible to a much wider audience. This phenomenon is not limited to online contexts – weddings, funerals and public community gatherings are examples of situations where context collapse might take place (Marwick & Ellison, 2012) – but is particularly pronounced on OSNs due to the public nature of communications on these sites. Strategies used to counter the effects of context collapse include the creation of multiple accounts (Lim, Vadrevu, Chan, & Basnyat, 2012) and adjusting the content of posts so that they will appeal to all viewers (Hogan, 2010). Another strategy is to aim the material that one posts at a particular audience, perhaps through network features such as designating who can view a certain post, or 'tagging' online friends.

But whom do people target when they adjust their online behaviour in this way? In other words, when individuals are publically active on OSNs (e.g. posting statuses, writing comments, uploading photos), for whom are they doing it? Research on OSN users' target audience raises other possibilities, which may differ across cultures. OSN users have a variety of contact types, including relatives, schoolmates, work colleagues, neighbours, people they have never met, and even celebrities. The relationships that OSN users have with these contacts varies in 'tie strength'. As Granovetter (1973, p. 1316) explains, "the strength of a tie is a (probably linear) combination of the amount of time, the emotional intensity, the intimacy (mutual confiding), and the reciprocal services which characterize the tie". Broadly speaking, ties can be categorized as "strong" or "weak". Strong ties include offline friends, family, and work colleagues, whereas weak ties include celebrities whom one does not know personally and people you have never met. Researchers have used the concept of strong and weak ties in research on OSN use, arguing that the construct is applicable to online contexts as it is to offline contexts (e.g. Chiu, Chen, Joung, & Chen, 2014; Meo, Ferrara, Fiumara, & Provetti, 2014). Cardon et al. (2009) compared 'collectivist' and 'individualist' cultures, finding no difference in number of online ties, but that people from collectivist nations had a significantly greater number of online social ties whom they had never met in person. By contrast, Choi, Kim, Sung, and Sohn (2011) reported that, in comparison to Korean college students, their American counterparts had larger social networks, with a

greater proportion of weak ties.

We expected that cultural differences between Saudi Arabia and the UK may lead to differences in the audience that their OSN users target. Our predictions were that the UK sample would target strong ties (e.g. actual offline friends, family, and schoolmates) much more than the Saudi Arabian sample. The opposite was predicted in the case of weak ties: it was expected that the Saudi Arabian sample would be more focused on targeting people they have never met, celebrities and 'online friends', than would UK users. These predictions are consistent with the expectation that UK users will score higher on motivations for OSN that pertain to relationship maintenance. Saudi OSN users, on the other hand, may not need OSNs to maintain relationships with strong ties because they live in a culture that is much lower in relational mobility.

Predictions

In terms of values, we expected UK participants to score more highly than Saudi participants in openness to change (vs. conservation) and relational mobility, while no firm predictions were made regarding self-enhancement (vs. self-transcendence). As stated previously, it was predicted that the UK sample would be more highly motivated to maintain relationships, while motivations for the Saudi sample would relate more to self-focus. We also predicted that UK users would target mostly those with whom they have strong ties, and Saudi users would target those with whom they have weak ties.

There are reasons to make competing predictions with regard to motivations for OSN use. Based on Schwartz et al.'s (2012) updated model of universal values, which distinguishes between personal focus values (self-enhancement and openness to change) and social focus values (conservation and self-transcendence), we might expect higher levels of openness to change to predict a higher level of self-focus. Traditional conceptions of individualism-collectivism (or in this study, openness to change vs conservation) might also lead us to expect that Saudi participants would be more focused on relationship maintenance. However, findings by Minkov (2008) on honour cultures and monumentalism might suggest that Saudis would be concerned with self-enhancement (vs self-transcendence), and would therefore be motivated to focus on the self. Furthermore, in light of the higher relational mobility in the UK, British participants might be expected to be more focused on relationship maintenance, to prevent the deterioration and possible ending of their relationships. Therefore, both self-

enhancement (vs self-transcendence) and relational mobility lead to opposite predictions from the individualism-collectivism/openness-conservation prediction about what cultural differences in motivation should be.

With reference to where online posts are directed, our predictions are that higher levels of self-focus will predict communication towards those with whom users have weak ties, whereas higher levels of relationship maintenance will predict focus on those with whom they have strong ties.

Regarding self-presentation strategies, our predictions were that Saudi participants would be higher in self-promotion, positive impression management, and acceptance seeking. No firm predictions were made for self-disclosure (life streaming), self-disclosure (mind casting), or cautious self-presentation.

We expect self-promotion and mind-casting to be positively related to self-focus and negatively related to relationship maintenance, with acceptance seeking being negatively related to self-focus and positively related to relationship maintenance. We predict that those participants who are higher in self-focus will also have higher scores in both positive impression management and self-disclosure (life streaming). No predictions are made regarding cautious self-presentation. The conceptual diagram is presented in Figure 1.

The hypotheses are listed below:

1. UK participants will score more highly than Saudi participants in openness to change (vs conservation)

2. UK users will display higher scores than Saudi users on perceived relational mobility.

3. UK users will be more highly motivated to maintain relationships, while Saudi users will place more focus on the self.

4. UK users will target those with whom they have strong ties, while Saudi users will target those with whom they have weak ties.

5. Higher openness to change will predict a higher level of self-focus.

6. Higher focus on the self will predict targeting of people with whom users have weak ties, while a higher focus on relationship maintenance will predict targeting of people with whom users have strong ties.

7. Saudi participants will be higher on self-promotion, positive impression management, and acceptance seeking.

8. Self-promotion and self-disclosure (mind casting) will be positively related to self-focus and negatively related to relationship maintenance. The opposite pattern will be found for acceptance seeking.

9. Higher scores in self-focus will be positively related to positive impression management and self-disclosure (life streaming).

Figure 1: Conceptual Diagram
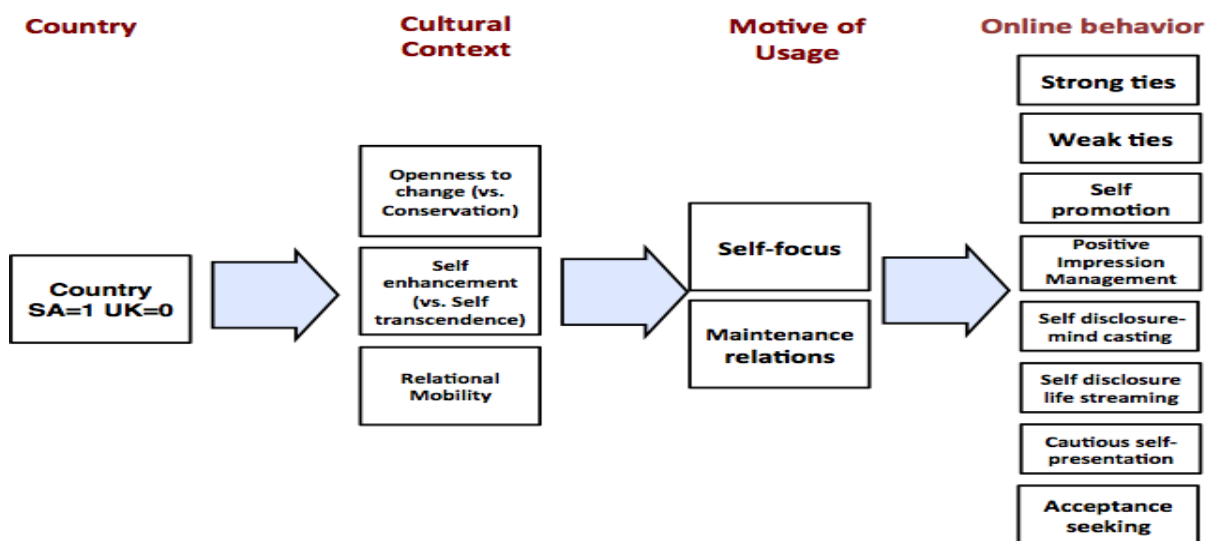
Methodology

Procedure

All participants were recruited voluntarily. The Saudi Arabian sample were recruited through two means. Most of the participants in this group were based at the King Saud University; at our request, they received an email about the study from their lecturers. Other members of the Saudi sample were recruited through Twitter advertisements. The UK sample mostly consisted of psychology students from the University of Sussex who were invited to participate in the study in exchange for course credits. Participants in this sample were also recruited via opportunity sampling in public: over 100 posters advertising the online survey were printed and handed out to members of the public in

locations such as trains, coffee shops, and high-streets.

The recruitment advert and online survey informed participants that the research concerned how online social networks (OSNs) have an impact on our identity; however, they did not specify the main aims of this study. Participants were informed that they were free to withdraw from the study at any time without providing a reason or incurring any penalties.

Design

The independent variable was nationality (Saudi Arabian or British), while dependent variables were different aspects of online behaviour: targeted audience (DV1: strong ties or weak ties) and self-presentation strategies (DV2: self-promotion, positive impression management, self-disclosure (mind casting), self-disclosure (life streaming), cautious self-presentation, and acceptance seeking. Mediator variables were (M1) cultural context, represented by Schwarz's values (openness to change vs conservation; self-enhancement vs self-transcendence) and relational mobility (high vs low), and (M2) motivation for usage (self-focus vs relationship maintenance).

Participants

A total of 694 people completed the questionnaire. Twelve participants were excluded from the analysis as they were not users of the platforms under consideration in this study (Twitter, Instagram, and Facebook), leaving a total of 682 cases for analysis. Most participants were university students, a population known to be heavy users of OSNs. Of the cases retained for analysis, 398 participants[7] were recruited in Saudi Arabia, consisting of 64 males and 334 females aged from 18 to 52 years old ($M = 25.60$, $SD = 7.49$); 239 (60.1%) of these were students while 159 (39.9%) had a non-student status (e.g. employed, retired, searching for employment). In the United Kingdom, 284 participants were recruited, consisting of 64 males and 220 females aged from 18 to 52 ($M = 20.63$, $SD = 4.73$); 263 (92.6%) of these were students while 21 (7.4%) had a non-student status.

---

[7] Due to weighting considerations (see pp.154,155), this is 12 fewer than in the study described in chapter 4.

Ethical considerations

The project was considered to be low-risk, because it did not ask participants to divulge personal information, or to take part in activities that could cause physical or psychological harm, and did not involve study of a vulnerable population. Some items, however, did ask participants to rate themselves on factors such as their level of social support (e.g. 'When I feel lonely, there are several people online I can talk to') or how they view themselves (e.g. 'I don't feel that there is any place where I really fit in this world'), and as such there was a small risk that the mood of questionnaire respondents could be negatively affected by participation in the study. Ethical approval was therefore sought and gained from the School research ethics committee.

The consent form provided to all participants informed them that they were free to withdraw from the process at any time, and that their participation was confidential and anonymized. Participants were also given an information sheet, explaining in brief the rationale for the study (but not revealing the cross-cultural aspect, in order to avoid making participants' national identities particularly salient as they answered the questions).

Measures

Participants responded to an online questionnaire, in their native language (see Appendix 8) hosted on the website Google Drive. Measures were first created and adapted in English, and translated to Arabic by the first author. The Arabic versions were back translated into English by a native Saudi speaker who is an experienced translator and a former English professor. The two English versions were then compared in order to identify and amend any issues. Items were presented to participants in the order that they are discussed below:

Online Social Network Use: Participants were first asked to indicate for which OSNs they have an account, and which OSN they used the most. Then, with regards to the OSN they used the most, they were asked to report their approximate total number of friends/followers, their approximate number of photos uploaded, how often they update their account status, if they had an account using their real name, using a pseudonym or using a nickname.

Motivations for OSN use scale: This scale was created for the present study. It measures two broad motivations for OSN use: relations maintenance motives and self-focus motives. There are 14-items: six to measure self-focus motivations (α = .79, UK α = .76, SA α = .76), and eight to measure relations maintenance motives (α = .90, UK α = .87, SA α = .90). Each item presents a reason for using OSNs: examples include "To let people know who you are and what you believe" as a self-focus motivation, and "To reconnect with people who you have lost contact with" as a relationship maintenance motivation. Participants were asked to indicate how important these reasons are for them on a 5-point scale from 1 (not at all), to 5 (very important). We ran a CFA model to confirm the two-factor structure and found that a two-factor model with cross-culturally invariant loadings showed acceptable fit ($\chi 2$ (694)= 232.461; $p < .001$, SRMR= .04; CFI= .94; TLI= .92; RMSEA= .07).

Targeted Audience scale: This scale was also created for the present study. It measures the two factors: strong ties and weak ties. Participants were presented with eight items, each describing a different type of audience OSN users may target; they were asked "How important are these different groups of people when you post online?" and had to answer on a 5-point scale from 1 (never) to 5 (always). There were five items for strong ties (α = .78, UK α = .64, SA α = .82): 'Actual (offline) friends', 'Family members and relatives', 'Schoolmates', 'Workmates' and 'People who live near you'. For weak ties, there were three items (α = .68, UK α = .48[8], SA α = .72): 'People whom you have never met', 'Celebrities' and 'Online friends'. We ran a CFA model to confirm the two-factor structure and the two-factor model with cross-culturally invariant loadings showed acceptable fit ($\chi 2$ (694)= 114.918; $p < .001$, SRMR= .07; CFI= .94; TLI= .91; RMSEA= .07).

Self-presentation strategies scale (OSPSS): As there is no widely accepted conceptual definition of online self-presentation strategies in the research literature, items for the OSPSS were developed by using various resources. Two previous qualitative studies (Selim & Long, 2013; Selim, Long & Vignoles, 2014) examined, respectively, motives for using OSNs, and how identity motives are pursued on Twitter. These, along with previous approaches to measuring self-presentation, informed our choice of items. The

---

[8] For both strong ties and weak ties, alphas different greatly between the Saudi and UK samples. However, it should be noted that the scores represent a composite index, rather than a scale.

scale measures six factors with between two to four items for each: self-promotion (e.g. "If you won an award, you'd post about this on your page") (α = .77, UK α = .78, SA α = .76); acceptance seeking (e.g. "You post things in order to get compliments") (α = .77, UK α = .75, SA α = .78); self-disclosure life-streaming (e.g. "Your profile is full of everyday small details") (α = .77, UK α = .84, SA α = .71); depth self-disclosure mind-casting (e.g. "You want to show people who you are and what you believe in") (α = .68, UK α = .64, SA α = .71); cautious self-presentation (e.g. "You usually select the pictures of comments you will post carefully") (α = .69, UK α = .64, SA α = .71); and positive impression management (e.g. "You try to create an attractive impression of yourself on your page") (α = .83, UK α = .84, SA α = .83). Participants were asked to indicate their level of agreement with each statement on a 6-point scale from 1 (strongly disagree) to 6 (strongly agree). The original survey contains 98 items in total. These were reduced to 20, by means of an exploratory structural equational model, accounting for latent acquiescence (Aichholzer, 2014) and a measurement invariance procedure to assure a comparable measure between UK and SA participants. This model presented an acceptable fit (CFI= .96, RMSEA= .05, SRMR= .04, $\chi2$ (252) = 467.95, p < .01), for a metric measurement comparing UK and SA samples (Selim; Long; & Vignoles, 2015).

Human Values Scale: The 21-item Portrait Values Questionnaire (PVQ21) is derived from the 40-item PVQ (Schwartz, 2003; Schwartz et al., 2001); it is used when space or time limitations require a drastic reduction in the number of items, which was the case in this study. Each item presents a short description of a fictional person. The following, are sample items for each quadrant of values model: "She looks for adventures and likes to take risks. She wants to have an exciting life" (Openness); "She believes that people should do what they're told. She thinks people should follow rules at all times, even when no-one is watching." (Conservation); "Being very successful is important to her. She hopes people will recognise her achievements." (Self-Enhancement); "It's very important to her to help the people around her. She wants to care for their well-being." (Self-Transcendence). Participants are asked to consider how much each person is like them and to indicate their answer on a 6-point scale ranging from 1 (very much like me) to 6 (not like me at all). The items cover the two dimensions underlying Schwartz's values model: openness to change vs. conservation = .84, UK α = .79, SA α = .86), and self-enhancement vs. self-transcendence (α = .79, UK α = .77, SA α = .80).

Relational Mobility Scale: We used an 12-item relational mobility scale (α = .74, UK α = .85, SA α = .55) developed by Yuki et al. (2007), The items ask participants to evaluate (1) the extent to which people in their immediate society (e.g. friends, co-workers) have opportunities to get to know new people, and (2) the degree of choice these people have in forming or dissolving their interpersonal relationships using a scale ranging from 1 (strongly disagree) to 6 (strongly agree). Example items include "it is easy for them (people around you) to meet new people". Respondents evaluate people in their immediate society rather than themselves in order to avoid individual level confounding factors (e.g. social abilities, physical attractiveness).

Demographic Information: Participants were asked to indicate their age (in years), gender, country of residence, working status, marital status and highest level of education completed. They were also asked to indicate how often they checked/changed their privacy settings on OSNs, and how much time per day they spent actively using OSNs.

Analytical Strategy

To investigate the differences between the Saudi Arabian and UK samples with respect to all the measures, we conducted a MANCOVA test. Thereafter, we investigated how each of different dimensions of cultural orientation (i.e. Schwartz's human values and relational mobility) could account for the differences between the two samples with respect to the dimensions of OSNs use considered in this study (i.e. motivations for OSNs use, targeted audience, and self-presentation strategies). Afterwards, path analyses were performed to examine to what extent sample differences in online motivations and behaviour were explained by values and relational mobility.

Results

Descriptives

Means, standard deviations, and inter correlations for all variables are shown in Tables 1 and 2. First, we sought to establish whether Saudi and British participants differed in terms of their cultural values, relational mobility, and internet behaviour. Analyses of multivariate covariance (MANCOVA and ANCOVA for relational mobility scale) were conducted, comparing scores from the two samples on these variables while controlling

for age, gender, and educational level. Additionally, models were weighted by online platform use, to correct estimates for the imbalance between the amount of users of Twitter, Facebook and Instagram among the sample.

Table 1: Means and SD, by country of origin

	UK		Saudi	
	Mean	**SD**	**Mean**	**SD**
Relational Mobility	4.99	.87	4.40	1.14
Openness to change (vs. Conservation)	.61	1.19	.01	.89
Self-enhancement (vs. self-transcendence)	-.98	1.19	-.40	.94
Self-Focus Motives	2.13	.76	2.84	.93
Relations Maintenance Motives	3.76	.78	3.20	1.05
Strong Ties	3.62	.63	3.26	.94
Weak Ties	1.92	.72	2.45	1.03
Self-Promotion	3.16	1.05	3.53	1.13
Positive Impression Management	4.16	.88	3.90	1.21
Self-Disclosure Mind Casting	3.74	.85	3.85	1.05
	2.44	1.20	3.11	1.26
Cautious Self Presentation	4.13	.82	4.08	1.03
Acceptance Seeking	2.94	.93	3.32	1.13
Sex	.77	.41	.83	.36
Age	20.60	4.73	25.60	7.49
Education	.14	.35	.58	.49
OSN use: Twitter	.58	.49	.88	.33
OSN use: Facebook	1.00	.06	.22	.42
OSN use: Instagram	.62	.42	.75	.43

Using Pillai's trace, we found significant multivariate differences between the two values dimensions: $F(2, 687) = 36.72$, $p < .001$; Pillai's trace $\Lambda = .097$, partial $\eta^2 = .097$). Univariate analyses (see Table 1) showed that British participants scored significantly higher on openness (vs. conservation) values compared to Saudi participants: $F(1, 688) = 27.814$, $p < .001$, partial $\eta^2 = .039$). Although both samples scored more towards the self-transcendence pole, Saudi participants scored significantly higher than UK participants on self-enhancement (vs. self-transcendence) level: $F(1, 688) = 49.820$, $p < .001$, partial $\eta^2 = .068$), both as we predicted.

We expected relational mobility to be higher among UK participants than among Saudi participants. Univariate analyses (see Table 1) showed that British participants scored significantly higher on relational mobility: $F(1, 688) = 44.479$, $p < .001$, partial $\eta^2 = .061$).

Using Pillai's trace we found significant multivariate differences between the two groups on Motivations for Use, as we expected: $F(2, 687) = 103.803$, $p < .001$; Pillai's trace $\Lambda = .232$, partial $\eta^2 = .232$). Univariate analyses (see Table 1) showed that although relationship maintenance was an important motive for both samples, it was significantly stronger for British participants ($F(1, 688) = 37.820$, $p < .001$, partial $\eta^2 = .052$). In contrast, self-focus motives were stronger for Saudi participants than for British participants: $F(1, 688) = 109.147$, $p < .001$, partial $\eta^2 = .137$).

As we expected, we found differences between the two groups for targeted audience $F(2, 687) = 52.893$, $p < .001$; Pillai's trace $\Lambda = .133$, partial $\eta^2 = .133$). Univariate analyses (see Table 1) showed that British participants communicated with strong ties to a greater extent than Saudi participants: $F(1, 688) = 29.086$, $p < .001$, partial $\eta^2 = .041$), whereas Saudi participants were more interested in communication with weak ties than their British counterparts: $F(1, 688) = 45.092$, $p < .001$, partial $\eta^2 = .062$).

We found some significant differences among the two groups in their self-presentation strategies: $F(6, 683) = 20.890$, $p < .001$; Pillai's trace $\Lambda = .155$, partial $\eta^2 = .155$). Univariate analyses (see Table 1) showed that Saudi participants scored significantly higher on self-promotion: $F(1, 688) = 21.507$, $p < .001$, partial $\eta2 = .030$), self-disclosure life streaming: $F(1, 688) = 65.087$, $p < .001$, partial $\eta^2 = .086$), and acceptance seeking: $F(1, 688) = 23.518$, $p < .001$, partial $\eta^2 = .033$) than UK participants, whereas British participants scored significantly higher on positive image management: $F(1, 688) = 4.977$, $p = .026$, partial $\eta^2 = .007$). The differences on self-disclosure mind casting and cautious presentation between our two groups were not significant, and both were important strategies for both samples. Figure 2 illustrates the mean scores in each sample for these six strategies.
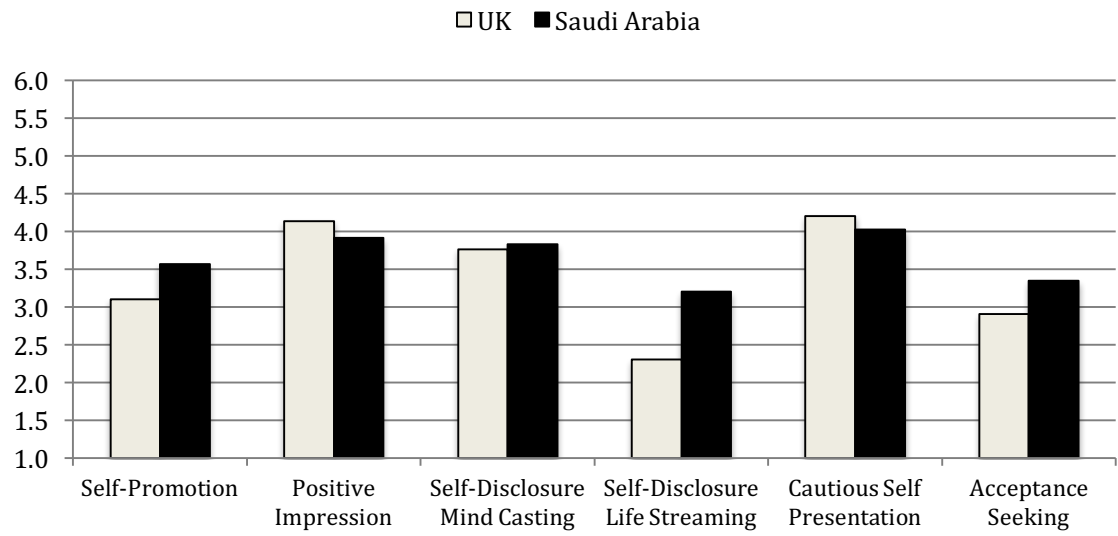
Figure 2: Mean scores of Saudi and British participants on online self-presentation strategies

Table 2: Correlations by country of origin

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	18
Relational Mobility	--	-.080	-.139**	.104*	.203**	.294**	.067	.365**	.413**	.416**	.218**	.516**	.263**	.035	.051	.086	.06
Openness to change (vs. Conservation)	.118*	--	.142**	.169**	.061	-.072	.005	.139**	.060	.125*	.137**	-.099*	-.038	.048	-.176**	-.137**	-.02
Self-enhancement (vs. self-transcendence)	-.179**	-.216**	--	.147**	.081	.024	.144**	.205**	.265**	.028	.196**	.039	.336**	.012	-.108*	-.039	.02
Self-Focus Motives	-.009	.057	.127*	--	.405**	.121*	.296**	.378**	.336**	.401**	.313**	.162**	.332**	.013	-.136**	-.086	.05
Relations Maintenance Motives	.118*	.034	-.125*	.080	--	.389**	.109*	.400**	.325**	.292**	.379**	.241**	.347**	.137**	-.161**	-.081	.01
Strong Ties	.162**	.012	-.077	.109	.360**	--	.367**	.358**	.329**	.243**	.257**	.360**	.371**	.050	-.027	.077	.02
Weak Ties	-.169**	.043	.124*	.449**	-.067	.058	--	.175**	.209**	.200**	.161**	.142**	.227**	-.126*	-.047	.039	.03
Self-Promotion	-.041	.065	.321**	.360**	-.007	.133*	.204**	--	.672**	.440**	.608**	.453**	.623**	.067	-.159**	-.063	.02
Positive Impression management	.018	-.032	.154**	.249**	.168**	.112	.082	.275**	--	.500**	.477**	.658**	.662**	.029	-.079	-.003	.06
Mind Casting	.181**	.190**	-.049	.475**	.081	.175**	.271**	.337**	.268**	--	.433**	.387**	.339**	-.009	.034	.090	.09
Self-Disclosure Life Streaming	-.074	-.041	.170**	.371**	-.086	.127*	.242**	.405**	.084	.300**	--	.242**	.527**	.100*	-.234**	-.185**	-.03
Cautious Self Presentation	.052	-.171**	.106	.108	.011	.015	.015	.113	.482**	.064	-.156**	--	.511**	-.005	.064	.106*	.07
Acceptance Seeking	-.083	-.073	.301**	.338**	.040	.059	.336**	.355**	.485**	.214**	.270**	.347**	--	-.055	-.057	-.041	.05
Sex	.110	-.062	.005	-.114	.179**	.194**	-.131*	-.059	.047	-.091	.002	.005	-.082	--	-.349**	-.086	-.18
Age	-.195**	.058	-.137*	-.059	-.016	-.123*	-.009	-.013	-.174**	-.055	-.034	-.003	-.100	-.151*	--	.407**	.150
Education	-.200**	-.078	-.041	.013	-.013	-.143*	.077	-.027	-.047	-.036	-.030	.119*	.062	-.066	.550**	--	.04

NOTE: Correlation above the diagonal belong to the SA sub sample, below the diagonal to the UK Sub sample

* *p*<.05, ** *p*<.01

Path Analysis models

We used path analysis to assess the interrelations between online behaviour, culture and the role of motivations. The motivations that users have for using online networks may explain the observed differences among the participants. Thus, we ought to think of motivations for use as proximal mediators of the observed differences between the participants from the two countries. In contrast, the dimensions of cultural orientation we considered are theorized as more distal mediators of the online behaviour differences between the two samples. In short, these expected relations are depicted conceptually in Figure 3. This conceptual model resembles model 6 from Hayes (2013) templates, in which two mediators are specified in a sequence between the exogenous variables and the endogenous variables.

Figure 3: General Path Analytic Model
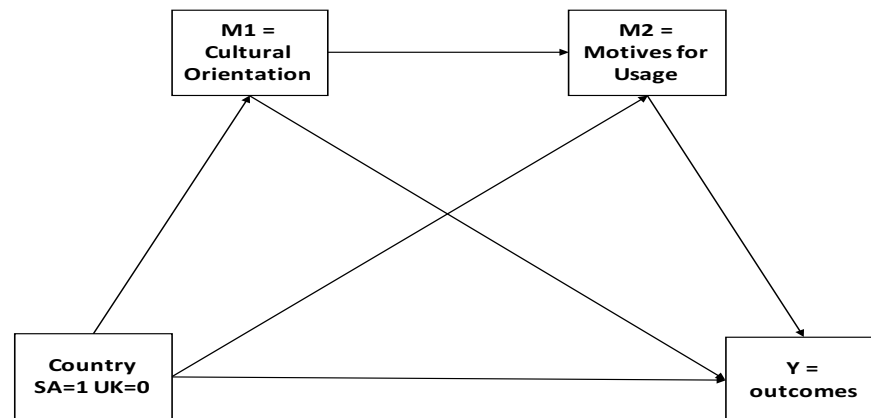
To verify the hypothesis of the mediating role of values, relational mobility, and motivations for use, in the relationship between the nationality and Internet behaviour, path analysis was used. We used Shrout and Bolger's (2002) bootstrapping procedure in MPLUS with 10000 bootstrap draws, to assess the error estimates of direct and indirect effects of nationality through cultural values, relational mobility and motivation, on Internet

behaviour (see Figures 4a and 4b). We controlled for gender, age, and level of education by including them as covariates in the analysis.

A saturated model was used to test the significance of all possible direct and indirect pathways from country through cultural orientation and motivations for use to our measures of self-reported Internet behaviour. We conducted a path analysis between nationality and Internet behaviours to obtain estimates of the indirect effects of the variables, specifying values and relational mobility as parallel mediators in the position of mediator 1, and motivations for OSN use as parallel mediators in the position of mediator 2, as in Figure 3. For clarity, we depict the obtained estimates in two figures: one where only target audience is shown as an outcome (Figure 4a); and a second figure which includes the five different self-presentation strategies considered (Figure 4b); however, all estimates come from a single fitted model. Also for clarity, non-significant paths are not shown in Figures 4a and 4b, although they were retained in the model.

Analysis Strategy

As seen in Table 1, online users differ between the two national groups, in terms of what online platform they used: Twitter, Facebook and Instagram. Considering the differences between these three OSNs, the imbalanced sample between the compared groups may confound the country differences. As such, we tested different weighting schemes to assess the relative influence of this imbalance over the estimated results, producing four versions of the estimates. All in all, results were robust across the different weighting schemes, and results remain significant also with the unweighted analysis.

We considered two main factors for creating four different sampling weights: prevalence of OSN and weights scale. The first two version of the analysis are based on a national prevalence scheme. In this case, Facebook users have more weight than Twitter users in UK; whereas in SA, Twitter users have more weight than Facebook users. Under this scheme, two weighted estimates were produced. Version 1 estimates results with normalized weights, where the average in each country is 1, and as a result the weighted sample size is the same as our actual sample size in each country. Version 2 scales weights in a different way. The largest weight in each country is 1, so the weighted sample is

proportional to the most underrepresented sample in each country. Two other weighted version were computed, based on weighting the three OSN platforms equally. In this case, the total impact of Facebook users, tweeters, and Instagram users is equal on the analysis even though some platforms are more strongly represented in our sample than others. Parallel to the previous weights schemes: Version 3 achieves this with normalized weights (the average weight in each country is 1, so the weighted sample size is the same as our actual sample size in each country); and Version 4 does this with "minimum weights" (the largest weight in each country is 1, so the weighted sample is basically proportional to the most underrepresented platform in each country). The main results endure in all four analyses. We report estimates from Version 4 below. All of the significant effects from this model remain significant in an unweighted analysis and in all of the analyses with other forms of weighting.

Explained Variance

Because our specified model is saturated, all fit indices from common path analysis are not informative. Therefore, as a means of comparison, we estimated a baseline model where all mediators' coefficients were fixed to zero. This baseline model thus permits us to obtain a simple estimate of the contribution of the mediators to each predicted variable. By simple inspection, the overall model reaches more than 20% of additional explained variance on half of the considered Internet behaviours' outcomes, in contrast to considering the country differences alone. This is the case for Self-Disclosure Mind Casting, Self-promotion, Positive Image and Acceptance seeking. In general, country and covariates alone, only account for 10% or less explained variance.

Table 3: R^2 for each variable of the model, with and without the mediators estimated effect

Role	Variable	Without Mediators	With Mediators	Delta
Y	Strong Ties	.06	.23	.17
	Weak Ties	.10	.23	.13
	Self-Promotion	.03	.27	.24
	Positive Impression Management	.02	.22	.20
	Self-disclosure Mind casting	.02	.31	.29
	Self-disclosure Life streaming	.07	.20	.13
	Cautious Presentation	.02	.18	.16
	Acceptance Seeking	.05	.25	.20
M2	Self-Focus Motives	.15	.18	.03
	Relation Maintenance Motives	.12	.15	.03

Note: Role = expresses the specified role of the factor within the model, presented in figure 3, whether the variable is a mediator or an outcome; Variable = all predicted variables in the model; Delta = is the simple subtraction of the R^2 of the estimated model, minus the R^2 where all mediators' effects are fixed to zero.

Direct Effects

There are considerable differences between participants, according to their country of origin, on the mediators of the fitted model. For example, in terms of motivations for use, Saudi participants are more self-focused than UK participants (β = .41, E =.76, SE =.08, p < .01); and UK participants are more prone to use OSNs to maintain relations (β = -.22, E =-.43, SE =.10, p < .01). Similar coefficient sizes are observed on the cultural orientation dimensions: Saudi participants present higher self-enhancement orientation than UK participants (β = .30, E =.67, SE =.10, p < .01); and UK participants present a higher openness to change orientation than Saudis (β = -.21, E =-.46, SE =.09, p < .01). In terms of relational mobility, UK participants present higher levels of relational mobility than Saudi participants (β = -.26, E =-.54, SE =.10, p < .01). These larger coefficients, which express differences between UK and SA participants on the mediator variables, are of interest, because these differences are expected to explain the differences between participants on internet behaviour.

Table 4: Estimates of the direct effects (Version 4)

			β	E	SE	p value	95%-CI LL	UL
Country	=>	Relational Mobility	-.26	-.54	.10	.00	-.75	-.35
Country	=>	Openness to change	-.21	-.46	.09	.00	-.63	-.27
Country	=>	Self Enhancement	.30	.67	.10	.00	.49	.86
Country	=>	Self-Focus Motives	.41	.76	.08	.00	.59	.92
Country	=>	Relation Maintenance Motives	-.22	-.43	.10	.00	-.63	-.25
Country	=>	Strong Ties	-.09	-.14	.08	.08	-.30	.01
Country	=>	Weak Ties	.08	.15	.09	.11	-.03	.34
Country	=>	Self-Promotion	.12	.27	.10	.01	.06	.47
Country	=>	Positive Impression	-.13	-.27	.11	.01	-.47	-.06
Country	=>	Self-disclosure Mind casting	.00	-.01	.09	.93	-.18	.16
Country	=>	Self-disclosure Life streaming	.19	.48	.13	.00	.22	.74
Country	=>	Cautious Presentation	-.06	-.11	.09	.23	-.30	.07
Country	=>	Acceptance Seeking	.08	.17	.11	.11	-.04	.38

Note: β = standardized estimates, E = non standardized estimates, SE = standard errors of E, LL = lower limit 95% bias corrected bootstrapped confidence interval, UL = upper limit 95% bias corrected bootstrapped confidence interval.

