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# CULTURAL DIFFERENCES IN SELF-PRESENTATION ON SOCIAL NETWORKING SITES: A CROSS-CULTURAL COMPARISON BETWEEN AMERICAN AND JAPANESE COLLEGE STUDENTS

by

Kikuko Omori

A Dissertation Submitted in

Partial Fulfillment of the

Requirements for the Degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

in Communication

at

The University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee

May 2014



## ABSTRACT CULTURAL DIFFERENCES IN SELF-PRESENTATION ON SOCIAL NETWORKING SITES: A CROSS-CULTURAL COMPARISON BETWEEN AMERICAN AND JAPANESE COLLEGE STUDENTS

by

#### Kikuko Omori

The University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee, 2014 Under the Supervision of Mike Allen, Ph.D.

This dissertation explores cultural and platform differences in self-presentation on social networking sites (SNSs) between Japanese and American college students utilizing Impression Management, Media Ecology, and Uses and Gratifications theories and approaches as theoretical frameworks. While *Facebook* is popular among American college students, *Mixi*, a Japanese originated SNS, as well as *Facebook* are popular among Japanese college students. This dissertation investigates the relationship among social culture, the types of SNSs, and the users' self-presentation on SNSs. Previous studies suggest SNS users employ subtle techniques to improve ones' presentation on SNSs, therefore the present study focused on the number of SNS friends and sensitive picture postings (i.e., partying, drunk, sexy, or illegal picture postings) on SNSs.

Five hundred and eighty-three American and 496 Japanese college students participated in the survey, which provided the basis for analyses. The results of the present study demonstrate cultural and SNS platform differences on self-presentation on SNSs. Reflecting regional culture, Japanese *Mixi* users included limited types of friends on *Mixi* compared with American and Japanese *Facebook* users by not including teachers and parents. However, contradict to previous studies, Japanese *Facebook* users had the

largest number of SNS friends followed by Japanese *Mixi* and American *Facebook* users after controlling for preexisting conditions (i.e., gender, perception of extraversion, perception of popularity, and the length of membership with the SNS). The similar pattern surfaced in the frequency of sensitive picture postings on SNSs. When the above controlling variables were included in the analyses, Japanese *Facebook* users posted sensitive pictures the most frequently followed by Japanese *Mixi* users and Japanese *Facebook* users.

Furthermore, the present study found *Facebook* and *Mixi* dual users friended significantly more people and posted significantly more partying and drunk pictures on *Facebook* than on *Mixi*. However, the same individuals did not change the frequency of posting sensitive pictures between *Facebook* and *Mixi*. The results added evidence to media ecology. The mediation analyses helped to understand underlying mechanisms of sensitive picture postings on SNSs. The present study found that the Japanese SNS dual users posted drunk pictures on *Facebook* significantly more frequently due to the perception of injunctive norms. Likewise, the present study found American *Facebook* users posted sensitive pictures because of the perception of disinhibition. Theoretical as well as practical implications are discussed and possible future research is presented.



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#### CHAPTER 1 LITERATURE REVIEW

Despite the increasing number of studies on Social Networking Sites (SNSs) in a variety of disciplines, the influence of cultural differences on SNS user behavior has not received enough attention from scholars (Baym, 2010). boyd (2006) states, "I also suspect that a study of non-American practices would introduce entirely different dynamics" (p.12). Furthermore, the majority of research thus far has been focusing on global SNSs such as *Facebook*, and not focused on language-and-national-identity-specific SNSs (Siibak, 2009). Thus, the present study compared global and language specific SNSs (*Facebook* and *Mixi*) to further understand SNS user behavior.

Wang et al. (2011) reported that *Facebook* users had posted "regret" pictures on *Facebook*. Many regretted pictures included "sensitive" contents such as alcohol and illegal drug use (Want et al., 2011). Similarly, an increasing number of studies reported college students' sensitive picture posting practice on *Facebook* (Mendelson & Papacharissi, 2010; Kolek & Saunders, 2008). For example, Kolek and Saunders (2008) reported among 339 undergraduates' *Facebook* pages, about one-half of pictures contained a picture that someone consuming an alcoholic beverage. The presentation of self as social and popular reflects the college students' ideal self in modern society. Especially, drinking and partying are considered as a part of socialization in a college culture in the US (Kolek & Saunders, 2008). However, the same image generates a negative impression in some audience members. For example, many employers check a potential employee's *Facebook* pages to see if the person posts images that would create a negative social

impression (Finder, 2006).

No studies have been conducted on sensitive picture practice for Japanese social networking site (SNS) users to our knowledge. However, a newspaper article suggested the tendency of posting sensitive pictures is not common on *Mixi* (Japanese originated SNS) (J-CAST, 2012). Therefore, the present study compared two different social networking sites (i.e., *Facebook* and *Mixi*) and two cultures (i.e. Japan and US) in order to understand the cultural differences in sensitive picture posting behavior. While *Facebook* become very popular across cultures having more than 1.1 billion active users (*Facebook*, 2014), Japanese originated SNS *Mixi* is also popular for Japanese having more than 20 million active users in Japan (*Mixi*, 2012). The present dissertation investigated the mechanism of sensitive picture posting practice in relation with culture, SNS platform, personality, motivation, and perception of disinhibition using uses and gratifications theory as a theoretical framework.

Inconsistent behavior between online and offline has been reported in previous literature (Zhao, Grasmuck, & Martin, 2008; Zwica & Danowski, 2008). Previous literature reports the tendency that people become more open and disclose more private information online (Zwica & Danowski, 2008). Furthermore, some people present themselves as more social online than in face-to-face settings is a prevalent occurrence on SNSs. For example, Zwica and Danowski (2008) found *Facebook* users with low popularity posted pictures "that would surprise their friends or families, particularly pictures showing them 'partying,' 'drinking,' or doing 'goofy things'" (Zwica & Danowski, 2008, p.16). Goffman (1961) argues that



people try to provide a positive impression of themselves in everyday life. In terms of impression management, SNSs are peculiar because of the characteristics of the platform. For example, the communications on SNSs include less nonverbal cues and the communication takes place in an asynchronous manner. Furthermore, the availability of selecting and editing one's information such as pictures provide the possibility of creating an ideal persona online. On the other hand, a drastic alternation of themselves is difficult on SNSs because audiences are friends from real world. Thus, SNS users tend to use subtle technique to improve one's impression on SNSs such as showing a large number of friends and posting pictures that stress the positive side of themselves (Kolek & Saunders, 2008).

Even though Japanese SNS users hardly posted sensitive pictures on SNS (J-CAST, 2012), a recent study indicates some evidence of behavioral switching in Japanese SNS users (Thomson & Ito, 2012). For example, Thomson and Ito (2012) report Japanese *Facebook* and *Mixi* dual users changed online behavior by using actual pictures of self on *Facebook*, while they did not use actual pictures and names on *Mixi*. Thus, free from time and space, people might not follow their own cultural norms; instead they follow the norms of SNSs. Currently, few studies are available on SNS users' behavioral switching (Qiu, Lin, & Leung, 2013). Therefore, Qiu et al. (2013) requested more studies on the "underlying mechanism that motivates individuals to switch their online behaviors" (p. 117). This dissertation aims to answer the request by seeking out the underlying mechanism of behavioral switching on SNSs.

The present dissertation investigates the cultural, personal, and social needs



to post sensitive pictures on SNSs using Uses and Gratifications Theory and Media Ecological frameworks. Specifically, the present study investigates the influence of culture and SNS platforms on user behavior on SNSs. Uses and Gratifications Theorists argue that people select a particular medium to fulfill their gratifications, and the determinants of the origins of the needs of uses and gratifications are social and individual differences. Thus, Japanese and American SNS users hold different expectations and needs toward SNSs and select particular SNS to fulfill the needs. On the other hand, media ecological perspective argues that people behave more universally when using a particular media. Thus, the main research question on the present study is whether culture or attributes of the technology generates greater influence on the SNS user behavior. Theories and previous literature are discussed next in detail.

#### **Social Networking Sites (SNSs)**

Social Networking Sites (SNSs) are defined as "web-based services that allow individuals to (1) construct a public or semi-public profile within a bounded system, (2) articulate a list of other users with whom they share a connection, and (3) view and traverse their list of connections and those made by others within the system" (boyd & Ellison, 2007, p.211). The development of social networking sites provides a different form of social networking. SNSs provide a place where people create and maintain online social networks. Since the initial launch of *SixDegrees.com* in 1997, diverse SNSs have become available in many societies (boyd & Ellison, 2007). SNSs become prevalent and gain popularity in many societies. For example, now *Facebook* operates as a popular online social networking site for more than 800

million active regular users (Facebook, 2012). While most of the SNSs might not intend to target particular group people as users, not only language differences, but age, educational level, and other factors segregate the population in the use of a particular SNS similar to face-to-face society (Hargittai, 2008). For example, Facebook is popular among college students because it started as an online version of a yearbook for college students (Ellison, Steinfield, & Lampe, 2007). Similarly, *LinkedIn* attracts more business people, and *MySpace* attracts persons who love music and arts (boyd & Ellison, 2007). Additionally, while all Western countries use Facebook, Facebook does not dominate Asian countries according to "Asia Infrastructure" (2012). Asians use local social networks, such as Cyworld (South Korea), Mixi (Japan), and RenRen (China). "Asia Infrastructure" (2012) argues that one of the challenges for *Facebook* to be popular in Asian countries is cultural differences based on ...... For example, while people in Japan disclose names and pictures more on *Facebook* than other SNSs such as *Mixi*, people hardly express feelings on Facebook ("NetAsia", 2011). Japanese people were more willing to share feelings on CMC where the identity was not visible ("NetAsia", 2011).

Cultural differences on SNS platforms. Scholars argue SNS platforms vary among cultures reflecting the social cultural differences (Barker & Ota, 2011; Fogg & Iizawa, 2008). For example, Barker and Ota (2011) claim anonymity and privacy attributes of *Mixi* attract Japanese SNS users. While using real names and pictures are common practice on *Facebook*, pseudonyms and pictures of some representation of self are more common on *Mixi* (Barker & Ota, 2011). Fogg and Iizawa (2008) compare two SNSs for the persuasive technology for the customers to create



personal profile pages, invite friends, respond to others' contributions, and often return to the site. In general, *Facebook* used more bold and assertive persuasive style and technique so that users take quick actions, while *Mixi* used subtle persuasive style and technique reflecting persuasion dynamics of US and Japanese culture (Fogg & Iizawa, 2008). For example, while *Facebook* users can invite friends in bulk using web email accounts (e.g., Hotmail, Gmail, Yahoo), *Mixi* users need to invite a friend by typing the email address for each friend (Fogg & Iizawa, 2008).

The average number of SNS friends reflects the above features, as the average number of friends on *Facebook* is 281, compared to an average of 58 friends on Mixi (Fogg & Iizawa, 2008). While both Mixi and Facebook persuade users to connect with more friends by articulating the number of friends on the site, the features and characteristics of the SNS might facilitate Facebook users to add more friends by showing large number of friends in their friends' profiles (Fogg & lizawa, 2008). Thomson and Ito (2012) argue that *Facebook* reflects American high relational mobility, whereas Japanese SNS site, Mixi reflects Japanese low relational mobility. Relational mobility refers to the "opportunities to voluntarily form new relationships and terminate old ones within a given context" (Schug, Yuki, & Maddux, 2010, p.1). America tends to have high relational mobility, whereas Japan has low relational mobility. In the low relational mobility society, the opportunity to create a new relationship is difficult. Therefore, people tend to commit to the group. When comparing Facebook and Mixi, Barker and Ota (2011) found that Mixi users felt more obligations to give responses quickly and committed



to the relationship. Reflecting offline relational mobility, American females who unsatisfied with the current social group used SNS to find another group to compensate for the negative collective self-esteem, whereas Japanese females stayed at the current social group (Barker & Ota, 2011).

#### **Impression Management**

Goffman's (1959, 1961) impression management theory is a useful lens to understand human behavior on SNSs. Several studies have been successfully applied the lens on SNS (Hogan, 2010). According to Goffman (1961), human beings try to make positive impression to others in everyday life by stressing positive aspect of themselves. In offline settings, an impression is made by verbal and nonverbal cues (Goffman, 1959). However, in Computer Mediated Communication (CMC), receivers of the message need to create an impression of others mainly by verbal messages with little nonverbal cues. Because the social networks on SNSs are based on the networks in real life, people cannot alter themselves drastically on SNSs. People tend to use subtle technique to improve their impression on SNSs such as friending with a large number of people and showing pictures that depicts only positive side on themselves. Walther and Burgoon (1992) refer to this tendency as "selective self-presentation." People use some attributes of CMC such as selectivity to improve offline impressions (Walther, 2007). Therefore, posting pictures on SNSs operates a part of impression management.

Unintended audience and self-presentation on SNSs. Hogan (2010) applied Goffman's (1959, 1961) impression management theory to social media and



used a metaphor of "curator" for social media users opposed to Goffmans' metaphor of "actors." According to Goffman (1959), people are actors taking a certain role in society. On the other hand, people become more like a curator on social media because communication on SNSs is not bounded to a specific situation (i.e., time and place). Similarly, the messages on SNSs become artifacts oppose to performances because messages on social media are not bounded to a specific situation either. In addition, Hogan (2010) pointed out the differences between audience in everyday life and on SNSs. On SNSs, message is sent toward audience called "friends."

Fogg and Iizawa (20008) report the number of average *Facebook* friends is 281. The number of *Facebook* friends is much larger than an individual can possible know personally. Furthermore, *Facebook* friends consist of individuals with different relationships with the user. Some users include teachers, parents, and friends from high school and so on. Thus, Hogan (2010) questioned, "If social network sites house more friends than are cognitively manageable, all of whom have access to one's content, and many of whom represent different social grouping, and different potential fronts, then how do individuals manage to submit any content at all?" (p. 383).

Thus, one of the confusions and problems in relation with impression management on SNSs manifests from the ambiguity of intended audience that Hogan (2010) called "the lowest common denominator" (p.383). For example, one might post pictures from last night party to share them with peers. The picture was not targeted to their parents, but parents can see the pictures if they are their SNS



friends. In other words, the pictures become accessible by unintended recipients once people become SNS friends. Furthermore, the huge number of Facebook friends makes it difficult for *Facebook* users to control one's content. Especially, in Eastern culture, people are raised to change their behavior depending on the specific situation and people whom they are communicating with. Therefore, while American female college students added a large number of friends on the SNS, Japanese female college students added a relatively small number of friends on the SNS (Barker & Ota, 2011). Most of the friends on SNSs for Japanese users are "close" friends from offline, while American users added more than "close" friends from offline. Furthermore, Taniguchi and Lee (2012) reported cultural differences on the influence of fat talk on Facebook between Japanese and American female college students. According to Taniguchi and Lee (2012), when Japanese female college students witnessed a Facebook message that encouraged weight loss, they reported lower body satisfaction even though the message was not directed to the participants. In contrast, American female college students were not influenced by the fat talk. In short, Japanese are more sensitive toward others' message than Americans on *Facebook*.