In terms of target audiences, the direct effects of country are better explained by the obtained indirect effects of the model (see Table 5). UK and SA participants do not present larger differences for targeting strong ties (β = -.09, E = -.14, SE = .08, p = .08), nor for weak ties (β = .08, E = .15, SE = .09, p = .11). In terms of self-presentation strategies, the main differences between UK and SA concentrates on self-promotion, positive image management and self-disclosure life streaming. All these differences are above the mediators considered in the model. UK participants care more about a positive image (β = -.13, E = -.27, SE = .11, p = .01) than SA participants. SA participants are more likely to use OSNs for self-promotion (β = .12, E = -.27, SE = .10, p = .01). SA participants are more prone to self-disclose their current life events (β = .19, E = .48, SE = .13, p < .01), than UK participants.
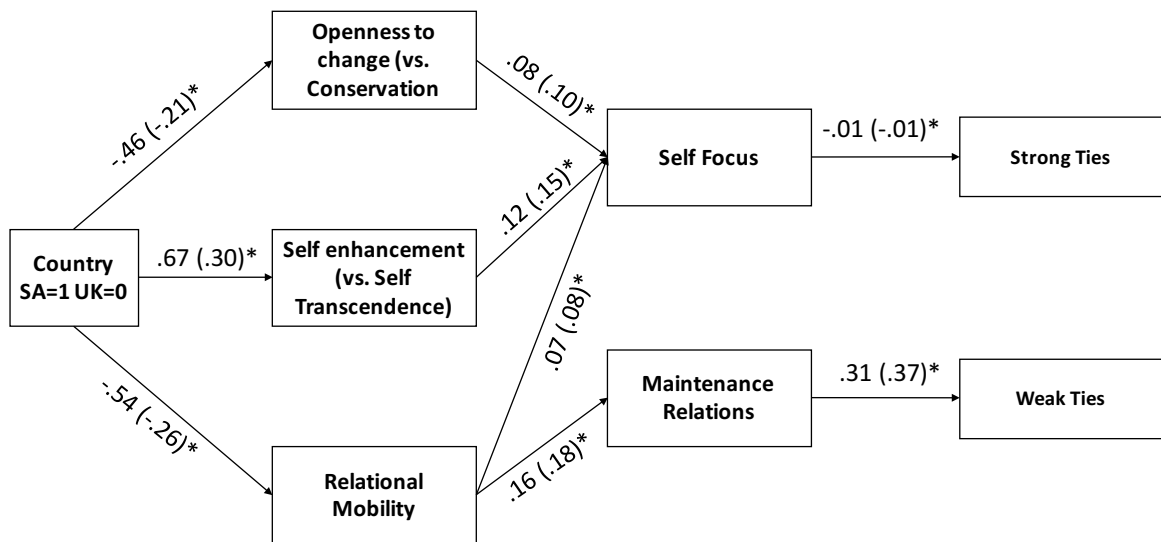
Figure 4a: Estimates (standardized) of the direct effects, obtained by path analysis

Note: Path diagram in Figure 4a, excludes the paths of included control variables, and the rest of the paths from country, to all variables in position M2 and Y from the specified model.
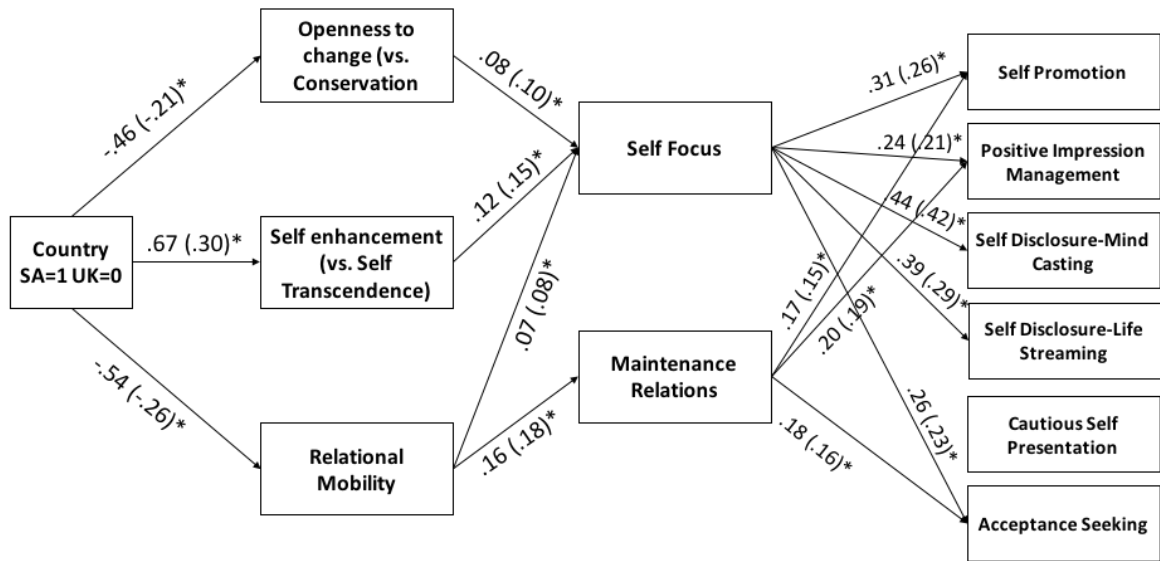
Figure 4b: Estimates (standardized) of the direct effects, obtained by path analysis

Note: Path diagram in Figure 4b excludes the paths of included control variables, and the rest of the paths from country, to all variables in position M2 and Y from the specified model.

Indirect Effects

For most variables, the total indirect effect stemming from country of origin was not significant to the .05 level. This is partially explained because some of the mediators cancel each other out, which is due to having mediators with positive and negative effects in parallel indirect chains to an outcome. Thus, scrutinizing specific indirect effects is more informative, and several significant indirect effects are discernible under this strategy ($p <$ .05, see Table 5). For example, a user's country has a non-significant total indirect effect on self-focus motives (β = .00, E=.01, SE=.03, p = .80); yet the indirect effect on self-focus via openness to change (β = -.02, E=.04, SE=.02, p = .02) and through the level of self enhancement (β = .05, E=.08, SE=.02, $p <$ .01) are both significant. In contrast, the indirect effect of country on relationship maintenance motives is above the sampling error and different from zero via the mediator of relational mobility (β = -.05, E= -.09, SE=. 03, $p <$ .01). Because country also has a direct effect on these variables (see Table 4), this is evidence of partial mediation.

In terms of the audiences to which participants direct their messages through the OSNs under study, country differences appear to be explained by the mediators included in the model. As seen in the previous multivariate analysis, UK participants were more interested in communicating with people with whom they shared strong ties than were SA participants. SA participants were more interested in communicating with weak ties than were UK participants. However, both samples scored more highly on strong ties than on weak ties. When mediators are considered, country of origin no longer directly predicted differences on these factors (Table 4). The total indirect estimates on strong ties, via cultural orientations and motivations for use, is above the sampling error ($\beta = -.14$, E = -.22, SE = .05, $p < .01$). This is mainly explained by the indirect effects estimate that go through relationship maintenance ($\beta = -.08$, E = -.13, SE = .04, $p < .01$), and secondly by the indirect estimates via relational mobility ($\beta = -.05$, E = -.08, SE = .02, $p < .01$). Finally, this is also partially explained by the indirect effect via both relational mobility and relationship maintenance ($\beta = -.02$, E = -.03, SE = .03, $p < .01$). In other words, UK participants target those with whom they have strong ties, because these participants present higher relational mobility and stronger relationship maintenance motives.

Similarly, in the case of indirect effects of country to weak tie audiences, the total indirect effect is above sampling error, yet with a positive estimate ($\beta = -.19$, E = -.35, SE = .05, $p < .01$). This is because of our country coded dummy (SA=1, UK=0). SA participants were more prone to target weak ties, in comparison to UK participants. This positive relationship remains, with all the variables in the specified indirect chain; hence the positive estimate coefficient. Three main indirect effects explain the previous total indirect effect. The largest indirect effect on weak ties, goes through self-focus motives ($\beta = .14$, E = .26, SE = .04, $p < .01$); in second is the indirect effect via self enhancement ($\beta = .04$, E = .06, SE = .02, $p < .01$); and finally, in third place, is the indirect estimate via self enhancement and via self-focus motives ($\beta = .02$, E = .03, SE = .01, $p < .01$). Thus in general, SA participants are more likely than UK participants to target an audience with whom they have weak ties, because these participants present a higher self enhancement orientation and stronger self-focus motives.

SA participants use OSNs for self-promotion more than UK participants do. This is partially explained by the included indirect effects (Total indirect $\beta = .09$, E = .19, SE =

.07, p = .01). The largest indirect estimated indirect effects occurred via their self-focus motives (β = .11, E = .24, SE = .04, p < .01), and self enhancement orientation (β = .09, E = .20, SE = .04, p < .01). In comparison, the rest of the possible indirect effects are smaller in size (β < .05), even if these were significant.

Considering the covariates in the model, UK participants seem to care more about making a positive impression than do SA participants. This is partially explained by four different indirect effects, with different directions. The more relationship maintenance focus (β = -.04, E = -.09, SE = .03, p < .01), and the higher relational mobility participants have (β = -.07, E = -.14, SE = .04, p < .01), the less participants care about a positive image. Conversely, the higher their self-focus motives (β = .09, E = .18, SE = .04, p < .01), and their self enhancement orientation (β = .06, E = .13, SE = .03, p < .01), the higher is their active positive impression management.

In this study, we scrutinize two forms of self-disclosure: mind casting and life streaming type. In earlier analysis, SA and UK participants did not differ on these dimensions. However, in the current model, a more complex set of relations was considered. Country of participant does not present a significant association with self-disclosure mind casting. This is, rather, related to participant's levels of self-focus motivation (β = .27, E = .44, SE = .04, p < .01), instead of their country of origin (β = -.00, E = -.01, SE = .09, p = .93). In contrast, even after considering all the mediators, UK participants share more posts about their life as it occurs (see Table 4: self-disclosure life streaming). This is partially explained by their levels of self-focus motivations (β = .12, E = .30, SE = .06, p < .01); and their self enhancement orientation (β = .05, E = .12, SE = .03, p < .01).

SA participants present higher levels of acceptance seeking behaviour through their posts, when means between SA and UK participants were compared. Within the fitted path model, these differences are mediated. Out of all the possible indirect effects, between country and acceptance seeking, four indirect estimates present the larger estimates, via self-focus motives (β = .09, E = .20, SE = .04, p < .01), and via self enhancement orientation (β = .09, E = .20, SE = .04, p < .01). Conversely, the indirect effects via relational mobility (β = -.04, E = -.08, SE = .03, p < .01) and relationship maintenance (β = -.04, E = -.08, SE = .03, p < .01) present negative indirect effects. Thus, the larger the levels

of these latter variables, the less participants tend to show acceptance seeking behaviour in online platforms.

In summary, the considered mediators do explain considerable additional variance, in contrast to the model where only country and covariates were freely estimated. We predicted that SA and UK participants would differ regarding what audiences they tend to target. UK participants showed a greater preference than Saudis for targeting people with whom they shared strong ties, and SA participants targeted people with whom they had weak ties more than UK participants did. As expected, these differences were partially explained via relationship maintenance motives and relational mobility, for the case of strong ties. In contrast, a target audience of weak ties was partially explained via self enhancement orientation and relational mobility.

Table 5: Estimates of the indirect effects that go through Openness, Self Enhancement and Relational Mobility, obtained by path analysis between M1 and M2 and Internet behaviour

	β	E	SE	p value	LL	95%
Total indirect effects from Country to Self-Focus motives	.00	.01	.03	.80	-.05	
Country => Openness => Self focus motives	-.02	-.04	.02	.02	-.07	
Country =>Self enhancement => Self focus motives	.05	.08	.02	.00	.05	
Total indirect effects from Country to Relations Maintenance motives	-.05	-.10	.03	.00	-.17	
Country => Relational mobility => Relations Maintenance motives	-.05	-.09	.03	.00	-.16	
Total indirect effects from Country to Strong ties	-.14	-.22	.05	.00	-.33	
Country => Relational Mobility => Relations Maintenance motives =>Strong ties	-.02	-.03	.01	.00	-.05	
Total indirect effects from Country to Weak ties	.19	.35	.05	.00	.24	
Country => Openness => Self focus motives=> Weak ties	-.01	-.01	.01	.03	-.03	
Country => Self enhancement => Self focus motives => Weak ties	.02	.03	.01	.00	.02	
Total indirect effects from Country to Self-Promotion	.09	.19	.07	.01	.04	
Country => Openness => Self focus motives=> Self promotion	-.01	-.01	.01	.03	-.02	
Country => Self enhancement => Self focus motives =>Self promotion	.01	.03	.01	.00	.01	
Country => Relational Mobility => Relations maintenance motives =>Self promotion	-.01	-.02	.01	.01	-.03	
Total indirect effects from Country to Positive Image	.03	.06	.07	.39	-.08	
Country => Openness => Self focus motives=> Positive image	.00	-.01	.00	.04	-.02	
Country => Self enhancement => Self focus motives =>Positive image	.01	.02	.01	.01	.01	
Country => Relational Mobility => Relations maintenance motives =>Positive image	-.01	-.02	.01	.01	-.04	
Total indirect effects from Country to Self-Disclosure Mind casting	.06	.11	.07	.11	-.03	
Country => Openness => Self focus motives=> Self-disclosure Mind casting	-.01	-.02	.01	.02	-.03	
Country => Self enhancement => Self focus motives => Self-disclosure Mind casting	.02	.04	.01	.00	.02	
Total indirect effects from Country to Self-Disclosure Life Streaming	.13	.33	.08	.00	.17	
Country => Openness => Self focus motives=> Self-disclosure Life Streaming	-.01	-.02	.01	.03	-.03	
Country => Self enhancement => Self focus motives => Self-disclosure Life Streaming	.01	.03	.01	.00	.02	
Total indirect effects from Country to Cautious Presentation	-.01	-.02	.06	.73	-.15	
Country => Self enhancement => Self focus motives => Cautious presentation	.00	.01	.00	.05	.00	
Total indirect effects from Country to Acceptance Seeking	.11	.24	.07	.00	.11	
Country => Openness => Self focus motives=> Acceptance Seeking	-.01	-.01	.01	.03	-.02	
Country => Self enhancement => Self focus motives => Acceptance Seeking	.01	.02	.01	.00	.01	
Country => Relational Mobility => Relations Maintenance Motives => Acceptance Seeking	-.01	-.02	.01	.01	-.03	

Note: Individual indirect Estimates with p< .05 were excluded from Table 4.

Discussion

In this study, we wanted to find out how cultural context influences people's behaviour online. Outcome measures of behaviour were targeted audience and self-presentation strategies. To find out what could account for differences in these outcome measures, we measured values, level of relational mobility, and motives for using OSNs. Much of the previous research comparing cultures focuses on participants from the USA and (usually) one culture from East Asia (typically South Korea, China, or Japan), with the former representing an 'individualist' culture and the latter representing a more traditional, 'collectivist' culture. Although this dichotomy between individualism and collectivism is not wholly satisfactory (Vignoles, 2011), it is helpful to consider these studies as approximations of the comparison under consideration in the current study: Saudi Arabia is a more traditionalist, conservative culture in which family ties and duty are paramount, while UK citizens are less bound by the restrictions of strict cultural norms.

In terms of values, UK participants were higher in openness to change (vs. conservation) and relational mobility, results which were consistent with expectations. Saudi participants were higher in self-enhancement (vs. self-transcendence), which lends some support to the findings of Minkov (2008) regarding honour cultures and monumentalism. Differences in cultural orientation predicted differences in motives, and these differences in motives in turn predicted differences in online behaviours. Whereas Saudi participants were more self-focused than the UK participants were, the UK participants were more concerned about relationship maintenance than were Saudis. Jin et al. (2010), in a comparison of Chinese, Korean, and American participants, concluded that it is hard to explain differences in motivation through cultural difference. However, Kim, Sohn, and Choi (2011) offered some support for cultural difference in online motives. Although they found similar motives among Korean and US college students, these motives were weighted differently, with Koreans placing more emphasis on gaining support from existing social relationships. The current study suggests that cultures differ in the motivations they have for engaging with OSNs. Further research could expand on these findings and test them in different cultural contexts.

With regard to target audience, both UK and Saudi participants were more likely to target those with whom they had strong ties (although this was especially true for UK participants), but Saudi participants were significantly more likely than British participants to target those with whom they had weak ties. The potential that new media platforms have to establish and strengthen weak ties has been documented (Haythornwaite, 2002). Chu and Choi (2010) found a greater level of bonding social capital (associated with strong ties) among young users from the US, in comparison to young users from China, with no significant differences found in terms of bridging social capital (associated with weak ties). However, existing research on the influence of culture on target audience is inconclusive. Our study suggests that the likelihood of a person targeting people with whom they have weak ties is influenced by their cultural context. Trends in OSN use have already changed significantly since the early days of MySpace and Facebook, with users now regularly interacting with celebrities on Twitter. As OSNs continue to develop, users' targeted audience may also continue to change.

In relation to online self-presentation strategies, no significant differences were found in self-disclosure (mind-casting) or cautious self-presentation, but UK participants were significantly higher in positive impression management, while Saudi participants were significantly higher in self-promotion, life-streaming, and acceptance seeking. Previous cultural comparisons of offline self-presentation are contrary to these results, as they have found that members of so-called 'collectivist' cultures employ strategies of self-criticism and self-deprecation, while those from individualist cultures are more likely to engage in self-enhancement (Kitayama, Markus, Matsumoto, & Norasakkunkit, 1997; Yamagishi et al., 2012). These studies, however, focused on 'face cultures' typical of East Asia, rather than the 'honour cultures' of the Middle East. When we consider that Saudi participants were more likely to target people with whom they had weak ties than were UK participants, self-promotion is understandable – Tice, Butler, Murayen, and Stillwell (1995) found that people focus on self-enhancement when interacting with strangers, but present themselves modestly when among friends. Differences in self-presentation between cultures, then, may be context-dependent: OSNs might offer Saudis opportunities for self-expression and self-promotion that are unavailable offline.

Similar conclusions could be drawn with regard to Saudis' higher scores in acceptance seeking and self-disclosure (life streaming). If they are targeting weak ties when posting online, they might be more eager to gain approval from these ties, which is less of a concern for people using OSNs to interact with those with whom they have strong offline links. They also might express a more open attitude to sharing details of what they are doing. We can consider the type of self-disclosure on which Saudis scored higher, life streaming, to be a relatively superficial form of communication, in comparison to mind casting. Self-disclosing at this level is associated with a positive attitude towards establishing new relationships online; deeper self-disclosure may occur as relationships develop (Attrill & Jalil, 2011; Attrill, 2012). Despite acceptance seeking and self-disclosure (life streaming) being more important for the Saudi sample than the UK sample, it should be noted that both of these strategies were still less important within the both samples than cautious self-presentation. It seems that exercising caution online is still very important for OSN users, to the extent that it may take precedence over other considerations. Future research might be able to shed light on whether OSNs represent a 'risk averse' sphere of social interaction.

Relational mobility was positively associated with both relationship maintenance and self-focus. This might seem contradictory, but it is worth noting that the significance level was high (< .001) for the first association, but barely significant (.046) for the second association. The association between relational mobility and relationship maintenance can be understood as reflecting the idea that, in contexts where people can easily form new relationships and break existing ones, online social media might provide a facility that allows them to 'manage' existing relationships in order to prevent the weakening of these bonds. This may be because they lack the time to maintain relationships through face-to-face interaction, or it could be because they have moved away from their offline social network and therefore rely on OSNs to maintain contact. This may explain why participants in the UK sample targeted strong ties more strongly in their online postings: this link between country and targeted audience was mediated by high relational mobility and high relationship maintenance.

A contrasting trend was found among Saudi participants, who targeted weak ties in their online interactions to a greater extent than UK participants. This was mediated

proximally by self-focus, for which Saudi participants scored more highly than UK participants in general. With regard to distal mediators, openness to change (vs conservation), self-enhancement (vs self-transcendence), and relational mobility were all positively associated with targeting weak ties. However, UK participants scored higher on openness to change than did Saudi participants, which means that this particular mediation model does not account for differences in target audience. Instead, we can explain differences in target audience through self-enhancement and relational mobility. Saudi users, with lower offline relational mobility, are more interested in using the affordances of OSNs to establish ties with new people. They are unlikely to need OSNs to maintain relationships to the same extent as British users, as they are more likely to have retained close ties with family members and friends. Therefore there is less need for Saudi users than for British users, when posting online, to target those with whom they have strong ties. Nevertheless, strong ties were targeted more often by Saudi participants than weak ties (as they were for UK participants), which suggests that, despite the changing norms associated with OSNs, traditional connections are still the most important social bonds.

Self-focus was significantly positively related to all of the self-presentation strategies: self-promotion, positive impression management, mind-casting, life-streaming, cautious self-presentation, and acceptance seeking. One might expect this result, in that those who are motivated to focus on the self when posting online are likely to use these strategies to cultivate an online presence that they perceive as positive. Relationship maintenance was also significantly related to self-promotion, positive impression management and acceptance seeking. Again, it is unsurprising that people who are motivated to maintain relationships also want to seek acceptance. We can also hypothesise that making an effort to present a positive impression of oneself could play a part in maintaining relationships – items such as 'You try to create a good impression' clearly relate to how users feel they are perceived by others, which is an important aspect of interpersonal relating. Less obvious is the link between relationship maintenance and self-promotion. It could be that those who use OSNs to maintain relationships also use them as a platform to share successes and progress towards their goals, with the people who care about them. The same online behaviour, as these findings demonstrate, can serve different motivations.

Mediation analyses revealed the effect of values, relational mobility and motives in explaining the link between participant nationality and self-presentation strategies. For Saudi participants, all self-presentation strategies were mediated by self-enhancement (vs. self-transcendence) and self-focus. For UK participants, all self-presentation strategies except cautious self-presentation were mediated by openness to change (vs. conservation) and self-focus. Self-promotion, positive impression management and acceptance seeking were all mediated, among UK participants, by high relational mobility and relationship maintenance.

Conclusion

The findings of this study suggest that motivations for engaging with OSNs, and how people use them, are not simple reflections of people's offline cultural priorities. Instead, they are often a response to opportunities that are lacking offline. British users, from a society which values openness to change, and where people can more easily break existing relationships and establish new ones, use OSNs to maintain existing relationships that may otherwise suffer, preferentially targeting those with whom they have strong offline ties. Saudi Arabia, by contrast, is a society that values conservation, and in which bonds are not so easily broken and formed. OSNs represent an opportunity to interact with strangers, and perhaps experiment with self-presentation strategies that are less available offline in a conservative society. These are the 'affordances' discussed by Selim and Long in previous studies (2014, 2015): new ways of interacting and presenting oneself, that compensate for what is withheld from individuals by restrictive cultural contexts.

These results indicate that OSNs provide the opportunity to satisfy personal needs – self-expression, validation from others, enhancing one's social network – while operating within the strictures of the offline world. It has been claimed that virtual spaces such as OSNs encourage cultural convergence by diluting the influence of culture (Ali & Lee, 2010; Dotan & Zaphris, 2010). However, the quantitative data produced by this large-scale study suggest an alternative interpretation, that OSNs provide a 'middle way'. In this sense, the findings of the current study are similar to those of Waltorp (2015), who found that young Muslim women in Copenhagen used social media to satisfy competing (and even

conflicting) needs – they are able to 'keep cool' (contact friends and pursue romantic opportunities) while 'remaining virtuous' (please their families). Research within Saudi Arabia has yielded similar results – Newsom and Lengel (2012) noted that a significant effect of the rise of OSNs is that they allow Saudis to talk to members of the opposite sex without risking censure. Gender comparisons were not undertaken in the current study, but research into the interaction between offline norms, gender, and online behaviour could provide further valuable insight into how OSNs are transforming the way we connect with each other.

CHAPTER 6

Conclusions

General conclusions

This chapter will review the aims and findings of each of the studies described in this thesis. It will also consider limitations of the studies, as well as future directions suggested by the findings. One aim of the research presented in this thesis was to establish the motivations that people have for using online OSNs, and how these motivations are informed by culture. We were also interested in how these motivations influence what people actually do when they engage with OSNs.

Chapter 2 took an open-ended, exploratory approach in order to find out about the respective motives of British and Saudi Arabian citizens for using OSNs. The most interesting findings seemed to indicate an interaction between cultural affordances and the affordances offered by OSNs. British participants said that they used OSNs for staying in touch with friends and family members whom they did not see offline on a regular basis. They spoke of a need to present a 'real' version of their selves when posting online, and their privacy concerns related mainly to preventing strangers and loose acquaintances from accessing their information. Saudi participants reported using OSNs for communicating with people from outside of their immediate circle of family and friends; for them, these platforms provided an opportunity to establish and pursue new connections, for example with members of the opposite sex – such opportunities are limited in their offline context. For them, privacy meant preventing family members (or close family friends) from accessing their information: fake profile pictures and pseudonyms were a method of protecting themselves online. Related to this, for Saudi participants OSNs seemed to provide an opportunity for self-expression that may be denied in the offline world; a 'pressure valve' that provides relief from strict social norms.

Chapter 3 focused in depth on how Saudi and British individuals construct their identities in an online context, applying an existing theoretical framework, the motivated identity construction theory (MICT; Vignoles, 2011), to analysis of tweets from Saudi and British users. As with the first study, the findings suggested that OSNs provide an

opportunity for people to act in ways that are circumscribed in an offline context. Our analysis explored how the two groups under consideration pursued the motives named in the MITC – meaning, belonging, distinctiveness, continuity, efficacy, and self-esteem – through their tweets. These motives were pursued in different ways by the two samples, and the strategies used to satisfy them appeared to be contingent on the affordances of the particular OSN under consideration (Twitter). An example of differences between the two cultures was how users satisfied the self-esteem motive; whereas British users employed self-presentation strategies outlining their achievements, Saudis used self-disclosure to emphasise their inner qualities. Distinctiveness appeared to be more important for Saudis on Twitter, whereas UK users pursued the belonging motive – findings which seemed to contradict the stereotypical individualism-collectivism categorisation, but which made sense in terms of offline and online affordances. The affordances of the platform itself appeared to dictate which motives were satisfied in similar ways by the two samples, such as continuity – which users from both samples seemed to pursue by emphasising their consistency.

Chapter 2 and 3 raised some intriguing ideas about the influence of culture on the way people use OSNs, and so we decided to pursue further insight into online motivations and behaviour, using quantitative measures. One obstacle was that no previous measurement tools had been developed exclusively to measure online self-presentation. Previous papers on this subject used scales developed in an offline context (Rosenberg & Egbert, 2011) or, as a proxy, used photos posted on user profiles (Tifferet & Vilnai-Yavetz, 2014) or a user's number of friends (Lee, Ahn, & Kim, 2014); therefore these studies lacked validity for measuring online self-presentation. Chapter 4 addressed this lack within the literature, by developing the online self-presentation strategies scale (OSPSS). The development of this scale represents perhaps the most significant contribution of the current research, as it is the first self-presentation scale designed to be applied to an online context.

A particular strength of the scale is that it was developed in two cultural contexts. Because the two cultures under consideration in this research are diverse in terms of social structure, this suggests that our scale could be applicable in a wide range of other cultures. Another scale developed in two distinct cultures is Long and Zhang (2014), which focused on a different aspect of online self-presentation, namely the motivations behind self-

presentation. This scale was developed using British and Japanese participants and had a five-factor structure including self-expression, maintaining privacy, attention seeking, impression management and modesty. There is some overlap with the OSPSS in that impression management could map on to 'positive impression management' in the OSPSS, and maintaining privacy could be equivalent to 'cautious self-presentation'. The six-factor structure of the OSPSS further deconstructs aspects of self-presentation and was developed from a larger sample; therefore the OSPSS is a more valid measure of online self-presentation. It also has significantly more explanatory value than the two-factor (*positive self-presentation* and *honest self-presentation*) online self-presentation scale developed by Kim and Lee (2011).

The OSPSS was one of the measurements used in chapter 5, which was a large-scale quantitative survey of values, relational mobility, online motivations, and self-reported online behaviour among Saudi and British users. Analyses were carried out on the relationships between the various constructs measured, and the results offered support for the conclusions drawn in the previous studies, i.e. that OSNs provide a platform for people to pursue goals that are unavailable in their offline context. In a high relational mobility context, the UK, users were more focussed on targeting people with whom they have strong ties – the implication being that contact via OSNs allows people to 'shore up' relationships which may have suffered from geographical distance or lack of regular face-to-face contact. However, in both cultures, people reported targeting more those with whom they had strong ties than weak ties. Values also played a mediating role here. Although Saudis were higher in conservation (vs openness to change), which would have predicted lower engagement in various online self-presentation tactics, they were also higher in self-enhancement (vs self-transcendence), which explained their greater engagement in some of the self-presentation tactics. Higher self-enhancement among Saudis also offered the best explanation of their comparatively greater focus on those with whom they had weak ties.

The studies described above have gone beyond traditional stereotypes about cultural difference. Whereas much previous cross-cultural research has adhered to notions of collectivism vs. individualism, the findings presented in this thesis offer a more nuanced interpretation of cultural difference. The same motivations and values are found, albeit to differing degrees, in two cultures that, on the surface, appears vastly different. How people

aim to satisfy these motivations and values depends very much on what strategies are available to them. OSNs provide opportunities for acting in ways that may be completely novel to the individual, because of restrictions imposed by the cultural context. Whether this will lead to wholesale cultural changes remains to be seen, but on the level of individual human interaction and expression, it has already made a profound difference.

Potential imitations

A limitation of paper 1 was that the differences reported in motivations for using OSNs may have varied according to the particular OSNs used by participants. Within this study, all participants used Facebook. All Saudi participants also used Twitter, whereas only two of the UK participants used this platform (however, as a general trend both populations use Facebook more than Twitter (Rose, 2014; Statista, 2015). However, the goal of paper 1 was to explore new insights into OSN use; many of these insights were supported by subsequent quantitative research for paper 4, where we were able to weight our samples to account for differential usage of Facbeook, Twitter and Instagram. For the quantitative studies, papers 3 and 4, cross-cultural comparisons were therefore not biased by choice of platform used. However, it should be noted that different platforms offer different affordances. Twitter, for example, is a convenient way of sharing links and information, which could be used to influence others politically. Facebook, meanwhile, offers different levels of communication (personal messages, wall posts) which allow people to tailor their activity according to audience. These affordances shape the behaviours and strategies that individuals can adopt. We might also assume, however, that people select platforms according to the affordances that the platforms offer and the needs that are unmet in the users' offline context.

There was a sampling issue relating to paper 2, in which efforts were made to gather a random sample by using the Twitter search engine. The mechanisms of this search engine are unclear; therefore it may be that this sample was not truly random. In future, similar research could use a dedicated program for gathering random tweets (e.g. the 'Twitter Scraper' used by Honey & Herring, 2009). An alternative would be to use purposive sampling of known Twitter users; this would have the advantage of avoiding the use of accounts which are not managed personally by the 'named' Twitter user (as is the

case with some celebrity accounts. However, a drawback of such an approach is that it would leave the research open to the accusation of a lack of objectivity.

A final limitation is one that affects much cross-cultural research, and that is the question of language. Administering materials to participant groups that speak different languages poses challenges for researchers. Dangers include distortion or loss of meaning, and lack of comprehension by participants (Sechrest, Fay, & Zaidi, 1972); these issues may be even more pronounced in situations where one or more languages have various forms – as with Arabic, which has three major versions: Classical Arabic, Modern Standard Arabic, and colloquial Arabic (Khalaila, 2013). The studies presented in this thesis attempted to mitigate language problems by using multiple translators. Questionnaire items for the quantitative studies were originally in English, and then translated to Arabic. They were then back translated into English by a native Saudi speaker and former English professor with extensive experience in translation. The two English versions were then compared to check for divergence. In paper 1, interviews were conducted in the native language of the participants. Arabic responses were then translated into English.

Future directions

Future cross-cultural studies of OSN usage could give more consideration to preferred platform, and the predictors and consequences of this choice. Although the final study controlled for gender, future studies might benefit from using more gender-balanced samples, which would allow for systematic examination of gender differences. Li and Kirkup (2007) compared men and women from two cultures, the UK and China, in their Internet usage. Significant differences were found between the two genders and, intriguingly, these differences were more pronounced among Chinese participants. Research by Shen and Khalifa (2009) suggests that such differences may also be present among Arab users of Facebook, including higher self-perception of independence, and overall higher frequency of usage among females – albeit using self-report measures with a small sample. Future research could explore whether there is an interaction between gender and culture in the ways in which people engage with OSNs.

One potentially informative avenue of inquiry relates to wellbeing. The findings of papers 1 and 2 suggested that, for users in both the UK and Saudi Arabia, cultural demands (adherence to cultural norms, need to satisfy friends and family) can sometimes clash with personal needs. For example, UK users of OSNs might need to balance the identity motives of distinctiveness and self-esteem with the societal norm that interprets 'boastful' behaviour as negative. Saudi users, meanwhile, may sometimes want to express socially unacceptable opinions or interact with non-family members of the opposite sex on OSNs. Meanwhile, they must conceal such behaviour from significant others who might, as a consequence, perceive them negatively. Among Saudi users this often leads to the usage of fake profile pictures and pseudonyms; findings of paper 1 suggested that the need to satisfy conflicting needs can lead to self-fragmentation. Future cross-cultural research might take this into account when examining the impact of OSN usage on wellbeing.

As well as further investigation of cultural influence on OSN usage, future research might also consider the potential for OSNs to effect cultural change. At present there has been limited research into this possibility, and it is difficult to know what a study of OSN-influenced cultural change would look like. However, there is convincing evidence to suggest that sites such as Facebook and Twitter are already exerting an influence on context-specific behaviour. Johnson, Zhang, Bichard, and Seltzer (2011) found that reliance on OSNs for political information predicted political activity in both online (e.g. donating via a website, sending and receiving campaign emails) and offline (attending political meetings, persuading others to support a candidate) contexts. There is also a growing body of work exploring the influence of OSNs on political engagement in the Arab World (e.g. Wheeler, 2009; Hussain & Howard, 2013), a phenomenon which has received even more exposure since the 'Arab Spring' of 2011. A central role in such research will be played by a new interdisciplinary research team at Northeastern University in Boston, which will publish a series of studies on how Twitter contributes to the spread of news and ideas during large-scale social events (Science Daily, 2016).

A final comment on the analytic approach taken by the quantitative research presented in this thesis is that it may have been slanted towards finding differences between the two cultures under consideration, and as a result neglected the notable similarities. For example, cautious self-presentation was a strong motive for both Saudi and British

participants – which can perhaps be attributed to OSNs being a sphere in which one's postings might be read by a wide range of people, and not necessarily those whom one is targeting. In this regard, the differences might lie in whom a user wants to protect his or her posts from – for Saudis it is likely to be disapproving family members; British users are more likely to express concern about strangers accessing their information. That OSNs are still in their infancy might also be a reason for cautious self-presentation, as the norms of this technology/social milieu are still being constructed. Also, despite the differences recorded in targeted audience (Saudis being more likely than the British to focus on those with whom they have weak ties), both samples mostly targeted strong ties, and so we can conclude that the importance of strong ties still persists in this context. Whether this will remain the case, as new technologies and social norms continue to develop, will be an interesting question for future research.

Final conclusion

The studies presented in this thesis demonstrate that people from different cultures interact with OSNs in different ways, but that the relationship between online motivations and behaviour is not straightforward. It is not the case that values held by different cultures are mirrored in the online behaviour of their citizens. Rather, it is the case that OSNs provide opportunities for people to compensate for what may be unavailable to them in their offline contexts. In this regard, this research lends support to the idea that the social networks found online are not simply computer-mediated versions of their offline equivalents, but represent new social spheres in which people can selectively shape their identity and the way in which they communicate with others. OSNs are still relatively new phenomena; there is still much to learn about the way they are changing our lives. The cultural dimensions of this technological revolution represent fertile ground for continuing research, in which I hope to play a continuing role.

Bibliography

Abbas, R., & Mesch, G. S. (2015). Cultural values and Facebook use among Palestinian youth in Israel. *Computers in Human Behaviour*, *48*, 644-653. doi: 10.1016/j.chb.2015.02.031

Acar, A., Takamura, D., Sakamoto, K., & Nishimuta, A. (2013). Culture and brand communications in social media: An exploratory analysis of Japanese and US brands. *International Journal of Web Based Communities, 9*(1), 140-151. doi: 10.1504/IJWBC.2013.051299

Adams, G., Anderson, S. L., & Adonu, J. K. (2004). The cultural grounding of closeness and intimacy. In D. Mashek & A. Aron (Eds.), *Handbook of closeness and intimacy* (pp. 321–339). Mahwah, NJ: Erlbaum.