**Self-Presentation on SNSs.** According to Goffman (1959), people use two types regions; front and back regions. For front region, people present "ideal" self according to the situation to play the role they are assigned in the society. While the actual self is a representation of individual attribution, ideal self is attributions the individual want to pose (Higgins, 1987). Therefore, online persona and offline persona become incompatible at times. Especially when the communication is



limited to online, people might be tempted to present ideal self in online communication. Ellison, Heino, and Gibbs (2006) report how people present themselves in online dating sites. When people misrepresent themselves, they tend to do it slightly, such as exaggerate the frequency of doing an activity that they have not been doing for years or lower weight hoping to lose that in the future. Overall, Ellison et al. (2006) found that participants did not see the misrepresentation as deceptive but rather as presenting an ideal self.

SNSs are unique in self-presentation. For one, self-presentation might be limited, for the social network is nonymous opposed to anonymous situation of other online sites such as dating sites. Differ from other online relationship such as dating sites, online relationship is usually created through offline communication. On the other hand, individuals create or promote "better or possible" self by hiding or stressing or altering some information without the limitation of time and place. Mehdizadeh (2010) reports undergraduate students promoted self-image on *Facebook* implicitly and expressively: Some students displayed self-promotional information in *About Me* section using positive description, while some students displayed self-promotional images such as making faces or using edited photos by software.

Kietzmann, Hermkens, McCarthy, and Silvestre (2011) argue that social media contains seven functional building blocks: identity, conversations, sharing, presence, relationships, reputation, and groups. Identity is defined as how people identify self on social media. For example, some people use real names on *Facebook*, but others might use different names on a Japanese social networking



site, *Mixi*. Conversations demonstrate social media function to communicate among users. Sharing represents the extent to which users exchange contents. Presence represents the function that social media have to let other users know if the users are accessible. For example, users can see whether other users are online while some people avoid it by clicking not 'hidden' on *Facebook*. Relationship represents forming relationship on social media by joining some associations or clubs. For instance, by joining the fan site of some sort, users can connect to each other and create a relationship. Reputation represents the evaluation of self and others on social media. The last function is groups. Groups represent the ability to create communities on social media. SNS users can use all seven functions to promote positive impression of self.

Hyperpersonal perspective and impression management. As mentioned above, SNSs possess characteristics to create positive self-description such as reduced nonverbal cues and asynchronous communication. Walther (1996) argues people are able to give better impressions to others in a CMC than face-to-face communication. Hyperpersonal perspective (Tidwell &Walther, 2002; Walther, 1996) argues that people communicate better in CMC than face-to-face setting by disclosing and asking more information. Similar to how people acquire culture offline, people observe others' behavior online and learn the norms and values of the online culture. CMC misses many of the nonverbal communication cues used to fill uncertainties. As people seek out available cues, people realize the importance of the cues to represent the self. For example, when seeking out the time friends are on *Facebook*, persons realize the fact others are also seeking out the time the user is



on *Facebook*. Interestingly, Walther (2007) found that engaging in selective-self presentation affects hyperpersonal communication because of the person's heightened sensitivity and mindfulness. When communicating with desirable people, more time is spent composing a message; therefore the message quality is high, which creates high immediacy and affection to the receiver of the message (Walther, 2007). Thus, CMC users including SNS users take advantages of CMC attributes to improve impressions according to the hyperpersoanl perspective (Walther, 1996).

#### **Cultural differences on impression management:**

**Interdependent/Independent self-construal.** Impression management is about self-presentation. Thus, cultural difference on perception of self is required to be explained before discussing about cultural difference on self-presentations.

There exist cultural differences on self-presentation in everyday life between Americans and Japanese (Akimoto & Sanbonmatsu, 1999; Barker & Ota, 2011). People from East Asia tend to exhibit public modesty to avoid conflict with other members in the society by "playing down one's performance" (Akimoto & Sanbonmatsu, 1999, p.160). By doing so, people become perceived as normative and appropriate in the society. Akimoto and Sanbonmatsu (1999) found Japanese Americans reported performance significantly more unfavorably in public than European Americans even though they actually performed much better than European Americans. As a consequence, Akimoto and Sanbonmatsu (1999) found European Americans perceived Japanese Americans as performing less well and being less competent. Kitayama, Markus, Matsumoto, and Norasakkunkit (1997) argue that the Japanese self-effacing tendency is not limited to public context.



Japanese try to present self unfavorably even in the private settings. At the same time, Japanese self-effacing tendency becomes stronger in front of friends rather than strangers (Tice, Butler, Muraven, & Stillwell, 1995).

Barker and Ota (2011) argue that Japanese SNS users use SNSs to communicate with "close" friends, and not use SNSs to self-promotion. Thus, Japanese people select a journal function of SNSs to communicate with close friends, and not post one's own pictures or one's friends' pictures. Similar cultural difference was found on photographic self-portrayal of Caucasian Americans, African Americans, and ethnic Asians (DeAndrea, Shaw, & Levine, 2010). Caucasian Americans posted photographs with others significantly more than African Americans and ethnic Asians in *Facebook* profile pictures. Barker and Ota (2011) argue that Americans tend to self-promote more than Japanese, who tend to self-effacing acts within the peer group. Because people perceive self in relationship with others in interdependent self-construal culture, maintaining a harmony or "not to stand out" is valuable. Markus and Kitayama (1991, 1998) argue that people from West and East perceive self differently. While Easterners perceive self in relation with others as well as nature surrounding them (interdependent self-construal culture), Westerners perceive self according to inner value system (independent self-construal culture).

Cultural differences on impression management: Face. Impression management or self-presentation and face are closely related. Therefore, the cultural differences in the interpretation of face might cause culture differences in self-presentation (Oetzel et al. 2001). The cultural difference on face wants and threats



have been discussed in the face and politeness literature (Gao, 1998; Lim, 2009). For example, Lim (2009) argues people from holistic society like Japan assess face threat that is known by people of the group they belong. Thus, Japanese are more sensitive to the existence of a third party than Americans (Lim, 2009). When communicating with friends on SNSs, Americans might not consider the perception by parents or teachers, while Japanese consider how the people within existing relationships perceive the communication. Understanding the cultural difference on face wants is necessary, for the differences lead different motivation and pattern of media use. For example, Japanese *Mixi* users tend to limit *Mixi* friends as close friends. Considering Japanese' face wants and needs among close friends, Japanese *Mixi* users would not present self freely than when they use *Facebook* where they include not close friends. That is, Japanese are more sensitive than Americans about self-presentation in front of close friends than distant friends, because Japanese's face wants and threats reflect the characteristics of the relationships.

Cultural difference on trust and self-disclosure on SNSs. While self-disclosure is "simple factual communication about the self" (Johnson, 1981, p.761), self-presentation is "ways to instruct others about how they are to be regarded" (Johnson, 1981, p.761). However, as discussed above, self-presentation on SNSs comprises a selective self-disclosure. Thus, discussing cultural difference on self-disclosure is necessary to understand self-presentation on SNSs. Xiao Li, Cao, and Tang (2012) emphasized the importance of trust for self-disclosure online because self-disclose increases when people trust the members on SNSs. At the same time, the perception of other group member's self-disclosure online increases people's



trust on the site and facilitate socio-emotional interaction (Xiao et al., 2012). Dwyer, Hiltz, and Passerini (2007) conducted a study regarding trust and SNSs comparing two popular SNS (i.e. *Facebook* and *MySpace*) in terms of trust and self-disclosure. The study reported that participants disclosed significantly more information on *Facebook* than they did on *MySpace* because they trusted *Facebook* than *MySpace* (Dwyer, et al., 2007). The Dwyer et al.'s (2007) result indicates that people self-disclose more when they trust the SNS.

However, there exists an evidence of cultural differences on the relationship between trust and self-disclosure on SNSs. Yum and Hara (2005) found a negative relationship between self-disclosure online and the trust of others among Koreans, whereas there was positive association between online self-disclosure and trust for Americans. Thus, while Americans perceive others' self-disclosure as a sign of trustworthy SNS, Koreans perceive others' self-disclosure as a sign of distrust. As discussed above, the contents of SNSs should be discussed in relations with intended audience. That is, Koreans' tendency of distrust of the SNS might reflect the perception that audience of the site is not limited close friends. Scholars argue that people self-disclose more online due to a sense of privacy (Barak and Gluck-ofri, 2007). That is, people feel more at ease to share their personal information online due to the psychological influence. On the other hand, Xiao et al. (2012) found online social identity (i.e., someone is aware of one's own identity) increases perception of trust and in turn influences knowledge exchange in Chinese online consumer discussion forums. Xiao et al. (2012) report Chinese online customer forum users' stronger awareness of group norms and stronger identity



awareness contribute to build a trustworthy community.

Cultural differences: Perception of friends. Previous literature suggests the friendship formation and the definition of friends vary among cultures (Martin & Nakayama, 2012). For example, many Americans differentiate friends of "Friendster" from actual friends (boyd, 2006). We see the tendency in offline relationships. Previous literature suggests that Americans belong to multiple groups and differentiate friends from different group, while Japanese considered friends as friends regardless the differences of groups.

**Cultural differences: Social networking.** Previous literature describes cultural differences on offline social networking between Western and Eastern countries. For example, Nakane (1967) claimed that people in Japan belong to one social group and the social group requires exclusive loyalty and commitment unlike in Western countries. Similarly, Schug, Yuki, and Maddux (2010) claimed America tends to have high relational mobility whereas Japan has low relational mobility. The relational mobility is "opportunities to voluntarily form new relationships and terminate old ones within a given context" (Schug et al., 2010, p.1). Thus, Takahashi (2010) reports Japanese Mixi users felt obligated to register friends from offline social networks and to comment on their friends' diaries immediately using mobile phones. The loyalty and commitment toward social group members at times made Japanese Mixi users fatigued, and seek out alternative SNS such as MySpace (Takahashi, 2010). Japanese *MySpace* users expressed more openly and freely on MySpace (due to anonymity), and the majority of friends are not from their offline social groups (Takahashi, 2010). Similarly, Japanese duel users of Facebook and

Mixi expressed accommodations depending on the SNS (Thomson & Ito, 2012). The same individual added more friends and self-disclosed more on Facebook than Mixi (Thomson & Ito, 2012). Thus, Western based SNSs might provide a place for Japanese to behave like Westerners online because the norms on the SNSs reflect Western cultural values.

Personality and cultural differences on self-description. Allik and McCrae (2004) compared 36 different cultures about personality traits utilizing the NEO-PI-R personality inventory that contains 240-item questionnaire that assesses 30 specific traits or facets that define the five basic factors of personality: neuroticism, extraversion, openness to experience, agreeableness, and conscientiousness. Allik and McCrae (2004) report Americans are outgoing, open to new experience, and antagonistic, whereas Asians like Japanese are introverted, traditional, and compliant. The question is how the traits seen regularly in American culture such as outgoing, agreeableness, and conscientiousness and the traits seen more in Japanese culture such as introverted, traditional, and complaint influence SNS user behavior online.

Previous personality literature evidenced personality traits are "biologically based dispositions" (Hofstede & McCrae, 2004, p. 57). The widely used Big 5 factor personality model that includes: (a) neuroticism, (b) extraversion, (c) openness to experience, (d) agreeableness, and (e) conscientiousness appears stably in all the personality research regardless the age and the gender of the samples (Hofstede & McCrae, 2004). Thus, Hofstede and McCrae (2004) argue personality traits and culture interact to shape the individual's behavior. When describing self

on SNSs, culture and personality interplay. For example, introverted individuals might refrain from describing self positively on SNSs.

Culture takes a huge role in describing self on SNSs. Individuals from independent-self culture or individualistic culture might be free to express self, while interdependent-self culture or collectivistic culture might be more limited to express self both in everyday life and on SNSs. Schimmack et al. (2002) found extraversion was one of the strongest predictors of life satisfaction in individualistic cultures. Thus, individuals from individualistic cultures believe that extraversion is more important for individuals. Thus, in the US it makes sense to post or describe self as more social or extroverted, while sociability is not that a favorable trait in Japan.

Sensitive picture postings on SNS. While Facebook provides a new venue for social networking by sharing profiles, comments, and pictures as well as searching for old friends (Park, et. al., 2011), problematic self-presentation on Facebook became notorious. Kolek and Saunders (2008) analyzed 339 undergraduates' Facebook pages. The study reported undergraduate students' tendency of posting partying and drunk pictures on Facebook. About one-half of Facebook pictures they analyzed contained at least one picture of someone consuming an alcoholic beverage. In addition, 38.3% of students referred alcohol positively, 25.4% students referred partying positively, and 8.6% of students referred drugs positively (Kolek & Saunders, 2008). Similarly, Christofides, Muise, and Desmarais, (2009) found that people frequently shared socially negative image without thinking about the consequences. College students' tendency to post



pictures that depict partying, drinking, sexual, or illegal behaviors on *Facebook* is notorious (Finder, 2006). Therefore, checking a potential employee's *Facebook* page now represents a common practice for employers (Finder, 2006).

Drinking and partying might be considered as a part of socialization or even as a college culture. As college students, representing self as a "party girl" or "party boy" influence a reputation of the institution they belong or finding a job after they graduate from college. Mendelson and Papacharissi (2010) examined about 21, 000 photos on 333 Facebook pages belonging primarily to college freshmen and sophomores. The majority of photos portrayed students with their friends in social settings such as parties or sporting events. Also notable was what was missing from the photos: family members and anything related to academics such as studying or going to class. Information disclosure and self-presentation on Facebook are closely related. Sharing private information such as email addresses and phone numbers among close friends by limiting access on Facebook won't become a problem; however, the same information becomes a problem if the user did not limit the access. Similarly, sharing partying and drinking pictures among peers on Facebook poses no problem, whereas sharing the same picture with public might ruin the reputation of self and the institution of the user. Furthermore, Strano (2008) reported *Facebook* users' interest on choosing attractive pictures to post on Facebook. The Facebook users considered having fun, or photos that were taken as a humorous shot as attractive to post on Facebook. Siibak (2009) conducted a study of SNS use in Estonian youth and analyze what kind of profile images are chosen for self-presentations for the most popular social networking site in Estonia, rate.ee.



Estonian youth reported "looking good" is the first priority when they select a picture for a SNS profile.

Arkin (1989) provided an overview of self-presentation studies and argues successful individuals on self-presentation are individuals with high self-monitoring. In other words, individuals who are sensitive to the situation would adapt their presentation according to the role they should take in the each situation. Arkin (1989) argues the primary motivation of self-presentation as social approval and liking in the society (p.177). Thus, individuals need approval "tend to conform in response to social pressure" (p.177).

Korn and Maggs (2004) found college students expected positive consequences by alcohol such as garnering a more fund, exciting, and social image (p.208). Interestingly, the same study found even though more disdained students endorsed positive effect on alcohol, drinking behaviors were not consistent with the expectation and more disdained students consumed less alcohol comparing with less disdained students. Korn and Maggs (2004) explained the incongruous result from the existence of mediated variables between intention and behavior using Ajzen and Fishbein's (1970) perspective as efficacy of self-presentation as mediating variable.

Wolfe, Lennox, and Cutler (1986) argue people seek to "get along" as well as "get ahead" in society. People try to receive acceptance, approval, and popularity as well as power, control, and status (p. 356). Woolley, Limperos, and Tamul (2009) found when *Facebook* users found friends' *Facebook* profiles similar to them, the users perceived the friends more favorable. That is, *Facebook* users impression is



drawn from the homophily of Facebook use.