Aichholzer, J. (2014). Random intercept EFA of personality scales. *Journal of Research in Personality*, *53*, 1–4. doi: 10.1016/j.jrp.2014.07.001

Aichholzer, J. (2015). Controlling acquiescence bias in measurement invariance tests. *Psihologija*, *48*(4), 409–429. doi: 10.2298/PSI1504409A

Al Lily, A. E. (2011). On line and under veil: Technology-facilitated communication and Saudi female experience within academia. *Technology in Society, 33*(1-2), 119-127. doi: 10.1016/j.techsoc.2011.03.005

Ali, M., & Lee, H. (2010). *Culture or social interaction? A study of influential factors on weblog design*. Paper presented at European and Mediterranean Conference on Information Systems, Abu Dhabi, UAE. Abstract retrieved from http://bura.brunel.ac.uk/handle/2438/4305

Al-Rwaitea, A. S. A. (2014). *On Saudi Personality*: *Factors and Determinants. "the sweet and the sour"*. AL-Riyadh: King Saud University Press.

Al-Saggaf, Y. (2011). Saudi females on Facebook: An ethnographic study. *International Journal of Emerging Technologies and Society*, *9*(1), 1-19. Retrieved from https://researchoutput.csu.edu.au/en/publications/saudi-females-on-facebook-an-ethnographic-study

Al-Saggaf, Y., & Simmons, P. (2015). Social media in Saudi Arabia: Exploring its use during two natural disasters. *Technological Forecasting & Social Change*, *95*, 3-15. doi: 10.1016/j.techfore.2014.08.013

Aljasir, A., Woodcock, A., & Harrison, S. (2012). Facebook Non-users in Saudi Arabia: Why do some Saudi college students not use Facebook? *Proceedings of*

International Conference on Management, Applied and Social Sciences (pp. 163-171). Dubai, United Arab Emirates.

Allport, G. W. (1961). *Pattern and growth in personality*. New York, NY: Holt, Rinehart & Winston.

Almasri, A. (2009). *The influence of social networks and other media on university students*. Paper presented at First Scientific Conference – Family and Challenges of Media, Cairo University, Egypt.

Alotaibi, B. (2007). *Cultural globalization (Internet): Impacts on Saudi students' values and identity* (Unpublished doctoral dissertation). King Abdulaziz City for Science and Technology, Saudi Arabia.

Altman, I., & Taylor, D. A. (1973). *Social penetration: The development of interpersonal relationships.* Oxford, England: Holt, Rinehart & Winston.

Ardichvili, A., Maurer, M., Li, W., Wentling, T., & Stuedemann, R. (2006). Cultural influences on knowledge sharing through online communities of practice. *Journal of Knowledge Management, 10*(1), 94-107. doi: 10.1108/13673270610650139

Arkin, R. M. (1981). Self-presentation styles. In J. T. Tedeschi (Ed.), *Impression management theory and social psychological research* (pp. 311-333). San Diego, CA: Academic Press.

Attrill, A. (2015). *The manipulation of online self-presentation: Create, edit, re-edit and present.* Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

Attrill, A. (2012). Sharing Only Parts of Me: Selective Categorical Self-Disclosure Across Internet Arenas. *International Journal of Internet Science 2012, 7 (1), 55–77.*

Attrill, A., & Jalil, R. (2011). Revealing only the superficial me: Exploring categorical self-disclosure online. *Computers in Human Behaviour*, *27*(5), 1634-1642. doi: 10.1016/j.chb.2011.02.001

Back, M. D., Stopfer, J. M., Vazire, S., Gaddis, S., Schmukle, S.C., Egloff, B., & Gosling, S. D. (2010). Facebook profiles reflect actual personality, not self-idealization. *Psychological Science, 21*(3), 372-374. doi: 10.1177/0956797609360756

Baker, A. J. (2005). *Double click: romance and commitment among couples online*. New York: Hampton Press.

Baker, A. J. (2009). Mick or Keith: blended identity of online rock fans. *Identity in the Information Society, 2*, 7-21.

Bargh, J. A., McKenna, K. Y .A. & Fitzsimons, G. M. (2002). Can you see the real me? Activation and expression of the "true self" on the Internet. *Journal of Social*

Issues, 58(1), 33-48. doi: 10.1111/1540-4560.00247

Barnlund, D. C. (1975). *Public and private self in Japan and the United States*. Tokyo: Simul Press.

Barnlund, D. C. (1989). *Communicative styles of Japanese and Americans: images and realities.* Belmont, CA.: Wadsworth Pub. Co.

Baumeister, R. F., & Hutton, D. G. (1987). Self-presentation theory: self-construction and audience pleasing. In B. Mullen, & G. R. Goethals (Eds.). *Theories of Group Behaviour* (pp. 71-87). New York, NY: Springer.

Beaujean, A. A. (2014). *Latent variable modelling using R: A step-by-step guide*. New York, NY: Routledge.

Becker, M., Vignoles, V., Owe, E., Brown, R., Smith, P., Easterbrook, M., … Yamakoğlu, N. (2012). Culture and the distinctiveness motive: Constructing identity in individualistic and collectivistic contexts. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 102*(4), 833-855. doi: 10.1037/a0026853

Becker, M., Vignoles, V., Owe, E., Easterbrook, M., Brown, R., Smith. P., … Koller, S. (2014). Cultural bases for self-evaluation: Seeing oneself positively in different cultural contexts. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin, 40*(5), 657-675. doi:10.1177/0146167214522836

Błachnio, A., Przepiórka, A., & Rudnicka. P. (2013). Psychological Determinants of Using Facebook: A Research Review. *International Journal of Human-Computer Interaction*, *29*(11), 775-787. doi: 10.1080/10447318.2013.780868

Bland, J. M., & Altman, D. G. (1997). Statistics notes: Cronbach's alpha. *BMJ, 314*(7080), 572.

Boer, D., & Fischer, R. (2013). How and when do personal values guide our attitudes and sociality? Explaining cross-cultural variability in attitude–value linkages. *Psychological Bulletin, 139*(5)*,* 1113-1147. doi: 10.1037/a0031347

Boon, S., & Sinclair, C. (2009). A world I don't inhabit: disquiet and identity in Second Life and Facebook. *Educational Media International, 46*(2)*,* 99-110. doi: 10.1080/09523980902933565

Bourdieu, P. (2011). The forms of capital. In I. Szeman & T. Kaposy (Eds.), *Cultural theory: An anthology* (pp. 81-93). Madden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell.

Boyatzis, R. E. (1998). *Transforming qualitative information: Thematic analysis and code development*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Brandtzæg, P. B., & Heim, J. (2009). Why people use social networking sites. In A. A.

Ozok & P. Zaphiris, (Eds.), *Online communities and social computing* (pp. 143-152). Berlin, Heidelberg: Springer-Verlag.

Braun, V. and Clarke, V. (2006). Using thematic analysis in psychology. *Qualitative Research in Psychology, 3*(2). 77-101. doi: 10.1191/1478088706qp063oa

Brewer, M. B., & Roccas, S. (2001). *Individual values, social identity, and optimal distinctiveness*. Psychology Press.

Brubaker, R., & Cooper, F. (2000). Beyond "identity". *Theory and Society*, *29*(1), 1–47. doi: 10.1023/A:1007068714468

Bullingham, L., & Vasconcelos, A. C. (2013). 'The presentation of self in the online world': Goffman and the study of online identities. *Journal of Information Science, 39*(1), 101-112. doi: 10.1177/0165551512470051

Buote, V. M., Wood, E., & Pratt, M. (2009). Exploring similarities and differences between online and offline friendships: The role of attachment style. *Computers in Human Behaviour*, *25*(2), 560-567.

Cardon, P. W., Marshall, B., Norris, D. T., Cho, J., Choi, J., Cui, L., . . . Valenzuala, J. P. (2009). Online and offline social ties of social network website users: An exploratory study in eleven societies. *Journal of Computer Information Systems, 50*(1), 54–64. doi: http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/08874417.2009.11645362

Carlsen, A., & Dutton, J. E. (2011). *Research alive: Exploring generative moments in doing qualitative research*. Copenhagen: Copenhagen Business School Press.

Chan, M., Wu, X., Hao, Y., Xi, R., & Jin, T. (2012). Microblogging, online expression, and political efficacy among young Chinese citizens: the moderating role of information and entertainment needs in the use of Weibo. *Cyberpsychology, Behaviour, and Social Networking, 15*(7), 345-349. doi: 10.1089/cyber.2012.0109

Chan, D.K., Cheng, G.H. (2004). A comparison of offline and online friendship qualities at different stages of relationship development. Journal of Social and Personal Relationships, 21:305–320.

Chen, F. F. (2007). Sensitivity of goodness-of-fit indexes to lack of measurement invariance. *Structural Equation Modelling: A Multidisciplinary Journal*, *14*(3), 464–504. doi: 10.1080/10705510701301834

Chen, G-M. (1995). Differences in self-disclosure patterns among Americans versus Chinese. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology, 26*(1), 84-91. doi: https://doi.org/10.1177/0022022195261006

Chen, G-M. (2011). Tweet this: A uses and gratifications perspective on how active Twitter

use gratifies a need to connect with others. *Computers in Human Behaviour*, *27*(2),755-762. doi: 10.1016/j.chb.2010.10.023

Cheung, G. W., & Rensvold, R. B. (2002). Evaluating goodness-of-fit indexes for testing measurement invariance. *Structural Equation Modelling: A Multidisciplinary Journal*, *9*(2), 233–255. doi: 10.1207/S15328007SEM0902

Chiu, T. H-Y., Chen, C-C., Joung Y-J., & Chen, S. (2014). A study of blog networks to determine online social network properties from the tie strength perspective. *Online Information Review*, *38*(3)*,* 381-398. doi: 10.1108/OIR-01-2013-0022

Cho, S. E. (2010). *A cross-cultural comparison of Korean and American social network sites: Exploring cultural differences in social relationships and self-presentation* (Unpublished doctoral dissertation). Rutgers University, New Brunswick, New Jersey.

Choi, S. M., Kim, Y., Sung, Y., & Sohn, D. (2011). Bridging or bonding? A cross-cultural study of social relationships in social networking sites. *Information, Communication & Society, 14*(1), 107-129. doi: 10.1080/13691181003792624

Chu, S-C., & Choi, S. M. (2010). Social capital and self-presentation on social networking sites: a comparative study of Chinese and American young generations. *Chinese Journal of Communication*, *3*(4) 402–420. doi: 10.1080/17544750.2010.516575

Cialdini, R. B., Borden, R. J., Thorne, A., Walker, M. R., Freeman, S., & Sloan, L. R. (1976). Basking in reflected glory: Three (football) field studies. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, *34*(3), 366-375. doi:10.1037/0022-3514.34.3.366

CITC (Communication and Information Technology Commission) (2010). *ICT indicators in the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia.* Retrieved from http://www.citc.gov.sa/NR/rdonlyres/ECC196FF-D3C1-4C88-B793-685C96CA0309/0/ICTSectorinKSA2009English.pdf

Clark, M. S., Ouellette, R., Powell M. C., & Milberg, S. (1987). Recipient's mood, relationship type, and helping. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 53*(1), 94–103. doi: http://dx.doi.org/10.1037/0022-3514.53.1.94

Coleman, L. H., Paternite, C. E., Sherman, R. C. (1999). A re-examination of deindividuation in synchronous computer-mediated communication. *Computers in Human Behaviour, 15*, 51-65.

Collins, K., & Nicolson, P. (2002). The meaning of 'satisfaction' for people with dermatological problems: Reassessing approaches to qualitative health psychology research. *Journal of Health Psychology, 7*(5), 615-629. doi:10.1177/1359105302007005681

Côté, J. (2006). Identity studies: how close are we to developing a social science of identity? An appraisal of the field. *Identity: An International Journal of Theory and Research*, *6*(1), 3–25. doi:10.1207/s1532706xid0601_2

Crouch, M., & McKenzie, H. (2006). The logic of small samples in interview based qualitative research. *Social Science Information, 45*(4), 483-499. doi: 10.1177/0539018406069584

Debatin, B. (2008). The Internet as a new platform for expression opinions and as a new public sphere. In W. Donsbach & M. W. Traugott (Eds.), *The SAGE handbook of public opinion research* (pp. 64-72). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Doherty, K., & Schlenker, B. R. (1991). Self-consciousness and strategic self-presentation. *Journal of Personality, 59*(1), 1–18. doi: 10.1111/j.1467-6494.1991.tb00765.x

Donath, J. S. (1999). Identity and deception in the virtual community. In P. Kollock & M.A. Smith (Eds.), *Communities in cyberspace* (pp. 27-59). London: Routledge.

Dotan, A., & Zaphiris, P. (2010). A cross-cultural analysis of Flickr users from Peru, Israel, Iran, Taiwan and the UK. *International Journal of Web Based Communities*, 6(3), 284-302. doi: 10.1504/IJWBC.2010.033753

Dubai School of Government (2011). *Arab social media report*. Retrieved from http://unpan1.un.org/intradoc/groups/public/documents/dsg/unpan044212.pdf

Easthope, H. L. (2009). Fixed identities in a mobile world? The relationship between mobility, place, and identity. *Identities, 16*(1), 61-82. doi: 10.1080/10702890802605810

Elliot, R., Fischer, C. T., & Rennie, D. L. (1999). Evolving guidelines for publication of qualitative research studies in psychology and related fields. *British Journal of Clinical Psychology, 38(3)*, 215-229. doi: 10.1348/014466599162782

Ellison, N. B., Heino, R. D., & Gibbs, J. L. (2006). Managing impressions online: Self-presentation processes in the online dating environment. *Journal of Computer-Mediated Communication, 11*(2), 415-441. doi: 10.1111/j.1083-6101.2006.00020.x

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*(4), 1143–1168. doi: 10.1111/j.1083-6101.2007.00367.x

Eltantawy, N., & Wiest, J. B. (2011). Social media in the Egyptian revolution: Reconsidering resource mobilization theory. *International Journal of Communication, 5*, 1207–1224. doi: 1932–8036/2011FEA1207

Falk, C. F., Heine, S. J., Yuki, M., & Takemura, K. (2009). Why do Westerners self-enhance more than East Asians? *European Journal of Personality, 23*(3),183-203. doi: 10.1002/per.715

Farber, B. A. (2006). *Self-Disclosure in psychotherapy*. New York, NY: The Guilford Press.

Fauad, W. (2009). Facebook and the Arab youth: Social activism or cultural liberation? *New Chapter of Political Islam, 2*(6), 91-99. Retrieved from https://www.files.ethz.ch/isn/103098/Full%20Text.pdf

Feather, N. T. (1995). Values, valences and choice: The influence of values on the perceived attractiveness and choice of alternatives. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 68*(6), 1135-1151. doi: 10.1037/0022-3514.68.6.1135

Fenigstein, A., Scheier, M. F., & Buss, A. H. (1975). Public and private self-consciousness: Assessment and theory. *Journal of Consulting and Clinical Psychology, 43*(4), 522–527. doi: 10.1037/h0076760

Freedom House. (2012). *Freedom on the Net 2012: A Global Assessment of Internet and Digital Media.* Retrieved March 19th, 2017, from https://freedomhouse.org/report/freedom-net/2012/saudi arabia#.VVtB1PlVikr

Freeman, E. T., & Gelernter, D. (1996). Lifestreams: A storage model for personal data. *SIGMOD*. 25, 80-86. doi: 10.1145/381854.381893

Fugard, A. J., & Potts, H. W. (2015). Supporting thinking on sample sizes for thematic analyses: a quantitative tool. *International Journal of Social Research Methodology*, *18*(6), 669-684.

Gao, Z., & Newman, C. (2005). *Converging cultural values? A comparative study of Chinese and U.S. college students.* Paper presented at the Cross-Cultural Research Conference, Puerto Rico, 2004.

Geiser, C. (2012). *Data analysis with Mplus*. New York/London: The Guilford Press.

Gibson, B., & Sachau, D. A. (2000). Sandbagging as a self-presentation strategy: Claiming to be less than you are. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, *26*(1), 56-70. doi: 10.1177/0146167200261006

Glaser, B. G. (1965). The constant comparative method of qualitative analysis. *Social problems*, *12*(4), 436-445.

Goffman, E. (1959). *The presentation of self in everyday life.* Garden City, NY: Doubleday Anchor.

Goldreich, Y., Raveh, A. (1993). COPLOT display technique as an aid to climatic classification. *Geographical Analysis*, *25*(4), 337–353. doi: 10.1111/j.1538-4632.1993.tb00302.x

Gouvela, V. V., de Albuquerque, F. J. B., Clemente, M., & Espinosa, P. (2002). Human values and social identities: A study in two collectivist cultures. *International Journal of Psychology, 37*(6), 333-342. doi:10.1080/00207590244000179

Granovetter, M. S. (1973). "The strength of weak ties". *American Journal of Sociology, 78*(6),1360-1380. doi:10.1080/00207590244000179

Gregg, A. P., Sedikides, C., & Gebauer, J. E. (2011). Dynamics of identity: between self-enhancement and self-assessment. In S. J. Schwartz, K. Luyckx, & V. L. Vignoles (Eds.), *Handbook of identity theory and research* (pp. 305-327). New York: Springer.

Gudykunst, W. B., Yang, S-M., & Nishida, T. (1987). Cultural differences in self-consciousness and self-monitoring. *Communication Research, 14*(1)*,* 7–34. doi: 10.1177/009365087014001002

Gudykunst, W.B., Matsumoto, Y., Ting-Toomey, S., Nishida, T., Kim, K., & Heyman, S. (1996). The influence of cultural individualism-collectivism, self construals, and individual values on communication styles across cultures. *Human Communication Research, 22*(4), 510–543. doi: 10.1111/j.1468-2958.1996.tb00377.x

Gulotta, R., Faste, H., & Mankoff, J. (2012, May). *Curation, provocation, and digital identity: Risks and motivations for sharing provocative images online*. Paper presented at CHI 2012, Austin, Texas. Retrieved from http://rebeccagulotta.com/curation-provocation.html

Guta, H. & Karolak, M. (2015).Veiling and blogging: Social media as sites of identity negotiation and expression among Saudi women. *Journal of International Women's Studies, 16*(2), 115-127.

Hall, E. T. (1976). *Beyond culture*. Garden City, New York: Anchor Press, Doubleday.

Hall, E. T. (1966). *The hidden dimension.* New York, NY, US: Doubleday & Co.

Hall, E. T., & Hall, M. R. (1990). *Understanding cultural differences: Germans, French and Americans*. Yarmouth, Me: Intercultural Press.

Harter, S. (2002). Authenticity. In C.R. Snyder, S.J. Lopez (Eds.), *Handbook of positive psychology* (pp. 382-394). New York, NY, US: Oxford University Press.

Hayes, A. F. (2013). *Introduction to mediation, moderation and conditional process analysis.* New York/London: The Guilford Press.

Haythornthwaite, C. (2002). Strong, weak, and latent ties and the impact of new Media. *The Information Society, 18*(5), 385-401. doi: 10.1080/01972240290108195

Heine, S. J. & Lehman, D. R. (1999). Culture, self-discrepancies, and self-satisfaction. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin, 25,* 919–925. doi: 10.1177/01461672992511001

Heine, S. J., Lehman, D. R., Markus, H. R. & Kitayama, S. (1999). Is there a universal need for positive self-regard? *Psychological Review, 106*(4)*,* 766–794. doi: http://dx.doi.org/10.1037/0033-295X.106.4.766

Heine, S. J., Takata, T., & Lehman, D. R. (2000). Beyond self-presentation: Evidence for self-criticism among Japanese. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin, 26*(1)*,* 71-78. doi: 10.1177/0146167200261007

Heine, S. J., Kitayama, S., Lehman, D. R., Takata, T., Ide, E., Leung, C., & Matsumoto, H. (2001). Divergent consequences of success and failure in Japan and North America: An investigation of self-improving motivations and malleable selves. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 81*(4), 599-615. doi: 10.1037/0022-3514.81.4.599

Heppner, W. L., & Kernis, M. H. (2011). High self-esteem: multiple forms and their outcomes. In S. J. Schwartz, K. Luyckx, & V. L. Vignoles (Eds.), *Handbook of identity theory and research* (pp. 329-355). New York: Springer.

Hew, K. F. (2011). Review: Students' and teachers' use of Facebook. *Computers in Human Behaviour*, *27*(2), 662–676. doi: 10.1016/j.chb.2010.11.020

Hofstede, G. (1991). *Cultures and organizations: Software of the mind.* London: McGraw-Hill.

Hofstede, G. (2001). *Culture's consequences: Comparing values, behaviours, institutions and organizations across nations*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, Inc.

Hogan, B. (2010). The Presentation of self in the age of social media: Distinguishing performances and exhibitions online. *Bulletin of Science, Technology & Society, 30*(6), 377-386. doi: 10.1177/0270467610385893

Holden, J. (2006). *Cultural value and the crisis of legitimacy: Why culture needs a democratic mandate.* London: Demos.

Hollenbaugh, E. E., & Ferris, A. L. (2014). Facebook self-disclosure: Examining the role of traits, social cohesion and motives. *Computers in Human Behaviour*, *30*, 50-58. doi:10.1016/j.chb.2013.07.055

Honey, C., & Herring, S. C. (2009, January). *Beyond microblogging: Conversation and collaboration via Twitter.* Paper presented at 42nd Hawaii International Conference on System Sciences, Hawaii, United States.

Hussain, M. M., & Howard, P. N. (2013). What best explains successful protest cascades? ICTs and the fuzzy causes of the Arab Spring. *International Studies Review, 15*(1), 48-66. doi: 10.1111/misr.12020

Ji, Y. G., Hwangbo, H., Yi, J. S., Rau, P-L., Fang, X., & Ling, C. (2010). The influence of cultural differences on the use of social network services and the formation of social capital. *International Journal of Human-Computer Interaction, 26*(11), 1100-1121. doi:10.1080/10447318.2010.516727

Jiang Y., de Bruijn O., De Angeli A. (2009) The perception of cultural differences in online self-presentation. In: T. Gross et al. (Eds). *Human-Computer Interaction – INTERACT 2009. INTERACT 2009. Lecture notes in computer science, vol 5726* (pp. 672-685). Berlin, Heidelberg: Springer.

Johnson, T. J., Zhang, W., Bichard, S. L., & Seltzer, T. (2011). United we stand? Online social network sites and civic engagement. In Z. Papacharissi, (Ed). *A networked self: identity, community, and culture on social network sites* (pp. 185-207). New York, NY: Routledge.

Joinson, A. N. (2008). 'Looking at', 'looking up' or 'keeping up with' people? Motives and uses of Facebook. *Proceedings of CHI 2008* (pp. 1027-1036). New York, NY: ACM Press.

Joinson, A. N. (2001). Self-disclosure in computer-mediated communication: the role of self-awareness and visual anonymity. *European Journal of Social Psychology, 3*, 177-192.

Jones, E. E., & Pittman, T. S. (1982). Toward a general theory of strategic self-presentation. In J. Suls (Ed.), *Psychological perspectives on the self: Volume 1* (pp. 231-262). Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.

Junco, R. (2012). Too much face and not enough books: The relationship between multiple indices of Facebook use and academic performance. *Computers in Human Behaviour, 28*(1), 187-198. doi:10.1016/j.chb.2011.08.026

Khedir, N. (2009). *Psychological and social impacts of using online and social networks in Egypt (Facebook).* Paper presented at First Scientific Conference – Family and Challenges of Media, Cairo University, Egypt.

Kim, H. S., & Sherman, D. K. (2007). Express yourself: Culture and the effect of self-expression on choice. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 92*(1), 1-11. doi.org/10.1037/0022-3514.92.1.1

Kim, J. & Dindia, K. (2008, May). *Gender, culture, and self-disclosure in cyberspace: A study of Korean and American social network websites.* Paper presented at the annual conference of the International Communication Association, Communication and Technology Division, Montreal, Canada.

Kim, J. H., Kim, M-S., & Nam, Y. (2010). An analysis of self-construals, motivations, Facebook use, and user satisfaction. *International Journal of Human-Computer Interaction, 26*(11-12), 1077-1099. doi: 10.1080/10447318.2010.516726

Kim, J., & Lee, J-E. R. (2011) The Facebook paths to happiness: Effects of the number of Facebook friends and self-presentation on subjective well-being. *Cyberpsychology, Behaviour and Social Networking, 14*(6)*,* 359-364. doi:10.1089/cyber.2010.0374

Kim, Y., Sohn, D., & Choi, S. M. (2011). Cultural difference in motivations for using social network sites: A comparative study of American and Korean college students. *Computers in Human Behaviour, 27*(1), 365-372. doi:10.1016/j.chb.2010.08.015

Kimmerle, J., & Cress, U. (2008). Group awareness and self-presentation in computer-supported information exchange. *International Journal of Computer-Supported Collaborative Learning, 3*(1), 85–97. doi:10.1007/s11412- 007-9027-z

Kitayama, S., Markus, H. R., Matsumoto, H., & Norasakkunkit, V. (1997). Individual and collective processes in the construction of the self: Self-enhancement in the United States and self-criticism in Japan. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 72*(6)*,* 1245–1267. doi:10.1037/ 0022-3514.72.6.1245

Kirkland, A. (2014). Five activists punished by their governments for speaking out. https://www.indexoncensorship.org/2014/01/five-activists-punished-governments-speaking/

Kiyonari, T., Yamagishi, T., Cook, K. S., & Cheshire, C. (2006). Does trust beget trustworthiness? Trust and trustworthiness in two games and two cultures: A research note. *Social Psychology Quarterly, 69*(3), 270-283. doi: 10.1177/019027250606900304

Kline, R. B. (2010). *Principles and practice of structural equation modelling* (3rd ed.). New York/London: The Guilford Press.

Kluckhohn, C. (1967). Values and value-orientations in the theory of action: An exploration in definition and classification. In T. Parsons & E. A. Shils, (Eds.), *Toward a general theory of action* (pp. 388-433). Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press. (Original work published 1951).

Kohn, M. (1987). Cross-national research as an analytic strategy: American Sociological Association, 1987 presidential address. *American Sociological Review*, *52*(6), 713-731. Retrieved from http://www.jstor.org/stable/2095831

Krämer, N. C., & Winter, S. (2008). Impression management 2.0: The relationship of self-esteem, extraversion, self-efficacy, and self-presentation within social networking sites. *Journal of Media Psychology: Theories, Methods, and Applications, 20*(3), 106–116. doi: 10.1027/1864-1105.20.3.106

Kraut, R., Kiesler, S., Boneva, B., Cummings, J., Helgeson, V., & Crawford, A. (2002). Internet paradox revisited. *Journal of Social Issues*, *58*(1), 49-74. doi: 10.1111/1540-4560.00248

Kristopher J., Preacher, G. Z., Cheongtag, K., & Gerhard, M. (2013). Choosing the optimal number of factors in exploratory factor analysis: A model selection perspective. *Multivariate Behavioural Research*, *48*(1), 28-56. doi: 10.1080/00273171.2012.710386

Lampe, C., Wohn, D. Y., Vitak, J., Ellison, N.B., & Wash, R. (2011). Student use of Facebook for organizing collaborative classroom activities. *International Journal of Computer-Supported Collaborative Learning*, *6*(3), 329-347. doi: 10.1007/s11412-011-9115-y

Leary, M. R. (1995). *Self-presentation: impression management and interpersonal behaviour.* Dubuque, IA: Brown & Benchmark's.

Leary, M. R. & Kowalski, R. M. (1990). Impression management: A literature review and two-component model. *Psychological Bulletin*, *107*(1), 34-47. doi: 10.1037/0033-2909.107.1.34

Leary, M. R., Haupt, A. L., Strausser, K. S., & Chokel, J. T. (1998). Calibrating the sociometer: The relationship between interpersonal appraisals and the state self-esteem. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 74*(5), 1290-1299. doi:10.1037/0022-3514.74.5.1290

Ledbetter, A.M. (2009). Measuring online communication attitude: Instrument development and validation. *Communication Monographs, 76*(4), 463-486. doi:10.1080/03637750903300262

Lee-Won, R. J., Minsun, S., Joo, Y. K., & Park, S. G. (2014). Who puts the best "face" forward on Facebook? Positive self-presentation in online social networking and the role of self-consciousness, actual-to-total Friends ratio, and culture. *Computers in Human Behaviour*, *39,* 413-423. doi: 10.1016/j.chb.2014.08.007

Lee, E., Ahn, J., & Kim, Y. J. (2014). Personality traits and self-presentation at Facebook. *Personality and Individual Differences, 69*, 162-167. doi:10.1016/j.paid.2014.05.020

Lee, S., Quigley, B. M., Nesler, M. S., Corbett, A. B., & Tedeschi, J. T. (1999). Development of a self-presentation tactics scale. *Personality and Individual Differences*, *26*(4), 701-722. doi:10.1016/S0191-8869(98)00178-0

Leung, A., & Cohen, D. L. (2011). Within- and between-culture variation: Individual differences and the cultural logics of honour, face, and dignity cultures. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, *100*(3), 507-526. doi: 10.1037/a0022151

Lewis, C. C., & George, J. F. (2008). Cross-cultural deception in social networking sites and face-to-face communication. *Computers in Human Behaviour*, *24*(6), 2945–2964. doi:10.1016/j.chb.2008.05.002

Lewis, M. A., & Neighbors, C. (2005). Self-determination and the use of self-presentation strategies. *The Journal of Social Psychology*, *145*(4), 469-489. doi:10.3200/SOCP.145.4.469-490

Li, N., & Kirkup, G. (2007). Gender and cultural differences in internet use: a study of China and the UK. *Computers and Education, 48*(2), 301–317. doi: 10.1016/j.compedu.2005.01.007

Lim, S. S., Vadrevu, S., Chan, Y. H., & Basnyat, I. (2012). Facework on Facebook: The online publicness of juvenile delinquents and youths-at-risk. *Journal of Broadcasting & Electronic Media, 56*(3), 346-361. doi:10.1080/08838151.2012.705198

Lin, C. A. (2012). International advertising theory and methodology in the digital information age. In S. Okazaki (Ed.), *Handbook of research on international advertising* (pp.279-302), Cheltenham, UK: Edward Elgar Publishing.

Long, K. M. & Zhang, X. (2014) The role of self-construal in predicting self-presentational motives for online social network use in the UK and Japan. *Cyberpsychology, Behaviour, and Social Networking, 17*(7)*,* 454-459. doi:10.1089/cyber.2013.0506.

MacDonald, D. A. (2000). Spirituality: Description, measurement, and relation to the Five Factor Model of personality. *Journal of Personality*, *68*(1), 153–197. doi: 10.1111/1467-6494.t01-1-00094

Macintosh, L., & Bryson, M. (2008). Youth, MySpace, and the interstitial spaces of becoming and belonging. *Journal of LGBT Youth*, *5*(1), 133-142. doi: 10.1300/J524v05n01 11

Mallen, M. J., Day, S. X., & Green, M. A. (2003). Online versus face-to-face conversation: An examination of relational and discourse variables. *Psychotherapy: Theory, Research, Practice, Training*, *40*(1-2), 155.

Manago, A. M., Graham, M. B., Greenfield, P. M., & Salimkhan, G. (2008). Self-presentation and gender in MySpace. *Journal of Applied Developmental Psychology. 29*(6), 446- 458. doi:10.1016/j.appdev.2008.07.001

Manago, A. M., Taylor, T., & Greenfield, P. M. (2012). Me and my 400 friends: The anatomy of college students' Facebook networks, their communication patterns, and well-being. *Developmental Psychology*, *48*(2), 369-380. doi:10.1037/a0026338

Marcia, J. E. (1966). Development and validation of ego identity status. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, *3*(5), 551–558. doi:10.1037/h0023281

Marsh, H. W., Lüdtke, O., Nagengast, B., Trautwein, U., Morin, A. J. S., Abduljabbar, A. S., & Köller, O. (2012). Classroom climate and contextual effects: conceptual and methodological issues in the evaluation of group-level effects. *Educational Psychologist, 47*(2), 106-124. doi:10.1080/00461520.2012.670488

Marshall, B. A., Cardon, P. W., Norris, D. T., Goreva, N., & D'Souza, R. (2008). Social networking websites in India and the United States: A cross-national comparison of online privacy and communication. *Issues in Information Systems*, *9*(2), 87–94. Retrieved from http://iacis.org/iis/2008/S2008_911.pdf

Marwick, A., & Ellison, N. B. (2012). 'There isn't wifi in heaven!' Negotiating visibility on Facebook memorial pages. *Journal of Broadcasting & Electronic Media, 56*(3), 378-400. doi:10.1080/08838151.2012.705197

Mayer, R. C., Davis, J. H., & Schoorman, F. D. (1995). An integrative model of organizational trust. *Academy of Management Review*, *20*(3), 709-34. doi: 10.5465/AMR.1995.9508080335

Mazur, E., & Li, Y. (2016). Identity and self-presentation on social networking web sites: A comparison of online profiles of Chinese and American emerging adults. *Psychology of Popular Media Culture, 5*(2), 101-118. doi:10.1037/ppm0000054

McAdams, D. P. (2006). The Problem of narrative coherence. *Journal of Constructivist Psychology*, *19*(2), 109-125. doi:10.1080/10720530500508720

McKenna, K. Y. A., & Bargh, J. A. (2000). Plan 9 From cyberspace: The implications of the internet for personality and social psychology. *Personality and Social Psychology Review*, *4*(1), 57-75. doi: 10.1207/S15327957PSPR0401_6

Mehdizadeh, S. (2010). Self-presentation 2.0: Narcissism and self-esteem on Facebook. *Cyberpsychology, Behaviour, and Social Networking*, *13*(4), 357–364. doi:10.1089/cyber.2009.0257.

De Meo, P., Ferrara, E., Fiumara, G., & Provetti, A., (2014). On Facebook, most ties are weak. *Communications of the ACM*, *57*(11), 78-84. doi: 10.1145/2629438

Minkov, M. (2008). Self-enhancement and self-stability predict school achievement at the national level. *Cross-Cultural Research*, *42*(2), 172-196. doi: 10.1177/1069397107312956

Mischaud, E. (2007). *Twitter: Expressions of the whole self. An investigation into user appropriation of a web-based communications platform* (Master's thesis). Retrieved from http://www.lse.ac.uk/media@lse/research/mediaWorkingPapers/MScDissertationSeries/Past/Mishaud_Final.pdf

Moore, K., & McElroy, J. C. (2012). The influence of personality on Facebook usage, wall postings, and regret. *Computers in Human Behaviour, 28*(1), 267-274. doi:10.1016/j.chb.2011.09.009

Morris, C. W. (1956). *Varieties of human value*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.

Morse, F. (2014). Twitter 'source of all evil' says Saudi Arabia cleric. *BBC Newsbeat*. Retrieved from http://www.bbc.co.uk/newsbeat/article/29722810/twitter-source-of-all-evil-says-saudi-arabia-cleric

Mourtada, R., & Salem, F., (2011). The role of social media in Arab women's empowerment. *Arab Social Media Report, 1*(3), 1-26. Retrieved from http://www.arabsocialmediareport.com/UserManagement/PDF/ASMR%20Report%203.pdf

Lowry, P. B., Cao, J., & Everard, A. (2011). Privacy concerns versus desire for interpersonal awareness in driving the use of self-disclosure technologies: The case of instant messaging in two cultures. *Journal of Management Information Systems, 27*(4), 163-200. doi:10.2753/MIS0742-1222270406

Muramoto, Y. (2003). An indirect self-enhancement in relationship among Japanese. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology, 34*(5), 552-566. doi: 10.1177/0022022103256478

Murthy, D. (2013) *Twitter: Social communication in the Twitter age*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Muthén, L. K., & Muthén, B. O. (1998-2010). *Mplus user's guide* (6th ed.). Los Angeles, CA: Muthén & Muthén. Retrieved from http://www.statmodel.com/ugexcerpts.shtml.

Nadkarni, A., & Hofmann, S. G. (2012). Why do people use Facebook? *Personality and Individual Difference, 52*(3), 241-246. doi: 10.1016/j.paid.2011.11.007

Nakanishi, M. (1987). Perceptions of self-disclosure in initial interaction: A Japanese sample. *Human Communication Research, 13*(2), 167-190. doi: 10.1111/j.1468-2958.1986.tb00101.x

Newsom. V., & Lengel, L. (2012). Arab women, social media, and the Arab Spring: Applying the framework of digital reflexivity to analyse gender and online activism.

Journal of International Women's Studies, *13*(5), 31-45. Retrieved from http://vc.bridgew.edu/jiws/vol13/iss5/5

Nguyen, M., Bin, Y. S., & Campbell, A. (2012). Comparing online and offline self-disclosure: A systematic review. *Cyberpsychology, Behaviour, and Social Networking*, *15*(2), 103-111.

Nicholson, L. (2008). *Identity before identity politics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Noren, S. J. (1969). Review: The identity theory of mind by C. F. Presley. *Philosophy and Phenomenological Research*, *29*(4), 613-614. doi: 10.2307/2105552

Omoush, K. S. A., Yassen, S. G., & Alma'aitah, M. A. (2012). The impact of Arab cultural values on online social networking: The case of Facebook. *Computers in Human Behaviour*, *28*(6), 2387-2399. doi:10.1016/j.chb.2012.07.010

Owe, E., Vignoles, V. L., Becker, M., Brown, R., Smith, P., Lee, S., … & Jalal, B. (2013). Contextualism as an important facet of individualism-collectivism. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology*, *44*(1), 24-45. doi: 10.1177/0022022111430255

Page, R. (2012). The linguistic of self-branding and micro-celebrity in Twitter: The role of hashtags. *Discourse & Communication, 6*(2), 181-201. doi: 10.1177/1750481312437441

Papacharissi, Z. (2013). A networked self: Identity performance and sociability on social network sites. In F. L. F. Lee, L. Leung, J. L. Qiu, & D. S. C. Chu (Eds.), *Frontiers in New Media Research* (pp. 207–221). New York: Routledge.

Parks, M. R., & Floyd, K. (1996). Making friends in cyberspace. *Journal of Computer-Mediated Communication*, *1*(4), 0-0. doi: 10.1111/j.1460-2466.1996.tb01462.x

Pempek, T. A., Yermolayeva, Y. A., & Calvert, S. L. (2009). College students' social networking experiences on Facebook. *Journal of Applied Developmental Psychology, 30*(3), 227–338. doi: 10.1016=j.ap pdev.2008.12.010

Peters, A. N., Winschiers-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 Behaviour, 49*, 259-271. doi:10.1016/j.chb.2015.02.065

Pflug, J. (2011). Contextuality and computer-mediated communication: a cross cultural comparison. *Computers in Human Behaviour*, *27*(1), 131-137. doi:10.1016/j.chb.2009.10.008

Preacher, K. J., Zhang, G., Kim, C., & Mels, G. (2013). Choosing the optimal number of factors in exploratory factor analysis: A model selection perspective. *Multivariate Behavioural Research*, *48*(1), 28–56. http://doi.org/10.1080/00273171.2012.710386

Putnam, R. D. (1995). Bowling alone: America's declining social capital. *Journal of Democracy*, *6*(1), 65-78. doi: 10.1353/jod.1995.0002

Rokeach, M. (1973). *The nature of human values*. New York: The Free Press.

Rose, K. (2014). UK social media statistics for 2014. *Social Media Today*. Retrieved from http://www.socialmediatoday.com/content/uk-social-media-statistics-2014.

Rosen, D., Stefanone, M. A., & Lackaff, D. (2010, January). Online and offline social networks: Investigating culturally-specific behaviour and satisfaction. *Proceedings of IEEE's Hawaii International Conference on Systems Science (HICSS)*, Los Alamitos, CA: IEEE Press.

Rosenberg, J., & Egbert, N. (2011). Online impression management: Personality traits and concerns for secondary goals as predictors of self-presentation tactics on Facebook. *Journal of Computer-Mediated Communication*, *17*(1), 1-18. doi: 10.1111/j.1083-6101.2011.01560.x

Rosenfeld, P., Giacalone, R. A., & Riordan, C. A. (1995). *Impression management in organizations: Theory, measurement, practice*. London: Routledge.

Ross, C., Orr, E. S., Sisic, M., Arseneault, J. M., Simmering, M. G., & Orr, R. R. (2009). Personality and motivations associated with Facebook use. *Computers in Human Behaviour, 25*(2), 578-586. doi:10.1016/j.chb.2008.12.024

Rui, J. R., & Stefanone, M. A. (2013a). Strategic image management online. *Information, Communication and Society, 16*(8), 1–20. doi:10.1080/ 1369118X.2013.763834.

Rui, J. R., & Stefanone, M. A. (2013b). Strategic self-presentation online: A cross-cultural study. *Computers in Human Behaviour, 29*(1), 110–118. doi:10.1016/j.chb.2012.07.022.

Ryan, T., & Xenos, S. (2011). Who uses Facebook? An investigation into the relationship between the Big Five, shyness, narcissism, loneliness, and Facebook usage. *Computers in Human Behaviour*, *27*(5), 1658-1664. doi:10.1016/j.chb.2011.02.004

Satorra, A., & Bentler, P. M. (2001). A scaled difference chi-square test statistic for moment structure analysis. *Psychometrika*, *66*(4), 507–514. doi:10.1007/BF02296192

Schanzer, J., & Miller, S. (2012). *Facebook fatwa: Saudi clerics, Wahhabi Islam, and social media*. Washington, D.C: FDD Press.

Schiffrin, H., Edelman, A., Falkenstern, M., & Stewart, C. (2010). The associations among computer-mediated communication, relationships, and well-being. *Cyberpsychology, Behaviour, and Social Networking*, *13*(3), 299-306.

Schlenker, B. R. (1975). Self-presentation: Managing the impression of consistency when reality interferes with self-enhancement. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 32*(6), 1030–1037. doi:10.1037/0022-3514.32.6.1030.

Schlenker, B. R. (1980). *Impression management: The self-concept, social identity, and interpersonal relations*. Monterey/CA: Brooks/Cole.

Schouten, A. P., Valkenburg, P. M., & Peter, J. (2007). Precursors and underlying processes of adolescents' online self-disclosure: Developing and testing an "Internet-Attribute-Perception" model. *Media Psychology, 10*, 292-315. doi:10.1080/15213260701375686

Schug, J., Yuki, M., & Maddux, W. W. (2010) Relational mobility explains between- and within-culture differences in self-disclosure to close friends. *Psychological Science, 21*(10), 1471-1478. doi: 10.1177/0956797610382786

Schug, J., Yuki, M., Horikawa, H., & Takemura, K. (2009). Similarity attraction and actually selecting similar others: How cross-societal differences in relational mobility affect interpersonal similarity in Japan and the USA. *Asian Journal of Social Psychology, 12*(2), 95-103. doi: 10.1111/j.1467-839X.2009.01277.x

Schwartz, S. H. (1990). Individualism-collectivism critique and proposed refinements. *Journal of cross-cultural psychology, 21*(2), 139-157. doi: 10.1177/0022022190212001

Schwartz, S. H. (1992). Universals in the content and structure of values: Theoretical advances and empirical tests in 20 countries. In M. Zanna (Ed.), *Advances in experimental social psychology* (pp. 1-65). New York: Academic Press.

Schwartz, S. H. (2003). *A proposal for measuring value orientations across nations.* ESS Questionnaire Development Report [Chapter 7 in the Questionnaire Development Report of the European Social Survey]. Retrieved from https://www.europeansocialsurvey.org/docs/methodology/core_ess_questionnaire/ESS_core_questionnaire_human_values.pdf.

Schwartz, S. H. (2012). An overview of the Schwartz Theory of Basic Values. *Online readings in psychology and culture, 2*(1). doi:10.9707/2307-0919.1116

Schwartz, S. H. (2014). National culture as value orientations: Consequences of value differences and cultural distance. In V. Ginsburgh, & D. Throsby (Eds.), *Handbook of the economics of art and culture* (pp. 547-586). North Holland: Elsevier.

Schwartz, S. H., Melech, G., Lehmann, A., Burgess, S., Harris, M., & Owens, V. (2001). Extending the cross-cultural validity of the Theory of Basic Human Values with a different method of measurement. *Journal of Cross Cultural Psychology, 32*(5), 519-542. doi: https://doi.org/10.1177/0022022101032005001

Schwartz, S. H., Cieciuch, J., Vecchione, M., Davidov, E., Fischer, R., Beierlein, C., … & Konty, M. (2012). Refining the theory of basic individual values. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, *103*(4), 663-688. doi:10.1037/a0029393

Science Daily. (2016). What social media data could tell us about the future. *Science Daily*. Retrieved from https://www.sciencedaily.com/releases/2016/04/160407132656.htm

Selim, H., & Long, K. M. (2013). *Why do people use online social networks? A qualitative study among British and Saudi Arabian users*. Unpublished manuscript, University of Sussex.

Selim, H., Long, K. M., & Vignoles, V. L. (2014). *Exploring identity motives in Twitter usage in Saudi Arabia and the UK*. Unpublished manuscript, University of Sussex.

Selim, H., Long, K. M., & Vignoles, V. L. (2015). *Development of the online self-presentation strategies scale (OSPSS)*. Unpublished manuscript, University of Sussex.

Sheldon, P. (2008). The relationship between unwillingness-to-communicate and students' Facebook use. *Journal of Media Psychology: Theories, Methods, and Applications, 20*(2), 67-75. doi: http://dx.doi.org/10.1027/1864-1105.20.2.67

Shrout, P. E., & Bolger, N. (2002). Mediation in experimental and nonexperimental studies: New procedures and recommendations. *Psychological Methods, 7*(4), 422–445. doi: 10.1037//1082-989X.7.4.422

Simon, B. (2004). *Identity in modern society: A social psychological perspective.* Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell.

Singelis, T. M., Triandis, H. C., Bhawuk, D. P. S., & Gelfand, M. J. (1995). Horizontal and vertical dimensions of individualism and collectivism: A theoretical and measurement refinement. *Cross-Cultural Research*, *29*(3), 240-275. doi: 10.1177/106939719502900302

Smith, J. A. (1995). Semi-structured interviewing & qualitative analysis. In J. A. Smith, R. Harre, & L. Van Langenhove (Eds.), *Rethinking methods in psychology* (pp. 9–26). London: Sage.

Smith, J. A., Flowers, P., & Larkin, M. (2009). *Interpretative phenomenological analysis: Theory, method and research*. London: Sage.

Smith, J.A., & Osborn, M. (2003). Interpretive phenomenological analysis. In J.A. Smith (Ed.), *Qualitative psychology: A practical guide to research methods* (pp. 51-80). London: Sage.

Smith, P.B., Fischer, R., Vignoles, V. L., & Bond, M. H. (2013). *Understanding social psychology across cultures: Engaging with others in a changing world*. London: SAGE.

Smock, A. (2010, June). *The impact of second-party content on self-presentation within a social network site environment.* Paper presented at the annual meeting of the International Communication Association, Singapore.

Soenens, B., & Vansteenkiste, M. (2011). When is identity congruent with the self? A self-determination theory perspective. In S. J. Schwartz, K. Luyckx, & V. L. Vignoles (Eds.), *Handbook of identity theory and research* (pp. 381-402). New York: Springer.

Spears, R. (2011). Group Identities: The Social Identity Perspective. In S. J. Schwartz, K. Luyckx, & V. L. Vignoles (Eds.), *Handbook of identity theory and research* (pp. 201-224). New York: Springer.

Special, W. P., & Li-Barber, K. T. (2012). Self-disclosure and student satisfaction with Facebook. *Computers in Human Behaviour*, *28*(2), 624-630. doi:10.1016/j.chb.2011.11.008

Statista (2015). Saudi Arabia: Total population from 2010 to 2020 (in million inhabitants). *Statista*. Retrieved from http://www.statista.com/statistics/262467/total-population-of-saudi-arabia/

Statista (2016). Leading social networks worldwide as of April 2016, ranked by number of active users (in millions). *Statista*. Retrieved from http://www.statista.com/statistics/272014/global-social-networks-ranked-by-number-of-users/

Stiles, W. B. (1993). Quality control in qualitative research. *Clinical Psychology Review, 13*(6), 593-618. doi:10.1016/0272-7358(93)90048-Q

Tajfel, H., & Turner, J. C. (1979). An integrative theory of intergroup conflict. In W. G. Austin, & S. Worchel (Eds.), *The social psychology of intergroup elations* (pp. 33-37). Monterey, CA: Brooks/Cole.

Tazghini, S., & Siedlecki, K. L. (2013). A mixed method approach to examining Facebook use and its relationship to self-esteem. *Computers in Human Behaviour*, *29*(3), 827-832. doi:10.1016/j.chb.2012.11.010.

Tedeschi, J. T., & Lindskold, S. (1976). *Social psychology: Interdependence, interaction, and influence*. New York: Wiley.

Tedeschi, J. T. , & Melburg, V. (1984). Impression management and influence in the organization. In S. B. Bacharach and E. J. Lawler (Eds.), *Research in the sociology of organizations* (Vol. 3., pp. 31-58). Greenwich, CT: JAI.

Thomson, R., & Yuki, M. (2013). *Relational mobility predicts SNS self-presentation*. Poster presented at the IACCP 2013 Regional Conference, Los Angeles, USA. Retrieved from www.robthomo.com/papers/iaccp2013.pdf

Thomson, R., Yuki, M., & Ito, N. (2015). A socio-ecological approach to national differences in online privacy concern: The role of relational mobility and trust. *Computers in Human Behaviour*, *51*(A), 285-292. doi:10.1016/j.chb.2015.04.068

Tice, D. M., Butler, J. L., Muraven, M. B., & Stillwell, A. M. (1995). When modesty prevails: Differential favourability of self-presentation to friends and strangers. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, *69*(6), 1120-1138. doi: 10.1037/0022 3514.69.6.1120

Tidwell, L. C., & Walther, J. B. (2002). Computer-mediated communication effects on disclosure, impressions, and interpersonal evaluations: Getting to know one another a bit at a time. *Human Communication Research, 28*(3)*,* 317-348. doi: 10.1111/j.1468-2958.2002.tb00811.x

Tifferet, S., & Vilnai-Yavetz., I. (2014). Gender differences in Facebook self-presentation: An international randomized study. *Computers in Human Behaviour, 35*, 388-399. doi:10.1016/j.chb.2014.03.016

Toma, C. L., & Hancock, J. T. (2013). Self-affirmation underlies Facebook use. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin, 39*(1), 321-331. doi: 10.1177/0146167212474694

Tosun, L. P. (2012). Motives for Facebook use and expressing "true self" on the Internet. *Computers in Human Behaviour*, *28*(4), 1510-1517. doi: 10.1016/j.chb.2012.03.018

Triandis, H. C. (1989). The self and social behaviour in differing social contexts. *Psychological Review, 96*(3), 506-520. doi:10.1037/0033-295X.96.3.506

Triandis, H. C., & Gelfand, M. J. (1998). Converging measurement of horizontal and vertical individualism and collectivism. *Journal of personality and social psychology*, *74*(1), 118-128. doi.org/10.1037/0022-3514.74.1.118

Turkle, S. (1995). *Life on the screen: Identity in the age of the internet.* New York: Simon & Schuster.

Turner, J. C., Hogg, M. A., Oakes, P. J., Reicher, S. D., & Wetherell, M. S. (1987). *Rediscovering the social group: A self-categorization theory.* Oxford, England: Blackwell.

United Nations Development Programme. (2016). Gender Inequality Index. Retrieved from http://hdr.undp.org/en/composite/GII

Uski, S., & Lampinen, A. (2014). Social norms and self-presentation on social network sites: Profile work in action. *New Media & Society*, *18*(3), 447-464. doi: 10.1177/1461444814543164

Vauclair, C-M., & Fischer, R. (2011). Do cultural values predict individual's moral attitudes? A cross-cultural multi-level approach. *European Journal of Social Psychology, 41*(5)*,* 645–657. doi: 10.1002/ ejsp.794

Vasalou, A., Joinson, A. N., & Courvoisier, D. (2010). Cultural differences, experience with social networks and the nature of "true commitment" in Facebook. *International Journal of Human-Computer Studies, 68*(10), 719-728. doi:10.1016/j.ijhcs.2010.06.002

Vignoles, V. L. (2009). The motive for distinctiveness: A universal, but flexible human need. In C. R. Snyder & S. Lopez (Eds.), *Oxford handbook of positive psychology: second edition* (pp. 491-500). Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Vignoles, V. L. (2011). Identity motives. In S. J. Schwartz, K. Luyckx, & V. L. Vignoles (Eds.), *Handbook of identity theory and research* (pp. 403-432). New York: Springer.

Vignoles, V. L., Owe, E., Becker, M., Smith, P. B., Easterbrook, M. J., Brown, R., ... & Bond, M. H. (2016). Beyond the 'east–west' dichotomy: Global variation in cultural models of selfhood. *Journal of Experimental Psychology: General, 145*(8), 966–1000. doi: http://dx.doi.org/10.1037/xge0000175

Vignoles, V. L., Schwartz, S. J., Luyckx, K. (2011). Introduction: Toward an integrative view of identity. In S. J. Schwartz, K. Luyckx, & V. L. Vignoles (Eds.), *Handbook of identity theory and research* (pp. 1-27). New York: Springer.

Walther, J. B. (1996). Computer-mediated communication: Impersonal, interpersonal, and hyperpersonal Interaction. *Communication Research, 23*(1)*,* 3-43. doi: 10.1177/009365096023001001

Walther, J. B., Van Der Heide, B., Hamel, L. M., & Shulman, H. C. (2009). Self-generated versus other-generated statements and impressions in computer-mediated communication. *Communication Research*, *36*(2), 229–253. doi:10.1177/ 0093650208330251

Walther, J. B., Van Der Heide, B., Kim, S-Y., Westerman, D., & Tong, S. T. (2008). The role of friends' appearance and behaviour on evaluations of individuals on Facebook: Are we known by the company we keep? *Human Communication Research*, *34*(1), 28-49. doi: 10.1111/j.1468-2958.2007.00312.x

Waltorp, K. (2015). Keeping cool, staying virtuous Social media and the composite habitus of young Muslim women in Copenhagen. *MedieKultur*, *31*(58), 49-67. doi:10.7146/mediekultur.v31i58.19373

Wallace, P. (2015). *The psychology of the internet*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Wang, Y., Norice, G., & Cranor, L. F. (2011). Who is concerned about what? A study of American, Chinese and Indian users' privacy concerns on social network sites (Short paper). *Proceedings of 4th International Conference, TRUST 2011* (pp. 146–153), Pittsburgh, PA, USA.

Waterman, A. S. (1999). Identity, the identity statuses, and identity status development: A contemporary statement. *Developmental Review*, *19*, 591–621. doi:10.1006/drev.1999.0493

Wheeler, D. L. (2009). Working around the state: Internet use and political identity in the Arab world. In A. Chadwick, & P. N. Howard (Eds.), *Routledge handbook of internet politics* (pp. 305-320). London: Routledge.

Wheeless, L. R. (1978). A follow-up study of the relationship among trust, disclosure, and interpersonal solidarity. *Human Communication Research*, *4*(2), 143-157. doi: 10.1111/j.1468-2958.1978.tb00604.x

Wheeless, L. R., & Grotz, J. (1976). Conceptualization and measurement of reported self-disclosure. *Human Communication Research, 2*(4), 338-346. doi: 10.1111/j.1468-2958.1976.tb00494.x

White, J. (n.d.). Identity work performed on Twitter using @, hashtags and retweets [Blog post]. Retrieved from https://mediamum.wordpress.com/research-papers-and-presentations/identity-work-performed-on-twitter-using-hashtags-and-retweets/

Willig, C. (2001). Interpretative Phenomenology. In C. Willig (Ed.), *Introducing qualitative research in psychology: Adventures in theory and method* (pp. 65–69). Milton Keynes, Bucks: Open University Press.

Worth, R. F. (2012). Saudis cross social boundaries on Twitter. *The New York Times*. Retrieved from http://www.nytimes.com/2012/10/21/world/middleeast/saudis-cross-social-boundaries-on-twitter.html?_r=0

Wu, J. & Lu, H. (2013). Cultural and gender differences in self-disclosure on social network sites. In J. Pertley, (Ed.), *Media and public shaming: Drawing the boundaries of disclosure* (pp. 97-113). London: I.B.Tauris & Co. Ltd.

Yamagishi, T., Hashimoto, H., Cook, K. S., Kiyonari, T., Shinada, M., Mifune, N., ... & Li, Y. (2012). Modesty in self-presentation: A comparison between the USA and Japan. *Asian Journal of Social Psychology*, *15*(1), 60-68. doi: 10.1111/j.1467-

839X.2011.01362.x

Yin, R. (1989). *Case study research: Design and methods*. Beverly Hills, CA: Sage.

Yuki, M., Schug, J., Horikawa, H., Takemura, K., Sato, K., Yokota, K., & Kamaya, K. (2007*). Development of a scale to measure perceptions of relational mobility in society.* (CERSS Working Paper 75), Sapporo, Japan: Hokkaido University, Centre for Experimental Research in Social Sciences. Retrieved from https://www.academia.edu/3872326/Development_of_a_scale_to_measure_percep tions_of_relational_mobility_in_society

Zhao, S., Grasmuck, S., & Martin, J. (2008). Identity construction on Facebook: Digital empowerment in anchored relationships. *Computers in Human Behaviour*, *24*(5), 1816-1836. doi: 10.1016/j.chb.2008.02.012

Zywica, J., & Danowski, J. A. (2008). The Faces of Facebookers: Investigating social enhancement and social compensation hypotheses; Predicting Facebook™ and offline popularity from sociability and self-esteem, and mapping the meanings of popularity with semantic networks. *Journal of Computer-Mediated Communication, 14*(1), 1-34. doi: 10.1111/j.1083-6101.2008.01429.x

Appendix 1
Study 1 - interview schedule

1. What did you feel you have learned from using Online Social networks?

2. What can you observe about yourself that is different now from when you didn't have an OSN account?

3. What do you consider to be the main differences between online interactions compared to face-to-face interaction?

4. What do you like most about Facebook, LinkdIn, Twitter, etc.? Why?

5. Could you describe the types of things/topics that you discuss with other users?

6a. What are your motives for using OSNs?

6b. Do these motives have anything to do with your Saudi/British identity?

7. What do you think about your profile content (personal photo, status updates, personal information, number of friends, etc.)?

8. Who can see your Facebook profile? What is level of security do you have with respect to who can search for you on Facebook?

We have been talking about the design of your profile and now I'd like to move on to (content of your profile).

9. How many online friends do you have? What do you think about the number of contacts you have in your social networks?

10. Do you think about how other users see you? How do you think you come across in your profile?

11- Since you started using online social networks, how concerned have you been with trying make impression on other users?

12. How does your family view your use of OSNs? Do you block anything that you post from them or from anyone else you are friends with for any reason?

13. How do you think your personality is reflected in your OSN use?

14. Do you ever set your status as offline when using OSN? Why?

15. What differences have you noticed between OSNs and Professional networks?

16. Is there anything else you would like to say about your experience of using OSN that has not been covered in these questions?

Interview 1 Transcript

Duration: 0:28:17

Date: 05/07/2012

Interviewer: As a matter of routine we collect demographic information, I hope you don't mind asking you about your age.

Respondent: No, that's fine I'm 29 years old.

Interviewer: What's your occupation?

Respondent: I'm a salesperson.

Interviewer: What's your education level?

Respondent: A Levels, and GSCEs.

Interviewer: What's your ethnic background?

Respondent: White British.

Interviewer: How long have you been using online social networks?

Respondent: About five years.

Interviewer: How many hours per day do you usually spend using online social networks?

Respondent: About an hour.

Interviewer: Which online social networks do you use?

Respondent: I've got Facebook mainly, I do have a MySpace account but I don't use it anymore. And Reddit.

Interviewer: So, Facebook?

Respondent: Facebook mainly yes.

Interviewer: What do you feel you have learnt from using online social networks?

Respondent: What have I learnt? Erm, that most people lie [1 (trust)] (Laughs). A lot of people I think are trying to prove something. I don't generally like using social networking sites, but I do. [2] I don't like a lot of the things that are put on there and I think a lot of people use it for attention seeking[3]. So if anything I've probably learnt that I don't like it. But yes I use it. (Laughs)

I think the majority of people I have on my, as my friends, on my friend list, I don't listen to a lot, I don't really take in what they say because a lot of it is just useless bits of information or mostly attention seeking.

Interviewer: Okay. How has your relationship with Facebook changed and evolved over time?

Respondent:	It started off- I didn't really know how to use it, so it was kind of exciting learning how it worked and things. And then I started using it as an online diary [4] because I went travelling, and then found a lot of people I didn't know, or hadn't spoke to in a long time. So people at school I'd lost contact with, so I got a lot of friends back that I knew when I was younger. But now over time I've kind of, got kind of annoyed with it really, so I find it a bit tiring [5]
Interviewer:	What can you observe about yourself that is different now from when you didn't have an online social network account?
Respondent:	Erm, I didn't have as many friends as I have now. (Laughs). I think the majority of people on there are more acquaintances than anything [6]. Obviously I feel happier in the sense that I can keep in contact with my friends [6] my real friends through Facebook when I'd lost contact with a lot of people before. I don't think I've really changed. Yes, I don't think I've really changed much other than the fact that I'm happy that I can contact my friends.
Interviewer:	What do you consider to be the main differences between online interactions, compared with face to face interactions?
Respondent:	The main difference is, probably if you're- online interactions, you can kind of be who you want to be- I suppose you can lie, you can put yourself across as differently to how you are in real life. [7] Obviously real life, face to face you can actually look people in the eye, you can talk to them and you can have a proper conversation. People can see your expressions and how you feel, you can talk deeply, whereas social networking is all about, it's not as close; you're very separate from the person when you're online- [8]
Interviewer:	What do you like most about Facebook, LinkedIn, Twitter, and why?
Respondent:	Erm.
Interviewer:	So you told me you deal with Facebook.
Respondent:	Just Facebook yes.
Interviewer:	So what do you like most about Facebook?
Respondent:	I like the fact I can keep pictures [9], I sort of use it as an online diary [10], so I upload pictures and keep track of what I've been doing over the years. I like the fact that other people can see what I've been doing [11] because it, I like viewing what my friends have been doing and we can tag people in the pictures. That's probably the main thing.
Interviewer:	Could you describe the types of things or topics that you discuss with other users?
Respondent:	Erm, I don't really, my statuses- I never complain, or moan, or try and get attention from anyone [12], my statuses are always either funny or relating to something silly that I've done. So I generally try and make people laugh, rather than you know trying to say "This has happened, feel sorry for me" kind of thing. [13]

And the other thing is occasionally we have sort of discussions, someone will put a status, quite a close minded status and then if one my friends has done that, I will then you know, comment and say "I think maybe you should look at it this way instead of that way". We tend to have discussions generally about religion [14], and I don't know, people who... It's quite difficult, we don't really have discussions, but if there's anything there that I feel could be commented on, I will comment on it. With regards to religion, or close minded opinions. |
Interviewer:	What are your motives of using online social networks?
Respondent:	I don't know really. I don't really have any motives, as I say it's a diary more than anything so that is my motive. It's keeping track of what I've been doing, letting other people know what I've been doing, so I can then look back on it myself later on and see where I was at this time and where I am now.
Interviewer:	Do you think these motives that have you told me have anything to do with your British identity?

Respondent:	I don't really know, not really. I don't really know, that's an odd question. ==I don't ever think "Yes I'm British, so I'm going to put this".==[15] I'm not very patriotic really, so I don't really post pictures of the Queen and say "I've been here" (laughs). Obviously If I travel anywhere I'll post pictures and say where I am, but I don't think it affects me as a British person. ==Yes I don't really know.==
	I suppose ==if anything we probably mock each other for our British ways,== so I know a couple of our discussions have been about how silly British people are, and the things that we call traditional. Which is obviously…==every country has its traditions, but I think the British are quite archaic, and quite funny in the things that we consider to be traditional.==[16] Yes, so lots of mocking goes on I think.
Interviewer:	What do you think about your profile content? I mean, personal photos, status updates, personal information, number of friends.
Respondent:	==I try and be as private as I can. I don't have any of my personal information, like my mobile number or email or anything on my Facebook.== I've begrudgingly added where I work and where I live because you can't really seem to get anyway with not doing that because Facebook make you do it. I don't really put forward much of my information, ==I don't really care how many friends I have, that seems to go up and down quite often.==
	What was the other bit of the question sorry? What do you think about your photo…?
	Yes personal photo, I generally keep it as things I've been doing recently. So-
Interviewer:	What about friends?
Respondent:	Yes friends, ==I think I've got about 300, but probably only about 50 of them are actual friends and maybe 15 of them are actually close, real friends.==
Interviewer:	What do you mean about 'actual friends'?
Respondent:	People that I see all the time and consider to be actual friends; people that I can turn to if I need to, can ring up and meet up with. The other, the majority of them are just acquaintances, they're people that I know, but aren't actually close to.
	==So I've got sort of three groups of people really. So the majority of them are acquaintances, probably 30 of them are people I see every now and again, and then the 15 of them are really close friends that I meet up a lot with and actually spend time with.==
Interviewer:	Who can see your Facebook profile?
Respondent:	My friends, just my friends.
Interviewer:	What level of security do you have, with respect to who can reach you on Facebook?
Respondent:	Erm, I think I've got it set to, I've got quite a lot of limited profile so ==only certain people can see my profile.== I've got passwords and everything, I think if you search for my name it will come up but you can't see my profile unless you actually befriend me or ask me for permission.
	I've blocked up a couple of ex partners. A couple of people I've considered to be friends, who now aren't friends, I've blocked or deleted.
Interviewer:	We have been talking about the design of your profile and now I would like to move on to the content of your profile?
Respondent:	I think about 300, or thereabouts.

Interviewer:	What do you think about the number of contents in your social networks?
Respondent:	What do I think about the number of friends you mean? I don't really- I'd rather not have that many. I do go through occasionally and just delete people because they're just on there for the sake of being on there, they don't actually mean anything to me really. So every now and then I have a mass delete of people.
	As I say, just the people that I consider to be friends, you know proper friends are there.
Interviewer:	Do you think about how other users see you?
Respondent:	Yes, I don't think I offer too much of myself other than the things I've been doing. And happy, positive comments and statuses, I don't want people to see me as someone who moans a lot or complains or anything so I generally only post statuses if I'm happy or if something interesting is happening or something funny has happened to me.
Interviewer:	So how do you think you come across in your profile?
Respondent:	Very silly? I just think probably humorous, and lots of mocking of myself generally.
Interviewer:	What do you think about how your profile says about you?
Respondent:	I think it would say I don't really follow the system. I'm not pretentious. I don't really care what people think of me, so I'm happy to write things that have happened to me in a derogatory way.
Interviewer:	So how does it reflect your identity?
Respondent:	Quite well I think, I think I'm quite similar in real life to how I am on Facebook. I don't lie about anything or pretend to be something I am not. Everyone that knows me in real life knows me on Facebook so I don't do anything different.
Interviewer:	Since you started using online social networks, how concerned have you been with trying to make impressions on other users?
Respondent:	Not at all. My concern is other people trying to make impressions. As I said before, lots of the people that are on my friends list spend the majority of time trying to get attention from other people. So my concern is with them, rather than myself trying to get recognition or anything.
Interviewer:	Can you give examples?
Respondent:	Erm, Yes. I've got one friend who is an acquaintance who is a friend of a friend, who every sort of hour, or half an hour posts a status saying how ill she is, or how sad she is, or how she tried to commit suicide, nothing else goes right for her. Every time she does that people then comment saying "It's okay don't worry, I'm here for you" kind of thing. And it's constant; she never posts anything that's actually important, not important but interesting, or informative or anything. It's always about herself and how horrible she's feeling.
Interviewer:	What do you think about that?
Respondent:	Erm, I think it's dangerous because Facebook then becomes, it can become quite addictive if you're that way inclined. If you're either a depressive person or something that likes or needs attention, I think it can be quite dangerous because the more you post statuses, the more people then respond to it. A lot of the time I've noticed a couple of people have lost friends because they've done that so much, people have got sick of what they've been posting and just said "Oh, just get over it". Yes so it does concern me a little bit, just reading, I just skim through it in the end, I give up. You know, it's like 'The Boy Who Cried Wolf' story.
Interviewer:	Do you post information, pictures, links, with a certain audience in your mind?

Respondent:	Yes, I do post a lot of pictures related to religion and society and they're generally quite humorous. So it's more like I put little statements out there to try and get other people to start opening their minds a bit I suppose. I'll post a picture of a phrase relating to some kind of religion, and people will hopefully read it and start thinking a little bit differently, or they'll question their beliefs and morals. So I guess, I think religion is a big interest of mine and philosophy.
Interviewer:	What do you think about when someone makes a positive comment on your Facebook profile?
Respondent:	Positive comment? Well my Mum passed away about 3 months ago and I posted quite a long status about that to let people know. Not in a "I want sympathy" way, but just to- I was out of action for a little bit. Obviously I had a lot to deal with, and lots and lots of people posted really amazing beautiful comments in support which really, really helped, because it was lovely reading people were thinking of us and everything.
Interviewer:	How does your family view your use of online social networks?
Respondent:	My sister is on Facebook, she doesn't use it very often because she doesn't have a computer, so she sort of uses it when she gets to someone else's house that has internet. My brother made a Facebook profile but he deleted it because he got sick of it straight away because he just couldn't be bothered with all the people trying to contact him, and talking about things he didn't really want to know. But yes they're fine with me using it. Obviously my parents aren't around so they don't really know. My Uncle and my Aunts, I don't think they really know what it is, because they're older so they kind of bypassed that whole social networking generation. But it's good for my sister because we live quite far apart so we keep in contact via Facebook quite often.
Interviewer:	So do you block anything that she posts from them, or from anyone else you are friends with, for any reason?
Respondent:	Not really. I just ignore most people, I don't really take notice of what they say if its kind of, going back to earlier, if it's complaining or moaning. But it's good for my sister and I because if I take a photo of her I can then tag her in it, and then she has it as well and she can print it off if she wants it.
Interviewer:	How do you think your personality is reflected in the online social networks you use?
Respondent:	I think it's quite similar actually. Everything that I do in real life I do on Facebook so I don't try and hide anything, I don't try and gain anything I just kind of, the things I post and say on Facebook are things that I would do and say in real life so I think I'm quite neutral.
Interviewer:	So can you tell me more about that?
Respondent:	Erm, I don't really know what to say. What else could I say? I suppose everyone that knows me knows my personality and the kind of people I associate with are the same on Facebook as well. So all of my close group of friends they're probably the people I associate most with on Facebook. We're all very similar in the sense that we're all very political, interested in politics, religion, philosophies, all kind of, open minded stuff. So we all talk about a lot of things in real life and then sometimes we go home and we then start posting things on Facebook to each other and commenting on it. So we carry on conversations and obviously our personalities are in that as well because we're all interested in the same things.
Interviewer:	Does it matter to you whether or not people frequent your page?
Respondent:	I suppose yes sometimes. It would be nice to see from a nosy point of view who views my profile, but ultimately it doesn't really mean anything. I don't really mind who does and who doesn't. Obviously the people that I have

limited profile- actually I don't know why I have them on a limited profile, because I should just delete them because they're not really friends.

 I suppose that's the only thing I would do on Facebook is occasionally view someone's profile who isn't my friend anymore but they're still on my friend list, just to see what they're up to. And I assume people do that to me as well, that's probably the only sneaky thing that I do on Facebook.

Interviewer: Do you ever set your status as offline when you're using online social networks? And why?

Respondent: Erm, no I don't think I have actually. I do on Skype, it's always set to offline unless I'm on it and then I turn it on, but I never even thought to do that on Facebook. I don't think you can on Facebook

Interviewer: And why?

Respondent: Well I didn't really know you could do that. I suppose I use it on my phone a lot, so it's instant access so I suppose it comes up as being online if someone wants to chat to me. But I don't really do Facebook chat at all. So I guess it would show that I was online, but I didn't really think of that.

Interviewer: What difference have you noticed between online social networks and professional networks like LinkedIn?

Respondent: Ooh I've never used LinkedIn, I don't know what that is.

Interviewer: Is there anything else you would like to say about your experience of using online social networks that we haven't covered in these questions?

Respondent: Yes there is. I had an incident a while ago, where I had a friend on Facebook who I trusted, and who I thought trusted me. I posted a picture on Facebook and she took it the wrong way and assumed without actually asking me.