**Identity formation and self-presentation on SNSs.** Using the characteristics of SNSs, previous literature found the tendency of creating new persona online (Zhao et al., 2008). Zhao et al. (2008) called the phenomena as Internet empowerment. However, compared with anonymous situation online such as online games, users of SNSs are impossible to alter one's identity completely for most of the friends of SNS know the person offline, which is called "anchored relationship" (Zhao, 2006). In face-to-face settings, people conform to the norms of groups they belong to such as culture and social groups. Including pictures with peers is the technique many SNS users use to create a "social-self" identity on Facebook (Zhao et al., 2008). In this way, Facebook users are able to present a social-self without making explicit claims about sociability of oneself. Zhao et al. (2008) found most of the *Facebook* users used implicit technique to create one's identity by posting pictures and enumerating one's tastes of music, implicit identity claims or description of self is common among Facebook users by showing than telling audience about self and receiving compliments by others instead of making positive remarks about oneself. Zhao et al. (2008) found several ideal self portrayed on Facebook: (a) popular self, (b) well-rounded self, and (c) thoughtful self. The most popular self identity creation or presentation was to demonstrate how popular the user was by showing pictures with friends. Previous literature revealed the tendency of Facebook users not mentions academic topics. Facebook users seem to present self as "socially desirable." According to Goffman's (1961) impression management theory, people correspond to norms of the group and try to present self



accordingly. Previous studies found many SNS users selected photos that were taken as a humorous shot or having fun, because they looked attractive for SNS users showing their identity as social or fun individuals (Strano, 2008). According to Siibak's (2009) study on Estonian youngsters aged 11 to 18, the youngsters believed good-looking is the most important aspect to be popular among other SNS users following having large enough network. The impression management suggests people try to present self ideally according to the norms of the group they belong to. Siibak's (2009) study proved that people make the same effort even online. Then the problem arises whether Japanese *Facebook* users follow the norms of Japanese culture or norms of *Facebook* when they try to present self on *Facebook*.

#### **Behavioral Switching**

Media ecology perspective. Today, more and more communication takes place online; in other words, communication takes place in electronic space not physical space (Drucker & Gumpert, 1998). Human communication used to be geographically bounded without current transportation and communication technology. However, as the development of transportation and new communication technology, human communication becomes possible beyond physical distance.

Therefore, as the development of technology, geographical location becomes less important. Drucker and Gumpert (1998) discussed how much communication was increased by new communication technology at home. Due to recent communication technology, home became a social place where culture is cultivated. Physical existence that used to be necessary for communications is not necessary anymore. SNSs enable individuals to socialize online instead of face-to-face settings.

The changes of social place from schools, offices, neighbors, and coffee shops to online world should bring a change in creating culture.

Media ecologists perceive media as environment (Lamberti, 2011; McLuhan, 2004). The media ecologists such as Marshall McLuhan and Walter J. Ong focused on the influence of media itself not the contents of it. Culture has been discussed based on the geographic spaces people dwell because majority of communication took place in the physical spaces. Therefore, individuals can follow the norms and share values among people reside in the physical place. However, if the most of human communication takes place online, then culture should be built in virtual space. Drucker and Gumpert (1991) argued architectures such as types of buildings in which the communication takes place influences the quality of the communication. Strate (2004) argued that the fundamental principle of media ecology as "A medium is a technology within which a culture grows" (p.1). Strate (2004) also commented media ecology can be understood as an intellectual network by Innis, McLuhan, Ong, and Postman. While Postman coined the term, media ecology, there were filed that see the media as environments. Today, we study culture based on region or space following Hall's discovery of proxemics and cultural dimensions that include different use of time in the different cultures. However, media ecologists rooting from Innis, McLuhan, Ong, and Postman, Toronto School, and New York School believe that media shape people's value, idea, and perceptions (Strate, 2004).

The question then becomes whether the regional cultural values will be replaced by the cultural values created online. As the geographical or regional



culture has been developed to adapt to the environment, virtual culture should be developed to adapt to the environment surrounding the users. McLuhan (1962) argues that the globalization of media will create a global village. Due to globalization, people with ostensibly different backgrounds become homogenized and follow the universal cultural standard. Valcanis (2011) argues that people might choose to use old communication tools or transportations if they wish, but if they do, they would not be functioning as part of the society. Today, people are hardly ride horses because nobody chooses to do it. Likewise, if majority of people chose to use a new technology, people almost did not have a choice. Valcanis (2011) states, "If the technology is the medium in which a culture grows, the interactive and user-oriented nature of these technologies have given rise to a participatory and 'mash-up' culture in which the ways of producing and accessing content are deconstructed, uploaded, mixed, converged, and reconstructed through computers and smartphones mediated by online platforms; it becomes a 'participatory culture'" (p.40).

It is necessary to clearly distinguish a virtual culture from "popular culture." Popular culture is often used to explain the culture created through popular media. According to Martin and Nakayma (2010), popular culture is defined as "a new name for low culture referring to those cultural products that most people share and know about, including television, music, videos, and popular magazines" (p.350). Therefore, the differences between virtual culture and popular culture are: (a) popular culture is a product that popular industry created to make profits, (b) popular culture heavily influenced by the perspectives of the sender of the message. Thus, in virtual culture, users take much more active roles in communication by



sending messages than the users of popular culture. The messages sent on SNSs are free from regional boundaries and censorship from authorities. The communication on SNSs is rather informal or private among group members belong to the social network, while the communication in mass media is more professional and public.

Cultural differences on behavioral switching. Human being has an ability to cope with a new environment to survive, however, cultural difference manifests in the way of coping with the new environment. Scholars argue Japanese are especially sensitive to context where the communication is taking place (Kashima, 2004). As a consequence, Japanese tend to alter one's behavior in different context. Thus, inconsistent self-representation does not become a problem in Japan.

Moreover, having a multiple self constitutes a necessity asset of Japanese adult (Thomson & Ito, 2012). Thomson and Ito's (2012) study underscores the Japanese SNS users' multiple self on SNSs. Japanese *Facebook* and *Mixi* dual users reported using actual pictures of self on *Facebook* but not on *Mixi* (Thomson & Ito, 2012). Thomson and Ito (2012) discussed that Japanese users adapt norms on the SNS and behave differently according to the norm.

In the process of merging and accepting a new culture, Markus and Kitayama's (1991, 1998) distinction of independent-interdependent self-construal provides a useful lens on the process of development of global culture. Markus and Kitayama (1991, 1998) discuss people hold independent self-construal judge self according to one's own value system whereas people hold interdependent self-construal evaluate self in regard with the environment. In other words, focus of people hold independent self-construal is inside whereas people hold interdependent



self-construal is outside. DeAndrea, Shaw, and Levine (2010) examined actual selfdescription using existing *Facebook* pages of Caucasian Americans, African Americans, and ethnic Asians attending a Midwestern University. DeAndrea et al. (2010) found significant cultural differences on self-description on "About me" section. Specifically, the data showed African Americans used internalized attributes significantly more than Caucasian Americans and ethnic Asians. On the other hand, DeAndrea et al. (2010) documented African Americans reported relationship affiliations and used familial relationship terms significantly more than Caucasian Americans and ethnic Asians opposed to their hypotheses. Thus, according to the data, ethnic Asians did not show interdependent self-construct characteristic on Facebook opposed to previous literature. DeAndrea et al. (2010) discussed one of the causes of the unexpected result from Facebook culture. As also discussed in the previous section, Facebook culture is accord with Caucasian American culture due to the fact the SNS was created by Caucasian Americans. Thus, the functions and the platform represent American culture. While DeAndrea et al. (2010) expressed a confusion to explain why African Americans did not follow the *Facebook* culture. However, it is plausible that African American's independent cultural background did not require them to follow the norms of *Facebook* as ethnic Asians did.

Similar to a social culture, such as Japanese culture and an American culture, online culture has its own values, norms, and shared by the people belong to the culture (Qiu, Lin, & Leung, 2013). For example, Qiu, Lin, and Leung (2013) compared *Facebook* with a Chinese popular social networking site (*RenRen*) and concluded that *RenRen* culture operates more collectivistic than *Facebook*. Thus,



when people encounter a new environment including an environment created by a new technology such as *Facebook*, people learn its culture and adjust behavior to fit in the society. Qiu et al. (2013) provided evidences that "users who are members of both online cultures flexibly switch and adapt their in-group sharing behaviors in response to the online community in which they are: They perform more benevolent in-group sharing when they participate in the *Renren* community and less so when they participate in the *Facebook* community" (p. 106).

**Norms on SNSs.** As discussed in the previous section, norms created online influence users' online behavior. Pempek, Yermolayeva, and Calveert (2008) report college students spent more time reading and viewing friends' profiles and pictures on Facebook than posting messages and pictures. By doing so, the students can catch up with the information they missed in face-to-face settings. The average time college students spend per day during weekdays and weekends at SNSs was about 28 minutes (Pempek et al., 2008). Similar tendency is observed in Japan. Takahashi (2010) reported Japanese Mixi and MySpace users spent more time reading friends' messages on SNSs. Since they are spending most of their time at SNSs reading and looking at other's messages and pictures, the influence of their SNS friends' messages and pictures might be pretty large. Thus, in terms of media influence, SNSs might have equivalent influence to old media such as TV and radio. Moreover, the influence of the message might be stronger since the creators of the messages on SNSs are friends from real life. Takahashi (2010) discussed the importance of audience studies. Because SNSs are one of the CGM (consumergenerated media), researchers tend to focus more on the messages that users created.



However, even with the CGM, users tend to spend more time "viewing" messages other individuals created (Takahashi, 2010).

In addition, perceiving the prevalence of the act alters people's judgments about the behavior. Thus, the perception of prevalence and acceptance of the behavior serves as the basis for the perception of social norms. Persons perceive a certain behavior as prevalent and therefore socially acceptable. Socially negative behavior, such as smoking (e.g., Etcheverry & Agnew, 2008) and drinking (e.g., Borsari & Carey, 2003), as well as sexual permissiveness (e.g., Stephenson & Sullivan, 2009) have been explained by reference to the social norm. The social norm decreases the feeling of danger when considering the behavior. A good example is a relationship between subjective norms and sexting. Research shows that adolescents and young adults acknowledge the negative consequences of sexting. 75% of teens and 71% of young adults recognized the danger of sexting (The National Campaign to Teen and Unplanned Pregnancy, 2008). However, adolescents and young adults tend to overlook the negative consequences of sexting when perceiving the subjective norms (Lenhart, 2009).

People's effort to present themselves in a positive manner is seen both online and offline. However, the ways to express self in the positive light might differ depending on social culture. From the independent-and interdependent-self perspective, Japanese are expected to present self to fit in the norms than Americans. Thus, Japanese tend to be more sensitive on the social norms. The perception of prevalence and acceptance of a behavior serves as the basis for the perception of social norms. People perceive a certain behavior as prevalent and therefore



acceptable by society. Social Cognitive Theorists argue that individuals justify a questionable action as socially acceptable (Bandura, 2004). For example, numerous studies conclude that college students tend to over-estimate peer drinking behavior, and this misconception of normality or descriptive norms reduces the perception of the risk of dangerous drinking behavior (Borsari & Carey, 2003).

# **Uses and Gratifications Theory**

Uses and Gratifications Theory explains why people seek out a particular media to receive gratifications for using them. Uses and Gratifications Theory argues that audience or users of media is not passive but active to seek out a particular media (Ruggiero, 2000). In particular, Uses and Gratifications Theory provides a framework for communications on SNS where users take more active roles than in traditional media (e.g., TV and radio). While Uses and Gratifications Theory was attacked for the limitation to predict persons' needs (Ruggiero, 2000), focusing on individual's needs is not the ultimate focus of the theory. Instead, investigating the social and individual origins of the needs is more important than a mere categorization of the needs. SNSs have been created to enhance social networking online. Facebook's mission statement is "to give people the power to share and make the world more open and connected" (Facebook, 2012). Similarly, Mixi, the most popular Japanese SNS, claimed "comfortable connections for everyone (Subeteno Hito ni Kokochi yoi tsunagari wo)" (Mixi, 2012). However, users decide how to use the SNS to satisfy the needs. Finding out the needs helps understanding our society. Thus, the focus of the Uses and Gratifications studies is not on the effect of the media; instead the focus is "on the social and social-



psychological factors that prompt media exposure in the first place" (Johnstone, 1973, p.35).

As Uses and Gratifications Theory argues, the present study predicts people use different functions on SNSs and use the functions as means of self-presentation for different purposes. For example, college students select *Facebook* as a medium to post partying pictures to increase their popularity.

Because of the diverse content, the influences of media themselves are easily overlooked, however, the use of media, not the content, is the message of the society as McLuhan (1964) put, "The medium is the message." McLuhan (1964) argues, "Many people would be disposed to say that it was not the machine, but what one did with the machine, that was its meaning or message" (p. 23). In that sense, what people try to accomplish by using SNSs is more interesting than investigating the content. In other words, uses of SNSs speak to the social and psychological needs. Persons' needs of seeking out a particular media to receive gratifications are influenced by the society the user lives in and grew up in, and the user's personality. Social culture where users live and grew up in and users' personalities are two origins that might influence (a) needs, which generate (b) expectations of (c) the mass media or other sources, which lead to (d) differential patterns of media exposure (or engagement in other activities), resulting in (e) need gratifications and (f) other consequences. The needs to use mass media compete with other sources in society (Katz, Blumler, & Gurevitch, 1973). For example, people pass time without using media before the media was introduced to the society. Since the media was introduced to society, some people have used media to



pass time. Thus, people select to use a certain medium for a need of passing time and retaining gratifications for a better function that the medium provides. Katz et al. (1973) argue Maslow's (1954) hierarchy of human needs is not sufficient for investigating the needs of media users because the categories of needs of communication remain unarticulated. McQuail and Gurevitch (1974) found three approaches in the Uses and Gratifications research: (a) action /motivation, (b) structural/ cultural, and (c) functional approach. The three approaches focus on different aspects. While action/motivation approach focuses on the individual, structural/cultural approach focuses on the media. The functional approach focuses on the social system including individual as well as structural/cultural aspects. Therefore, the functional approach believes that the influence of individual needs, media, and the society is believed to be in equilibrium. This dissertation takes the functional approach, because in the context of SNSs, users' needs elicits from individual choices. However, the individual needs and gratifications are not free from the cultural values as well as the attributes of the media.

Uses and Gratifications Theories have found three major categories of media uses: (a) information seeking, (b) entertainment seeking, and (c) ritualistic behaviors (Finn, 1997). From the psychological perspective, McGuire (1974) explained human beings' motives could be divided into two large orientations: cognitive and affective motives. Similar to Finn's (1997) categories of media uses, cognitive motives stress the user's information seeking to receive ideational state while affective motives stress the users' feelings to receive certain emotional states. Ruggiero (2000) explained that new media added new attributes to traditional media,



such as, interactivity, demassification, and asynchroneity. In other words, new media empowered users to present self favorably because people are not only able to select a medium, but also to create information for a variety of purposes.