Basically I was travelling, I met this girl who I became friends with, I ran out of money and I had to leave the country because there was a whole mix up with my Visa and stuff so I ran out of money. I flew back to England and this girl and I stayed friends, then I discovered a brother I didn't know I had. So when we met I stayed with him for a little a bit and he bought me a car, it was a sports car but it was only worth about £200. I then posted a picture on Facebook saying "Wow, I've got this amazing car", purely to show people that I was happy and that I was okay and was back in England, I had quite a devastating time when I was travelling.

This girl saw the picture of the car, assumed I had lied about having money, and sent me a really nasty email accusing me of lying the whole time I was with her and sent me some really nasty things. The problem was that she assumed, and she didn't actually find out for sure. She didn't ask me face to face. She jumped straight to conclusions, accused me of all these things, destroyed the friendship between me and her and it really upset me because it was all done through Facebook, none of it was done face to face.

I lost trust in her and in other people, so I shut myself off from Facebook for quite a well, and I felt quite scared to post anything in case people judged me or thought the wrong thing when I was trying to be innocent. I was literally just posting things because I keep an online diary so that was all it was. Even now, three and a half years later I still feel quite distrusting of people on Facebook so if I post anything- that's why I use it as more of a humorous thing rather than a serious thing, because I don't want people to get the wrong end of the stick.

Which is where the danger is in Facebook, because I think a lot of people get sucked into this having to prove something. You can be whoever you want to be, because it's all anonymous. You don't see the real person, you don't look into their eyes, you don't really get the full picture from someone who's on Facebook as you do in real life. I think it is addictive, and a lot of people have addictions to things like that, because it's easier to be someone online than it is to be in real life. So if people are vulnerable or people have introverted personalities, you can be.

I lost quite a few friends through that experience, people I thought were my, not just this girl, this girl was linked to a few other friends I had. She was the main person that 'anti-friended' me I suppose, then a few other people did as well because they all assumed from this one picture that I'd lied about something when I hadn't. If they'd

actually been my real friends they would have asked me personally "Did this happen?" and I would have said "No, of course not".

The fact that they didn't proves that friendships on Facebook are very fickle and I do think its wrong, social networking sites are…very…Especially for vulnerable people and young people, I think can get quite tied up in it and quite sucked in by it, and that's dangerous. Especially if you're growing up, because everything revolves around Facebook and around images and statuses, and things that you think and believe, and it's all relative to what other people think of you. It's a very judgemental place to be, and had that not happened to me I probably wouldn't have taken such a step back from it I think.

Relating to how do you think other users see you, I think I'm very lucky in the sense that I can take a step back from it and not care if I don't have Facebook. I've spoken to quite a few of my friends who have said they are quite addicted to Facebook and they can't not check it, and its exciting coming home to see who's notified you about something or tagged you in a picture or whatever. I think I'm quite lucky because I can step back from that and I know that I wouldn't miss it, it's a pure convenience. The fact I have got it on my phone, I can just press a button and its there, it's quite scary in a way because it's so easily accessible. But I'm lucky, I'm really lucky because I can just go "No, I don't need it" and I could delete it if I want to. But I don't want to at the moment, because it is too much of a convenience so it's kind of like a battle between it being there and not being there. If that made any sense?

CLUSTER 1	Motivation related to self			
Themes	OSNM1201	OSNM1202	OSNM1203	OSNM1204
1-Self-expression		'I just put on my profile as me' P.11 'I would prefer to speak to them face-to-face' P.12 'And if you lay yourself open to ridicule or criticism, then you guarantee that someone out there will use it against you at some time' P.13 'I try to keep my like and dislikes, my pursuits, my hobbies as an honest opinion or an honest show of what I am' P.15 'So I think that the freedom you get from the websites is brilliant. Because you can talk to other people without fear. But you've got to be careful and honest in what you put. ' P.22	'with my work one I am required to constantly be updating what I'm up to and be friendly and fun and tell the students information they might need to know. And then with my private one, I don't think I've ever used status update. Because I find it so self-indulgent. I don't know what I would say apart from, "Oh. I just had a cup of tea". I find that some of the things that people use as status updates is so mundane' P.9 'And sometimes I think it is because I want people to know that this is who I am and this is what I believe. So, yes. I don't think anyone would do anything on Facebook if it wasn't for somebody else, really.'P.16	'So people can get, as much as you can from an internet profile, a pretty good view of who I am, and what I'm like, and what I'm into'P.17 'So it's me as best as you can get a view of a person off the internet. I would say my Facebook profile is accurate as could be.'P.25
		Freedom of speech, Real ME-multi-identities-She has socially desirable response	*Self-indulgence,*	*Freedom of speech, Needs to self-knowledge*
2-Self-presentation	'I generally try to make people laugh' T1, P. 3 'my mum passed away 3months ago and I posted quite a long status about that to let people know, Not in a I want sympathy way but just I was out of action for a little bit. Obviously I had a lot to deal with, and lots and lots of people posted really amazing beautiful comments in support which really, really helped, because it was lovely reading people were thinking of us' T1 P. 7 'I like the fact that other people can see what I've been doing' P.5 ''if you're- online interactions, you can kind of be who you want to be. I	'So I try to be honest about things I like and things I dislike' P.15 'I'm not going to go out of my way to impress someone with falsehoods or make things up to make myself bigger or better than I am' P.16 'I use it as social networking to try to encourage people to look at my photos' T 2 P.1 ' I can't see why anyone would be interested in what I had for breakfast or the fact that I've been to the shops or whatever'P.9 'I've never felt the need to lie or to exaggerate' P.13 'I try to use it wisely' P.4	'So I try to be honest about things I like and things I dislike' P.15 'Sometimes it is trying to have an impression on other people whether that is, "Look how politically engaged I am", or, "Look what I just went to", or, "Look how much fun I had on holiday". Which is similar to probably most of the people on Facebook. Yes. I guess, again, that's a sense of trying to fit in. P. 16 'the only thing you really catalogue on Facebook is the really, really good times. And it's not a true reflection of life. Because every photo album that people will upload is either on holiday, or a birthday, or a celebration and everyone's smiling and everyone is tanned and everyone is beautiful and it's all really fun and great' P.12	And sometimes you just get people saying, "That's a really nice picture." And that feels nice as well, because everyone likes a compliment every now and again. P.22 'I tend to pay attention to who's going to see it. So I'm not going to say that I'm beyond sometimes doing it on purpose and sometimes wanting a reaction out of people. I think especially some of the political or religious stuff, sometimes I put it and I know there's going to be a few people who are going to just be dying to reply to it. And I'm sort of

suppose you can lie, you can put yourself across as differently to how you are in real life'

T1 P.2

'I think I'm quite similar in real life to how I am on Facebook. I don't lie about anything or pretend to be something I am not' p.10

'the danger is in Facebook,because I think a lot of people get sucked into this having to prove something. You can be whoever you want to be, because it's all anonymous. You don't see the real person, you don't look into their eyes, you don't really get the full picture from someone who's on Facebook as you do in real life. I think it is addictive, and a lot of people have addictions to things like that, because it's easier to be someone online than it is to be in real life. P.17
'I don't want people to see me as someone who moans a lot or complains or anything' p.9
'Very silly, I just think probably humorous, and lots of mocking of myself generally' P.9
'so I'm happy to write things that have happened to me in a derogatory'P.10
(the last two are Self-effacement)

It's almost like we have events so we can take photos so we can put them online so that other people can comment and be jealous and to portray ourselves in a certain light. P. 13

I might untag myself so that I don't confuse the perception of myself. And for her hen do, she invited me to pole dancing lessons. And I don't agree with pole dancing. But it wasn't actually that so much that put me off.It was the fact that I knew she would be taking photos and then putting the album on Facebook. And then other people would see me pole dancing, knowing full well I don't agree with it P. 13

It's personality on a very basic level unless they are friends in real life as well as social media life. So I'm not sure how much of my real personality is portrayed. I think it's a very basic level personality. P. 19

'I remember when I first started using Facebook being embarrassed about the number of friends and contacts I had thinking it wasn't enough' P.11

'with linkdIn you want to try to- I think partly because the aim is ultimately employment, you try and put yourself across in a very certain light. And for someone to look at that and maybe criticise it or to have random people looking at that information that you don't know can make you feel quite vulnerable in a different way to Facebook'P.10

'I think I am quite selective with the profile picture I use and what message it might convey about who I am and my interests'P.15

'If you take a bunch of photos at a party and there is one where you don't look particularly good you're untagging it, you're deleting it.

baiting them into a conversation. P.21
'How do I think I come across? Wow, you try not to be too self-depreciating or too arrogant with that one.
I'm going to literally say I come across as opinionated. And I am. But I'd hate to think people think that I'm stuck in my opinions, or I'm condescending of other people's opinions. P.18
'it is set to private. But that's not because I'm ashamed of the fact that I get drunk if I drink too much. I just don't think my life needs to be everyone's business. I like to be able to control what I do share with people in general. So yes, it's pretty much that, in terms of, what was it, updates, pictures and...?'P.14
'my attitude is if you go online and say something stupid, or incorrect, or racist, or ignorant, I'm going to call you out on it. If you don't want to talk about it, don't go on the internet and broadcast it.'P.14
I don't take myself too seriously. There are plenty of pictures on the internet of me looking like an absolute idiot. But I'm having fun with people I care about. So if somebody's idea of a good time is deriding me because of that, they're probably not the one winning in that situation.P.13

I don't see the point in…or creating drama, or causing strife for other people, because it's pathetic in my opinion. So why

				You don't want anyone to see it. It's incredibly embarrassing. And it's ridiculous. Because who cares if you've got one eye shut. It doesn't really matter.' P12-13 'I am constantly seesawing between the information that is visible on my profile in order to give people the most accurate impression of who I am. And I don't know whether I'm doing that for myself or for other people. Probably more other people, to be honest.'P15 'So I think I am constantly thinking about what impression things might be having. And if I think they might make the wrong impression then I will hide them or I'll delete them. Yes.'P.16 'I think a very small percentage of Facebook is for you, that you do things for yourself because you want them. It's much more for an audience. I think it is quite a performance.'P.16	waste the time, you know?'P.19
		Ingratiatory self-presentation *Self-ssupplication*	*Ingratiatory self-presentation* *Self-enhancement vs. Self-effacement*	*Self-promoting self-presentation, exemplification, Embarrassing, filtering*	*Filtering (self-presentation strategy)*
Self-identification	**3-Self-contradiction/**	'I don't generally like using social networks sites, but I do' T1 P.2 'I like the fact that other people can see what I've been doing' P.5 Then she said 'I don't really, my statuses- I never complain, or moan, or try and get attention from anyone' P.5 but she did 'I don't really care what people think of me'P.10	'You've used something that wasn't real". P.5		'I think if somebody was to talk to me on Facebook, and then talk to me in real life, I don't think they would go, "Wow, you're a completely different person." They might find things like the way I talk, the way I say things, the way I deliver things, different. But I think in terms of how it reflects my identity as a person, it's as near as damn it' P.19 I don't think there's any sort of pretention there. I don't tend to

				create an online persona because there's no point. Because most of the people I know on Facebook, I know in real life. So the charade isn't going to last very long anyway.P.18
	Honesty, unified identity, Real ME, not going to hide, Persona			
4-Self-fragmentation	so it's kind of like a battle between it being there and not being there P.18	'You've used something that wasn't real". P.5	'I have students trying to add me on my personal one. And I just want to try and remove my two identities. But then in quite a contrast with my work one, I have to make all information available publicly. So anybody at all from anywhere can search that role on Facebook and come up with my birthday, my age, my name, my number, my email address, my address, everything. But I, kind of, feel that that is protected.'P.9 I think another thing that I've noticed between my use of my personal and my professional social networking sites that I have these two different kind of- I wouldn't say- Well two different personas is maybe a bit strong but two different, definitely, sides of my personality. P.22 'I might untag myself so that I don't confuse the perception of myself'P.13 'I think it's almost all about how other people view you and how potential new contacts might view you and how people you used to know that you are friends with on Facebook knew you then and how you've changed. There are lots of different levels going on.'P.14	
			Two identities	

5-Affirmation		'someone makes a nice comment it makes you feel good. So I want other people to see that. …so I do repost those' P.17 'So I would hope that my own personality comes across in a way that people can understand that I'm not a serious person. I like a laugh. But I have to be careful sometimes how you write things just so that it doesn't come out wrong'P.19 'Why hasn't anyone commented on it? I thought they were really nice photos but no one said anything about it."... Yes it does bother me' p.20	'It's funny because nowadays they have the like button. And sometimes that's used in place of words. ..... But I think I like that more sometimes….. It does make you feel good. 'P.17	'Not much. That sounds dismissive and egotistical. But again, I tend not to chase attention, or chase other people's approval.'P.19 'I think about it far too much, if there's too many, or not enough. 'P. 21 'And sometimes you just get people saying, "That's a really nice picture." And that feels nice as well, because everyone likes a compliment every now and again'P.22 'And it's nice to think that people think of you when you're not around.'P.25
CLUSTER 2	***Motivations related to others***			
Themes	OSNM1201	OSNM1202	OSNM1203	OSNM1204
1-Trust	'that most people lie (Laughs). A lot of people I think are trying to prove something T1 P.2 'My concern is other people trying to make impressions'P.10 destroyed the friendship between me and her and it really upset me because it was all done through Facebook, none of it was done face to face. I lost trust in her and in other people p.16 I still feel quite distrusting of people on Facebook so if I post anything- that's why I use it as more of a humorous	'But you can't actually get to know the people online. You can know what they want you to know about them' P.5 'you've got to take everything you see online with a pinch of salt. Because you never can tell if what they are putting up in front of you is real' P.5 'And if you lay yourself open to ridicule or criticism, then you guarantee that someone out there will use it against you at some time'P.13 'So I think you have to be careful.'P.12 'On facebook, you've got no idea you've just got to take what they say as the truth'P23		'I don't trust 'the man', for want of a way of putting it. Like there are rumours the police, they'll use it, things like that. I don't like the argument that if you're not doing anything wrong you have nothing to hide, because I think there's more than enough going on, on Planet Earth, to prove that's absolute bullshit. (Laughter) And I suppose if I do anything wrong, it's my right as a citizen, as a free person, to hide that information. So I choose to. P.16

	thing rather than a serious thing, because I don't want people to get the wrong end of the stick.P17			'I'm sceptical, because again I'm a liberal kind of person. So there's a whole big brother thing, and who's watching the watchmen, what are they doing with my information? So I think once I got over the wanderlust of jumping on the bandwagon and being a Facebook member, it's sort of I respect it, and I know it's this powerful tool, but at the same time I'm wary of who has that information. P.4
2-Self-disclosure	'I don't think I offer too much of myself other than the things I've been doing. And happy, positive comments and statuses'P.9 ' Everything that I do in real life I do on Facebook so I don't try and hide anything' p.13	'I use a business profile, if you like. So my nature, be it extrovert or introvert, is probably hidden. It's easier to write things online than it is to say it to people's face' p.19 'If you are going to put stuff on there, then why you would hide some bits of it.'P.10 'I don't find it interesting for everyone to know everything about me if I don't know them'P.9	'I'm within a network of staff and it's not really me, it's me at work. So I, kind of, feel that that is okay. But me as me. I keep it very hidden'P.9 'in my personal one I would say maybe 99% of my friends are white British friends that I've met at some stage or another. And on my work profile, because of the job I'm in, there's a big mix of nationalities, cultures, ages, country of origin, student status, and a lot of people writing on Facebook in different languages, pictures from all around the world, cultural jokes that you don't really understand because it's culturally specific. And it is really, really fascinating. But it also does put extra limits on what you do and don't do. Not that you necessarily would be culturally offensive, but that you want people to understand what you're saying. So I try to refrain from- It's a very difficult balance.' p.24	'But I think it just goes back to the fact that I wear my heart on my sleeve. And I don't see the point in creating a fake internet persona,'p.19
3-Privacy	'I try to be private as I can. I don't have my personal information, like my mobile number or email or anything on my Face book' T1 P.4 'only certain people can see my profile'	'I don't want the whole world to know that I'm going to the pub' T2 P.6 'My Facebook page is a public page. It's not private. I don't do the private side of it'P.9	' Sometimes I get incredibly spooked by it. And I just decide, "Right. I'm going to just delete it. Because it's just too strange that I have all of this information that I am actively giving the world". I have two different Facebook profiles. So I have one for me as a person privately. And then I have one that I'm	'That said, it's set to private. But that's because, again, talking about the whole who watches the watchmen kind of thing. It's not because of people. It's because of entities.'P.13

	T1 P.8	'I can't see why you would want to put private information onto a public network'P.11	required to have through my work. 'P.8 'On my private Facebook, my personal Facebook, I've got maximum security. I think if you search my name it comes up with a picture and my name. So I haven't completely- Because I think there is an even higher security where you can't even search for certain people. But that is all of the information that is given'P.10 (the professional one, she said she said everything is open) I think there was a guy that I used to know a little bit, but not really. And I felt obliged to add him on Facebook. And then he commented on a picture, which wasn't really inappropriate. It just made me feel a bit Uncomfortable because I didn't really know him. P. 17 'My ex-boyfriend tried to add me on Facebook and I considered it. And when I was considering it, I was considering hiding some photo albums. And then I decided just not to accept his invitation to befriends'P.8	'My profile is set to private. I don't add people I don't know or don't think are going to be of – as arrogant as it sounds, if they're not going to give me anything in my life, like a random person I've never met before, you know, what are you for? (Laughter)'P.4
			Personal vs. Professional	
4-Intimacy	I think the majority of people on there are more acquaintances than anything [P.2] ' the sense that I can keep in contact with my friends P.2 'you're very separate from the person when you're online'P.4 'I just ignore most people, I don't really take notice of what they say if its kind of, going back to earlier, if it's complaining or moaning' p.13	'if you make friends with one person on Facebook, then four of their friends make friends with you and then your circle grows bigger and bigger' p.3 'The other side of it is to catch up with old friends'P.8	' I think it's a shame that we turn instantly to social networking sites rather than even picking up the phone or literally visiting somebody' P.4 'really you can't convey the emotion that you can in person-to-person and face-to-face.'P.5	'There is a part of my family which I'm estranged from because I don't think they're nice people. So I have them blocked'P.23 '. But just the ability to talk to people, and communicate, and share ideas, and bring not just friends and family, but everyone on Earth, together'P.7

5- Transaction		'and it's another way of joining up with like-minded people'P.6 'If you like what I've written, then write something back and I'll comment on yours.' P.16	'then I had an ex-boss ask for a recommendation and in return would provide me with one. And already it starts increasing and increasing with the connections and the possibilities.'P5 I think a lot of social networking is you get what you give. If you're somebody who posts on everybody's page and pokes everybody and messages everybody, then you get it back. It doesn't just happen, unfortunately P.20	'And sometimes you just want a rant. You've had a bad day and you just want to – I hate passive aggressive. So I wouldn't do the whole, "Oh, some people, blah, blah, blah, blah..." I would just say, "I've had a crap day." And then you'll get the in-pouring of sympathy, which is nice. (Laughter)'P.8 'So yes, there's a lot of banter. There's a lot of backwards and forwards'P.18 'there's more good than bad, even if it's not personal compliments, but it's just positive conversation, if I am discussing and debating. 'P.22
6-maintaining relationships	'So people at school I'd lost contact with, so I got a lot of friends back that I knew when I was younger'P.3 'I feel happier in the sense that I can keep in contact with my friends 6, my real friends through Facebook when I'd lost contact with a lot of people before'P.3	'And I find that because I'm spending more time because I know more people, then more people are- Each time you go on there, you find someone else. And you seem to expand your horizons quite quickly on Facebook just by listening to what other people have got to say and responding to their questions or to their posts, if you like. The circle of friends grows rapidly. P.4 'The other side of it is to catch up with old friends. The people I was at school with and lost track of,…so you can catch up on your life.And perhaps you've lost track of for a long time 'P.8	'I think it's really useful keeping up to-date with people that have moved away. Because otherwise you literally would just lose complete contact. And I really, really appreciate that. I have quite a few friends that I really heavily rely on Facebook in particular to keep in touch with them. So, yes. I really value that. P.6	'So I guess it's just to help me keep in contact with people. It's probably made me more social. It probably has helped with that, helped me keep in touch, helped me keep abreast. 'P.5
CLUSTER 3	*Motivations related to culture*			
Themes	OSNM1201	OSNM1202	OSNM1203	OSNM1204

1-Shared goals	'We're all very similar in the sense that we're all very political, interested in politics,religion, philosophies, all kind of, open minded stuff. So we all talk about a lot of things in real life and then sometimes we go home and we then start posting things on Facebook to each other and commenting on it. So we carry on conversations and obviously our personalities are in that as well because we're all interested in the same things' p.14	'. When I take some nice pictures of the people who are at the event and they like the photos then I will get a big rush when they put on there, "Great photos", or, "Really professional job", or the likes. And I'll repost that so that everyone can see it'P.17	'obviously finding information out and sharing ideas'P.7 'while Facebook removes that whole professional side of you, you don't really talk about your work on Facebook'P.10	'Going back to my political and religious leanings, a lot of my friends are atheist, or anti deist. So if I'm posting the latest ridiculous thing the pope said, I'm probably not appealing to the few Catholic friends I have. (Laughter) So I know I've got friends who are going to be interested in that' P.21
		Positive feedback, affirmation,self-advertment		
2-Public self	'the only thing I would do on Facebook is occasionally view someone's profile who isn't my friend anymore but they're still on my friend list, just to see what they're up to. And I assume people do that to me as well, that's probably the only sneaky thing that I do on Facebook P.15 It's a very judgmental place to be) P.18	'the more you do, the more people you know. So it's one big circle. P.4 'I haven't got a private site to it. Again, I don't really understand that. If you are going to put stuff on there, then why you would hide some bits of it. It's a personal thing. But I think if you are going to put stuff on there that you want to keep private, why are you putting it on there in the first place. So all of my stuff is in the public domain' P.10 So you try to mix it a bit and have a little bit of fun with people without hurting their feelings' p.14		So yes, definitely, I tend to pay attention to who's going to see it. So I'm not going to say that I'm beyond sometimes doing it on purpose and sometimes wanting a reaction out of people. I think especially some of the political or religious stuff, sometimes I put it and I know there's going to be a few people who are going to just be dying to reply to it. And I'm sort of baiting them into a conversation. P.21
		Interfering of home life.	*Social pressure conformity.*	
3-Belonging	'I suppose if anything we probably mock each other for our British way' 'Every country has its traditional , but I think the British are quite funny in the things that we consider to be traditional'	'I think the world is so small now with the likes of Facebook and the internet that national identities don't tend to make that much difference anymore and they are not that <mark>important.</mark>'P.8	e	'So they're blocked, and they're removed, just because they're not part of my life, and I want to keep it that way. And I don't really want to know about what they're doing. I just don't care. So I'm not going to have a slagging match with them online, but they're just

| | | | | gone. They're not a problem. They're not thought about'P. 24

'And having access to Facebook really is just another symptom of having quite a comfortable, privileged upbringing. Because I have electricity, the internet, and this invention that lets me talk to people. And that is definitely a result of living in Britain, or any stable European country. P.12

'So is the way I interact related to...? I mean I was brought up in a liberal, free, supposedly secular European country. So maybe the way I see Facebook, this social networking, is as this shining bastion of democratic freedom. (Laughter)'P.11

'So I think the way I use it, and what I think of social networking is definitely coloured by how I'e been brought up, and how I see Britain. By what Britain is to me. 'P.12 |
|---|---|---|---|
| **4-Influencing others** | I post a picture of a phrase relating to some kind of religion, and people will hopefully read it and start thinking a little bit differently T1 P.12
'someone will put a status, quite a close minded status and then if one my friends has done that, I will then you know, comment and say "I think maybe you should look at it this way instead of that way". We tend to have discussions generally about religion'P.5 | 'I do target certain people' P.16

'For me, it's excellent. Because it means I can get my own personal opinions out to a lot of people'P.22 | 'Through **LinkedIn**, Twitter and Facebook I've connected with specific political organisations and politically active people. And it's a really good way of spreading information and mobilising, basically.P.6.

Sometimes I do it because I think other people will enjoy it. And sometimes I think it is because I want people to know that this is who I am and this is what I'P.16 | |
| **CLUSTER 4** | *Online world vs. Offline world* | | | |
| Themes | OSNM1201 | OSNM1202 | OSNM1203 | OSNM1204 |

1–Length and depth of relationships	'It's keeping track of what I've been doing, letting other people know what I've been doing, so I can then look back on it myself later on and see where I was at this time and where I am now'P. 'they're just on there for the sake of being on there, they don't actually mean anything to me really. So every now and then I have a mass delete of people' P.9 'I've got sort of three groups of people really. So the majority of them are acquaintances, probably 30 of them are people I see every now and again, and then the 15 of them are really close friends that I meet up a lot with and actually spend time with'P.7	'the people who don't know me can read it and actually believe what they see. 'P.14		'I think you lose something online. You definitely lose something online. Everyone's different online. It removes any kind of social inhibition there. One of the rules of the internet is if you take a really nice person, and you give them anonymity, and then give them an audience, they're going to turn into a not so nice person' p.5
	Connection with people/staying in touch/friends vs. Acquaintances distinction/dishonesty/blocking and deleting			
2–Reality	'Obviously real life, face to face you can actually look people in the eye…. People can see your expressions and how you feel, you can talk deeply, whereas social networking is all about, it's not as close' P.4 'The fact that they didn't proves that friendships on Facebook are very fickle and I do think its wrong, social networking sites are…very…Especially for vulnerable people and young people, I think can get quite tied up in it and quite sucked in by it, and that's dangerous'P.17	'you've got to think about everyone else's feelings and just be careful. Would you say it to someone's face? If you wouldn't say it to someone's face, then don't put it down on Facebook. Because it's the same thing. You may not be looking at the person and you may not be seeing them, but your words will have the same effect on a person hundreds of thousands of miles away. So if you can't say it to someone's face, then don't say it on Facebook, Twitter, LinkedIn, wherever'P.23 ' it's going to take over people's lives. Because it's going to- People are going to use Facebook instead of talking to people. And if they carry on doing that, then they are going to lose the art of conversation'P.23		

		'then you will lose the art of reading people. Because if you talk to someone you can look in their eyes, you can look at their body language, you can look at what they are doing with their hands or their hair' P.23		
3-Celibrity	'have said they are quite addicted to Facebook and they can't not check it, and its exciting coming home to see who's notified you about something or tagged you in a picture or whatever' P.18	'You've used something that wasn't real". So it is very easy to use online interactions' P.5		
	Micro-celebrity/ be known			

| 4-Thrill of technology-change the lifestyle | 'It started off- I didn't really know how to use it, so it was kind of exciting learning how it worked and things'P.3

'I've begrudgingly added where I work and where I live because you can't really seem to get anyway with not doing that because Facebook make you do it'P.7

'I think it's dangerous because Facebook then becomes, it can become quite addictive if you're that way inclined. If you're either a depressive person or something that likes or needs attention, I think it can be quite dangerous because the more you post statuses, the more people then respond to it. A lot of the time I've noticed a couple of people have lost friends because they've done that so much, people have got sick of what they've been posting and just said "Oh, just get over it". Yes so it does concern me a little bit, just reading, I just skim through it in the end, I give up. You know, it's like 'The Boy Who Cried Wolf' story.
'I'm really lucky because I can just go "No, I don't need it" and I could delete it if I want to. But I don't want to at the moment, because it is too much of a convenience'P.18 | 'the social networking, are now looking at my photos and I am getting business throughout the world purely on the basis of Facebook' P.3
', it's a business opportunity. It's a good way of hearing other people's views on things' P.6 | | 'you can debate or discuss with people online in a more – it's easier to keep it civil when it's just text. And you can be impartial'P.6 |

Appendix 3
Study 2 – Tweets Coding

	Tweets	D	S	M	C	E	B
####	Forgot what it's like to wake up without a headache and sleep without a migraine.	0	0	1	1	0	0
####	@S****h1: Life is tough my darling. But so are you!	0	1	0	0	1	0
####	@ch****a: as many times as we try to define poetry it is so much more complex and volatile and this is why i love it so	1	0	1	1	1	0
####	Pity us. The moment we met we left each other….	0	0	0	0	0	1
####	There is just one man who spent his life giving proof that the Oud (Arabic music instrument) has feeling like humans this musician is Abadi Aljawhar	1	0	1	0	0	0
####	Erfff I want shawarma	1	0	1	0	0	0
####	@a****h: Picasso portrait ". https://t.co/k1IcD3X	0	0	0	0	0	0
####	You really can tell the difference between someone who really misses you and someone who is just saying he does	0	1	0	0	0	1
####	A book can teach you, a conversation can assure you, a poem can seduce you, a genius can inspire you but only you can save yourself	0	0	0	0	1	0
####	Im craving sweets very bad right now	1	0	1	0	0	0
####	It happens that Allah gives you what you wish for in the moment that you are about to lose hope-Trust Allah	0	0	1	0	1	0
####	Do not go with the flow. Be the flow.	0	0	0	0	1	0
####	I wish I had a big dish of pasta right now - like a miracle :))	1	0	1	0	0	0
####	@il***o: I have lots of knowledge about art, but I don't have a sense of the wider world	0	1	0	0	1	0
####	In the meantime, I am wondering if these great poets were still alive, What the source of their inspiration would be? How many great poems would they be able to write?	1	0	1	1	0	0
####	Finding old music you used to love is like getting back in touch with an old friend.	0	1	0	1	1	0
####	If something scares you, repeat it, find it and put yourself in that situation again and again.	0	1	0	0	1	0
####	@P***y: The intellectual person struggles with life more than the naïve person who takes life easy	0	1	1	0	1	0
####	On page 105 of 239 of novel The fairy 'Aljannia' by Ghazzi Qusabi https://t.coo9bvRE2	0	0	1	1	1	0
####	" Whats your secret? I don't know? Everything you have is stunning" Naji	0	0	1	0	0	0
####	Nothing is more attractive than someone with a passion for something	0	0	1	0	1	1
####	@3***y: #Cheers The best drink in the world is……..Tea DON'T get me wrong I'm a good muslim	1	0	0	0	0	1
####	don't bend, don't break, baby don't back down	0	0	0	0	1	0
####	❤	0	0	0	0	0	0
####	I sit before flowers, hoping they will train me in the art of opening up.	1	0	1	1	0	0
####	@a***4: They play music (Oud) it seems they are one heart and one feeling :- https://t.co/LRAzw6	1	0	1	0	0	0
####	https://t.co/r6JnEuIL	0	0	0	0	0	0
####	@e***m: How cute! https://t./uVad0HX	0	0	0	0	0	0
####	@Q***Q: This is a teacher who is skillful in how to draw by sand ..!! https://t.co/Uz7woBg	1	0	0	0	1	0
####	Some people only have the intellect and maturity to understand some parts of you and your life and that's okay.	0	1	0	0	1	1
####	Craving #Ramen ❤ https://t.co/flfIWzCI	1	0	1	0	0	0

####	pastel skies https://t.co/ogvMbu	0	0	0	0	0	0
####	Pain is so inspiring	1	0	1	0	0	0
####	@i***1: Even when are saying nothing, I listen carefully to your silence because I don't want to miss anything belongs to you.	0	0	0	0	0	1
####	Go on, freely and furiously	0	0	0	1	1	0
####	This video made my day https://t.co/7iKFAeZg	0	0	1	0	0	0
####	@J***h: Land isn't kind with us as sky is.. We all can share the sky but on land everyone fights for his own spot.	1	0	1	0	0	0
####	@k***7: My fav corner in my house, I decorated it myself... https://t.co/hUnkGl	1	1	0	0	1	0
####	@3***z: # very nice shot https://t.co/pL6q9whi6	0	0	0	0	0	0
####	It's shiny like facts, dark like fear, and far like destinations	1	0	1	0	0	0
####	@J***h: O Allah, I wish we were able to take all pain our friends suffer from. I wish I had this magical skill	0	0	1	0	0	1
####	Imagine if words killed, how many crimes we would commit!!!	0	0	1	0	1	0
####	O Allah, I rely on you just you to save her days and nights	0	0	1	0	0	1
####	All i do is sleep, eat and hope for a better future	0	0	1	0	0	0
####	Sigh	0	1	1	0	0	0
####	One thing I'm really sure of; you can do anything you set your mind to.	0	1	0	0	1	0
####	Kindred souls meet	0	1	1	0	0	1
####	Follow your inner moonlight	1	1	0	0	1	0
####	Part of me wants to give up, the other part pushes me to the edge. Pushes me to face the strong wind, telling me that I am the strongest but I am stuck in the middle between them.	0	1	1	0	1	0
####	I'd prefer death over giving up something I really love or a dream.	0	1	0	0	1	0
####	(Flowers) https://t.co/dbLLGVOY	0	0	0	0	0	0
####	I know nothing, but I am here to learn.	0	1	1	0	1	0
####	I don't even feel like breathing	1	1	1	0	0	0
####	if you are too tired to speak, sit next to me, because i am fluent in silence.	1	1	0	0	0	1
####	A superhero indeed	0	0	0	0	0	0
####	@m***s: always flirting with death	1	0	1	1	0	0
####	@fI***I: ✳ https://t.co/xKFK9V	0	0	0	0	0	0
####	@U***s: Creative works by Michael Stanford. https://t.co/3N3U6	1	0	0	0	1	0
####	I want to make beautiful things, even if nobody cares	1	1	0	0	0	0
####	So sleepy and cranky	0	0	1	0	0	0
####	When our actions are based on good intentions, our souls shall not regret it	0	1	0	1	1	0
####	fashion vs. paintings https://t.co/9eryvVD	0	0	0	0	0	0
####	This is what written on the amazing Palestinian poet Mahmoud Darwish's grave: Sleep my darling, my hair braids are covering you, peace on you https://t.co/5WLiYr	1	0	1	1	0	0

####	@r***e: Shades of nature https://t.co/A1jO7cV	0	0	0	0	0	0
####	I find it really disgusting when someone looks me in the eye and lies.	1	1	0	0	0	0
####	I have been assigned to this mountain to show others it can be moved	0	1	0	0	0	0
####	I am not afraid to walk this world alone	1	1	1	0	0	0
####	our finger prints don't fade from the lives we've touched	0	0	0	1	0	0
####	@m***8: New line of fashion : https://t.co/Abo45oJ0	1	0	0	0	0	0
####	@J***h: Art.. Is the best thing in life, it's a life..	1	0	1	0	0	0
####	I was watching Spacetoon (kids cartoon) and then they said will be back after the ads, then suddenly I found myself 24 years old	0	0	0	1	0	0
####	@3***h: I come to you when I need isolation, I speak to you when I need silence, I love you when I hate anyone. You don't need any more guarantee of my love ❤	0	1	0	0	0	1
####	@o***1: "No other company will be understanding more the woman you love" Sant Pear https://t.co/lK9bjk	0	0	0	0	1	0
####	Everyday is a second chance	0	1	1	0	1	0
####	"How can one cry out against a dream، against the dying of the light, against life that grows cold, against blood flowing out?"	0	0	1	0	1	0
####	Black coffee triple shots. Do your magic please.	1	0	1	0	0	0
####	We should respect the personal space for every individual. This space that keeps their being, their independence as a person who has the right to choose.	0	1	0	0	1	0
####	@it***m_: What an ugly ugly world.	0	0	1	0	0	0
####	@f**o: mum I am fine	0	0	0	0	0	1
####	Im such a stubborn person, oh god	1	1	0	0	0	0
####	@n***v: We will live after the hard times as if we didn't face these difficulties	0	0	0	1	0	0
####	@m***m: a little bear. https://t.co/OROIJ	0	0	0	0	0	0
####	I couldn't sleep from this chest pain and busy mind	0	0	1	0	0	0
####	" Inside every woman another hidden woman. She wakes up when she has a broken heart, when she starts believe that no one in this life with her, suddenly,she becomes stronger" Najeeb Mahfod	1	1	0	0	0	0
####	We encounter bad people in life, this is okay because it helps us to grow	0	1	0	1	1	0
####	I don't mind to cut off my hand just to sleep without being annoying when I move my hands https://t.c//pDfkyy16	1	0	0	0	0	0
####	I stand on mountain tops believing that avalanches will teach me to let go.	1	0	1	1	0	0
####	@i***ts: the sky is magical this evening https://t.co/8qf64tu	0	0	1	0	0	0
####	@W***e: it's your fault she doesn't believe anymore	0	0	0	0	1	0
####	@m***s: https://t.co/Ojgj8ciLi	0	0	0	0	0	0
####	@J***h: I never know how to balance my life. When I feel sad I cry, when I feel happy I smile, shiny smile, when my heart is broken I feel I am dying...	0	1	1	0	0	1

####	@it***m_: Again and again. https://t.co/36eMl1z	0	0	0	0	0	0
####	Do the things we say when we are sleepy count?	0	0	0	1	0	0
####	@it***m_: It's easy to judge. It's more difficult to understand.	0	1	0	0	1	0
####	I want a cloud to go to whenever im feeling sad	1	1	1	0	0	0
####	I believe, I believe.	0	1	1	0	0	0
####	Dear god, let it be a fast day	1	0	1	0	0	0
####	when I die, you'll find poetry beneath my bones, prose from my ashes and a song in my soul.	1	0	1	1	0	0
####	Heavy mind, tired heart	0	1	1	0	0	0
####	@_****r: https://t.co/MRcvFGe	0	0	0	0	0	0
####	A good workout is needed	0	1	0	0	1	0
####	@it***m_: Everybody has a secret world inside of them. Magnificent, stupid, amazing worlds. Not just one world. Hundreds of them.	1	1	1	1	1	0
####	"I'm afraid of meeting her, and not to meet her. I'm worried that the sea will drag me, the death, I am scared of life, do you undersand me?" Ameen Maaloof	1	1	1	0	0	0
####	No one can compete with you, they don't even dare	0	1	0	0	1	0
####	8 days left for the first episode of my fav TV show https://t.co/ye3g2vn	1	0	0	1	0	0
####	@I****y: "Pure Imagination" https://t.co/SsjGlIO	0	0	0	0	0	0
####	@s0***f: @i***rv " Lots of times we reject an idea just because the tune, pitch or the way you said it was unpleasing" Nietzsche	0	0	1	0	1	0
####	@t***e: scary https://t.co/uEH3hBX	0	0	0	0	0	0
###	Just be good enough for yourself, their satisfaction is never ur job	0	1	0	0	1	0
####	@E****e: Share yours with mine and let's name it neverland. https://t.co/GoOu9St	1	0	0	0	0	1
####	Belief or disbelief doesn't make delusion a fact.. Because its an emotional reaction…	0	1	0	0	1	0
####	My favorite part of the day is sleeping	1	0	0	0	0	0
####	@J***h: I wish something to happen, but when it happens I don't use the chance very well, I escape from it, so it leaves me forever...	0	1	1	1	0	0
####	My eyes close in order for me to see	1	0	1	0	0	0
####	Muslims recite the first sura of the Quran many times each day https://t.co/bh2Lmiki	1	1	0	0	0	1
####	7. Allowing past failure to haunt us. Dont let ppl control the power of your future success bcs u live with their perspective. Move forwards	0	0	0	1	1	0
####	Dislike that there are so many buildings way higher than the Ka'bah itself :/ subhanAllah	1	1	1	0	0	0
####	5. Hasad. Stop comparing urself to others.When u do, ure actly limiting ur own happiness bcs u always feel the need to look over ur shoulder	0	0	0	0	1	0
####	if the Saudi man killed the American they would immediately connect it to terrorism and all over the news #muslim	0	1	0	0	1	1
####	I used to Tweet on how plucking eyebrows is Haram for sisters.. It seems I have to Tweet the same for brothers now too!	1	1	0	0	1	0

####	#Quran is divided into chapters that are called suras https://t.co/bh2Lmiki	0	1	0	0	0	1
####	Please pray for me let Allah answer my prayers and grant my wishes, also pray for our brothers suffering everywhere	0	0	0	0	0	1
####	Sometimes bad things in life open up your eyes to the good things you weren't paying attention to before.. Always be thankful..	0	1	1	1	1	0
####	Just breathe ... it is a luxury!	0	0	1	0	1	0
####	1. Confusing happiness with success. Success is metric, measurable + linear. But happiness is not, it's expansive. -@y***m	0	1	1	1	1	0
####	Is there any moment in life when we forget our own kids? So there should be no moment when we forget the Creator	0	0	0	0	1	0
####	Say 'Alhamdulillah' 10 times and then RT. Lets see how many people we can help remind to do the remembrance of Allah!	0	1	0	0	1	0
####	I used to sleep to forget the world but now I stay awake till my head hurts to forget my pain.	1	0	0	1	0	0
####	Allah tests those He loves. If youre being tested, know that Allah loves you!	0	0	1	0	1	0
####	Seriously seeing your face every day is unbearable.	0	1	0	1	0	0
####	When we moved house, our neighbour sent us fruits and juice. How kind!	0	1	0	1	0	1
####	Muslims believe that the #Quran is the great guidance https://t.co/bh2Lmiki	1	1	0	0	0	1
####	Pain is temporary, love is forever, don't make it the other way around.	0	0	1	0	1	0
####	In 2 weeks I'll start with my dietician person my pescetarian diet back up again going to get back on track again of eating better. ✌	0	1	0	0	1	0
####	When people treat you unfairly, seek comfort in the truth. Know it in your heart that the Lord knows the truth. He's a sufficient witness.	0	0	1	0	1	0
####	@ u***l @U****n Like machine but you don't tweet much anymore, Your avi is good :) Stay blessed.	0	0	0	0	0	1
####	Allah will remember you, remind you and never leave you even when you've slipped and forgotten... #Muslim	0	0	1	0	0	1
####	Ya Allah, forgive our sins..	0	0	1	1	0	0
####	#STC I'll send you to block garbage, report as spam service. I will block you. I can do what I want cos ur the worst. I'm done.	0	1	0	0	0	0
####	Some write to satisfy followers,Others to satisfy his group,And others to satisfy his conscience,O Allah make us follow our conscience.#Some_Twitterers	0	0	0	0	1	0
####	You are so so bad, I will pray day and night for you to get bankrupt Amen Amen #NO_internet_stc	0	1	0	0	0	1
####	The next time you admire the amazing things Allah has made in this world, remember that you are one of them :) #happy #muslim	0	1	1	0	1	1
####	Every relationship has ups and downs, you should never expect perfection from somebody	0	1	0	0	1	1
####	@s****hed that's my suggestion for you if you want to burn some calories. If you take it as advice take it if not leave it. Thanks	0	0	0	0	1	1
####	How do you save yourself from yourself?	1	1	1	0	1	0
####	May Allah grant our parents jannah - Ameen	0	0	1	0	1	1
####	Sadaqah for my dad, God have mercy on him. [posted a photo of a page from the Qu'ran.	0	0	1	0	1	1

####	How to go far in life. Sheikh @y***m 's little message to all of you :-)	0	0	0	0	1	1
####	@ C***ny Because a lot of Muslims are forced to marry which is NOT Islam but tradition. So theyre unhappy from day one.	0	0	0	0	1	1
####	O Allah, Protect me as You protect Your righteous servants ☺	0	1	1	0	1	0
####	3. Blaming others. The moment u are able to feel responsible for your negligence, the easier it is for you to be happy - @y***m	0	1	1	1	1	0
####	https://t.co/3p2lHLPS	0	0	0	0	0	0
####	My friend took this pic of me when I was working out at my favorite gym #planetfitness happy to burn 1875 calories pic.twitter.com/tRdYWEMzr	0	1	1	0	0	1
####	Wallah my head hurts, people are always talking trash about others without looking at themselves and focusing on their own flaws.	1	1	0	0	1	0
####	whats the point of having so many friends but when you're at your lowest point, not even one of them is there for you.	0	1	0	0	0	1
####	When a girl says, "I miss you", no one in this world can miss you more than that	0	1	1	0	0	1
####	I support religious freedom for all. It's in the First Amendment. #Istand_with_Muslims						
####	Many scholars state that In #Quran there are scientific information that agrees with modern science	0	0	0	0	1	0
####	American Weddings Look How Beautiful they look together ☺ ☺ I wish we had the same	1	0	1	0	0	0
####	The doors of mercy are always open 24/7	0	0	1	0	1	0
####	Making #salah in the proper #manner ensures protection from #sins. If we are #praying and sinning it means our Salah needs #improvement	0	0	0	0	1	0
####	@ h***n1 Lool, 'what you doing guys 'Preparing to pray' 'pray for us to win you mean?' 'No, praying Dhuhr mate, calm down'	1	0	0	0	0	1
####	you ever just lose motivation on something you'd used to love to do?	0	0	0	1	0	0
####	4. Trying to control everything. We should reconcile that there is a power beyond our own power. This isnt a weakness but one of god's mercy	0	0	1	0	1	0
####	Don't let anybody project their fears onto you. If they aren't hitting you with positivity, encouragement, and light - shut that down.	0	1	0	0	1	0
####	2. Trying to please everyone. There's this misundestood hadeeth: You cant complete faith until u love for others what you love for yourself	0	0	1	0	1	0
####	All your answers can be found in just one prayer. Never miss a prayer.	0	0	1	0	1	0
####	May Allah save us from drugs and alcohol. Ameen.	0	0	1	0	1	0
####	Sometimes you forgive people simply because you still want them in your life,	0	1	1	0	0	1
####	Lololol no no noo! SubhanAllah this cracked me uppp! Allah guide her, yes, ameen	1	0	0	0	0	1
####	Some Christians dont even know what's in their own Bible and when they do they deny it or say it's old laws #muslim	0	1	0	0	0	1
####	Allah is answering someone's prayers through you! May Allah grant us happiness. #JummahMubarak	0	0	1	0	1	1
####	As #Muslims believe Quran was revealed by God https://t.co/bh2Lmiki	0	0	1	0	1	1
####	How much does a mother love their child? A lot right? Well Allah loves us waaaaay more than that.	0	0	1	0	1	1

####	The person who I decide to remove from my life, I close the door of memories and erase everything belonging to this moment. That's why I prefer not to go back to him, I prefer to forgive and to create distance.	0	1	0	1	0	0
####	Never ignore the person that truly loves you. Because one day you'll realize you lost the moon while you were counting the stars.,..,	0	0	0	1	0	1
####	Those who don't travel to explore other life styles will never have an understanding of the world around them or the lives of others #sayin	0	0	1	0	1	0
####	it's frustrating moment when you spend too much of times waiting to download a small video clip by using the internet service of #STC shame	0	1	0	0	0	0
####	Gentleness and kindness beautifies everything. Gentleness and kindness are virtue. These #attributes are necessary for every human being.	0	0	1	0	1	0
####	Every girl needs a good guy who can help her laugh when she thinks she'll never smile again.	0	1	0	0	0	1
####	It's a fact that No human speech can match Quran in its content https://t.co/bh2Lmiki	0	0	1	0	1	0
####	in Arabic #Quran is widely regarded as the finest piece of literature #ep3 https://t.co/bh2LR5mi	0	0	0	0	1	1
####	8. A philosophy of excess. Qanaah. True enrichment/wealth does not come from possessing the material, but from the contentment of the soul.	0	0	1	0	1	0
####	Allah never rejects our Duaas. He just answers them in different ways for us. #Alhamdullah	0	0	1	0	1	0
####	6. Self-limiting belief. Internal dialogue 'i can do it'. The sky is not the limit, our mind is. Limiting our potential = limiting happiness	0	1	0	0	1	0
####	Non Muslims think Islam has no respect for women, check out this video and see how Islam respects women... #muslim	0	1	0	0	0	1
####	My whole life I never took such care of my health or any other thing instead of my iPhone's charging cable and headphones Weird life	1	0	0	1	0	0
####	Peace and blessings of Allah be upon him.	0	0	1	0	0	0
####	9. Don't only do good when people do good to you. And when you do good dont bring it up when people dont do the same to you.	0	0	0	0	1	0
####	#STC you have the worst internet ever. Ugh kinda creepy it turns off thousands of time a day, and now Its being slow in loading this tweet	0	1	0	0	0	0
####	[reply: 'So no one can blame us for living in Saudi – @M****hx]	0	1	0	0	1	1
####	Chilling with my homies pic.twitter.com/p24vOUszR	0	0	1	0	0	1
####	Based on #media this world is filled with messed up and crazy people! I'm just saying.	1	0	0	0	1	0
####	Alhamduli Allah life is so much better when you don't involve outsiders in your personal matters	1	1	0	0	0	1
####	#Ramadan is not just about fasting. It is also a time for spiritual reflection and devoting yourselves to worship and prayer.	0	0	1	0	1	1
####	Seeing that one person, even if it is just for a short period of time, but it still manages to makes your day.	0	0	1	0	0	1
####	may Allah remove all the sadness from your soul and replace it with happiness	0	0	0	0	0	1
####	O Allah, guide us to what You like, And what pleases You #JummahMubarak	0	0	1	0	0	0
####	Everything happens for a reason. Know that better times will come. Every hardship teaches u a lesson and every lesson forms your character.	0	0	1	1	1	0
####	It's better to live your own life imperfectly than to imitate someone else's perfectly.,	1	1	1	1	1	0

####	Alhamdulillah for this blessing of being given Islam.	0	0	1	0	0	1
####	#nofilterneeded A beautiful Sunday seaside drive on our last day Now to suit up and go https://t.co/jsI5iFLv	1	0	2	0	0	0
####	Hey now! Education prevents brainwashing comformity!!! #CriticalThinking #LifeSkills101 https://t.co/pTHY3wjY	0	0	0	0	1	0
####	Hit a PR today of 2:14 today Way better than last year!!!!!! Wooohoooooo!!!!!… https://t.co/20n88S6V	0	1	0	1	1	0
####	The face in the sky that was there just for me! #tonightssunsetwasbreathtaking	1	0	1	0	0	0
####	Pssssst Happy Happy Birthday @y***an !!! Mishooo!	0	0	0	0	0	1
####	Wearing the Rhett Eala BETTINA sleeveless dress. https://t.co/lJ1Ny2Tl	1	1	0	0	0	0
####	Dear 21K runners, I have an important announcement. The number of sign-ups for the 21K category… https://t.co/uux5DAkR	0	0	0	0	1	1
####	Missing my little, now big, nugget Milo William today. How the times flies... misslivalittle… https://t.co/1gWziJ	0	0	0	1	0	1
####	Please excuse as I'm about to flood Instagram with photos from today's heartwarming run of 7000 runners	0	0	1	0	2	0
####	See ya my loves! https://t.co/8cO5nO9k	0	0	0	0	0	1
####	Happy Birthday to my beautiful daughter @vi***! so proud of you! I love you so much! ❤ … https://t.co/PhxmMb9o	0	0	0	0	0	1
####	See ya!!!!! The run singlet looks good on you! https://t.co/zWxgOH	0	0	0	0	0	1
####	Hahahaha! It'll be worth it! https://t.co/jhmogrq6	0	0	0	0	0	0
####	Happy 12th anniversary to my loves @r***2 I can't believe it! 12 years!!! Crazy! I will never tire of telling all of you...	0	0	0	1	0	1
####	Hands up if you're nervous and excited at the same time for your run!!!!! You got this. We got this!	0	1	0	0	1	1
####	Love it!!!! https://t.co/MY0YCy1i	0	0	0	0	0	0
####	It's never too late to reinvent yourself. #NewYou #Motivation #Inspiration #Createpositivity https://t.co/xitV7RhD4	0	1	0	1	1	0
####	Change can be abstract& complicated but if UR kind during the process remember 2LOVE those were there 4U,U'll pull through destiny's plan.x	0	0	0	1	1	1
####	... how very much appreciated all the effort and support you guys have given me the past 12 years! Happy anniversary @r****2	0	0	0	1	0	1
####	Our last lunch in our favorite little seaside community. Heaven heaven heaven https://t.co/6XmfbN	1	0	1	0	0	0
####	Thaaaaaaank you https://t.co/LgVrSUel	0	0	0	0	0	1
####	Awwww yey!!! Thaaaaank you!!! ❤ ❤ ❤ https://t.co/NeNKUwW3	0	0	0	0	0	1
####	He is running 10km with his crossfit fambam! https://t.co/Z6JJ1VpH	0	0	0	0	0	1
####	Every morning. https://t.co/oESlWFyV	0	0	0	0	0	0
####	Yey!!!! ❤ ❤ ❤ https://t.co/sWdVFLE6	0	0	0	0	0	0
####	Late dinner and carb loading Na for my 21km tomorrow See you guys for the big event	0	1	0	0	1	1
####	Hard working businesses; a dedicated charity sector - see how the cloud helps them achieve via @Wo***e blog	0	0	0	0	1	0

	https://t.co/sIrYO3cU						
####	Yehey!!!! https://t.co/AnJO37x	0	0	0	0	0	0
####	@s*****s: I am blown away by all your support and wonderful messages.	0	0	0	0	0	1
####	With our youngest runner, Thomas who is only 6 months old!!!! Thank you for joining our special… https://t.co/BBfHHdD	0	0	0	0	0	1
####	I gotta work harder to get on this list!! https://t.co/7QWlVXLY	0	1	0	0	1	0
####	Keeping up with the changes ahead for charities? Join @c****st at their breakfast meeting on 5 May https://t.co/GknwkOg	0	0	0	0	1	0
####	Patiently wait and everything will come around full circle....it always does.	0	0	0	1	1	0
####	This is where you get the delicious fried in veggie oil dill pickles. #deliciousgoodbadfood https://t.co/kvIulkx	1	0	1	0	0	0
####	The weekend is here! Which means there are only a couple of days to go before the big day https://t.co/6a58U4K9	0	1	0	1	0	0
####	Hubba Bubba!!! Thank you mnllondon for my Charlotte Tilbury goodies! Can't wait to use them https://t.co/EcItl2iB	1	0	0	0	0	1
####	Another little cutie participant part of 8 and below 500m dash category I ran 21km… https://t.co/ai6NgSv1	0	0	0	0	0	1
####	So proud of you my precious daughter! Oh how I love this jacket you're wearing https://t.co/bTumyqxM	0	0	0	0	0	1
####	Remember... what will BE will BE... LET the UNIVERSE take you there!	0	0	1	1	1	0
####	Yey!!! See you there!!!! https://t.co/GzzCNiw9	0	0	0	0	0	1
####	Last walk on the beach with the fur babies was divine! #perfectday #chickenburgerthedog https://t.co/Sj7cvDm5	1	0	1	0	0	0
####	Yahoo!!!! Team @u***ls happy that it was a successful fun run day! Thank you for everything https://t.co/VEg0GHDa	0	1	0	0	0	1
####	Trust that God has a plan for you	1	0	1	1	1	0
####	Take this beautiful Saturday and run with it! #whatwillbewillbe #destiny #fate #karma #godswill https://t.co/OsZ9NANf	0	0	1	1	0	0
####	Really? Ok powz. https://t.co/ehRG6HOh	0	0	0	0	0	0
####	@pi***0: April 19 !!! can't wait!! @a****h	0	1	0	1	0	1
####	Recently followed by a @TEDx speaker. #goals #thankful https://t.co/xdwwUXpr	0	1	0	0	1	0
####	See ya!!!!! Rain or Shine!!!! https://t.co/fBkTdAxH	0	0	0	0	0	1
####	Yey!!!! https://t.co/KWFvswx	0	0	0	0	0	0
####	This happened last year and will be happening again this Sunday with 7000 runners Thank you for being a HERO! https://t.co/ZbTYfQJZ	0	0	1	1	0	1
####	Had the funniest conversation with a TELENOID today. I'm serious. It was a full on convo.… https://t.co/YIU2i01	1	0	0	0	0	0
####	How can you use data to enhance your campaigning? Read our blog from @Sp****t https://t.co/V2M3YUz…	0	0	0	0	1	0
####	Love you all so much!!!!! Musta si @f****25 ???? https://t.co/ftDlNY0l	0	0	0	0	0	1
####	R-E-S-P-E-C-T https://t.co/XQn7uiFd	0	0	0	0	0	0
####	Mon Amour @e***ff video https://t.co/uRRwqJ5G	0	0	0	0	0	1

####	https://t.co/0rrEsQyN Well alrighty then! :) :)	0	0	0	0	0	0
####	From one event to another! Time to meet & finalize our #CharityRun happening this Sunday https://t.co/qOyFUNXd	0	0	1	1	0	1
####	Look real? It's not. Took a lesson on how to make display food samples! See my perfect… https://t.co/7uAN2WE	1	1	0	0	0	0
####	What a great tribute! https://t.co/wIaBUIf	0	0	0	0	0	0
####	Yehey!!!!!! See you on Sunday!!!! https://t.co/gZqbO9YT	0	0	0	0	0	1
####	For sure!!!!!!!!! ❤ Thaaaaank you!!!! https://t.co/LBTzoobQ	0	0	0	0	0	1
####	Super neat flat lay! Hihihi! Happy running!!!! https://t.co/GDxkSCr6	0	0	0	0	0	1
####	On my way to work!! traffic	0	0	1	0	0	0
####	Thank you for covering such a meaningful cause to me https://t.co/iKBfwh1	0	1	1	0	1	0
####	Yes!!!!!! https://t.co/xsh07WLo	0	0	0	0	0	0
####	So cool! https://t.co/gwbJVjK3	0	0	0	0	0	0
####	High five from @c***6, Ms Lotta Sylwander and myself for our new friend Andrei https://t.co/uI4fom6T	0	0	0	0	0	1
####	❤ ❤ ❤ ❤ ❤ ❤ ❤ https://t.co/PL7dtZeD	0	0	0	0	0	0
####	It's so easy to be kind. To show love and not let jealousy and or hate control your actions	0	0	0	0	1	0
####	Dear god, never make me give up, even if the journey was long and hard, even if it was killing me.	0	0	1	1	1	0
####	Thank you l****d for being a hero for children today and joining the 5km run! cute https://t.co/zHOmNx2i	0	0	0	0	1	1
####	@T****d: The role of charity trustees in a changing environment https://t.co/PlltvT https://t.co/9eJAg	0	0	1	0	1	0
####	BOOM! https://t.co/DPvfFpgo	0	0	0	0	0	0
####	Hahaha! CUTE! xo https://t.co/4w2krnYQ	0	0	0	0	0	0
####	Sometimes, I freaking love sports. #Honor #Respect https://t.co/xXC3qfZ	1	0	1	0	1	0
####	Thank you for being a SUPER HERO today Niah. You don't have to finish first place to be a winner https://t.co/YmRfm5St	0	0	0	0	1	1
####	You got this!!!!! https://t.co/KMlmPJzG	0	0	0	0	1	1
####	Good Morning Runners!!! See you all at the start line! You got this!!!!	0	0	0	0	1	1
####	I had to blow this pic up of my dearest darling daughter and light of my life… https://t.co/mFxA33kW	0	0	0	0	0	1
####	Today would not have been possible without the help of our sponsors too! https://t.co/nUIzbgTE	0	1	0	0	0	0
####	Trust before you love. Know before you judge. Commit before you promise. Forgive before you forget.	0	0	0	1	1	0
####	Congratulations to @p***ts and all the designers - Rajo, Rhett, Randy and Maureen https://t.co/3yXDsnju	0	0	0	0	0	1
####	Enjoy your 5km run today https://t.co/Lf1X1qoo	0	0	0	0	0	1
####	nothing harder than realizing how alone you actually are	1	1	0	0	0	1
####	Do you believe in forever ????	0	0	1	1	0	0
####	Rudeness is not a form of strength. It is the imitation of weakness. #peace_love	0	1	0	0	1	0
####	Our time together was bliss. Now it's just a memory missed.	0	0	0	1	0	1

####	Your love is like a river. Always running through my body.	0	0	0	1	0	1
####	couple of pictures from my trip https://pbs.twimg.com/media/Cd3xttvYl.jpg	1	0	1	0	0	0
####	Nothing will come to you if you don't try. If you want to get close to the Almighty, set daily goals. Push yourself. Be consistent.	0	0	1	0	1	0
####	This is worth the 32 seconds of your lives, please watch @Z***B_ in action	0	0	0	0	1	1
####	It's not my responsibility to be beautiful. I'm not alive for that purpose. My existence is not about how desirable you find me.	1	1	0	0	0	0
####	I hope you find someone who will be afraid to lose you.	0	1	0	0	0	1
####	my heart has been aching for a very, very long time	0	0	0	1	0	1
####	@Sh***dy: Sing For The Moment https://t.co/ldu8qwgs	1	0	1	0	1	1
####	Like for a follow back. Don't be shy.	0	1	0	0	0	0
####	If you wanted me , you would just say so , And if I were you , I would never let me go ..	0	1	0	0	0	1
####	@U***n: The most precious thing a person has is his brain. Obedience and following others' methods kills your freedom	1	0	0	0	1	0
####	@s***e: Audrey Hepburn in Paris, 1955. https://t.co/qMVDd2sc	0	0	0	0	0	0
####	This generation has the worst communication skills	1	0	0	0	0	0
####	I want flowers to grow in the darkest parts of me	1	0	1	0	0	0
####	I do not have a new account. Someone has created one pretending to be me. PLEASE BE AWARE.	1	0	0	0	0	0
####	If your soul is broken Don't break my heart…#enoughsaid	0	1	0	0	0	1
####	@W***A_: Admiration is to stop 5 hours in front of a beautiful painting in the museum. Love is to stop 5 mins then you come back to steal her at night...	1	1	1	0	0	0
####	Love is hidden. So don't look for it. It will come to you.	0	1	0	0	1	1
####	Lol me, when Im married in sha Allah	0	1	0	1	0	0
####	https://youtu.be/5-cfd3I this truly brought me to tears, must watch one of my favorite Surahs in the Qur'aan	1	0	1	0	1	0
####	Love too much. Love too little. It's never just right.	0	1	0	1	0	0
####	O my God, Look at that face; You look like Qatar's Mistake.	0	0	0	0	0	1
####	Depression is a time bomb slowly counting down from within. Take care of people that are going through rough times. Give unconditional love.	0	0	0	0	1	0
####	I guess I'm officially famous on Twitter.	1	1	0	0	0	0
####	If you love someone tell them because hearts are often broken by words left unspoken.	0	0	0	0	1	1
####	@J***ia: If you keep digging, you'll find many flaws in me, so it is your choice to keep digging or to keep loving.	0	1	0	0	0	1
####	The man who does not value himself, cannot value anything or anyone.	0	1	0	0	1	0
####	Think a lot of men need to get this into their heads	1	0	0	0	1	0
####	Some people work hard to have the body they have and some people just pay for body parts. Lol	0	1	0	0	0	0
####	When you find out other people's problems, wallahi you realize that your problems are small.	0	0	1	0	1	1

####	Hello from sunny Paris but still cold kinda day ❤	1	0	1	0	0	0
####	Ranao resto	0	0	1	0	0	0
####	My dad thought the view was pretty. I thought I was prettier.	1	1	0	0	0	0
####	Hey there, I exist.	0	1	1	0	0	0
####	A special request Take me out of your mind…I want to sleep.....	0	1	1	0	0	0
####	@ l***h2 I guess you're not always right then? Lol	0	1	0	0	0	1
####	Your glorification of the religious man as a symbol of humility and integrity, with his proposal to prevent women from praying at the Kaaba, links humility and integrity with persecution of women, thank you.	1	0	0	0	1	0
####	Thank you! I'm not perfect, slowly learning	0	1	0	1	0	0
####	Most misunderstandings in the world could be avoided if people would simply take the time to ask, "What else could this mean? #truth	0	0	0	0	1	0
####	We sure miss you @M***i	0	0	0	0	0	1
####	I changed my name and my @ name. *_____*	1	1	0	0	0	0
####	It's a strange world we live in. You love a person today and tomorrow pretend they don't exist.	0	0	0	1	0	1
####	@i****v: This museum's details are very beautiful .http://t.c?oxIa8pNq	0	0	1	0	1	1
####	Women who love themselves are threatening; but men who love real women, more so.	1	0	0	0	1	0
####	Anyways, bottom line is, doing good for the sake of recognition defeats the entire purpose of your action. Let the outcome speak for itself.	0	0	1	0	1	0
####	Who owns my hurt ....Answer : me	1	1	0	0	0	0
####	one person followed me and 2 people unfollowed me // automatically checked by	0	0	0	0	0	0
####	I can't lie, I miss u	0	0	0	0	0	1
####	@ M****si Typical Saudi response lets hope theyve learnt that lesson lol	1	0	0	0	1	1
####	I give and give until I am empty	1	1	0	0	0	0
####	Thank you! It is people like you who make my day brighter.	0	0	1	0	0	1
####	If you have some haters that means you're doing something right.	0	1	0	0	1	0
####	@i***v: Body art https://t.co/G1x=mhnec	0	0	0	0	0	0
####	I wish Google knew if he loved me.	0	0	0	0	0	1
####	@s***e: when the winds became a woman. https://t.co/TlDTHi	1	1	0	0	0	0
####	@s***e: https://t.co/0GbfqbS8	0	0	0	0	0	0
####	Let your heart beat with purpose.	0	0	1	0	1	0
####	@P***y: https://t.co/0AjM3	0	0	0	0	0	0
####	I want to radiate and reflect Allah's love	0	0	1	0	0	1
####	A smile makes all the difference.	1	0	1	0	0	0
####	Happy birthday sweet Layla, and thanks to all friends and family who came .	0	0	0	0	0	1
####	People Here Are Changed Now. Don't Understand My Silent As Weakness. :(	1	1	0	0	0	0

####	@ L***x Paris is ready for #GloryDaysRoadTrip	1	0	1	0	0	0
####	Some people just want you to feel bad over nothing so that they can satisfy their evil souls	1	1	0	0	1	0
####	@o***l Let go of the people who left. They don't want you holding onto them.	0	0	0	1	1	1
####	Long t shirts & long hair	1	0	0	0	0	0
####	I hate it when people know too much about me	1	0	0	0	0	1
####	Be careful who you trust because people do not have the best interest for you	0	0	1	0	1	1
####	realize & accept he doesn't want you & stop thinking its your fault or there's something wrong with you because there's nothing wrong with you	0	1	0	0	1	1
####	Allah is really the best friend anyone could have, constantly there,and not only will He NOT spread your business,but He can actually help you	0	0	1	0	1	0
####	Every moment counts....So make every moment worthwhile.	0	0	1	0	1	0
####	Sometimes I'm disappointed in myself, because I know I'm better than the choices I make and the things I choose to deal with.	0	1	0	1	0	0
####	If you haven't played 'UNO', you're missing out, lol	0	0	1	0	1	0
####	Never stop learning, because life never stops teaching	0	0	1	1	1	0
####	Sometimes we can't help who we love and we also can't stop it.	0	0	1	0	0	1
####	First Night in Paris with these beauties @sh*****lli p******shi @f****a thank you… https://www.instagram.com/p/BHD0v/	1	0	1	0	0	1
####	Only on Twitter do I get excited when strangers follow me.	1	1	0	0	0	1
####	Nothing belongs to us, even the air that we inhale must be exhaled.	0	0	0	0	1	1
####	There's nothing more annoying than people who expect recognition for every little thing they do.	1	0	0	0	1	0
####	Ya Allah, please give me patience and save me from hating anyone	0	0	1	0	0	0
####	I hate oppression, humilation, oppression of people by poverty, fear, ignorance. I would hate to live and die without gaining knowledge or even knowing that I missed all this knowledge and beauty because I didn't feel them…	1	0	1	1	0	0
####	Thank you ❤	0	0	0	0	1	0
####	We get bitter of what others have but the biggest blessing is tomorrow. If you wake when millions don't, say Alhamdulillah. You're blessed!	0	0	1	0	1	0
####	Hmm; a draw is likely but for some reason i get a feeling it definitely wont be. We'll see, lol	1	0	1	0	0	0
####		0	0	0	0	0	0
####	You can be anything you want in life, nothing is stopping this pigeon, he wants to be a peacock.	0	1	0	0	1	0
####	If the plan doesn't work, change the plan but never the goal …	0	0	0	1	1	0
####	Take 5 times out of your day to separate yourself from the world.	1	0	0	0	1	0
####	good girl, got her mind right, that's a girl that been raised right.	0	0	0	0	1	0
####	racism is getting worse everywhere, I must say.	0	0	0	0	1	0
####	The more you are thankful for what you have, the more you'll have to be thankful for.	0	0	1	0	1	0

####	How the same thing making you sad making you stay?	0	0	0	0	1	1
####	Just stick to your own self...We have enough real life actors	1	0	0	0	1	0
####	I'm pretty content with life right now	0	1	1	0	0	0
####	@p****l EXACTLY	0	0	0	0	0	1
####	You start to feel old if you let the world move on without you.	0	0	1	1	0	0
####	I'm trying, I really am	1	0	0	1	1	0
####	Caught in a daydream	0	0	1	0	0	0
####	I was asleep and now I'm on twitter. Oh, life.	0	0	1	0	0	0
####	Killing time on Twitter	0	0	1	0	0	0
####	Time is standing still	0	0	1	1	0	0
####	Long dark night of the soul coming up	0	0	1	0	0	0
####	Mama, just killed a man	0	0	1	0	0	0
####	@v**** I pulled up to the house about 7 or 8	0	0	1	1	0	1
####	What if this is it?	0	0	1	0	0	0
####	@a**** and I yelled to the cabbie yo home smell you later	0	0	0	1	0	1
####	Love my babes https://t.co/6iANsptP	0	0	1	0	0	1
####	When nobody misses you	0	1	0	0	0	1
####	I love Paris in the springtime… so why am I stuck in rainy UK?	1	0	1	0	0	0
####	@tr****k: that library with the lonely piano is waiting for us	1	0	1	0	0	1
####	Guys... I've officially broke a nail!!	1	0	1	0	0	1
####	And if the Universe couldn't get any more magnificent, there's this https://t.co/5Ht2ZsF2	1	0	1	0	0	0
####	I snapped this from a picture of me as a baby hanging on the wall here in my parents' house https://t.co/bgQ4aEv3	0	0	0	1	0	1
####	@P*****y there's still time ya know	0	0	0	0	0	1
####	#FamEli Thanks for your consistent love!	0	0	0	0	0	1
####	@v**** when a couple of guys they were up to no good	0	0	1	1	0	1
####	Isn't he adorable! #guineapig https://t.co/g74cU9m3	1	0	0	0	0	0
####	I've never won anything in my life, not even a raffle	0	1	0	1	0	0
####	OMGoodness davidcroland Look what I found as I'm unpacking some of my treasures https://t.co/sMV5KVf3	0	0	1	1	0	1
####	Love ❤ @g***i Metallic Loafer and it comes in several colors... Even red! https://t.co/87hE59SN	1	0	0	0	0	0
####	It's not a Sunday if u don't spend it sleeping n eating n reevaluating life	0	0	1	1	0	0
####	@a**** to sit on my throne	0	0	1	1	0	1
####	Tonight I had the honour to be in a room full of furry,short haired,long haired,4 legged heroes.	1	0	1	0	0	0
####	Sweet dreams are made of this, who am I to disagree	0	0	1	0	0	0

####	@a**** the licence plate said fresh and it had dice in the mirrrrrr	0	0	1	1	0	1
####	Got those childcare skillz, don't know what the fuss is about @c***7 [runs and hides]	0	1	0	0	1	1
####	How wonderful!	0	0	1	0	0	0
####	Have you ever seen two cats in a wooden crate? Have now https://t.co/TvyPvvp2	1	0	0	0	0	0
####	I really don't have a "type". I just like what I like	1	0	0	1	0	0
####	That's all I can stands, and I can't stands no more!!!	1	1	0	0	0	0
####	@M****9 Ahhh no I think snake island would be a step too far for me	0	0	0	0	0	1
####	Thank you, @t***ot This made my Saturday! https://t.co/AEbAgy7o	0	0	1	0	0	1
####	Wonder what fate has in store for us?	0	0	0	1	0	0
####	Thinking of that wrigleys ad from the 80s (early 90s?) with the couple on the bus	0	0	0	1	0	0
####	@v**** I whistled for a cab and when it came near	0	0	1	1	0	1
####	@a**** pleasure doing business with you	0	0	1	1	0	1
####	@a**** Now this is the story all about how my life got flipped turned upside down	0	0	1	1	0	1
####	I need this set https://t.co/TgLPOAxL	1	0	0	0	0	0
####	I only ever seem to sneeze when I'm sitting in that one chair	1	0	0	0	0	0
####	Language is the first weapon drawn in a conflict.	0	0	0	0	1	0
####	@o****ge: I will always have love for art and poetry and music & people who fit into my soul without having to try	1	0	1	1	0	1
####	Plus there is a similar place for stray cats. My question is why am I not there right now?	1	0	0	0	0	0
####	Stay classy	0	0	0	0	1	0
####	I want an anglepoise lamp. Somebody buy me an anglepoise lamp!!	1	0	1	0	0	0
####	(Inane grin)	1	0	0	0	0	0
####	My precious Lula Rose... ❤ Happy Sunday! https://t.co/RwQNM4r6	0	0	0	0	0	1
####	@a**** she said YOUR MOVING WITH YOUR AUNTY AND UNCLE IN BEL AIR	0	0	1	1	0	1
####	MacBook Pro or air?	1	1	0	0	0	0
####	I think a BLT legitimately tastes better when someone else makes it for you.	0	0	1	0	0	1
####	@a**** but I thought nah forget it YO HOME TO BEL AIR	0	0	1	1	0	1
####	This cracked me up @J****g https://t.co/OANkImyj	1	0	0	0	0	1
####	Well THAT was unexpected	1	0	1	0	0	0
####	@v**** AS THE PRINCE OF BEL AIR	0	0	1	1	0	1
####	@a**** I'll tell you how I became the prince of a town call bel air	0	0	1	1	0	1
####	@v**** chillout relaxin maxin all cool	0	0	1	1	0	1
####	Somewhere in Japan they have an island populated entirely by rabbits and you can go there and pet them and feed them	1	0	0	0	0	0