Uses and gratifications of SNSs. Substantial number of scholars have investigated the uses and gratifications of SNSs. For example, Raacke and Bonds-Raacke (2008) conducted a research on college students' use and gratification on MySpace and Facebook. The most popular uses and gratification for having either account were "to keep in touch with old friends," "to keep in touch with current friends," "to post/look at pictures," "to make new friends," and "to locate old friends" (p. 171). Similarly, Pempek, Yermolayeva, and Calveert (2008) asked college students about the motivation of using Facebook using open-ended questions. The most popular motive was to communicate with friends. The second popular motive was looking at or posting pictures. Joinson (2008) conducted a factor analysis to identify the uses and the gratification of Facebook using noncollege students recruited from public as opposed to typical Facebook research practice. The factor analysis identified seven unique uses and gratifications: (a) social connection, (b) shared identities, (c) content, (d) social investigation, (e) social network surfing, and (f) status updating. Interestingly, while photographs might relate to content gratification because they were identified as a unique factor, the data indicated that the social uses of photographs (e.g. sharing, tagging) might related to social connection (Joinson, 2008). Joinson (2008) conducted multiple regression analyses to investigate possible motivation of Facebook use. Joinson (2008) found that surveillance gratifications motivate predicted the frequency of



visiting *Facebook*, whereas content gratifications motivate predicted the length of spending time on *Facebook*. Pempek et al. (2009) found that college students used *Facebook* because it allows them to reach a mass audience on *Facebook*. Thus, people might choose SNSs over other medium to receive and/or disseminate information to many people.

Uses and gratifications of picture postings on SNSs. Although majority of research on SNSs treat the uses and gratifications with homogenous fashion as if SNSs only provide one function, Smock et al. (2011) urge the needs of focusing on each function of the SNSs for uses and gratifications' research. In contrast to old media, SNSs are unique for including different functions. For example, one of the most used social networking sites, *Facebook*, provides walls, personal files, pictures, instant messages, etc. People can use *Facebook* as a communication tool between close friends, or a place to make some announcement to a targeted audience using the wall feature as a bulletin board. Smock et al. (2011) conducted research to investigate motivations of using specific Facebook features opposed to investigate motivations of using *Facebook* in general. Smock et al. (2011) found the difference between motivations for general *Facebook* use and use of specific features of the site. According to Smock et al. (2011), expressive information sharing significantly predicts status update and Groups features of Facebook. Smock and colleagues (2011) discuss one-to-many communication features match the needs of sharing information at once. The motive of social communication and habitual pass time predicted the use of comments, chat, and wall posts functions on Facebook (Smock et al., 2011). Griffith and Northcraft (1994) made a clear distinction between studies



that "contrast effects of different communication media" (Type 1) (p.274) and a study that "contrast the effects of features within a single communication medium" (Type 2) (9.274). Griffith and Northcraft (1994) called the third types of research as Type3 and the research focuses both within and across media. Griffith and Northcraft (1994) argue that by separating communication media from features and interaction effects, we are able to predict the communication effect better (p.275). Each SNS poses different features and functions that needs be explained to understand the use of the each medium. From Uses and Gratifications standpoint, the users of chat and wall posts on *Facebook* selected the functions on *Facebook* to pass time and communicate with their friends and family. Thus, those private communication functions on *Facebook* can be seen just an alternative of emails and phones.

Popularity as a motive of posting sensitive pictures. Popularity comprises a "socially constructed reputational variable" (Rose, Swenson, & Waller, 2004, p. 379). Traditionally, popularity becomes measured by 'sociometric popularity' or likability by peers (Cillessen & Rose, 2005; Lease, Kennedy, & Axelrod, 2002). Most of the predictors in the previous literature were socially positive: known by others, attractive, and athletic; however, the predictors do include aggressive behavior (Rose et al, 2004). For example, Rodkin, Farmer, Pearl, and Van (2000) describe two types of popular boys; tough and model boys. While model boys are friendly, tough boys show high levels of overt aggression. Thus, showing overt aggression might be seen as tough and attractive. Similarly, Lease et al. (2002) categorized popularity into two groups: sociometric and sociological

popularity. While sociometric popular children are well-liked by peers, sociological popular children are not. Sociological popular children display social prominence and dominance, or in other words, operate as influential and powerful (Lease et al., 2002), which at times pertains to the willingness "to try out forbidden or risky activities" (Lease et al., 2002, p.11). The same study found perceived popularity significantly associated with both sociometric and sociological (social dominance) popularity (Lease et al., 2002). While many scholars discuss popularity in terms of liking, Zwica and Danowski (2008) argue the central issue is not "widely liked," but instead the status attribution of the popularity. Thus, popularity reflects not only liking, but incorporates a relation with the status the group or society.

College students' posting of pictures displaying illegal activities such as underage drinking and illicit drug use as well as severely intoxicated students and vulgar sexual activities becomes an issue (Kolek & Saunders, 2008). The postings might cause negative consequences such as firing and losing the opportunity of employment as well as ruing a reputation of the individuals and institution's images. Page and O'Hegarty (2006) found students living in fraternities and sororities consumed more alcohol and engaged in partying compared with students living in apartment complexes and residence halls. Thus, students who engage in more drinking and partying might post more drinking and partying pictures on *Facebook*. Furthermore, Page and O'Hegarty (2006) reported students living in fraternities and sororities estimated other's drinking and partying frequency and amount of drinking more than students living in apartment complexes and residence halls. Thus, the estimation of other's drinking and partying facilitates their justification of



problematic behavior and in turn post more sensitive pictures on *Facebook*.

Hogan et al. (1985) argues that "getting along and getting a heard" (p.178) are the two biggest problems that each person must solve as human beings that live as a group that are closely related to self-presentation, boyd's ethnographic study (2009) reports teens' "desire to be cool on MySpace is part of the more general desire to be validated by one's peers" (p.129). Hogan et al. (1985) explained getting along means approval from others and getting a heard means acquiring status that gives power to control others. Human beings try to create impression that is appropriate in the situation and positive representation of self. To be seeing getting along and getting a head are important on impression management. boyd (2009) reported teenagers struggle their presentation of self on social media because of networked publics. As explained above, audience of social media is composed with different types of fiends, such as teachers, peers, and coworkers. People follow social norms and represent self according to the situation; however, there is no specification of situation or audience on SNSs. Thus, the message addressed toward peers on SNSs might end up have seen by one's parents and that is causing a problem. boyd (2009) explained, "Social norms emerge out of situational definitions, as people learn to read cues from the environment and the people present to understand what is appropriate behavior" (p.128). boyd (2009) states, "How can they be simultaneously cool to their peers and acceptable to their parents?" (p.133).

Christofides et al. (2009) found that the need for popularity significantly predicted self-disclosure on *Facebook*. Christofides et al. (2009) investigated



Canadian college students' use of *Facebook* and the motivation of using *Facebook*. Christofides et al. (2009) asked participants need for popularity, level of trust, general tendency to disclose personal information, and personal information disclosure on Facebook. They argue people might use Facebook to construct positive social identity (p. 343). For example, college students edit the kind of pictures posted on Facebook (Zywica & Danowski, 2008). Many Facebook users untag (delete the link to their name) bad pictures to reduce negative portrayals of image (Zywica & Danowski, 2008). However, a person might post a sensitive picture on Facebook, meaning one that could have negative consequences such as not being employed, hoping to increase offline popularity for members of that community. "Some people appear to use the site in an attempt to increase their selfimage and to feel more popular" (Zywica &Danowski, 2008, p.23). Thus, Facebook users' tendency of sharing of images might be explained by not from connecting and reconnecting with face-to-face friends, but as an effort to increase offline popularity.

Mendelson and Papacharissi (2010) qualitatively analyzed 20,962 college students' *Facebook* pictures and 13,543 comments posted about the photos. The study reports that people in the pictures noticed the picture taking and posed for the camera. Some students posed when drinking with friends, playing drinking games such as beer pong or drinking from a liquor bottle even though most of these students are underage. The study reports that female students often "posed in exaggerated sexy poses with each other, showing leg or exaggerating their cleavage" (p.21). Such activities, like drinking and partying, take place as general



social events. Utz (2010) found that *Facebook* users evaluate popularity based on the target pictures of friends. The participants of the experiment judged the extraversion mainly from the pictures of target's friends and the number of friends depicted. Since extraversion suggests sociability, participants used this information. However, the above study examines only three features: (a) target profile, (b) number of friends, and (c) profile pictures of friends. In sum, previous literature suggests that posting sensitive pictures relates to users' self-promotion of popularity. Pictures serve to form impression and individuals try to represent self to reflect a position in society.

Cultural differences on the uses and gratifications of SNSs. While SNSs are prevalent in Asian countries like Japan, the majority of SNSs studies use participants from Western countries (Barker & Ota, 2011). In Japan, a Japanese originated SNS *Mixi* (*Mixi*, 2012) is more popular having 14,530,000 users than *Facebook* that has 1,246,440 users (*Facebook*, 2012) in 2012. Baker and Ota (2011) conducted a study comparing Japanese and American SNS users' uses and gratifications. According to the study, while American participants reported that communicating with close friends was the most important motive following passing time, Japanese participants reported passing time is the most important motive following communicating with close friends.

# **Personality Difference**

Hogan, Jones, and Cheek (1985) argue a primary determinant of selfpresentation behavior as personality as well as environment. Thus, not only environment like Goffman's (1959) impression management discusses, but also



one's personality influences one's self-presentation. Hogan et al. (1985) believe there is "a stable core to personality" (p.177). For example, a bride acts in accordance with the norm as a bride. However, the behavior as a bride depends deeply on the bride's social skill and self-image that rooted in one's interactions and socialization processes growing up. Thus, Hogan et al. (1985) argue shy person, for example, is common and aversive, but shy person does not have the confidence and skill to perform, which is a stable disposition that is more than social incompetence.

Mehdizadeh (2010) found individuals score higher in narcissism and lower in self-esteem report greater levels of *Facebook* activity. Furthermore, there was significant negative correlation between self-esteem and narcissism, and promotional content in main photos. For example, Mehdizadeh (2010) found significant negative correlation between *Facebook* users' self-esteem and self-promoting *Facebook* content. Mehdizadeh (2010) argues Canadian people who are narcissists and have lower self-esteem promote one's impression with implicit technique such as selecting or creating attractive pictures. In other words, undergraduate students who scored higher on narcissism inventory posted photos that promote self by making a face or using photo editing software and so on.

Social Compensation and Social Enhancement hypotheses. SNSs are place where people "socialize" with their friends online. Social Compensation Hypothesis argues that socially inactive or disadvantaged people become socially active ("Poor Get Richer") by the use of CMC (Ellison, Steinfield, & Lampe, 2007; Peter, Valkenburg, & Schouten, 2005). For instance, previous studies report introverts use CMC to compensate for weak social skills (Ellison, et al., 2007; Peter,



Valkenburg, & Schouten, 2005). Zywica and Danowski (2008) compared self-disclosure of unpopular and popular *Facebook* users. Zywica and Danowski (2008) report that unpopular *Facebook* users used *Facebook* more than popular *Facebook* users to compensate popularity.

At the same time, the competing hypothesis called Social Enhancement Theory posits that socially active users become more social online ("Rich Get Richer") (Ellison, et al., 2007; Peter, Valkenburg, & Schouten, 2005). Zywica and Danowski (2008) found that not only introverts but also extroverts used CMC to strengthen their social skills. Furthermore, Chen and Marcus (2012) report extroverts engaged in self-presentation more than others. Joinson (2008) reports that an increased number of friends on *Facebook* was marginally significantly associated with photographs (i.e. viewing photos, being tagged in photos, tagging photos, sharing/posting photographs). Omori and Allen (2013) also report that popular users have posted more sensitive pictures on *Facebook* than unpopular users.

Personality and perception of disinhibition. As Social Compensation Theory and Social Enhancement Theory focused, the relationship between online persona and offline persona has been getting attention by scholars. For example, Zwica and Danowski (2008) argue "online popularity" is defined from status indicators (e.g., number of friends and the length of the wall), while offline popularity can be assessed by attractiveness, extraversion, athleticism, academic ability, and sociability. In addition, persons considered as unpopular in real life posted pictures "that would surprise their friends or families, particularly pictures showing them 'partying,' 'drinking,' or doing 'goofy things'" (Zwica & Danowski,



2008, p.16). Thus, online popularity might not mirror offline popularity. Siibak's (2009) study confirmed the result with Estonian youth that posting attractive pictures and having the large number of friends on Estonia, *rate.ee*. form an impression as popular online.

The present study believes that the key variable that explains the differences between online and offline persona is the perception of disinhibition. Disinhibition constitutes the psychological state of a person less concerned about the judgment from others (Schouten, Valkenburg, & Peter, 2007). Joinson (1999) argues that disinhibition provides a key variable to explain different behavior in people comparing online and offline. The phenomenon that people behave more freely and openly online is also called online disinhibition effect (Suler, 2004). Suler (2004) distinguished disinhibition into two different phenomenon: (a) benign disinhibition, (b) toxic disinhibition. While the benign disinhibition represents unusual acts that are positive and help others, the toxic disinhibition represents unusual acts that are negative and gave negative influence to others. Suler (2004) argues that these two disinhibitions include difficult psychological and cultural issues, because the same message can be perceived in the different way. Suler (2004) states, "Cultural relativity as well as the complexities of psychological dynamics will bluer any simple contrasts between disinhibition that is positive or negative" (p. 322).

Schouten et al. (2007) found two variables influence disinhibition: (a) perception of reduced nonverbal cues and (b) perception of controllability. SNSs hold the features with reduced nonverbal cues and users can edit online self-



presentation. Suler (2004) argue there are six factors contribute to the perception of disinhibition: (a) dissociative anonymity, (b) invisibility, (c) asynchronicity, (d) solipsistic introjection, (e) dissociative imagination, and (f) minimization of status and authority (Suler, 2004). Most of the factors are inapplicable to SNS, however, (a) dissociative anonymity, (b) invisibility, (c) asynchronicity, (f) minimization of status and authority might contribute people's perception on SNSs. The dissociative anonymity is the concept that we might know people's names, nicknames, email addresses online, but the identity of the person is still not visible. The impression formations on SNSs are unique because people usually know the users offline, which is different from online dating sites where people do not know the users offline (Toma, Hancock, & Ellison, 2008). People meet for the first time online for online dating sites and virtual reality games and so on. While some relationships stay online, other relationships go offline. However, with SNSs like *Facebook*, people usually use mixed mode (online and offline), but the relationship started mostly offline. Thus, the fact that the relationship starts offline in most of the cases influences SNS users' self-presentation on SNSs. SNS users cannot alter self on SNSs to make good impression to others. Rather, SNS users should take subtle techniques that improve impression of self online. There are several SNS characteristics that enable SNS users to present self more positive light than in faceto-face settings. People can separate actions and identities online, which contributes people's perception of disinhibition. The invisibility also contributes to people's perception of disinhibition, because people cannot see each other. When people perceive the feeling of 'nobody is watching,' people become more disinhibited and



can go places where people usually don't go, and do things people usually don't do. Some SNS include instant message, but most of the communication is asynchronous. Suler (2004) argues that when people see instant reaction from others, people do not become disinhibited. When communication is ongoing, people tend to follow social norms (Suler, 2004). Also, the text-based communication on SNSs increases people's perception of disinhibition, as people tend to attach their images and voices of the opponents that are not real. Lastly, in online settings, people become more democratic than face-to-face settings. People tend to behave equally regardless their social status. The factor might contribute people's perception of disinhibition and facilitate online self-disclosure. Suler (2004) argues even if a person behave differently online and offline, we cannot say offline self is the true self. There are more benign disinhibition constrains offline, therefore shy person cannot voice one's opinion. The same person can voice one's opinion online without constrains. Importantly, different mode of communication causes different disinhibition effect. For example, in the virtual world where people don't know/meet each other offline, there might be more toxic disinhibition effect. On the other hand, on SNSs where people know each other from offline contacts, there might be more benign disinhibition effects reflecting asynchronicity and minimization of one's status.