####	@v****_ Red Dwarf was the best	0	0	1	1	0	0
####	@9****q No need to get shirty ;)	1	0	0	0	0	1
####	@a**** shootin some bball outside the skool	0	0	1	1	0	1
####	Babysitting for my adorable niece and nephew tonight	0	0	1	0	0	1
####	@v**** born &raised	0	0	1	1	0	1
####	Let it be... What will be will be... Stay still and silent while the devils do their dirty work…. https://t.co/4rjnw3cg	1	0	0	0	1	0
####	@v**** I looked at my kingdom I was finally there	0	0	1	1	0	1
####	@M****y: Here's the link,check it out https://t.co/IdT0yyyU	0	0	0	0	1	0
####	I don't want a fly guy, I just want a shy guy	1	0	1	0	0	1
####	…but is it art?	1	0	1	0	0	0
####	@a**** started making trouble in my neighbourhood	0	0	1	1	0	1
####	You pay for the taxi and I'll buy you a drink inside the club' is the biggest lie ever	1	0	0	0	0	0
####	Wow!!!! Thaaaaaaaaank you!!!!! ❤ ❤ ❤ ❤ https://t.co/dKyeJw5	0	0	1	0	0	1
####	Sunday musings and words for the wise https://t.co/K7pGmIgS	0	0	1	0	1	0
####	Does anyone remember that weird trend in the 90's where kids costumes would be dresses or onesies with the character on the costume?	0	0	0	1	0	1
####	@A***r: 7yr Sister: A boy told me he had a crush on me at school Me: what did you say to him Sis: nothing, I just stood there quietly…	0	1	0	0	0	1
####	@v**** I got in one little fight and my moms got scared	0	0	1	1	0	1
####	@a**** on the playground was where I spent most of my days	0	0	1	1	0	1
####	Thank you so sweet! Hope to be back soon amazing night https://t.co/4XgBRTPwIm	0	0	1	0	0	1
####	@v**** Iiiiiiin	0	0	0	0	0	1
####	"Being happy doesn't mean that everything is perfect. It means that you've decided to look beyond the imperfections."	0	0	1	0	1	0
####	@v**** and I'd like to take a minute just sit right there	0	0	1	1	0	1
####	@3****c …but then again maybe not	0	0	0	0	0	1
####	@t****ss: This woman is precious and I love her. https://t.co/40Yl9Pgh	0	0	1	0	0	1
####	Waiting for someone to text me	0	1	0	0	0	1
####	@a**** West Philadelphia	0	0	1	1	0	1
####	Afternoon hangout spot. https://t.co/FgcKAXtu	0	0	1	0	0	0
####	Oh my god this is so deep and it gives me mixed emotions. I find it really beautiful https://t.co/AFQA27HT	1	0	1	0	0	0
####	Life is about constantly moving on. Whether it's finding a new book to read, a new job, or even finding someone new.	0	0	1	1	1	0

####	WOW! Waterspout seen Friday near Iskenderun, Turkey. Video credit: Atalay Bilgin. #Tornado #Turkey https://t.co/6FN35Ut9	0	0	1	0	0	0
####	Can you miss a place you only visited once?	0	0	1	1	0	0
####	@v**** if anything I can say that this cab was rare	0	0	1	1	0	1
####	Chilling with the girls	0	0	1	0	0	1
####	Don't give up the ghost	0	0	0	0	1	0
####	I miss Patrick Swayze :'(	0	0	1	1	0	0
####	Just me and you baby	0	0	0	0	0	1
####	How cute!!!! ❤ https://t.co/2asD46u8	0	0	0	0	0	0
####	Tried belly dancing for the first (and quite possibly the last) time last night!	1	0	1	0	0	0
####	What can it mean?	0	0	1	0	0	0
####	Don't wanna come home #barcelona	1	0	1	0	0	0
####	Barcelona is amazing!	1	0	1	0	0	0
####	Or even a fisherman	1	0	0	0	0	0
####	When the sun fades something, where does the color go?	1	0	0	0	0	0
####	What is it about coughs that make them fuck you over at night? Literally don't know how I've survived 3 days	0	0	1	0	0	1
####	What happens after the happy endings in movies, where do they go and did it last? Why is no one making a movie about what really happens	1	0	1	0	0	0
####	You have to have a dream so you can get up in the morning	0	0	1	1	1	0
####	Messi comes on, scores. God of football.	1	0	1	0	0	0
####	Just a fish would do me right now tbh	1	0	1	0	0	0
####	Every dog has its day	0	0	0	0	1	0
####	The weather here is so warm! Wish it was like this in the UK	1	0	0	0	0	0
####	Messi on the bench WTF? He'd better play!!	1	0	1	0	0	0
####	Great night at #CampNou, best stadium I have seen and also the best team @FCBarcelona	1	0	1	0	0	0
####	Music is helping through two viruses and a pulled muscle. #legdance	0	0	1	0	0	0
####	My digs for the next week #barcelona	1	0	1	0	0	0
####	Messi makes it 4-2 [picture included]	1	0	1	0	0	0
####	I'm pretty good at self control, but I am easily moved	0	1	0	0	0	0
####	I wish we caould put them in like a hole or something... like a really deep hole and then just leave them	0	0	1	0	0	0
####	Las ramblas with the boyz [picture included] #barcelona	0	0	1	0	0	1
####	Barcelona, preliminary review: Good coffee, excellent dogs	1	0	1	0	0	0
####	Everybody* in Barcelona is being really nice about my terrible Spanish *taxi driver and hotel receptionist	0	1	1	0	0	0
####	Warm beautiful evening	0	0	1	0	0	0

####	Posing https://t.co/7fwNEtOf	0	0	0	0	0	0
####	It's sweater weather hehe	0	0	1	0	0	0
####	Or just a friend	0	1	0	0	0	1
####	We get drunk on words. We get drunk on people.	0	0	1	0	0	1
####	You keep putting one foot in front of the other, and then one day you look back and you've climbed a mountain	0	1	1	1	1	0
####	FFS flight delayed thanks for nothing @easyJet	0	0	0	0	1	0
####	Here at the Nou Camp about to watch #messi, #xavi, #iniesta etc, can't wait!	1	0	1	0	0	0
####	Tapas mmmm [picture included]	0	0	1	0	0	0
####	Honestly free food tastes better than food you pay for regardless of what type of food it is.	1	0	1	0	0	0
####	Bored of being ill now. Send leprechauns	1	0	1	0	0	0
####	I've woken every two hours feeling sick. I don't understand why when it's like fluey symptoms normally	0	0	1	0	0	0
####	Pfft who cares #thatcher	1	0	1	0	0	1
####	Saturdays have always been good to me	0	0	1	1	0	0
####	It's good. https://t.co/iBXHxp	0	0	0	0	0	0
####	I said it before and I'll say it again, Barcelona is amazing. Thank you for the memories!!	1	0	1	1	0	0
####	Barceloneta reminds me of Torquay somehow	1	0	0	1	0	0
####	Sunlight is burning my eyes	0	0	1	0	0	0
####	always flirting with death	1	0	0	1	0	0
####	Okay I take it back staff have been really helpful and we got complimentary drinks :D	0	0	1	0	0	0
####	Staring at this in real life took me to another dimension. https://t.co/CPn0MdiK	1	0	1	0	0	0
####	@p****de: ok i love this but also your voice omg another reason to love u https://t.co/WC*****rjy	0	0	1	0	0	1
####	Hotel brunch buffets are the most efficient carb delivery systems yet invented	1	0	0	0	0	0
####	Why can't I just sleep like normal people, without waking up every 5 minutes	1	0	0	1	0	0
####	Today's episode of Things It Shouldn't Have Taken Me 24 Hours To Figure Out: if I can't connect to any wifi, restart my phone	1	0	0	0	1	0
####	i have insomnia	1	0	1	0	0	0
####	@S****hal: Hottie	0	0	0	0	0	1
####	Making tea is a ritual that stops the world from falling in on you.	0	0	1	1	0	0
####	Cancer sucks.	0	0	1	0	0	0
####	Bona nit everyone! (Catalan for goodnight)	1	0	0	0	1	1
####	I'm going to the Picasso museum so get ready for at least one shitty Kanye joke coming up today	1	0	0	0	0	0
####	This is cool -- for decades, Barceloneans argued about what to do with this space https://t.co/vR3UAI7H	1	0	0	0	1	0
####	Bless my mum ❤	0	0	1	0	0	1
####	Wicked night out @Fabric with my boyz @L**** @S**** & S****	0	0	1	0	0	1

####	Lots of people love the Sagrada Familia but I think it's a little...Gaudí. See, because it was… https://t.co/grmsprULnm	1	0	0	0	1	0
####	Only then I realized that there're peaks beyond peaks. https://t.co/gPEniw	0	0	1	0	1	0
####	Nou Camp [picture included]	1	0	1	0	0	0
####	2 weeks until Barcelona!	0	0	1	1	0	0
####	Music tastes better in the dark	1	0	1	0	0	0
####	I lost another set of earphones, why life?	0	0	1	0	0	0
####	Update: wine is super cheap here, god bless Barcelona	1	0	0	0	0	0
####	Need a fisherman's friend	1	0	1	0	0	0
####	Really, though. In theory, Barca is coated in WiFi, but I'm finding most hotspots are unreliable at best. https://t.co/bYRjN3GX	1	0	0	0	1	0
####	If you made a word cloud of all the Spanish I've used here I think CON and PERMISO would be the huge words in the center	1	1	0	0	0	0
####	I need help sleeping	1	0	1	0	0	0
####	Olympic park [picture included] #barcelona	1	0	1	0	0	0
####	Argh I'm going offline but I'll be back.. Night	0	0	1	0	0	1

Appendix 4

Study 4 – Recruiting Advert

Recruitment advert:

Dear Online social network user:

I am doing my PhD at University of Sussex, and I would like to invite you to take part in my study on how online social networks (OSNs) have an impact on our identity.

You are eligible for this study if you are 18 years old or above and consider yourself to be an active user meaning that you use one or more OSN (e.g. Facebook, Twitter) most days a week.

To take part, you will need to complete a set of questionnaires, measuring different aspects of individual's personal and social identity, this will take about 30 minutes. We will also offer participants the chance to enter a prize draw (first prize £50, second prize £25).

If you meet these requirements and interested in learning more about this study, please click on the link below to find out more information and complete the online survey.

It is entirely your decision if you wish to respond to our invitation to participate in our study; although your time would be very much appreciated. You do not have to respond if you are not interested in this study.

Thank you for your time and consideration.

Sincerely,

Heyla Selim

Study 4 – Information Sheet

Information Sheet

Dear Participant,

Thank you for your interest in this study.

We are attempting to understand how online social networks have an impact on our identity. To do so, we are asking participants to complete an anonymous survey which asks them for their personal views about online identity: personal aspirations and motivations for identity, social and cultural aspects of self and identity. This is an important research area: we need a better understanding of factors that can have an impact on our identity when we engage with the online world.
The survey should take no longer than 30 minutes to complete.

In return for your participation, we would like to offer you the opportunity to enter a prize draw for a first prize of £50 and a second prize of £25.
All information collected will be kept strictly confidential. Survey respondents will remain completely anonymous.

You can withdraw from the study at any point without any explanation. As the study is anonymous, however, it will be difficult to withdraw your responses once you have finished the survey and submitted your answers.

Your participation is invaluable. Thank you in advance for completing this online survey.

Heyla Selim & Dr. Karen Long.
School of Psychology
University of Sussex
Brighton, United Kingdom

 (January, 2014)

If you would like any further information, or would like to receive a copy of the results please contact Heyla Selim at h.selim@sussex.ac.uk.

Ethical approval has been obtained from the Life Sciences & Psychology Cluster-based Research Ethics Committee (C-REC) (crecscitec@sussex.ac.uk).

Participant Consent Form

Name of Investigator: Heyla Selim
Project Title: <u>Psychological factors underlying use of Online social networks among SA and UK users</u>

1. I agree to take part in the above University of Sussex Research Project. I have had the project explained to me and I have read and understood the Information Sheet, which I may print for my records.

2. I authorise the investigator to use the questionnaires for research purposes.

3. I acknowledge that:

a. I understand that my participation is voluntary, I have been informed that I am free to withdraw from the project at any time and to withdraw any unprocessed data previously supplied, before or after the close of the project; I am free to withdraw from the project at any time without giving reason or incurring any subsequent penalties;

b. The project is for the purpose of research and/or teaching;

c. I confirm that I am over 18 years old, have read and understood this information sheet, and would like to participate in this research.

d. I have been informed that my participation will be anonymous and confidential. No information that identifies me will be recorded in the data to prevent my identity from being made public.

Please tick on "Yes" if you agree with all the above points to start the study.

*[Yes]*_____   *[No]* _____

Appendix 7
Study 3 - 4x4 matrix that shows the four-factor solutions for each group

Item	SA				UK			
	F1	F2	F3	F4	F1	F2	F3	F4
I168	**0.70**	-0.13	-0.06	0.02	0.32	-0.12	0.10	0.31
I194	**0.65**	-0.17	0.08	0.08	0.34	0.11	-0.37	-0.05
I181	**0.64**	-0.05	-0.03	0.05	0.30	0.17	-0.35	0.16
I175	**0.62**	-0.21	0.01	0.05	0.35	0.09	-0.40	0.08
I197	**0.62**	-0.13	0.11	0.05	0.25	0.12	-0.25	-0.02
I164	**0.62**	0.16	0.05	0.04	**0.57**	-0.10	0.14	0.17
I170	**0.61**	-0.02	-0.02	-0.01	**0.58**	-0.06	-0.05	0.24
I178	**0.56**	0.05	0.05	0.01	0.40	0.08	-0.14	0.34
I183	**0.56**	0.01	0.30	0.06	0.33	0.12	0.00	0.27
I185	**0.54**	-0.04	0.23	-0.03	0.18	0.17	0.03	0.36
I166	**0.54**	0.05	-0.03	0.13	0.35	0.39	-0.01	-0.03
I199	**0.53**	-0.18	-0.06	0.02	0.38	0.11	-0.36	0.18
I163	**0.53**	0.20	0.09	0.00	**0.65**	0.03	0.00	0.20
I174	**0.51**	-0.01	-0.14	-0.07	**0.49**	-0.18	-0.05	0.08
I160	**0.51**	-0.12	-0.13	0.18	0.32	0.10	**-0.42**	-0.01
I184	**0.49**	-0.10	-0.11	0.08	-0.19	0.19	0.29	-0.17
I148	**0.49**	0.12	-0.14	0.12	**0.52**	0.16	0.07	-0.04
I193	**0.47**	0.26	0.25	-0.08	-0.04	0.03	-0.03	**0.71**
I180	**0.47**	0.26	0.23	-0.07	0.12	-0.04	-0.04	**0.65**
I145	**0.46**	0.20	-0.16	0.19	0.40	0.16	-0.16	0.13
I172	**0.44**	0.19	0.13	-0.14	**0.53**	-0.07	0.10	0.13
I171	**0.42**	0.35	0.00	-0.27	**0.41**	-0.20	-0.07	0.20
I158	**0.41**	0.31	-0.02	-0.06	**0.48**	-0.19	-0.03	-0.03
I188	**0.41**	0.23	0.26	-0.10	0.01	0.01	0.04	**0.72**
I141	-0.07	**0.65**	0.14	0.06	-0.07	0.13	**0.47**	0.15
I152	-0.09	**0.62**	0.12	0.21	-0.06	0.21	**0.55**	-0.04
I149	0.12	**0.55**	0.00	0.12	0.29	-0.14	0.21	-0.07
I150	0.06	**0.53**	0.04	-0.08	0.26	-0.23	0.25	0.06
I139	0.02	**0.51**	-0.03	-0.11	0.17	**-0.45**	0.22	-0.03
I142	0.28	**0.45**	0.04	-0.10	0.38	-0.06	0.18	0.16
I255	0.02	**-0.40**	0.08	0.03	-0.23	**0.41**	0.16	0.03
I254	0.22	**-0.42**	-0.01	0.10	0.13	0.07	**-0.50**	0.16
I267	0.02	**-0.42**	-0.13	0.17	-0.15	0.24	0.06	0.08
I245	-0.03	**-0.45**	0.04	0.20	0.14	0.15	-0.25	-0.08
I236	0.10	0.08	**0.53**	0.19	0.24	**0.42**	0.18	0.04
I259	0.15	-0.06	**0.50**	0.04	-0.13	**0.53**	-0.07	0.06
I268	0.01	0.24	**0.48**	-0.03	0.02	0.26	**0.54**	0.07
I248	-0.11	0.21	**0.47**	0.09	0.08	**0.51**	0.30	-0.09
I224	0.12	0.08	**0.45**	0.02	0.11	0.36	0.22	0.23
I244	0.01	0.38	**0.43**	-0.12	0.09	**0.45**	0.37	0.08
I229	-0.12	-0.06	**0.41**	0.37	-0.12	**0.56**	-0.11	-0.09
I249	0.13	0.05	**0.40**	-0.07	0.31	0.10	0.16	-0.08
I138	0.12	0.18	0.10	**0.58**	0.38	0.38	0.04	0.08
I151	0.17	0.18	0.11	**0.47**	0.29	0.27	0.14	-0.05
I187	0.22	-0.05	0.06	**0.46**	0.03	**0.51**	-0.11	-0.17
I182	0.33	0.05	0.16	**0.43**	0.15	**0.56**	-0.19	-0.14
I225	-0.12	0.30	0.14	**-0.41**	0.06	**-0.58**	0.22	0.01
I258	-0.01	0.05	0.13	**-0.45**	-0.05	**-0.56**	-0.01	-0.16
I154	0.40	0.13	0.00	0.25	**0.40**	0.25	-0.09	-0.13
I136	0.40	0.27	0.08	0.06	0.20	0.24	-0.04	0.07
I165	0.40	0.16	0.00	-0.16	**0.47**	-0.20	-0.14	0.02
I153	0.39	0.12	-0.26	0.05	0.32	-0.11	-0.19	0.03
I198	0.38	-0.08	0.08	0.25	0.33	**0.41**	-0.07	-0.22
I176	0.38	0.05	-0.03	-0.10	**0.45**	0.01	-0.19	-0.06
I173	0.37	0.23	0.11	-0.03	0.28	0.14	-0.01	0.30
I195	0.35	0.19	0.12	-0.28	0.16	-0.30	0.10	0.31
I146	0.35	0.21	-0.23	0.37	**0.42**	0.31	0.09	-0.26
I156	0.35	0.16	0.10	0.30	0.38	0.40	0.14	-0.13
I155	0.33	0.05	-0.20	0.02	**0.55**	0.00	-0.10	-0.22
I261	0.32	-0.19	0.27	0.09	0.05	0.30	**-0.57**	-0.07
I159	0.31	0.38	0.05	-0.03	0.17	-0.21	0.09	0.24
I140	0.31	0.33	0.03	0.00	**0.41**	-0.28	-0.11	0.17
I143	0.31	0.38	0.06	0.05	0.34	0.32	0.10	-0.05
I179	0.30	0.14	-0.16	-0.37	0.33	**-0.47**	0.00	0.01
I169	0.29	0.28	0.10	-0.11	0.15	-0.22	0.12	0.37
I177	0.27	0.13	-0.23	-0.35	0.08	**-0.43**	-0.03	-0.07
I133	0.23	0.28	0.03	0.09	-0.01	0.16	-0.06	0.31
I231	0.22	0.15	0.38	0.02	-0.01	0.24	-0.02	0.39
I246	0.20	0.16	0.35	-0.18	0.16	0.34	-0.26	-0.02
I137	0.18	0.16	-0.23	0.35	0.23	0.23	-0.33	-0.12
I253	0.16	-0.33	0.12	0.00	-0.04	0.10	**-0.51**	0.11
I272	0.15	-0.39	0.13	0.06	-0.19	0.26	0.17	0.21
I260	0.13	-0.22	0.37	-0.05	-0.16	0.35	**-0.45**	0.01
I228	0.12	0.05	0.35	0.33	0.29	0.28	0.19	0.13
I186	0.11	0.29	0.05	0.04	0.00	0.03	**0.43**	0.17
I250	0.11	0.09	0.34	-0.12	0.20	-0.13	0.02	0.14
I269	0.10	0.31	0.29	-0.04	-0.01	-0.17	0.19	0.19
I192	0.06	0.26	0.10	-0.15	-0.24	-0.07	0.24	0.17
I263	0.06	0.32	0.16	-0.32	0.05	**-0.52**	-0.03	-0.19
I147	0.05	0.05	-0.27	0.33	0.17	**0.44**	-0.08	-0.18
I252	0.04	0.23	0.28	-0.20	0.14	-0.10	0.24	-0.07
I256	0.03	0.10	0.02	-0.31	0.15	-0.28	0.04	0.00
I234	0.02	-0.21	-0.06	-0.03	-0.08	0.11	**-0.46**	-0.10
I230	0.00	-0.19	0.22	0.38	-0.06	0.40	-0.02	-0.03
I242	0.00	0.28	0.32	-0.18	0.04	0.13	**0.66**	0.07
I226	-0.02	-0.33	0.25	0.19	-0.13	0.20	**-0.42**	-0.07
I239	-0.03	-0.18	0.39	0.26	-0.13	**0.56**	-0.07	0.04
I238	-0.03	0.01	0.16	0.13	0.05	0.31	0.00	-0.03
I237	-0.04	0.11	0.32	-0.03	0.06	-0.06	0.10	0.08
I243	-0.04	0.06	0.27	-0.06	0.09	-0.10	**0.60**	-0.09
I257	-0.07	-0.21	0.38	0.21	-0.25	**0.43**	0.08	-0.06
I227	-0.07	-0.07	0.02	-0.10	-0.09	-0.33	-0.16	0.08
I265	-0.07	0.18	0.03	-0.33	-0.08	**-0.46**	0.10	-0.03
I240	-0.13	-0.07	-0.22	-0.01	-0.03	-0.21	-0.02	-0.26
I235	-0.17	-0.22	0.00	-0.15	-0.01	-0.36	-0.14	-0.26
I223	-0.17	0.34	0.22	-0.23	-0.15	-0.33	0.26	0.08
I144	-0.18	0.29	-0.14	0.02	-0.34	0.12	0.19	-0.15
I135	-0.19	0.20	-0.06	0.25	-0.34	0.22	0.16	0.06

Appendix 7
Study 3 – Factors Loading

1:UK Group

	ITEMS (UK) with 6 FACTORS	F1	F2	F3	F4	F5	F6
1	i198 ![SP] Your posts let other users know how hard you have been working or studying.	0.47	-0.054	-0.029	0.31	-0.05	-0.186
2	i147 ![SP] You usually change your status/bio based on what you feel at that moment.	0.311	-0.006	-0.046	0.431	-0.007	-0.114
3	i182 ![SP] You like to share your everyday details (what you are up to) with other use	0.309	-0.144	-0.123	0.499	-0.069	-0.099
4	i236 ![SP] You want other users to have a clear idea of what you're like, and what you	0.386	-0.008	0.159	0.305	0.104	0.122
5	i170 ![SP] You usually post things to show yourself in the best possible light.	0.534	-0.011	-0.022	-0.17	-0.171	0.311
6	i183 ![SP] You like to think others approve of your profile contents.	0.332	-0.043	0.02	0.056	-0.084	0.343
7	i178 ![SP] You upload pictures or comments that you think people will make nice commen	0.372	-0.055	-0.111	-0.002	-0.148	0.403
8	i142 ![SP] You focus on the positive in the image you present of yourself.	0.395	0.168	0.155	-0.057	0.023	0.247
9	i176 ![SP] You only have photos of you on your account which you believe are attractiv	0.374	0.007	-0.082	0.083	-0.4	-0.023
10	i172 ![SP] You are keen to choose an attractive picture for your profile.	0.386	-0.013	0.2	-0.023	-0.393	0.187
11	i199 ![SP] You try to look cool.	0.454	-0.076	-0.359	-0.052	-0.039	0.23
12	i148 ![SP] You would like to be thought of as outgoing and sociable on your page.	0.659	-0.078	0.051	-0.121	0.069	-0.04
13	i146 ![SP] You write proud comments about your past accomplishments.	0.578	0.037	0.084	0.167	0.047	-0.238
14	i154 ![SP] You post links/photos/comments that make other users aware of your talents	0.601	0.002	-0.127	0.016	0.125	-0.122
15	i156 ![SP] If you won an award, you'd post about this on your page.	0.546	-0.141	0.124	0.122	0.083	-0.127
16	i166 ![SP] You often post material that shows your knowledge or skills.	0.522	-0.007	-0.037	0.214	0.118	0.025
17	i194 ![SP] You like to be seen as popular with a high number of friends/followers on y	0.462	0.032	-0.36	0.021	-0.022	-0.006
18	i197 ![SP] You like to have a lot of friends on your account, even if you don't talk t	0.382	-0.017	-0.248	-0.01	0.031	0.012

19	i155 ![SP] You usually delete comments that you donít like.	0.552	0.161	-0.037	0.047	-0.231	-0.17
20	i143 ![SP] You like to share unique pictures and opinions that make you stand out from	0.457	-0.095	0.107	0.144	0.09	-0.028
21	i249 ![SP] OSNs give you a golden opportunity to decide what you should publish and wh	0.394	0.158	0.149	0.103	0.05	0.04
22	i153 ![SP] You only write messages that portray you as happy, regardless of your actua	0.456	-0.001	0.243	-0.353	0.116	0.027
23	i174 ![SP] You post photos or comments that only show the happy side of you.	0.516	0.111	-0.062	-0.282	-0.032	0.119
24	i179 ![SP] You avoid writing about the negative things that happen to you.	0.375	0.195	-0.048	-0.587	0.086	0.012
25	i165 ![SP] If you realize that your posts might make the wrong impression then you wil	0.387	0.189	-0.086	-0.079	-0.243	0.106
26	i138 ![SP] You like the fact that other people can see what you've been doing.	0.474	-0.191	0.068	0.161	-0.038	0.117
27	i228 ![SP] You want to show where you visited or what you did to other people.	0.322	-0.036	0.198	0.215	-0.026	0.195
28	i151 ![SP] You post about events you've attended.	0.382	0.019	0.138	0.209	0.022	0.05
29	i246 ![SP] When you write posts or comments, you hope to influence other users.	0.358	0.055	-0.29	0.245	0.151	0.034
30	i145 ![SP] You post the photos or comments that make you likable.	0.485	-0.073	-0.161	0.018	-0.023	0.175
31	i160 ![SP] You like/retweet othersí posts/photos so they will like you.	0.453	0.003	-0.423	-0.013	-0.05	0.045
32	i175 ![SP] You praise other users for their posts so that they will consider you to be	0.429	0.016	-0.374	0.027	-0.083	0.137
33	i245 ![SP] You say little negative things about yourself to make yourself more likeabl	0.328	0.109	-0.278	0.084	0.164	-0.024
34	i137 ![SP] When you get nice comments you want other people to see them, so you repost	0.383	0.092	-0.322	0.225	0.014	-0.054
35	i181 ![SP] You post things in order to get compliments.	0.369	-0.079	-0.328	0.058	-0.084	0.205
36	i164 ![SP] You try to create a good impression.	0.464	0.044	0.201	-0.095	-0.264	0.254
37	i163 ![SP] You try to create an attractive impression of yourself on your page.	0.574	-0.068	0.069	-0.057	-0.3	0.27
38	i158 ![SP] On OSNs people judge each other based on their postings so you need to be c	0.4	0.261	0.015	-0.027	-0.23	0.048
39	i253 ![SP] You present yourself differently based on the OSN that you are using (eg. T	0.035	0.073-	0.497	0.186-	0.01	0.172
40	i223 ![SP] You try not to show off when you put something on your page.	-0.2	0.33	0.239	-0.039	0.066	0.175
41	i139 ![SP] You are very selective in what you will share.	0	0.438	0.263	-0.057	-0.208	0.06

42	i263 ![SP] You are very cautious on your account.	0.027	0.741	-0.054	-0.012	0.017	-0.09
43	i225 ![SP] Your prefer not to put too much information about yourself on your OSN page	-0.094	0.453	0.219	-0.244	-0.088	0.071
44	i265 ![SP] Your personal info is very limited.	-0.129	0.604	0.055	-0.038	0.078	0.05
45	i240 ![SP] Your OSN account is just for close friends.	-0.018	0.385	0.017	0.137	-0.06	-0.18
46	i177 ![SP] You decide not to post material because you don't want everyone to know wha	0.053	0.426	-0.051	-0.172	0.011	-0.014
47	i258 ![SP] You try to be as private as you can..	-0.119	0.672	-0.012	-0.035	0.031	-0.071
48	i235 ![SP] Your OSN account is totally hidden, with a high level of security	0.014	0.652	-0.146	0.106	0.017	0.166
49	i248 ![SP] You express yourself freely on OSNs.	0.222	-0.173	0.317	0.378	0.074	-0.06
50	i244 ![SP] You are keen to write/post what you believe in.	0.208	-0.011	0.341	0.388	0.141	0.161
51	i141 ![SP] You try to express yourself honestly.	-0.065	0.032	0.475	0.186	0.074	0.213
52	i i152 ![SP] You just present yourself on your profile exactly as you are.	0.044	0.069	0.519	0.216	0.191	0.014
53	242 ![SP] You think it's easier to be yourself rather than wear a mask.	0.043	0.036	0.637	0.132	0.107	0.118
54	i243 ![SP] You don't see the point in creating a fake Internet persona. happy.	0.051	0.133	0.599	-0.023	0.024	-0.056
55	i268 ![SP] You post material that shows the true side of you.	0.105	0.028	0.496	0.221	0.172	0.135
56	i186 ![SP] You do not go out of your way to impress others with false information.	-0.028	-0.024	0.424	0.006	0.058	0.205
57	i231 ![SP] You show appreciation when you receive a compliment/like/retweet.	0.012	0.043	-0.021	0.336	0.011	0.502
58	i187 ![SP] Your profile is full of everyday small details.	0.198	-0.126	-0.063	0.473	0.02	-0.128
59	i230 ![SP] You don't try to hide anything that you do in real life from your online fr	0.085	0.009	-0.002	0.444	0.076	0.052
60	i260 ![SP] You find it easier to talk about sensitive issues on OSNs than offline.	-0.005	0	-0.424	0.429	0.039	0.081
61	i226 ![SP] You reveal more about yourself to people you know from the Internet than yo	0.008	0.065	-0.385	0.316	0.017	-0.03
62	i257 ![SP] You don't mind posting photos or comments in which you do not appear	-0.091	0.007	0.058	0.485	0.197	-0.09
63	i259 ![SP] You want to record what you felt at the time.	0.006	-0.043	-0.048	0.596	0.055	0.151
64	i229 ![SP] You freely reveal negative emotions you feel (for example sadness, anxiety,	-0.03	0.057	-0.033	0.822	-0.0	0.021

		5				94	
65	i239 ![SP] You don't mind writing about the bad things that happen to you when you upd	-0.058	-0.016	-0.027	0.728	-0.034	0.149
66	i267 ![SP] What you post about yourself is very silly.	0.07	-0.085	-0.035	0.026	0.399	0.106
67	i255 ![SP] You don't mind laying yourself open to ridicule or criticism.	0.086	-0.085	0.03	0.145	0.553	0.061
68	i135 ![SP] You don't mind if you come across as unattractive or silly.	-0.104	-0.056	0.035	0.023	0.527	0.082
69	i272 ![SP] You make fun of yourself in your posts.	0.031	-0.108	0.034	-0.026	0.519	0.248
70	i184 ![SP] Your profile/page is not influenced by what other people think.	0.056	0.08	0.208	0.086	0.418	-0.154
71	i144 ![SP] You don't really care what people think of you.	-0.059	0.045	0.07	-0.053	0.55	-0.161
72	i133 ![SP] You try to come across as funny.	0.08	-0.193	-0.119	-0.056	0.179	0.356
73	i169 ![SP] You try not to be too arrogant.	0.062	0.104	0.094	-0.175	-0.003	0.463
74	i171 ![SP] You usually select the pictures or comments you will post carefully.	0.232	0.276	0.011	0.099	-0.351	0.314
75	i224 ![SP] You want to show people who you are and what you believe in.	0.212	0.019	0.172	0.295	0.167	0.316
76	i159 ![SP] You usually post only positive comments about other users.	0.085	0.13	0.105	-0.108	-0.088	0.311
77	i168 ![SP] You want other users to perceive you as friendly.	0.228	0.085	0.114	-0.079	-0.119	0.392
78	i195 ![SP] You don't want people to see you as someone who moans a lot or complains.	0.142	0.157	0.035	-0.337	0.124	0.368
79	i188 ![SP] When someone makes a nice comment it makes you feel good.	-0.078	-0.021	0.016	0.036	0.012	0.822
80	i185 ![SP] When you post information, you hope that your friends will respond to you.	0.224	-0.032	0.001	0.07	0.069	0.423
81	i173 ![SP] If someone likes what you've written, and then writes something back, youíl	0.252	-0.006	0.019	0.142	-0.11	0.382
82	i193 ![SP] You feel happy when you get a nice comment or retweet.	-0.101	0.032	-0.058	0.099	0.026	0.81
83	i180 ![SP] You feel happy if people write nice comments or ílikeî your pictures.	0.042	0.052	-0.055	0.02	0.03	0.751
84	i136 ![SP] You like to show how knowledgeable you are via your page.	0.281	-0.007	-0.046	0.178	0.04	0.127
85	i261 ![SP] One of your intentions when you started using OSNs was to become well-known	0.242	-0.003	-0.558	0.275	0.05	-0.021
86	i269 ![SP] You try to be modest when you post photos or comments.	-0.03	0.263	0.156	0.026	0.072	0.285

	ITEMS	F1	F2	F3	F4	F5
87	i149 ![SP] You try not to be too self-deprecating.	0.276	0.2	0.234	-0.042	-0.066	-0.006
88	i256 ![SP] Your profile doesn't reflect the deep part of you.	0.137	0.177	0.024	-0.241	0.018	0.035
89	i234 ![SP] You can't say that you have one single identity on your OSN accounts.	0.04	0.081	-0.462	0.188	0.027	-0.065
90	i150 ![SP] You are very aware about what you should say and what you shouldn't say on	0.183	0.282	0.256	-0.034	-0.095	0.151
91	i254 ![SP] You agree with other usersí opinions to show them that you are friendly.	0.287	0.068	-0.535	-0.006	0.148	0.24
92	i237 ![SP] You try not to come across as too assertive.	0.18	0.215	0.027	-0.049	0.246	0.161
93	i238 ![SP] You challenge comments that don't show you respect.	0.145	-0.043	0.006	0.273	0.027	-0.005
94	i252 ![SP] You donít hesitate in deleting anyone who is rude from your list.	0.11	0.217	0.26	0.061	-0.053	-0.023
95	i192 ![SP] You don't evaluate yourself by the number of friends/followers that you hav	-0.215	0.071	0.188	-0.054	0.212	0.193
96	i140 ![SP] You care how you will be seen by other people.	0.173	0.208	-0.005	0.013	-0.465	0.272
97	i227 ![SP] You think people would not be interested in what you post.	-0.169	0.293	-0.138	-0.014	-0.089	0.164