The present study predicts the perception of disinhibition is the key variable for college students' problematic self-presentation. Mesch and Beker (2010) found that American adolescents hold two norms in terms of self-disclosure; offline self-disclosure norm and online self-disclosure norm. While American adolescents seldom share private information such as home phone numbers offline



when just meeting at a social event, adolescents frequently provide the information online (Mesch & Beker, 2010). Therefore, because people perceive the communication online is not a person-to-person communication, people feel free from judgments from others. Thus, similar to the example of American adolescents' releasing personal information only online not offline, the present study predicts that college students share sensitive pictures on SNSs when disinhibited.

Cultural differences on social compensation. Barker and Ota (2011) found cultural differences on social compensation tendency. When they compared American and Japanese females, a social compensation tendency was found only with Japanese but not with American females. However, post hoc tests indicated that the relationship among negative collective self-esteem, frequency of SNS use and social compensation tendency was significantly higher in American females than Japanese females (Barker and Ota, 2011). People with negative collective selfesteem feel useless in the social group as well as regret belonging to the group. Barker and Ota (2011) discuss that American females might use SNSs to find different social groups to compensate their negative collective self-esteem. On the other hand, Japanese females are more committed to the current social group and do not seek a different group even when they were not satisfied with their own social group. Instead, Japanese people tend to use SNSs to compensate their offline communication with close personal friends using journal functions on SNSs (Barker & Ota, 2011).

#### **Gender Differences**

A plethora of studies suggest that there are sex differences on online self-



presentation. Walther et al. (2008) found gender difference on the perception of others' comment that indicates normatively undesirable behavior, such as the target person was drinking excessively. According to Walther et al. (2008), the undesirable behavior was favorably judged when the target is male, but unfavorably judged when the target is female. Thus, engaging socially negative behavior is considered attractive for males, but not for females. The sexual double standard is pervasive more in Eastern culture than Western culture (Hofstede, 1980). Therefore, a wider gender difference is expected in negative picture postings in Japan than in the US.

# **Hypotheses and Research Questions**

The preceding literature review leads to several hypotheses and research questions. The hypotheses and research questions investigate: (a) Self-presentation on SNSs across cultures, (b) Behavioral switching, (c) Uses and gratifications on SNSs, (d) Personality differences, and (e) Gender differences.

# **Self-Presentation on SNSs across Cultures**

The present study predicts that the problematic self-presentation (i.e., sensitive picture postings) and self-disclosure (i.e., sharing private information and having a large number of friends) are influenced by self-promoting tendency in Western culture. Within ones' social group, Americans try to promote their social status, while Japanese try to self-efface in order to keep a harmony (Tice, et al., 1995). In addition, as discussed above, Western originated SNS such as *Facebook's* platform promotes users' popular competition on SNSs.

However, previous literature suggests Japanese people adapt communication style according to the context (Thomson & Ito, 2012). Therefore, the present study



predicts that Japanese people's self-presentation becomes similar to Americans such as sharing more private information, friending with a large number of people, and posting sensitive pictures more frequently when using *Facebook* than *Mixi*.

Therefore, hypotheses one and two and research questions one to three explore cultural and SNS platform influence on information sharing, sensitive pictures postings, the number of SNS friends, and the length of membership with the SNS:

- H1: American *Facebook* users share significantly more information on *Facebook* than Japanese *Facebook* users and Japanese *Mixi* users.
- H2: American *Facebook* users post sensitive pictures on *Facebook* significantly more frequently than Japanese *Facebook* users and Japanese *Mixi* users.

The above literature review suggests the existence of confounds such as gender, personality, and the length of membership with the SNS. Therefore, the present study investigates,

- RQ1: How do culture and SNS platform difference influence the number of SNS friends after controlling for preexisting conditions (i.e., gender, perception of extraversion, perception of popularity, and the length of membership with the SNS)?
- RQ2: How do culture and SNS platform difference influence SNS users' sensitive picture postings after controlling for preexisting conditions (i.e., gender, perception of extraversion, perception of popularity, and the length of membership with the SNS)?

RQ3: What predicts the number of pictures SNS users post on SNSs?



Facebook is considered the most popular SNS site in the world (eBizMBA.Inc., 2013). The popularity of Facebook might relate to the extensive number of friends that average Facebook users have. The average number of Facebook friends is much larger than any other SNSs (Pempek, Yermolayeva, & Calvert, 2009). As a communication tool, a popular SNS should attract as many users as possible for people to use the tool to communicate with friends known from offline. In addition, the more friends for a SNS user, the more content available. In order for SNS users to visit the site often, the SNS needs to contain new content every time visiting the site. Therefore, the present study asks,

RQ4: Does the number of SNS friends and the length of spending time on the SNS correlate with each other?

#### Media Ecology: Behavioral Switching

Each SNS hold or operate different norms depending on the originated geographical culture. With media ecological perspective, the present study predicts people adapt behavior according to the norms of the media. Especially, Japanese users are more sensitive to the norms of media. Taniguchi and Lee (2012) reported Japanese female college students were affected by fat talk on *Facebook* even when the fat talk was about others whereas American female college students were not influenced by fat talk. Thus, the present study expects Japanese *Facebook* and *Mixi* dual users change their behavior between *Facebook* and *Mixi*. Accordingly, the following hypotheses are advanced:

H3: Facebook and Mixi dual Japanese users post sensitive pictures



- significantly more frequently on Facebook than Mixi.
- H4: Japanese *Facebook* and *Mixi* dual users have significantly more friends on *Facebook* than on *Mixi*.
- H5: Facebook and Mixi dual users reveal significantly more information on Facebook than Mixi.
- H6: *Mixi* and *Facebook* dual users post sensitive pictures significantly more frequently on *Facebook* than *Mixi* by perceiving the injunctive norms.

While Japanese *Mixi* users might perceive a low level of disinhibition due to the perception of Japanese social norms on the SNS, Japanese *Facebook* users might perceive a high level of disinhibition. As Joinson (1999) claimed, the high level of disinhibition influences behavioral changes between online and offline. Therefore, the present study asks,

- RQ5: How is the perception of disinhibition perceived by three different groups (i.e., American *Facebook* users, Japanese *Facebook* only users, and Japanese *Mixi* only users)?
- H7: The perception of disinhibition mediates the relationship between the motives of increasing popularity and sensitive picture postings.

### **Uses and Gratifications of SNSs**

People use a particular SNS and SNS function to seek gratifications. As discussed in the proceeding review of literature, there are needs for college students to present self socially desirable. As a college student, providing an image as popular and social is important. Therefore, the present study predicts the college students' motivation to increase popularity influence the SNS users' friending



behavior. Therefore, the present study asks,

RQ6: How does increasing popularity motive influence the number of friends on SNSs?

Cultural differences. While the number is limited, previous study found marginal differences on the uses and gratifications on using a certain SNS across cultures (Baker & Ota, 2011). It is plausible to think there exist cultural differences on the motivations of using a certain SNS because uses of SNSs speak to the social and psychological needs. As discussed above, persons' needs of seeking out a particular media to receive gratifications are influenced by the society the user lives in and grew up in. Thus, the present study investigates,

RQ7: Are there significant cultural and SNS differences on the motivations of using a certain SNS?

#### **Personality Differences**

There are two rival hypotheses in relation with personality and self-presentation online. Social Compensation Hypothesis argues that socially inactive or disadvantaged people become socially active ("Poor Get Richer") by the use of CMC. (Ellison, Steinfield, & Lampe, 2007; Peter, Valkenburg, & Schouten, 2005). On the other hand, Social Enhancement Theory posits that socially active users become more social online ("Rich Get Richer") (Ellison, et al., 2007; Peter, Valkenburg, & Schouten, 2005). Therefore, following research questions explore the influence of personality on SNS user behavior:

H8: Popular SNS users promote their popularity using SNSs.

H9: Introverted SNS users compensate their social skills by using SNSs.



Personality and perception of disinhibition. Accumulated evidences show the influence of personality on self-presentation online. While personality differences on online behavior becomes clearer, incompatible behaviors between online and offline has become an issue. For example, in face-to-face settings, individuals hold low self-esteem do not self-disclose in public in general, while they tend to do it more online (Mehdizadeh, 2010). Furthermore, the incompatible results that tested two rival hypotheses: Social Compensation Hypothesis and Social Enhancement Hypothesis might be explained if perception of disinhibitation as a mediation variable. Thus, the present study proposes a mediation model to understand the relationship between a personality (i.e. extraversion) and sensitive picture postings via perception of disinhibition. Furthermore, the model is tested using different SNSs (i.e. Facebook and Mixi) and users from different culture (i.e. US and Japan) to understand the SNS and culture differences as well as personality differences. Accordingly, the following mediation analyses investigate whether the perception of disinhibition mediates the relationship between motives and personality:

H10: Introverts hold social compensation motive more than extroverts via perception of disinhibition.

H11: Popular SNS users hold increasing popularity motive more than unpopular users via perception of disinhibition.

RQ8: Are there cultural differences on the relationships between introverts and social compensation motive via perception of disinhibition?

RQ9: Are there SNS differences on the relationships between introverts



and social compensation motive via perception of disinhibition?

RQ10: Are there cultural differences on the relationships between perception of popularity and increasing popularity motive via perception of disinhibition?

RQ11: Are there SNS differences on the relationships between perception of popularity and increasing popularity motive via perception of disinhibition?

**Personality and cultural differences.** As discussed above, there might be personality differences according to the culture people lived in and grown up. Thus, the present study asks,

RQ12: Are there significant personality differences between Japanese *Facebook* and *Mixi* users?

The preceding literature review suggests there are several variables that influence SNS users' self-presentation on SNSs, such as SNS platforms, culture, personality, and motives. Building upon previous research, the present study investigates SNS platform and culture influence on problematic self-presentation controlling for all the other variables (i.e., motives, pre-existing condition, and the perception of disinhibition).

RQ13: Do SNS and culture predict sensitive picture postings on SNSs after controlling for motives (i.e., communication motive, passing time motive, entertaining motive, increasing popularity motive, social compensation motive), pre-existing conditions (i.e., number of friends, a length of membership with the SNS, popularity, extrovert), and the



perception of disinhibition?

#### **Gender Differences**

While previous research found no significant gender differences on self-promotional behavior on *Facebook* (Mehdizadeh, 2010), the desirable-self might vary depending on gender. For example, Walther et al. (2008) reported the undesirable behavior was favorably judged when the target was male, but unfavorably judged when the target was female. Thus, engaging socially negative behavior is considered attractive for males, but not for females. The sexual double standard is pervasive more in Eastern culture than Western culture (Hofstede, 1980). Therefore, a wider gender difference is expected in negative picture postings in Japan than in the US. Thus, the present study asks,

H12: Male college students post sensitive pictures significantly more frequently than female college students and the gender difference is more apparent for Japanese than Americans.



# CHAPTER 2 METHOD

# **Sample and Procedure**

Five hundred and eighty- three American and 496 Japanese college students participated in the survey. American online data were collected through communication classes in the university located in the city in Middle-West between October and December of 2012. College students were used for the study because students constitute one of the major users of SNSs (Raacke& Bonds-Raacke, 2008). Japanese data were collected through six different Japanese universities located in West, East, and North of Japan. Due to the difficulty of collecting enough data using an online survey alone, Japanese data were collected using paper and pencil as well as online. Additionally, Japanese data were collected through communication classes as well as other classes in different disciplines such as Business Administration because majority of students taking communication courses are females. The Japanese survey was translated in Japanese by the author. In order to validate the accuracy of the translation, two Japanese students back translated the survey so that the instrument has the same connotative meanings as the original. In order to validate the instrument, a pilot test was taken place both in the US and Japan. The pilot test was conducted using three US and three Japanese college students. The researchers asked the participants of the pilot test whether the instrument was clear and understood correctly. Participants indicated that they understood the instruments and measurements. The participants were informed that the data would be kept anonymous and used for academic research.



#### Measures

Most of the measurements were drawn from existing literature to ensure reliability and validity of the scales. American participants answered the survey questions about *Facebook*, while Japanese participants answered the questions about *Facebook* as well as *Mixi*. A complete copy of the survey appears in Appendix A.

**SNS usage.** Participants were asked to estimate the amount of time engaged in SNSs in last week. Number of SNS friends, types of SNS friends, and duration of membership with the SNS were asked as well.

Information disclosure. In order to assess the degree of disclosure of personal information, participants were asked to indicate which information and with whom they disclose private information on the SNS. The types of information that included in the study were: (a) first and last name, (b) email address, (c) postal address, (d) current affiliation, (e) high school name, (f) phone number, (g) relationship status, (h) wall, pictures, (i) pictures showing one's face, (f) others. Response categories were ranged from 1 (Never) to 5 (Always).

Sensitive pictures. Sensitive pictures on SNS were assessed by the questions "Please indicate the frequency that you post pictures: (a) partying pictures, (b) drunk pictures, (c) sexual pictures, and (d) pictures that show illegal conduct.

Response categories were ranged from 1 (Never) to 5 (Always).

**SNS activities.** SNS users' frequency of engaging in the particular activity were assessed by the options: (a) post messages (journals), (b) post pictures, (c) update my profile, (d) read others' profiles, (e) read others' messages on walls, (f)



read others' journals, (g) look at others' pictures, (h) commenting others' messages and photos, and (i) others (specify). Response categories were ranged from 1 (Never) to 5 (Always).

Motivation of using SNSs. SNS users' motivation for using a particular SNS were assessed with the measurement developed by Barker and Ota (2011) because they successfully measured motivation of using SNSs both in the US and Japan. From their motives measurement, (a) Peer group communication, (b) Pass time, (c) Entertainment, and (d) Social compensation motive's measurements were used.

Peer group communication was measured by three items: "to communicate with close friends", "to stay in touch with close friends", and "to swap news with close friends". Response categories were ranged from 1 (completely disagree) to 5 (completely agree). The reliability coefficient was satisfactory for American Facebook users (Cronbach's alpha = .90, M = 3.98, SD = .85), Japanese Facebook users (Cronbach's alpha = .90, M = 3.70, SD = .86), and Mixi users (Cronbach's alpha = .87, M = 3.47, SD = .95).

Pass time was measured by three items: "to pass time away", "because it's a habit", and "because it gives me something to do". Response categories were ranged from 1 (completely disagree) to 5 (completely agree). The reliability coefficient was satisfactory for American *Facebook* users (Cronbach's alpha = .87, M = 3.58, SD = .96), Japanese *Facebook* users (Cronbach's alpha = .71, M = 3.00, SD = .87), and *Mixi* users (Cronbach's alpha = .71, M = 2.90, SD = .87).

Entertainment was measured by three items: "because it's enjoyable",



"because it's exciting", and "because it's pleasant". Response categories were ranged from 1 (completely disagree) to 5 (completely agree). The reliability coefficient was satisfactory for American Facebook users (Cronbach's alpha = .90, M = 3.23, SD = .87), Japanese Facebook users (Cronbach's alpha = .85, M = 2.87, SD = .90), and Mixi users (Cronbach's alpha = .82, M = 2.53, SD = .80).

Social compensation was measure by 6 items. The examples of items are: "Because there's no one to talk to", "Because it makes me feel less lonely", and "To see what happens to people like me". Response categories were ranged from 1 (completely disagree) to 5 (completely agree). The reliability coefficient was satisfactory for American Facebook users (Cronbach's alpha = .90, M = 2.15, SD = .84), Japanese Facebook users (Cronbach's alpha = .75, M = 2.12, SD = .62), and Mixi users (Cronbach's alpha = .80, M = 1.98, SD = .64).

The present study created an increase popularity motive scale. Increase popularity was measured by three items, "to improve my popularity", "to improve social status", and "to be seen more social". Response categories were ranged from 1 (completely disagree) to 5 (completely agree). The reliability coefficient was satisfactory for American Facebook users (Cronbach's alpha = .93, M = 2.27, SD = 1.04), Japanese Facebook users (Cronbach's alpha = .82, M = 1.80, SD = .81), and Mixi users (Cronbach's alpha = .86, M = 1.70, SD = .77).

Frequencies of viewing other's sensitive pictures. The frequencies of viewing other's sensitive pictures were measured by single item measurement asking how frequently participants view others' sensitive pictures. Sensitive pictures are categorized: (a) partying pictures, (b) drunk pictures, (c) sexy pictures (e.g.,



showing lots of skin, showing cleavage, stressing body parts), and (d) illegal pictures. Response categories were ranged from 1 (Never) to 5 (Often).

Intention of posting sensitive pictures. The intentions of posting sensitive pictures were measured by single item measurement asking the willingness of posting sensitive pictures. Sensitive pictures are categorized: (a) partying pictures, (b) drunk pictures, (c) sexy pictures (e.g., showing lots of skin, showing cleavage, stressing body parts), and (d) illegal pictures. Response categories were ranged from 1 (strongly disagree) to 5 (strongly agree).

Perception of injunctive norms. The perception of injunctive norms of posting sensitive pictures was measured by single item measurement asking posting sensitive pictures were expected from others. Sensitive pictures are categorized: (a) partying pictures, (b) drunk pictures, (c) sexy pictures (e.g., showing lots of skin, showing cleavage, stressing body parts), and (d) illegal pictures. Response categories were ranged from 1 (strongly disagree) to 5 (strongly agree). The measure was developed from the previous research that measured injunctive norms (Baer, 1994; Bram & Arnold, 1995).

Attitude toward sensitive picture postings. The attitude toward posting sensitive pictures was measured by single item measurement. Sensitive pictures are categorized: (a) partying pictures, (b) drunk pictures, (c) sexy pictures (e.g., showing lots of skin, showing cleavage, stressing body parts), and (d) illegal pictures. Response categories were ranged from 1 (very negative) to 5 (very positive).

Online disinhibition. Online disinhibition were measured using three items



that are adapted from Schouten et al.'s (2007) online disinhibition measure for IM (p.301). The tree items were: "When using the SNS, I feel less constrained to use certain words than in a face-to-face setting," "When using the SNS, I feel less restricted to share my private information (including private pictures)," "When using the SNS, I feel freer to talk about things than in a face-to-face meeting." Online disinhibition was measured on a 5 point scale rating 1(completely disagree) to 5 (completely agree). The reliability coefficient was satisfactory for American Facebook users (Cronbach's alpha = .80, M = 2.57, SD = 1.07), Japanese Facebook users (Cronbach's alpha = .77, M = 2.13, SD = 1.11), and Mixi users (Cronbach's alpha = .90, M = 2.12, SD = 1.09).

Online controllability. Online controllability was measured by using three items that are adapted from Schouten et al.'s (2007) perceived relevance of controllability measure for IM (p.301). The questionnaire asked to what extent the each item is important when using the SNS. The examples of items are: "I have more time to think about what I want to say than face-to-face settings," "I have time to think about how I say things," and "I am able to choose pictures I would like to post." Online controllability was measured on a 7 point scale rating 1 (Not at all unimportant) to 5 (Extremely important). The reliability coefficient was satisfactory for American Facebook users (Cronbach's alpha = .89, M = 4.42, SD = 2.36), Japanese Facebook users (Cronbach's alpha = .86, M = 2.91, SD = 1.58), and Mixi users (Cronbach's alpha = .92, M = 2.53, SD = 1.62).

**Offline popularity.** The perception of offline popularity was measured by three questions. The three items are: "How popular would you consider yourself



offline?" "How popular were you in high school?" and "How popular would other people consider you offline". Response categories were ranged from 1 (Very unpopular) to 5 (Very popular). The reliability coefficient was satisfactory for American participants (Cronbach's alpha = .84, M = 3.21, SD = .77), Japanese participants (Cronbach's alpha = .89, M = 3.47, SD = .69), and total sample (Cronbach's alpha = .89, M = 3.21, SD = .77).

Extraversion. Four items from Mini-IPIP (Donellan, Oswald, Baird, & Lucas, 2006) were used to measure participants' level of extraversion. The measurement not only has been used in the different studies, but also successfully measured extraversion in the different countries (Chen & Marcus, 2012). A sample of item is "I am the life of the party." Lower extraversion scores indicate introversion (Chen & Marcus, 2012). Response categories were ranged from 1 (Strongly disagree) to 7 (Strongly Agree). The reliability coefficient was satisfactory for American participants (Cronbach's alpha = .79, M = 3.21, SD = .77), Japanese participants (Cronbach's alpha = .72, M = 3.51, SD = .78), and total sample (Cronbach's alpha = .77, M = 3.32, SD = 1.10). The Cronbach's alpha was lower than other measurements, however, Donellan, et al. (2006) reported  $\alpha$  raged from .77 to 83 in their five studies using the same Mini-IPIP. In addition, Coopera, Smilliea, and Corrb (2010) reported the Mini-IPIP was useful and stable.

# **Data Analysis**

Data were analyzed by using variety of statistical analyses such as, correlations, hierarchical regressions, and *PROCESS* macros (Hayes, 2009). For mediation analysis, structural equation modeling (Bollen, 1989) and macros such as



Causal Steps Approach (Baron & Kenny, 1986) have been used to test mediator variables or intervening pathways conventionally. The present study utilized PROCESS (Hayes, 2009) because the PROCESS extended existing Causal Steps Approach (Baron & Kenny, 1986) by increasing the power and quantifying the indirect effects. If variables included latent variables, Structural Equation Modeling (Bollen, 1989) might be appropriate to test both path analysis and confirmatory factor analysis, however, the current analysis only include observed (single item) variables. In addition, *PROCESS* (Hayes, 2009) does not require the assumption of sampling distribution of indirect effects to be normal that are required for Soble Tests (Sobel, 1982, 1986). The present study use unstandardized indirect effects. Hayes (2009) argues calculating standardized indirect effects is meaningless, for variables used in the analyses are arbitral that have no inherent quantitative meanings. Moreover, Hayes (2009) claimed standardized indirect effects destroy the meaning of group mean differences on the outcomes via mediation variables. Therefore, the present study calculated indirect unstandardized effect using bootstrap technique according to the *PROCESS*. Each bootstrap was based on 5,000 repetitions. The confidence intervals (CI) of the results that do not include zero indicate a significant indirect effect.



# CHAPTER 3 RESULTS

# **Descriptive Statistics**

**American data.** Of the 583 American participants, 239 are males (41%) and 336 are female (57.6%). Eight participants (1.4%) did not specify gender. The majority of participants were Caucasians (455, 78%), with Asians (40, 6.9%) as the second largest ethnic group followed by African American (37, 6.3%), Hispanic/Latino (22, 3.8%), and Others (21, 3.7%). The participants report an average age of 21 years old (SD = 4.33).

**Japanese data.** Five participants reported that they were not Japanese. The cases were not included in the analysis. After deleting the five cases, a total of 496 participants were available for the analyses. Among 496 Japanese participants, were 151 males (31.5%) and 328 females (68.3%). Seventeen participants failed to report gender. One hundred and sixty-eight (33.9%) participants used Facebook only, 91 (18.3%) participants used Mixi only, and 91 (18.3%) participants used both Facebook and Mixi, and 146 (29.4%) participants used neither Facebook nor Mixi. The average age of the participants was 19.95 years old (SD = 2.44).

Length of using with the SNS. American participants used Facebook approximately 2 hours and 41 minutes per day (M = 2.68 in hours, SD = 3.94, N = 552) and Japanese participants used Facebook approximately 51.3 minutes (M = .86 in hours, SD = 2.29, N = 254) per day while Japanese Mixi users reported using Mixi approximately 36 minutes per day (M = .60 in hours, SD = 2.38, N = 165).

Length of membership with the SNS. American participants report



Facebook use for an average of approximately 4 years and 9 months (M = 4.79, SD = 2.05, N = 575) while Japanese participants use Facebook an average of about 1 year and 4 months (M = 1.36, SD = 1.00, N = 255). Japanese Mixi users have been using Mixi an average of about 2 years and 9 months (M = 2.78, SD = 1.66, N = 171).

**Number of friends.** American participants estimate approximately 513 friends (M = 513.33, SD = 430.14, range = 0: 3714, N = 509) while Japanese participants reported approximately 171 (M = 171.2, SD = 140.73, range = 0: 1139, N = 236) Facebook friends. Japanese Mixi users had approximately 80 (M = 80.13, SD = 64.35, range = 1: 350, N = 147) Mixi friends. The numbers of friends are distributed normally for all the different SNSs and culture, despite the range of scores.

**Number of pictures.** American participants posted an average of about 535 pictures (M = 537.8, SD = 677.86, N = 474) while Japanese participants posted about 140 pictures (M = 139.86, SD = 371.32, N = 243) on Facebook. Japanese Mixi users posted about 33 pictures (M = 32.60, SD = 107.19, N = 162).

Information sharing. All the data about information sharing appear in Table 1 to Table 10. Participants reported with whom information is shared. The response categories for each stimulus were: (1) do not share, (2) with certain people, (3) with friends only, (4) with friends' friends only, (5) with public. The mean differences of information sharing (sharing first names, last names, email addresses, phone numbers, high school names, relationship status, walls, and pictures) among American *Facebook* users, Japanese *Facebook* users, and Japanese *Mixi* users, and

the results of ANOVA were reported in the research question four.

Sensitive picture postings. Table 11-15 reports the percentage and numbers American *Facebook* users, Japanese *Facebook* users, and Japanese *Mixi* users posted sensitive pictures. Overall, the percentage of posting sensitive pictures on SNSs regularly was not large. The mean differences of American *Facebook* users', Japanese *Facebook* users', and Japanese *Mixi* users' posting sensitive pictures (partying, drunk, sexy, and illegal pictures) and the results of ANOVA were reported in the research question two.

**Activities.** Table 16 displays the activities with American *Facebook* users, Japanese *Facebook* users, and Japanese *Mixi* users. The most popular SNS activity was looking at others' pictures. The most popular activity for American *Facebook* users was looking at others' pictures (M = 3.74, SD = .98) following by reading others' profiles (M = 3.48, SD = 1.05). The most popular activity for Japanese *Facebook* users was looking at others' pictures (M = 3.75, SD = 1.06) following by reading others' messages (M = 3.16, SD = 1.21). The most popular activity for Japanese *Mixi* users involved reading others' tweet on *Mixi* (M = 3.40, SD = 1.10) following by looking at others' pictures (M = 3.01, SD = .96).

Types of friends. American *Facebook* users (55.8%), Japanese *Facebook* users (43.1%) and Japanese *Mixi* users (28.6%) selected close friends seen regularly the most among 11 options following close friends seen irregularly. A small percentage of American *Facebook* users (16.9%) and Japanese *Facebook* users (5.2%) friended with the parents. Especially, only two Japanese *Mixi* users (.4%) reported adding parents as friends on *Mixi*. Similarly, 13.5% of American *Facebook* 

users, 10% of Japanese *Facebook* users, and only 1.6% of Japanese *Mixi* users reported adding teachers as friends on SNSs.

**Purpose of using SNSs.** American *Facebook* users (M = 3.98, SD = .85), Japanese *Facebook* users (M = 3.68, SD = .89), and Japanese *Mixi* users (M = 3.46, SD = .97) reported the purpose of using SNSs as peer group contact the most following pass time.

## **Hypotheses and Research Question Analyses**

# **Impression Management: Problematic Self-Presentation on SNSs**

**Hypothesis one.** Hypothesis one predicted American *Facebook* users share significantly more information on *Facebook* than Japanese *Facebook* users or Japanese *Mixi* users. In order to answer the research question, a one-way analysis of variance (ANOVA) was conducted. American *Facebook* users, Japanese *Facebook* only users and Japanese *Mixi* only users were included in the analysis. First, sharing email addresses was assessed as a depending variable. The ANOVA was significant, F(2.824) = 38.71, p < .01,  $\eta^2 = .09$ . Because the overall F test was significant, follow-up tests were conducted to evaluate pair-wise differences among the means. Tukey-Kramer procedure was used to control for Type I error across the multiple pairwise comparisons and for unequal sample size. There was significant difference in the means between American *Facebook* users (M = 2.81, SD = 1.39), Japanese *Facebook* only users (M = 2.17, SD = 1.41), and Japanese *Mixi* only users (M = 1.54, SD = .91).

Second, last name sharing was assessed as a depending variable. The ANOVA was significant, F(2.827) = 81.00, p < .01,  $\eta^2 = .16$ . Because the overall F



test was significant, follow-up tests were conducted to evaluate pair-wise differences among the means. Tukey-Kramer procedure was used to control for Type I error across the multiple pairwise comparisons and for unequal sample size. There was significant difference in the means among American Facebook users (M = 4.32, SD = 1.18), Japanese Facebook only users (M = 4.56, SD = .87), and Japanese Mixi only users (M = 2.67, SD = 1.41).

Third, current affiliation sharing was assessed as a depending variable. The ANOVA was significant, F(2.826) = 6.25, p = .002,  $\eta^2 = .02$ . Because the overall F test was significant, follow-up tests were conducted to evaluate pair-wise differences among the means. Tukey-Kramer procedure was used to control for Type I error across the multiple pairwise comparisons and for unequal sample size. There was significant difference in the means between American Facebook users (M = 3.67, SD = .06) and Japanese Mixi only users (M = 3.13, SD = .15); Japanese Facebook only users (M = 3.70, SD = .10) and Japanese Mixi only users (M = 3.13, SD = .15). However, there was no significant mean difference on current affiliation sharing of American Facebook users and Japanese Facebook users.

Fourth, high school name sharing was assessed as a depending variable. The ANOVA was significant, F(2.825) = 17.54, p < .01,  $\eta^2 = .04$ . Because the overall F test was significant, follow-up tests were conducted to evaluate pair-wise differences among the means. Tukey-Kramer procedure was used to control for Type I error across the multiple pairwise comparisons and for unequal sample size. There was significant difference in the means between American Facebook users (M = 3.50, SD = .06) and Japanese Mixi only users (M = 2.52, SD = .16); Japanese



Facebook only users (M = 3.46, SD = .11) and Japanese Mixi only users (M = 2.52, SD = .16). However, there was no significant mean difference on high school name sharing of American Facebook users and Japanese Facebook users.