2:SA Group

	ITEMS (5 factors) SA	F1	F2	F3	F4	F5
1	i142 ![SP] You focus on the positive in the image you present of yourself.	0.538	0.347	-0.084	-0.009	0.158
2	i172 ![SP] You are keen to choose an attractive picture for your profile.	0.365	0.493	0.002	-0.019	-0.029
3	i143 ![SP] You like to share unique pictures and opinions that make you stand out from	0.403	0.374	0.025	-0.016	0.204
4	i169 ![SP] You try not to be too arrogant.	0.399	0.333	-0.016	-0.052	0.027
5	i177 ![SP] You decide not to post material because you don't want everyone to know wha	0.304	0.324	-0.342	0.264	-0.033
6	i179 ![SP] You avoid writing about the negative things that happen to you.	0.359	0.349	-0.301	0.238	-0.064
7	i165 ![SP] If you realize that your posts might make the wrong impression then you wil	0.316	0.454	-0.076	0.094	0.01
8	i171 ![SP] You usually select the pictures or comments you will post carefully.	0.525	0.471	-0.191	0.032	0.006
9	i159 ![SP] You usually post only positive comments about other users.	0.429	0.38	-0.033	-0.036	0.15
10	i195 ![SP] You don't want people to see you as someone who moans a lot or complains.	0.425	0.393	-0.08	-0.04	-0.13

				5	4	6
11	i188 ![SP] When someone makes a nice comment it makes you feel good.	0.426	0.474	0.124	-0.181	-0.075
12	i173 ![SP] If someone likes what you've written, and then writes something back, youíl	0.331	0.43	0.05	-0.046	0.056
13	i193 ![SP] You feel happy when you get a nice comment or retweet.	0.425	0.535	0.104	-0.187	-0.047
14	i180 ![SP] You feel happy if people write nice comments or ìlikeî your pictures.	0.414	0.53	0.094	-0.182	-0.029
15	i140 ![SP] You care how you will be seen by other people.	0.362	0.387	-0.017	-0.036	0.137
16	i158 ![SP] On OSNs people judge each other based on their postings so you need to be c	0.35	0.484	-0.093	-0.017	0.114
17	i269 ![SP] You try to be modest when you post photos or comments.	0.539	0.124	0.218	0.045	0.098
18	i149 ![SP] You try not to be too self-deprecating.	0.479	0.207	0	-0.049	0.331
19	i223 ![SP] You try not to show off when you put something on your page.	0.637	-0.169	0.083	0.086	0.008
20	i139 ![SP] You are very selective in what you will share.	0.574	0.085	-0.11	0.036	0.193
21	i263 ![SP] You are very cautious on your account.	0.658	0.066	-0.013	0.179	-0.01
22	i225 ![SP] Your prefer not to put too much information about yourself on your OSN page	0.689	-0.127	-0.052	0.202	-0.073
23	i265 ![SP] Your personal info is very limited.	0.508	-0.06	-0.064	0.317	-0.023
24	i258 ![SP] You try to be as private as you can..	0.508	-0.03	-0.032	0.321	-0.187
25	i249 ![SP] OSNs give you a golden opportunity to decide what you should publish and wh	0.405	0.125	0.353	0.12	-0.041
26	i256 ![SP] Your profile doesn't reflect the deep part of you.	0.41	0.045	-0.057	0.293	-0.062
27	i150 ![SP] You are very aware about what you should say and what you shouldn't say on	0.602	0.122	-0.066	-0.055	0.185
28	i248 ![SP] You express yourself freely on OSNs.	0.479	-0.107	0.483	0.029	0.087
29	i224 ![SP] You want to show people who you are and what you believe in.	0.36	0.129	0.413	-0.067	-0.054
30	i244 ![SP] You are keen to write/post what you believe in.	0.7	-0.003	0.264	-0.037	0.028
31	i141 ![SP] You try to express yourself honestly.	0.688	-0.006	0.093	-0.042	0.312

32	i i152 ![SP] You just present yourself on your profile exactly as you are.	0.577	-0.014	0.169	-0.007	0.411
33	242 ![SP] You think it's easier to be yourself rather than wear a mask.	0.584	-0.009	0.169	0.022	-0.027
34	i243 ![SP] You don't see the point in creating a fake Internet persona. happy.	0.337	-0.041	0.269	0.152	-0.005
35	i268 ![SP] You post material that shows the true side of you.	0.557	0.001	0.389	-0.03	0.009
36	i236 ![SP] You want other users to have a clear idea of what you're like, and what you	0.321	0.104	0.56	-0.025	0.062
37	i237 ![SP] You try not to come across as too assertive.	0.431	-0.029	0.337	0.219	0.05
38	i252 ![SP] You donít hesitate in deleting anyone who is rude from your list.	0.533	0.035	0.127	0.048	-0.043
39	i246 ![SP] When you write posts or comments, you hope to influence other users.	0.499	0.192	0.206	0.025	-0.083
40	i231 ![SP] You show appreciation when you receive a compliment/like/retweet.	0.364	0.246	0.32	-0.101	-0.021
41	i192 ![SP] You don't evaluate yourself by the number of friends/followers that you hav	0.429	0.095	0.005	0.039	0.021
42	i144 ![SP] You don't really care what people think of you.	0.301	-0.12	-0.049	0.229	0.259
43	i250 ![SP] When you post material, you are aware that you are performing to an audienc	0.427	0.1	0.257	0.114	-0.049
44	i133 ![SP] You try to come across as funny.	0.273	0.306	0.049	-0.035	0.172
45	i170 ![SP] You usually post things to show yourself in the best possible light.	0.064	0.674	-0.007	0.102	0.033
46	i176 ![SP] You only have photos of you on your account which you believe are attractiv	0.176	0.436	-0.042	0.136	0.015
47	i199 ![SP] You try to look cool.	-0.124	0.61	0.009	0.121	-0.025
48	i148 ![SP] You would like to be thought of as outgoing and sociable on your page.	0.035	0.582	-0.063	0.066	0.186
49	i136 ![SP] You like to show how knowledgeable you are via your page.	0.299	0.465	0.05	-0.049	0.15
50	i146 ![SP] You write proud comments about your past accomplishments.	-0.082	0.462	-0.024	0.041	0.415
51	i154 ![SP] You post links/photos/comments that make other users aware of your talents	0.063	0.468	0.129	0.072	0.264
52	i156 ![SP] If you won an award, youíd post about this on your page.	0.075	0.417	0.216	-0.065	0.235
53	i166 ![SP] You often post material that shows your knowledge or skills.	0.023	0.619	0.035	0.05	0.141
54	i194 ![SP] You like to be seen as popular with a high number of	-	0.72	0.11	-0.05	-

#	Item					
	friends/followers on y	0.129	7	3		0.072
55	i198 ![SP] Your posts let other users know how hard you have been working or studying.	-0.078	0.44	0.242	0.095	0.148
56	i197 ![SP] You like to have a lot of friends on your account, even if you donít talk t	-0.056	0.692	0.124	-0.061	-0.08
57	i155 ![SP] You usually delete comments that you donít like.	0.033	0.406	-0.12	0.207	0.147
58	i261 ![SP] One of your intentions when you started using OSNs was to become well-known	0.053	0.34	0.359	0.172	-0.019
59	i153 ![SP] You only write messages that portray you as happy, regardless of your actua	0.031	0.487	-0.185	0.157	0.207
60	i174 ![SP] You post photos or comments that only show the happy side of you.	0.03	0.594	-0.139	0.13	0.023
61	i187 ![SP] Your profile is full of everyday small details.	-0.224	0.307	0.341	-0.028	0.265
62	i182 ![SP] You like to share your everyday details (what you are up to) with other use	-0.045	0.406	0.377	-0.032	0.26
63	i184 ![SP] Your profile/page is not influenced by what other people think.	-0.128	0.595	-0.014	0.081	0.043
64	i145 ![SP] You post the photos or comments that make you likable.	0.062	0.562	-0.06	0.051	0.277
65	i160 ![SP] You like/retweet othersí posts/photos so they will like you.	-0.213	0.602	0.017	0.088	0.112
66	i175 ![SP] You praise other users for their posts so that they will consider you to be	-0.099	0.681	0.104	0.149	-0.021
67	i168 ![SP] You want other users to perceive you as friendly.	-0.074	0.776	-0.011	0.105	0.001
68	i183 ![SP] You like to think others approve of your profile contents.	0.155	0.612	0.257	-0.146	-0.06
69	i185 ![SP] When you post information, you hope that your friends will respond to you.	0.125	0.613	0.164	-0.132	-0.133
70	i181 ![SP] You post things in order to get compliments.	-0.021	0.723	0.013	0.045	0.024
71	i178 ![SP] You upload pictures or comments that you think people will make nice commen	0.129	0.632	0.038	0.014	0.025
72	i164 ![SP] You try to create a good impression.	0.203	0.679	0.02	0.002	0.099
73	i163 ![SP] You try to create an attractive impression of yourself on your page.	0.296	0.592	0.049	0.009	0.087
74	i267 ![SP] What you post about yourself is very silly.	-0.393	0.089	0.199	0.393	0.037
75	i255 ![SP] You don't mind laying yourself open to ridicule or criticism.	-0.152	0.041	0.293	0.403	-0.073
76	i135 ![SP] You don't mind if you come across as unattractive or silly.	0.14	-0.126	0.165	0.224	0.333
77	i272 ![SP] You make fun of yourself in your posts.	-0.167	0.19	0.325	0.27	-0.109
78	i240 ![SP] Your OSN account is just for close friends.	0.019	-	-	0.47	0.16

#						
			0.077	0.026	2	
79	i235 ![SP] Your OSN account is totally hidden, with a high level of security	0.086	-0.149	0.125	0.482	-0.05
80	i234 ![SP] You can't say that you have one single identity on your OSN accounts.	-0.012	0.058	0.111	0.423	0.021
81	i230 ![SP] You don't try to hide anything that you do in real life from your online fr	-0.186	0.048	0.513	0.055	0.123
82	i260 ![SP] You find it easier to talk about sensitive issues on OSNs than offline.	0.126	0.122	0.397	0.117	-0.18
83	i226 ![SP] You reveal more about yourself to people you know from the Internet than yo	-0.153	0.015	0.486	0.164	-0.052
84	i147 ![SP] You usually change your status/bio based on what you feel at that moment.	-0.142	0.154	0.041	0.274	0.378
85	i257 ![SP] You don't mind posting photos or comments in which you do not appear	0.038	-0.054	0.584	0.173	0.006
86	i259 ![SP] You want to record what you felt at the time.	0.27	0.143	0.492	0.022	-0.088
87	i229 ![SP] You freely reveal negative emotions you feel (for example sadness, anxiety,	0.057	-0.089	0.656	0.038	0.132
88	i239 ![SP] You don't mind writing about the bad things that happen to you when you upd	0.032	-0.014	0.599	0.157	0.052
89	i138 ![SP] You like the fact that other people can see what you've been doing.	-0.066	0.215	0.396	-0.097	0.413
90	i228 ![SP] You want to show where you visited or what you did to other people.	0.11	0.155	0.498	-0.047	0.153
91	i151 ![SP] You post about events you've attended.	0.011	0.248	0.332	-0.054	0.358
92	i254 ![SP] You agree with other usersí opinions to show them that you are friendly.	-0.221	0.268	0.248	0.455	0.004
93	i238 ![SP] You challenge comments that don't show you respect.	0.176	-0.006	0.312	0.279	0.151
94	i245 ![SP] You say little negative things about yourself to make yourself more likeabl	-0.32	0.007	0.364	0.396	0.024
95	i137 ![SP] When you get nice comments you want other people to see them, so you repost	-0.102	0.292	0.012	0.093	0.376
96	i186 ![SP] You do not go out of your way to impress others with false information.	0.296	0.17	0.026	-0.069	0.137
97	i227 ![SP] You think people would not be interested in what you post.	0.166	-0.028	0.125	0.321	-0.009
98	i253 ![SP] You present yourself differently based on the OSN that you are using (eg. T	-0.048	0.181	0.274	0.367	-0.058

Appendix 8
Study 4 – Online Survey

The questionnaire below has been reproduced from the original online survey version, which was used for the study reported in chapter 4 and chapter 5.

We would like to ask what OSNs do you use.

☐ Twitter

☐ Facebook

☐ Instagram

☐ Linkdin

☐ Other (please specify)

[ ]

If you use more than one, please answer the following questions based on the one you use the most.

OSN the most you use: [Please select ▼]

How many total friends/followers do you have approximately? [ ]

How many photos have you uploaded to your OSNs approximately? [ ]

How often do you update your account status? (Information/profile/status/bio/comments and tweets) [ ]

Do you have an account using your a real name? YES ☐ NO ☐

Do you have an account using a pseudonym? YES ☐ NO ☐

Do you have an account using a nickname? YES ☐ NO ☐

Why do you use OSNs?

Here are some reasons for using OSNs, please indicate how important they are to you	Not at all	A little	Quite important	Important	Very important
1	To meet new people					
2	To help you keep abreast of events					
3	To browse others' profiles					

4	To engage in serious discussion					
5	To seek romantic relationships					
6	To speak freely					
7	To let your feelings out (anger, happiness, sadness, etc.)					
8	Because you don't want to feel left behind					
9	To get admiration from other people					
10	To know yourself more					
11	To exchange information					
12	To keep up with people who have moved away					
13	To influence others					
14	To receive social support					
15	To let people know who you are and what you believe					
16	To spread information and mobilize others					
17	To keep in touch with friends					
18	To find out what old friends are doing now					
19	To maintain relationships with people you may not get to see very often					
20	To connect with people you otherwise would have lost contact with					
21	To find people you have not seen for a while					
22	To contact friends who are away from home					
23	To share your everyday details with actual friends					
24	To reconnect with people you have lost contact with					

Please mark the following statements to reflect how *you* communicate ONLINE. Indicate the degree to which other online users the following statements reflect how you communicate with other online users by clicking on the option that best describes how much you agree with each statement below. Work quickly and just record your first impressions.

	Strongly agree	Agree	Moderately agree	Undecided	Moderately disagree	Strongly disagree
When I wish, my self-disclosures online are always accurate reflections of who I really am	1	2	3	4	5	6
When I express my personal feelings online, I am always aware of what I am doing and saying	1	2	3	4	5	6
When I reveal my feelings about myself online, I consciously intend to do so	1	2	3	4	5	6
My statements of my feelings, online, are usually brief	1	2	3	4	5	6
I do not often talk about myself online	1	2	3	4	5	6
I rarely express my personal beliefs and opinions online	1	2	3	4	5	6
I usually disclose negative things about myself online	1	2	3	4	5	6
On the whole, my disclosures about myself online are more positive than negative	1	2	3	4	5	6
I do not always feel completely sincere when I reveal my own feelings, emotions, behaviours, or experiences online	1	2	3	4	5	6
I intimately disclose who I really am, openly in my online conversation	1	2	3	4	5	6
Once I get started, I cannot stop expressing myself online	1	2	3	4	5	6
Online, I typically reveal information about myself without intending to	1	2	3	4	5	6

Please indicate how strongly you agree or disagree with each of the following statements, using the following scale:

	1	2	3	4	5
	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Undecided	Agree	Strongly agree
There are several people online I trust to help solve my problems.*	1	2	3	4	5
There is someone online I can turn to for advice about making very important decisions.*	1	2	3	4	5
There is no one online that I feel comfortable talking to about intimate personal problems.	1	2	3	4	5
When I feel lonely, there are several people online I can talk to.	1	2	3	4	5

If I needed an emergency loan of £100, I know someone online I can turn to.*	1	2	3	4	5
The people I interact with online would put their reputation on the line for me.	1	2	3	4	5
The people I interact with online would provide good job references for me.	1	2	3	4	5
The people I interact with online would share their last dollar with me.	1	2	3	4	5
I do not know people online well enough to get them to do anything important.	1	2	3	4	5
The people I interact with online would help me fight an injustice.	1	2	3	4	5
Interacting with people online makes me interested in things that happen outside of my town.	1	2	3	4	5
Interacting with people online makes me want to try new things.	1	2	3	4	5
Interacting with people online makes me interested in what people unlike me are thinking.	1	2	3	4	5
Talking with people online makes me curious about other places in the world.	1	2	3	4	5
Interacting with people online makes me feel like part of a larger community.	1	2	3	4	5
Interacting with people online makes me feel connected to the bigger picture.	1	2	3	4	5
Interacting with people online reminds me that everyone in the world is connected.	1	2	3	4	5
I am willing to spend time to support general online community activities.	1	2	3	4	5
Interacting with people online gives me new people to talk to.	1	2	3	4	5
Online/, I come in contact with new people all the time.	1	2	3	4	5

How important are these different groups of people when you post online?	Never	Rarely	Sometimes	Often	Always
Actual (offline) friends					
People whom you have never met					
People whom you have met socially					
Family members and relatives					
Schoolmates					
Workmates					

Celebrities						
People who live near you						
Online friends						

Section C: The next section asks you about your intentions when you put information about yourself on your OSNs. This could be when you compose or update your profile or bio, or when you post photos or comments (tweets) or status updates. **When you put information on your page:**

	1	2	3	4	5	6
	Strongly disagree	**Disagree**	**Disagree a little**	**Agree a little**	**Agree**	**Strongly agree**
You post the photos or comments that make you likable	1	2	3	4	5	6
You want other users to perceive you as friendly	1	2	3	4	5	6
You want other users to see you as sincere	1	2	3	4	5	6
You try to come across as funny	1	2	3	4	5	6
You usually post only positive comments about other users	1	2	3	4	5	6
You praise other users for their posts so that they will consider you to be a nice person	1	2	3	4	5	6
You like/retweet others' posts/photos so they will like you	1	2	3	4	5	6
You hope to get admiration from other users for your knowledge of the subjects you talk about in your posts and comments	1	2	3	4	5	6
You try to create a good impression	1	2	3	4	5	6
You like to be seen as popular with a high number of friends/followers on your account	1	2	3	4	5	6
You try to look cool	1	2	3	4	5	6
You care how you will be seen by other people	1	2	3	4	5	6
You like to have a lot of friends on your account, even if you don't talk to many of them	1	2	3	4	5	6
You would like to be thought of as outgoing and sociable on your page	1	2	3	4	5	6
You like to be seen doing interesting and sociable things on your page	1	2	3	4	5	6
You don't evaluate yourself by the number of friends/followers that you have	1	2	3	4	5	6
If someone likes what you've written, and then writes something back, you'll comment on what they	1	2	3	4	5	6

write too						
You just present yourself on your profile exactly as you are	1	2	3	4	5	6
The person you present online is different to the person you are offline	1	2	3	4	5	6
You do not go out of your way to impress others with false information	1	2	3	4	5	6
You usually post things to show yourself in the best possible light	1	2	3	4	5	6
You don't want people to see you as someone who moans a lot or complains	1	2	3	4	5	6
You try not to be too self-deprecating	1	2	3	4	5	6
You try to express yourself honestly	1	2	3	4	5	6
You try not to be too arrogant	1	2	3	4	5	6
If you realize that your posts might make the wrong impression then you will hide them or delete them	1	2	3	4	5	6
You are keen to post things that reflect you truly as you are	1	2	3	4	5	6
Your profile/page is not influenced by what other people think	1	2	3	4	5	6
You don't really care what people think of you	1	2	3	4	5	6
Your online personality is totally different than in real life	1	2	3	4	5	6
You are keen to choose an attractive picture for your profile	1	2	3	4	5	6
You post things in order to get compliments	1	2	3	4	5	6
Your friends and family who know you well would be surprised if they read your posts	1	2	3	4	5	6
You post photos or comments that only show the happy side of you	1	2	3	4	5	6
You avoid writing about the negative things that happen to you	1	2	3	4	5	6
You only write messages that portray you as happy, regardless of your actual feelings	1	2	3	4	5	6
You try to create an attractive impression of yourself on your page	1	2	3	4	5	6
You only have photos of you on your account which you believe are attractive	1	2	3	4	5	6
You don't mind if you come across as unattractive or silly	1	2	3	4	5	6
You usually delete comments that you don't like	1	2	3	4	5	6
You usually select the pictures or comments you will post carefully	1	2	3	4	5	6

You are very selective in what you will share	1	2	3	4	5	6
In OSNs people judge each other based on their postings so you need to be careful	1	2	3	4	5	6
You usually change your status/bio based on what you feel at that moment	1	2	3	4	5	6
You are very aware about what you should say and what you shouldn't say on OSNs	1	2	3	4	5	6
You focus on the positive in the image you present of yourself	1	2	3	4	5	6
You express different facets of yourself to others on the internet than you do in 'real life'	1	2	3	4	5	6
You decide not to post material because you don't want everyone to know what you were doing	1	2	3	4	5	6
You think about who might look at your information when deciding what to post	1	2	3	4	5	6
You like to share your everyday details (what you are up to) with other users	1	2	3	4	5	6
Your profile is full of everyday small details	1	2	3	4	5	6
You like the fact that other people can see what you've been doing.	1	2	3	4	5	6
You feel happy when you get a nice comment or retweet	1	2	3	4	5	6
You feel happy if people write nice comments or "like" your pictures	1	2	3	4	5	6
When you post information, you hope that your friends will respond to you	1	2	3	4	5	6
It's exciting to see who's notified you about something or tagged/retweet you in a picture	1	2	3	4	5	6
When someone makes a nice comment it makes you feel good	1	2	3	4	5	6
You post links/photos/comments that make other users aware of your talents or qualifications.	1	2	3	4	5	6
You write proud comments about your past accomplishments	1	2	3	4	5	6
Your posts let other users know how hard you have been working or studying.	1	2	3	4	5	6
You often post material that shows your knowledge or skills	1	2	3	4	5	6
You try to make an impression on other people	1	2	3	4	5	6
You like to show how knowledgeable you are via your page	1	2	3	4	5	6
You like to think others approve of your profile contents	1	2	3	4	5	6
You upload pictures or comments that you think people will make nice comments about	1	2	3	4	5	6

	1	2	3	4	5	6
If you won an award, you'd post about this on your page	1	2	3	4	5	6
You post about events you've attended	1	2	3	4	5	6
You like to share unique pictures and opinions that make you stand out from others	1	2	3	4	5	6
When you get nice comments you want other people to see them, so you repost those	1	2	3	4	5	6

* Due to its length, we divided this scale into two parts to prevent participant fatigue.

Section D/1: (MALES ONLY)
This section designed based on your gender, please follow the link that refers to your gender
Male   Female
Here we briefly describe some people. Please read each description and click a number on each line that shows how much each person is or is not like you.

Very much like me	Like me	Somewhat like me	A little like me	Not like me	Not like me at all
1	2	3	4	5	6

1	Thinking up new ideas and being creative is important to him. He likes to do things in his own original way.	1	2	3	4	5	6
2	It is important to him to be rich. He wants to have a lot of money and expensive things.	1	2	3	4	5	6
3	He thinks it is important that every person in the world should be treated equally. He believes everyone should have equal opportunities in life.	1	2	3	4	5	6
4	It's important to him to show his abilities. He wants people to admire what he does.	1	2	3	4	5	6
5	It is important to him to live in secure surroundings. He avoids anything that might endanger his safety.	1	2	3	4	5	6
6	He likes surprises and is always looking for new things to do. He thinks it is important to do lots of different things in life.	1	2	3	4	5	6
7	He believes that people should do what they're told. He thinks people should follow rules at all times, even when no-one is watching.	1	2	3	4	5	6
8	It is important to him to listen to people who are different from him. Even when he disagrees with them, he still wants to understand them.	1	2	3	4	5	6
9	It is important to him to be humble and modest. He tries not to draw attention to himself.	1	2	3	4	5	6
10	Having a good time is important to him. He likes to "spoil" himself.	1	2	3	4	5	6
11	It is important to him to make his own decisions about what he does. He likes to be free and not depend on others.	1	2	3	4	5	6
12	It's very important to him to help the people around him. He wants to care for their well-being.	1	2	3	4	5	6
13	Being very successful is important to him. He hopes people will recognise his achievements.	1	2	3	4	5	6
14	It is important to him that the government ensures his safety against all threats. He wants the state to be strong so it can defend its citizens.	1	2	3	4	5	6
15	He looks for adventures and likes to take risks. He wants to have an exciting life.	1	2	3	4	5	6

16	It is important to him always to behave properly. He wants to avoid doing anything people would say is wrong.	1	2	3	4	5	6
17	It is important to him to get respect from others. He wants people to do what he says.	1	2	3	4	5	6
18	It is important to him to be loyal to his friends. He wants to devote himself to people close to him.	1	2	3	4	5	6
19	He strongly believes that people should care for nature. Looking after the environment is important to him.	1	2	3	4	5	6
20	Tradition is important to him. He tries to follow the customs handed down by his religion or his family.	1	2	3	4	5	6
21	He seeks every chance he can to have fun. It is important to him to do things that give him pleasure.	1	2	3	4	5	6

Section D/2: (Female ONLY)
Here we briefly describe some people. Please read each description and click a number on each line that shows how much each person is or is not like you.

Very much like me	Like me	Somewhat like me	A little like me	Not like me	Not like me at all
1	2	3	4	5	6

1	Thinking up new ideas and being creative is important to her. She likes to do things in her own original way.	1	2	3	4	5	6
2	It is important to her to be rich. She wants to have a lot of money and expensive things.	1	2	3	4	5	6
3	She thinks it is important that every person in the world should be treated equally. She believes everyone should have equal opportunities in life.	1	2	3	4	5	6
4	It's important to her to show her abilities. She wants people to admire what she does.	1	2	3	4	5	6
5	It is important to her to live in secure surroundings. She avoids anything that might endanger her safety.	1	2	3	4	5	6
6	She likes surprises and is always looking for new things to do. She thinks it is important to do lots of different things in life.	1	2	3	4	5	6
7	She believes that people should do what they're told. She thinks people should follow rules at all times, even when no-one is watching.	1	2	3	4	5	6
8	It is important to her to listen to people who are different from her. Even when she disagrees with them, she still wants to understand them.	1	2	3	4	5	6
9	It is important to her to be pretty and modest. She tries not to draw attention to herself.	1	2	3	4	5	6
10	Having a good time is important to her. She likes to "spoil" herself.	1	2	3	4	5	6
11	It is important to her to make her own decisions about what she does. She likes to be free and not depend on others.	1	2	3	4	5	6
12	It's very important to her to help the people around her. She wants to care for their well-being.	1	2	3	4	5	6
13	Being very successful is important to her. She hopes people will recognise her achievements.	1	2	3	4	5	6
14	It is important to her that the government ensures her safety against all threats. She wants the state to be strong so it can defend its citizens.	1	2	3	4	5	6
15	She looks for adventures and likes to take risks. She wants to have an exciting life.	1	2	3	4	5	6

16	It is important to her always to behave properly. She wants to avoid doing anything people would say is wrong.	1	2	3	4	5	6
17	It is important to her to get respect from others. She wants people to do what she says.	1	2	3	4	5	6
18	It is important to her to be loyal to her friends. She wants to devote herself to people close to her.	1	2	3	4	5	6
19	She strongly believes that people should care for nature. Looking after the environment is important to her.	1	2	3	4	5	6
20	Tradition is important to her. She tries to follow the customs handed down by her religion or her family.	1	2	3	4	5	6
21	She seeks every chance she can to have fun. It is important to her to do things that give her pleasure.	1	2	3	4	5	6

Section F: The next section asks you about your intentions when you put information about yourself on your OSNs. This could be when you compose or update your profile or bio, or when you post photos or comments (tweets) or status updates.
When you put information on your page:

	1	2	3	4	5	6
	Strongly disagree	**Disagree**	**Disagree a little**	**Agree a little**	**Agree**	**Strongly agree**
You try not to show off when you put something on your page	1	2	3	4	5	6
You think people would not be interested in what you post	1	2	3	4	5	6
You try not to come across as too assertive	1	2	3	4	5	6
You don't mind seeking help or reassurance from other users	1	2	3	4	5	6
What you post about yourself is very silly	1	2	3	4	5	6
In OSN interactions you don't take yourself too seriously	1	2	3	4	5	6
You say little negative things about yourself to make yourself more likeable	1	2	3	4	5	6
You make fun of yourself in your posts	1	2	3	4	5	6
You agree with other users' opinions to show them that you are friendly	1	2	3	4	5	6
You try to be modest when you post photos or comments	1	2	3	4	5	6
You show appreciation when you receive a compliment/like/retweet	1	2	3	4	5	6
Satisfying other users is your priority	1	2	3	4	5	6
You use bold/direct language when you engage in serious discussions	1	2	3	4	5	6

You don't hesitate in deleting anyone who is rude from your list	1	2	3	4	5	6
When you write posts or comments, you hope to influence other users	1	2	3	4	5	6
You like posting things about politics, religion, philosophy etc.	1	2	3	4	5	6
You want to show people who you are and what you believe in	1	2	3	4	5	6
You want other users to have a clear idea of what you're like, and what you're into	1	2	3	4	5	6
When you post material, you are aware that you are performing to an audience	1	2	3	4	5	6
You are keen to write/post what you believe in.	1	2	3	4	5	6
One of your intentions when you started using OSNs was to become well-known	1	2	3	4	5	6
You challenge comments that don't show you respect	1	2	3	4	5	6
You don't mind laying yourself open to ridicule or criticism	1	2	3	4	5	6
You want to show where you visited or what you did to other people	1	2	3	4	5	6
You tend to pay attention to who's going to see what you have posted	1	2	3	4	5	6
You want to express your ideas	1	2	3	4	5	6
You want to record what you felt at the time	1	2	3	4	5	6
You can't say that you have one single identity on your OSN accounts	1	2	3	4	5	6
You assume different identities based on your goals	1	2	3	4	5	6
You present yourself differently based on the OSN that you are using (eg. Twitter or Facebook)	1	2	3	4	5	6
You think it's easier to be yourself rather than wear a mask	1	2	3	4	5	6
You freely reveal negative emotions you feel (for example sadness, anxiety, or anger)	1	2	3	4	5	6
You post material that shows the true side of you	1	2	3	4	5	6
You don't mind writing about the bad things that happen to you when you update your status	1	2	3	4	5	6

You don't mind posting photos or comments in which you do not appear happy	1	2	3	4	5	6
You use a fake picture and/or nickname, so that you are not limited in your freedom of speech	1	2	3	4	5	6
Your prefer not to put too much information about yourself on your OSN page	1	2	3	4	5	6
Your profile doesn't reflect the deep part of you	1	2	3	4	5	6
You try to be as private as you can	1	2	3	4	5	6
You express yourself freely on OSNs	1	2	3	4	5	6
Your personal info is very limited	1	2	3	4	5	6
You find it easier to talk about sensitive issues on OSNs than offline	1	2	3	4	5	6
You prefer not to post your personal pictures or talk about serious personal events in your life	1	2	3	4	5	6
You are very cautious on your account	1	2	3	4	5	6
You don't try to hide anything that you do in real life from your online friends/followers.	1	2	3	4	5	6
You don't see the point in creating a fake Internet persona	1	2	3	4	5	6
OSNs give you a golden opportunity to decide what you should publish and what you shouldn't	1	2	3	4	5	6
Your OSN account is totally hidden, with a high level of security	1	2	3	4	5	6
Your OSN account is just for close friends	1	2	3	4	5	6
You reveal more about yourself to people you know from the Internet than you do to offline friends	1	2	3	4	5	6

Section G: How much do each of the following statements accurately describe the people in the immediate society (your school, workplace, town, neighborhood, etc.) in which you live? Please indicate how true you feel each statement to be for **the people around you** by checking the appropriate number on the scale provided.

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
	Strongly disagree	**Disagree**	**Disagree a little**	**Undecided**	**Agree a little**	**Agree**	**Strongly agree**
They have many chances to get to know	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

other people.							
It is common for these people to have a conversation with someone they have never met before.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
They can choose who they interact with.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
There are few opportunities for these people to form new friendships. (*reverse coded*)	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
It is uncommon for these people to have a conversation with people they have never met before. (*reverse coded*)	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
If they did not like their current groups, they would leave for better ones.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
It is often the case that they cannot freely choose who they associate with. (*reverse coded*)	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
It is easy for them to meet new people.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Even if these people were not completely satisfied with the group they belonged to, they would usually stay with it anyway. (*reverse coded*)	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
These people are able to choose the groups and organizations they belong to.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Even if these people were not satisfied with their current relationships, they would often have no choice but to stay with them. (*reverse coded*)	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Even though they might rather leave, these people often have no choice but to stay in groups they don't like. (*reverse coded*)	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

Please indicate how strongly you agree or disagree with each of the following statements, using the following scale:

	1	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**	**6**
	Strongly disagree	**Disagree**	**Disagree a little**	**Agree a little**	**Agree**	**Strongly agree**
I understand my life's meaning	1	2	3	4	5	6
My life has a clear sense of purpose	1	2	3	4	5	6
I have discovered a satisfying life purpose	1	2	3	4	5	6

My life has no clear purpose	1	2	3	4	5	6
I feel unsure about the meaning of my life	1	2	3	4	5	6
I am confused about what is the real meaning of my life	1	2	3	4	5	6
I am very comfortable with my self	1	2	3	4	5	6
I feel great about who I am	1	2	3	4	5	6
I have high self-esteem	1	2	3	4	5	6
It is sometimes unpleasant for me to think about myself	1	2	3	4	5	6
I have a negative attitude toward my self	1	2	3	4	5	6
I do not have enough respect for myself	1	2	3	4	5	6
I perform very well at many things	1	2	3	4	5	6
I am very talented	1	2	3	4	5	6
I am able to do most things I try to do	1	2	3	4	5	6
I sometimes deal poorly with challenges	1	2	3	4	5	6
I sometimes fail to fulfill my goals	1	2	3	4	5	6
I often feel that I am not very capable	1	2	3	4	5	6
I often think of myself as a unique person.	1	2	3	4	5	6
I feel I am different from other people.	1	2	3	4	5	6
I have a clear sense of what distinguishes me from other people.	1	2	3	4	5	6
There isn't much that distinguishes me from other people I know.	1	2	3	4	5	6
I don't know what distinguishes me from other people.	1	2	3	4	5	6
I don't really feel distinguished from other people.	1	2	3	4	5	6
I feel a sense of continuity between past, present and future in my life.	1	2	3	4	5	6
Whatever happens to me, I am always the same person	1	2	3	4	5	6
I feel a sense of progression in my life story.	1	2	3	4	5	6
There is not much continuity in my life.	1	2	3	4	5	6
I'm not sure if my life really has a 'story'.	1	2	3	4	5	6
I find it hard to imagine who I was in the past, or who I	1	2	3	4	5	6

will be in the future.						
I generally feel that people accept me.	1	2	3	4	5	6
I have a strong sense of 'belonging'	1	2	3	4	5	6
I feel that I am valued by the people who matter to me	1	2	3	4	5	6
I don't feel that there is any place where I really fit in this world.	1	2	3	4	5	6
I feel left out of things.	1	2	3	4	5	6
I am not valued by or important to my friends.	1	2	3	4	5	6

Demographic Information Sheet

Thank you for your participation in the present study. All we need now is some general information about you and the way that you are using OSNs. All details given are completely confidential.

What is your age (in years)?

What is your gender?   Please select ▼

What is the highest level of education you have completed?   Please select ▼

Where do you live?   Please Select ▼

Are you currently...?   Please Select ▼

What is your current marital status?   Please Select ▼

How frequently do you check/change your account privacy settings?   Please Select ▼

How much time per day do you usually spend actively using OSNs?   Please Select ▼

Thank you for completing this online survey. Your participation is invaluable.

Now, we would like to offer you the opportunity to enter a prize draw for a first prize of £50 and a second prize of £25. If you would like to enter the draw, please provide your email address below. We will only use this to contact you if you win one of the prizes, and not for any other purpose. Your email address will be stored in a separate file in order to preserve the anonymity of your survey responses.

Heyla Selim & Dr. Karen Long.
School of Psychology
University of Sussex
Brighton,
UnitedKingdo