Fifth, phone number sharing was assessed as a depending variable. The ANOVA was significant, F(2.818) = 10.30, p < .01,  $\eta^2 = .03$ . Because the overall F test was significant, follow-up tests were conducted to evaluate pair-wise differences among the means. Tukey-Kramer procedure was used to control for Type I error across the multiple pairwise comparisons and for unequal sample size. There was significant difference in the means between American Facebook users (M = 1.76, SD = .04) and Japanese Mixi only users (M = 1.20, SD = .12); Japanese Facebook users (M = 1.57, SD = .08) and Japanese Mixi only users (M = 1.20, SD = .12). However, there was no significant mean difference on phone number sharing of American Facebook users and Japanese Facebook users.

Sixth, relationship status sharing was assessed as a depending variable. The ANOVA was significant, F(2.820) = 60.61, p < .01,  $\eta^2 = .13$ . Because the overall F test was significant, follow-up tests were conducted to evaluate pair-wise differences among the means. Tukey-Kramer procedure was used to control for Type I error across the multiple pairwise comparisons and for unequal sample size. There was significant difference in the means between American Facebook users (M = 3.01, SD = .06) and Japanese Facebook only users (M = 1.98, SD = .11); American Facebook users (M = 3.01, SD = .06) and Japanese Mixi only users (M = 1.65, SD = .16). However, there was no significant mean difference on relationship status sharing of Japanese Facebook only users and Japanese Mixi only users.



Seventh, wall sharing was assessed as a depending variable. The ANOVA was significant, F(2.822) = 117.52, p < .01,  $\eta^2 = .22$ . Because the overall F test was significant, follow-up tests were conducted to evaluate pair-wise differences among the means. Tukey-Kramer procedure was used to control for Type I error across the multiple pairwise comparisons and for unequal sample size. There was significant difference in the means between American Facebook users (M = 3.09, SD = .75) and Japanese Mixi only users (M = 1.39, SD = .97); Japanese Facebook only users (M = 3.29, SD = 1.46) and Japanese Mixi only users (M = 1.39, SD = .97). However, there was no significant mean difference on wall sharing of American Facebook users and Japanese Facebook only users.

Lastly, picture sharing was assessed as a depending variable. The ANOVA was significant, F(2.821) = 33.97, p < .01,  $\eta^2 = .08$ . Because the overall F test was significant, follow-up tests were conducted to evaluate pair-wise differences among the means. The Tukey-Kramer procedure controls for Type I error across the multiple pairwise comparisons and for unequal sample size. A significant difference existed among the means for American Facebook users (M = 3.05, SD = .78), Japanese Facebook only users (M = 3.50, SD = 1.31), and Japanese Mixi only users (M = 2.41, SD = 1.33).

Hypothesis two. Hypothesis two predicted American *Facebook* users posted sensitive pictures on *Facebook* significantly more frequently than Japanese *Facebook* users or Japanese *Mixi* users. In order to answer the research question, a one-way analysis of variance (ANOVA) was conducted. American *Facebook* users, Japanese *Facebook* only users and Japanese *Mixi* only users were included in the

analysis. First, partying picture posting was assessed as a depending variable. The ANOVA was significant, F(2.821) = 29.99, p < .01,  $\eta^2 = .68$ . Because the overall Ftest achieved significant, follow-up tests were conducted to evaluate pair-wise differences among the means. Tukey-Kramer procedure was used to control for Type I error across the multiple pairwise comparisons and for unequal sample size. There was significant difference in the means between American Facebook users (M = 2.45, SD = 1.15), and Japanese Mixi only users (M = 1.39, SD = .83); Japanese Facebook only users (M = 2.35, SD = 1.29) and Japanese Mixi only users (M = 1.39,SD = .83). However, the means of posting partying pictures on Facebook were not significantly different between American Facebook users and Japanese Facebook users. Second, drunk picture posting was assessed as a depending variable. The ANOVA was significant, F(2.821) = 38.62, p < .01,  $\eta^2 = .09$ . Because the overall Ftest was significant, follow-up tests were conducted to evaluate pair-wise differences among the means. Tukey-Kramer procedure was used to control for Type I error across the multiple pairwise comparisons and for unequal sample size. There was significant difference in the means among American Facebook users (M = 1.96, SD = .04), and Japanese Facebook only users (M = 1.49, SD = .08), and Japanese Mixi only users (M = 1.03, SD = .12). Third, sexy picture posting was assessed as a depending variable. The ANOVA was significant, F(2.821) = 18.12, p<.01,  $\eta^2 = .04$ . Because the overall F test was significant, follow-up tests were conducted to evaluate pair-wise differences among the means. Tukey-Kramer procedure was used to control for Type I error across the multiple pairwise comparisons and for unequal sample size. There was significant difference in the

means between American Facebook users (M = 1.39, SD = .76) and Japanese Facebook only users (M = 1.14, SD = .48); American Facebook users (M = 1.39, SD= .76) and Japanese Mixi only users (M = 1.00, SD = .00). Therefore, for sexy pictures postings, the cultural difference was significant than SNS differences. American Facebook users posted sexy pictures significantly more than Japanese SNS users regardless the types of SNS. Fourth, illegal picture posting was assessed as a depending variable. The ANOVA was significant, F(2.819) = 14.80, p < .01,  $\eta^2$ = .04. Because the overall F test was significant, follow-up tests were conducted to evaluate pair-wise differences among the means. Tukey-Kramer procedure was used to control for Type I error across the multiple pairwise comparisons and for unequal sample size. There was significant difference in the means between American Facebook users (M = 1.31, SD = .03) and Japanese Facebook only users (M = 1.07, .03)SD = .05); American Facebook users (M = 1.31, SD = .03) and Japanese Mixi only users (M = 1.01, SD = .07). Same as sexy pictures, the cultural difference was significant than SNS differences for illegal pictures postings. American Facebook users posted illegal pictures significantly more than Japanese SNS users regardless the types of SNS.

Research question one. Research question one asked how SNS and culture influence the number of SNS friends after controlling for preexisting conditions (i.e., the length of using the site, perception of extraversion, perception of popularity, and gender). In order to answer the research question, a one-way analysis of covariance (ANCOVA) was conducted. American *Facebook* users, Japanese *Facebook* only users, and Japanese *Mixi* only users were included in the analysis. The number of

SNS friends was assessed as a depending variable and the three groups (i.e., American Facebook users, Japanese Facebook users, and Japanese Mixi users) were entered as an independent variable. A preliminary analysis evaluating the homogeneity-of-slopes assumption indicated that the relationship between the covariate and the dependent variable did not differ significantly as function of the independent variable. The ANCOVA was significant,  $F(2, 681) = 10.99, p < .01, \eta^2$ = .03. The means of the number of friends adjusted for preexisting conditions were ordered differently. Before adjusting the means of SNS friends, American Facebook users had a largest number of friends (M = 513.33, SD = 430.14) followed by Japanese Facebook only users (M = 189.11, SD = 155.28) and Japanese Mixi only users (M = 58.10, SD = 45.14). However, after adjusting the preexisting conditions, Japanese Facebook only users had a largest number of SNS friends (M = 652.61, SD = 55.05) followed by Japanese Mixi only users (M = 503.54, SD = 65.99) and American Facebook users (M = 342.02, SD = 23.03). Because the overall F test was significant, follow-up tests were conducted to evaluate pairwise differences among the means. Bonferroni procedure was used to control for Type I error across the multiple pairwise comparisons. There was significant difference in the means of SNS friends between American *Facebook* users and Japanese *Facebook* only users; Japanese Facebook only users and Japanese Mixi only users. However, there were no significant differences between Japanese Mixi only users and American *Facebook* users after controlling for preexisting conditions.

**Research question two.** Research question two asked how culture and SNS platform differences influences sensitive picture postings on SNS after controlling



for preexisting conditions (i.e., the length of using the site, perception of extraversion, perception of popularity, and gender). In order to answer the research question, a one-way analysis of covariance (ANCOVA) was conducted. American Facebook users, Japanese Facebook only users, and Japanese Mixi only users were included in the analysis. The frequency of posting partying and drunk picture postings was assessed as depending variables and the three groups (i.e., American Facebook users, Japanese Facebook users, and Japanese Mixi users) were entered as an independent variable. First, partying picture posting was assessed as a depending variable. A preliminary analysis evaluating the homogeneity-of-slopes assumption indicated that the relationship between one of the covariates (i.e., perception of popularity) and the dependent variable differed significantly as function of the independent variable, F(2, 764) = 5.45, p < .004,  $\eta^2 = .01$  Therefore, the perception of popularity was excluded from the covariates. The ANCOVA was significant,  $F(2, \frac{1}{2})$ 773) = 26.81, p < .01,  $\eta^2 = .07$ . The means of the frequency of posting partying pictures adjusted for preexisting conditions were ordered differently. Before adjusting the means, American Facebook users posted partying pictures the most frequently (M = 2.45, SD = 1.15), followed by Japanese Facebook only users (M =2.35, SD = 1.29) and Japanese Mixi only users (M = 1.40, SD = .85). However, after adjusting the preexisting conditions, Japanese Facebook only users posted partying pictures most frequently (M = 3.26, SD = .16) followed by Japanese Mixi only users (M = 2.25, SD = .19) and American Facebook users (M = 2.13, SD = .07). Because the overall F test was significant, follow-up tests were conducted to evaluate pairwise differences among the means. Bonferroni procedure was used to control

for Type I error across the multiple pairwise comparisons. There was significant difference in the means of the frequency of posting partying pictures between American *Facebook* users and Japanese *Facebook* only users; Japanese *Facebook* only users and Japanese *Mixi* only users. However, there were no significant differences between Japanese *Mixi* only users and American *Facebook* users after controlling for preexisting conditions. However, there were no significant differences between Japanese *Mixi* only users and American *Facebook* users after controlling for preexisting conditions.

Second, drunk picture posting was assessed as a depending variable. .A preliminary analysis evaluating the homogeneity-of-slopes assumption indicated that the relationship between the covariate and the dependent variable did not differ significantly as function of the independent variable. The ANCOVA was significant, F(2,772) = 7.93, p < .01,  $\eta^2 = .02$ . The means of the frequency of posting drunk pictures adjusted for preexisting conditions were ordered differently. Before adjusting the means, American Facebook users posted drunk pictures the most frequently (M = 1.98, SD = 1.11), followed by Japanese Facebook only users (M =1.50, SD = .95) and Japanese Mixi only users (M = 1.00, SD = .00). However, after adjusting the preexisting conditions, Japanese Facebook only users posted partying pictures most frequently (M = 2.30, SD = .15) followed by Japanese Mixi only users (M = 1.83, SD = .18) and American Facebook users (M = 1.68, SD = .06). Because the overall F test was significant, follow-up tests were conducted to evaluate pairwise differences among the means. Bonferroni procedure was used to control for Type I error across the multiple pairwise comparisons. There was significant

American *Facebook* users and Japanese *Facebook* only users; Japanese *Facebook* only users and Japanese *Mixi* only users. However, there were no significant differences between Japanese *Mixi* only users and American *Facebook* users after controlling for preexisting conditions. However, there were no significant differences between Japanese *Mixi* only users and American *Facebook* users after controlling for preexisting conditions. However, there were no significant differences between Japanese *Mixi* only users and American *Facebook* users after controlling for preexisting conditions.

Third, sexy picture posting was assessed as a depending variable. A preliminary analysis evaluating the homogeneity-of-slopes assumption indicated that the relationship between the covariate and the dependent variable did not differ significantly as function of the independent variable. The ANCOVA was not significant, F(2, 772) = .88, p = .42,  $\eta^2 = .002$ .

Lastly, illegal picture posting was assessed as a depending variable. A preliminary analysis evaluating the homogeneity-of-slopes assumption indicated that the relationship between the covariate and the dependent variable did not differ significantly as function of the independent variable. The ANCOVA was not significant, F(2, 770) = .10, p = .90,  $\eta^2 < .001$ .

**Research question three.** Research question three asked what predicts the number of pictures SNS users post on SNSs. A multiple regression analysis was conducted using a stepwise procedure. Culture, SNS, number of friends, length of membership with the SNS, popularity, and extrovert were entered as predictors of the number of pictures posted on SNSs. Culture, SNS, popularity, and extrovert were failed to predict the number of pictures posted on SNS with p > .10. The linear

combination of a number of friends and the length of membership with the SNS was significantly related to the number of pictures posted on SNSs and explained 28% of the variance,  $R^2 = .28$ , F(2,602) = 118.11, p < .01. It was found that the number of SNS friends significantly predicted the number of pictures on SNSs ( $\beta = .43$ , p < .01), as did the length of membership with the SNS ( $\beta = .20$ , p < .01).

**Research question four.** Research question four asked whether the number of SNS friends and the length of spending time on SNS correlate with each other. In order to answer the question, a correlation analysis was conducted. The result revealed that the number of friends and the length of spending time on SNS significantly correlated to each other (N = 794, r = .23, p < .001). Therefore, people reporting a larger number of friends spend more time on SNS.

## Medial Ecology: Behavioral Switching

Each SNS operate different norms depending on the originated geographical culture. Media ecologists argue that people follow the norms of media when using a certain medium. Thus, the present study expects Japanese *Facebook* and *Mixi* dual users change their behavior between *Facebook* and *Mixi*.

**Hypothesis three.** Hypothesis three predicted Facebook and Mixi dual users post sensitive pictures significantly more frequently on Facebook than Mixi. A paired-samples t-test was conducted to evaluate whether Facebook and Mixi dual users change their behavior according to the SNS. First, partying picture posting was analyzed. The result indicated that the mean for posting partying pictures on Facebook (M = 2.17, SD = 1.26) was significantly greater than the mean posting partying pictures on Mixi (M = 1.70, SD = 1.14), t (87) = 3.31, p = .001. Second,

drunk picture posting was analyzed. The result indicated that the mean for posting drunk pictures on Facebook (M=1.55, SD=1.00) was significantly greater than the mean posting drunk pictures on Mixi (M=1.30, SD=.80), t (89) = 2.35, p=.02. Third, sexy picture posting was analyzed. The results indicate no significant difference between posting sexy pictures on Facebook and Mixi, t (89) = 1.06, p = .29. Fourth, illegal picture posting was analyzed. The result indicate no significant difference between posting illegal pictures on Facebook and Mixi, t (88) = -.82, p = .42.

**Hypothesis four.** Hypothesis four predicted Japanese Facebook and Mixi dual users have significantly more friends on Facebook than on Mixi. A paired-samples t test was conducted to evaluate whether Facebook and Mixi dual users change their behaviors according to the SNS by adding significantly more friends on Facebook than Mixi. The result indicated that the mean of a number of friends on Facebook (M = 138.55, SD = 98.73) was significantly larger than the mean of a number of friends on Mixi (M = 101.77, SD = 73.66), t (t (t (t (t (t (t ))) = 2.97 t (t ) = 0.04. Thus, Japanese t (t ) Japanese t (t ) Japanese t (t ) and t (t ) Japanese t ) Japanese t (t ) Japanese t ) Japanese t (t ) Japanese t (t ) Japanese t ) Japanes

**Hypothesis five.** Hypothesis five predicted *Facebook* and *Mixi* dual users reveal significantly more information on *Facebook* than *Mixi*. Several paired-samples *t* tests evaluated whether *Facebook* and *Mixi* dual users change their behaviors according to the SNS by revealing private information significantly more on *Facebook* than *Mixi*. First, first names of the users were compared between

Facebook and Mixi. The result indicated that Japanese Facebook and Mixi dual users revealed first names with more people on Facebook (M = 4.64, SD = .80) than on Mixi (M = 3.20, SD = 1.56), t(89) = 8.45, p < .01. Second, mail addresses were compared between Facebook and Mixi. The result indicated that Japanese Facebook and Mixi dual users revealed mail addresses with more people on Facebook (M =2.19, SD = 1.27) than on Mixi (M = 1.44, SD = 1.00), t(89) = 4.93, p < .01. Third, last names were compared between Facebook and Mixi. The result indicated that Japanese Facebook and Mixi dual users revealed last names with more people on Facebook (M = 4.64, SD = .84) than on Mixi (M = 2.88, SD = 1.59), t(89) = 9.69, p< .01. Fourth, affiliations were compared between Facebook and Mixi. The result indicated that Japanese Facebook and Mixi dual users do not change whom they share affiliation information with between Facebook (M = 3.73, SD = 1.59) and Mixi (M = 3.40, SD = 1.53), t(89) = 1.73, p = .09. Fifth, high school names were compared between Facebook and Mixi. The result indicated that Japanese Facebook and Mixi dual users do not change whom they share high school information with between Facebook (M = 3.20, SD = 1.77) and Mixi (M = 3.14, SD = 1.62), t (87) = .30, p = .77. Sixth, phone numbers were compared between Facebook and Mixi. The result indicated that Japanese Facebook and Mixi dual users revealed phone numbers with more people on Facebook (M = 1.49, SD = .96) than on Mixi (M =1.25, SD = .70), t(88) = 2.77, p = .007. Seventh, walls were compared between Facebook and Mixi. The result indicated that Japanese Facebook and Mixi dual users revealed walls with more people on Facebook (M = 2.99, SD = 1.48) than on Mixi (M = 2.16, SD = 1.24), t(88) = 5.30, p < .01. Eighth, pictures were compared

between Facebook and Mixi. The result indicated that Japanese Facebook and Mixi dual users revealed pictures with more people on Facebook (M = 3.32, SD = 1.38) than on Mixi (M = 2.86, SD = 1.30), t (89) = 2.51, p = .01. Lastly, pictures with user faces were compared between Facebook and Mixi. The result indicated that Japanese Facebook and Mixi dual users revealed pictures with user faces with more people on Facebook (M = 3.44, SD = 1.47) than Mixi (M = 2.90, SD = 1.42), t (88) = 2.54, p = .01.

Overall, Japanese *Facebook* and *Mixi* dual users share private information more on *Facebook* than on *Mixi*. In particular, Japanese *Facebook* and *Mixi* users share first names, mail addresses, last names, phone numbers, walls, pictures, and pictures with faces with significant larger audience on *Facebook* than on *Mixi*. Interestingly, Japanese *Facebook* and *Mixi* dual users share affiliation, high school names, and relationship status in the similar fashion on both *Facebook* and *Mixi*.

Hypothesis six: Mediation analyses. In order to understand the mechanism of behavioral switching, the present study created a model that predicts that *Mixi* and *Facebook* dual users post sensitive pictures on *Facebook* significantly more frequently than *Mixi* by perceiving injunctive norms (Figure 1). Thus, the present study predicts the perception of injunctive norms mediate the relationship between the frequency of posting sensitive pictures on *Mixi* and *Facebook*.

In order to answer the research question seven, *PROCESS* macros (Hayes, 2009) were used. For the PROCESS analyses, only partying and drunken data were separately entered to test the model. Since the majority of Japanese *Mixi* and *Facebook* dual users never posted sexy, or illegal pictures on *Mixi* or *Facebook*,



sexy, and illegal picture posting were excluded from the model testing.

First, a behavioral change on partying picture posting was tested. The path coefficient from the independent variable (i.e., partying picture postings on Mixi) to mediation variable (i.e., the perception of injunctive norms) was not significant, R = .21, F(1, 85) = 3.76, p = .056, but the path coefficient from the mediation variable (i.e. perception of injunctive norms) and dependent variable (i.e., partying picture postings on Facebook) was significant, R = .50, F(2, 84) = 14.02, p = .001, (Figure 2). The indirect effect of the injunctive norms on partying picture postings on Facebook was not significant (B = .07, 95% CI: -.002; .22,  $k^2 = .07$ ). Thus, Japanese Facebook and Mixi dual users who posted partying pictures frequently on Mixi also posted partying pictures on Facebook frequently.

Second, a behavioral change on drunk picture postings was tested. The path coefficient from the independent variable (i.e., drunk picture postings on Mixi) to mediation variable (i.e., the perception of injunctive norms) was significant, R = .40, F(1, 87) = 16.50, p = .0001. In addition, the path coefficient from the mediation variable (i.e. perception of injunctive norms) and dependent variable (i.e., drunk picture postings on Facebook) was significant, R = .51, F(2, 86) = 15.13, p = .001, (Figure 3). The indirect effect of the injunctive norm on drunk picture postings on Facebook was also significant (B = .17, 95% CI: .03; .43,  $k^2 = .14$ ). Thus, Japanese Facebook and Mixi dual users increased the frequency of drunk picture postings on Facebook significantly more than Mixi by perceiving injunctive norms.

**Research question five.** Research question five asked how disinhibition was perceived in three different groups (i.e., American *Facebook* users, Japanese



Facebook users, and Japanese Mixi users). In order to answer the research question, a one-way analysis of variance (ANOVA) was conducted. American Facebook users, Japanese Facebook only users and Japanese Mixi only users were included in the analysis. The combination of culture and SNS (i.e., American Facebook users, Japanese Facebook users, Japanese Mixi users) was assessed as an independent variable and the perception of disinhibition as depending variable. The ANOVA was significant, F(2.819) = 17.68, p < .01,  $\eta^2 = .04$ . Because the overall F test was significant, follow-up tests were conducted to evaluate pair-wise differences among the means. Tukey-Kramer procedure was used to control for Type I error across the multiple pairwise comparisons and for unequal sample size. There was significant difference in the means between American Facebook users (M = 2.57, SD = .87), and Japanese Facebook only users (M = 2.16, SD = .90); American Facebook users (M = 2.57, SD = .87) and Japanese Mixi only users (M = 2.18, SD = .91). However, there were no significant differences in the means between Japanese Facebook users and Japanese Mixi users.

Hypothesis seven: Disinhibition as mediator for American Facebook users. Based on the previous study, the present study predicted that the perception of disinhibition mediates the relationship between the motives of increasing popularity and sensitive picture postings. In order to answer the research question nine, PROCESS macros (Hayes, 2009) were used. First, American Facebook user data were entered. American Facebook users' sensitive picture posting (i.e., the combination of party, drunk, sexy, and illegal picture postings) was entered as dependent variable, and perception of disinhibition as mediator, and motivation of

increasing popularity as dependent variable. The indirect effect of the perception of disinhibition on sensitive picture postings on Facebook was not significant (B = .04, 95% CI: .02; -.07).

#### **Uses and Gratifications on SNSs**

**Research question six.** Research question six asked whether increasing popularity motive influences the number of friends on SNSs. Three linear regression analyses were conducted. The regression analyses revealed that increasing popularity motive predicted the number of friends on *Facebook* for Japanese users ( $\beta = .25$ , F = 9.43, p = .003). However, popularity motive did not predict the number of friends on *Facebook* for American users ( $\beta = .08$ , F = 3.31, p = .07) and Japanese *Mixi* users ( $\beta = .12$  F = 1.01, p = .32).

Supplemental analyses were conducted to investigate better predictors of the number of friends. A multiple regression analysis was conducted using a stepwise procedure. Five motivation variables (i.e., communication motive, pass time motive, entertainment motive, social compensation motive, and increasing popularity motive) and the perception of extraversion were entered as predictors of the number of SNS friends. With American data, communication motive, entertainment motive, social compensation motive, and increasing popularity motive were failed to predict the number of pictures posted on SNS with p > .10. The linear combination of a 5 motivation variables and the perception of extraversion were significantly related to the number of SNS friends and explained 12% of the variance ( $R^2 = .11$ , F (6,497) = 10.97, P < .001). It was found that pass time motive (P = .15, P = .005) and the perception of extraversion (P = .24, P < .001) significantly predicted the number of

SNS friends. With Japanese Facebook data, pass time motive, entertainment motive, social compensation motive, and increasing popularity motive were failed to predict the number of pictures posted on SNS with p > .10. The linear combination of a 5 motivation variables and the perception of extraversion were significantly related to the number of SNS friends and explained 21% of the variance  $(R^2 = .17, F(6.117) =$ 5.14, p < .001). It was found that communication motive ( $\beta = .24$ , p = .008) and the perception of extraversion ( $\beta = .26$ , p < .001) significantly predicted the number of SNS friends. With Japanese *Mixi* data, all of the motivation variables (i.e., communication motive, pass time motive, entertainment motive, social compensation motive, and increasing popularity motive) were failed to predict the number of pictures posted on SNS with p > .10. The linear combination of a 5 motivation variables and the perception of extraversion were significantly related to the number of SNS friends and explained 21% of the variance ( $R^2 = .18$ , F(6, 47) =2.91, p = .02). The perception of extraversion ( $\beta = .39$ , p = .009) significantly predicted the number of SNS friends.

Research question seven. Research question seven asked whether there are significant cultural SNS differences on the motivations among Japanese and American SNS users. In order to answer the research question, a one-way analysis of variance (ANOVA) was conducted.

First, communication motive was assessed as a dependent variable and a combination of culture and SNS as the independent variable. The ANOVA was significant, F(2, 820) = 25.08, p < .001,  $\eta^2 = .06$ . Because the overall F test was significant, follow-up tests were conducted to evaluate pair-wise differences among



the means. Tukey-Kramer procedure was used to control for Type I error across the multiple pairwise comparisons and for unequal sample size. There was significant difference in the means among American Facebook users (M = 3.98, SD = .85), Japanese Facebook only users (M = 3.71, SD = .89), and Japanese Mixi only users (M = 3.30, SD = .96).

Second, the motive of passing time was assessed as a dependent variable and a combination of culture and SNS as the independent variable. The ANOVA was significant, F(2, 820) = 42.48, p < .001,  $\eta^2 = .09$ . Because the overall F test was significant, follow-up tests were conducted to evaluate pair-wise differences among the means. Tukey-Kramer procedure was used to control for Type I error across the multiple pairwise comparisons and for unequal sample size. There was significant difference in the means between American Facebook users (M = 3.58, SD = .96) and Japanese Facebook only users (M = 2.96, SD = .88); American Facebook users and Japanese Mixi only users (M = 2.85, SD = .87).

Third, the motive of entertainment was assessed as the dependent variable and a combination of culture and SNS as the independent variable. The ANOVA was significant, F(2, 816) = 26.85, p < .001,  $\eta^2 = .06$ . Because the overall F test was significant, follow-up tests were conducted to evaluate pair-wise differences among the means. Tukey-Kramer procedure was used to control for Type I error across the multiple pairwise comparisons and for unequal sample size. There was significant difference in the means among American Facebook users (M = 3.23, SD = .87), Japanese Facebook only users (M = 2.86, SD = .92), and Japanese Mixi only users (M = 2.58, SD = .77).



Fourth, the motive of increasing popularity was assessed as a dependent variable and the combination of SNS and culture as the independent variable. The ANOVA was significant, F(2, 817) = 21.3224.75, p < .001,  $\eta^2 = .06$ . Because the overall F test was significant, follow-up tests were conducted to evaluate pair-wise differences among the means. Tukey-Kramer procedure was used to control for Type I error across the multiple pairwise comparisons and for unequal sample size. There was significant difference in the means between American Facebook users (M = 2.27, SD = 1.04) and Japanese Facebook only users (M = 1.87, SD = .82); American Facebook users and Japanese Mixi only users (M = 1.58, SD = .61).

Lastly, the motive of social compensation was assessed as a dependent variable and a combination culture and SNS as the independent variable. The ANOVA was not significant, F(2, 818) = 2.30,  $p \le 1$ ,  $\eta^2 = .006$ .

# Personality Differences: Social compensation and social enhancement hypotheses

**Hypothesis eight.** Hypothesis eight predicted popular SNS users promote popularity using SNSs. In order to answer the research question, a regression analysis was conducted. The regression analysis shows that the popular SNS users motivated to increase online popularity more ( $\beta$ = .12, t = 3.56, p <.00) than unpopular users. The result was consistent with the result of previous research using American college students (Omori & Allen, 2013). However, when entered only Japanese *Facebook* users into the analysis, the perception of popularity did not predict the motivation of increasing popularity on *Facebook* ( $\beta$ = .11, t = 1.56, p = .12). When entered only *Mixi* users, the perception of popularity failed to predict

the motivation of increasing popularity on Mixi ( $\beta$ = -.004, t = -.03, p =.98).

**Hypothesis nine.** Hypothesis nine predicted introverted SNS users compensate their social skills by using SNSs. In order to answer the research question, a regression analysis was conducted. The regression analysis shows that the introverted SNS users motivated to use SNSs to compensate sociability more  $(\beta = -.07, t = -2.03, p = .04)$  than extroverted SNS users. However, when entered only Japanese *Facebook* users into the analysis, introverted *Facebook* Japanese users did not predict the motivation of compensating sociality on *Facebook* (β= -.001, t = -.011, p = .99). When entered only *Mixi* users, the perception of popularity failed to predict the motivation of increasing popularity on *Mixi* (β= .19, t = 1.59, p = .12).

## Personality and perception of disinhibition: Mediation analyses

**Hypothesis ten.** Hypothesis ten predicted introverts hold social compensation motive more than extroverts via perception of disinhibition. In order to answer the research question, a path model was created. The model was tested using *PROCESS* macros (Hayes, 2009). The indirect effect of perception of disinhibition on social compensation motive was not significant (B = .006, 95% CI: -.03; .02).

**Hypothesis eleven.** Hypothesis eleven predicted popular SNS users hold increasing popularity motive more than unpopular users via perception of disinhibition. In order to answer the research question, a path model was created. The model was tested using *PROCESS* macros (Hayes, 2009). All the path coefficients were significant, R = .39, F(2, 805) = 71.41, p < .01. The indirect effect



of perception of disinhibition on increasing popularity motive was significant (*B* = .04, 95% CI: .005; .08). Thus, popular users of SNSs try to increase popularity by perception of disinhibition.

**Research question eight.** Research question eight asked whether there are cultural differences on the relationships between introverts and social compensation motive via perception of disinhibition. In order to answer the research question, PROCESS macros (Hayes, 2009) were used and compared Japanese and American Facebook users. Japanese and American Facebook user data were entered to conduct the mediation analysis. The result shows that the mediation effect of disinhibition was significant (B = -.01, 95% CI: -.03; -.002) for American users, R = .42, F(2, 570) = 59.98, p < .01. For Japanese data, the mediation effect of disinhibition was not significant (B = -.04, 95% CI: -.04; -.01).

Research question nine. Research question nine asked whether there are SNS differences on the relationships between introverts and social compensation motive via perception of disinhibition. In order to answer the research question, PROCESS macros (Hayes, 2009) were used and compared Japanese Facebook and Mixi users. Facebook and Mixi user data were entered to conduct the mediation analysis. The result shows that the mediation effect of disinhibition was not significant for both Japanese Facebook users (B = -.04, 95% CI: -.04; .01) and Japanese Mixi users (B = .04, 95% CI: -.04; .21).

**Research question ten.** Research question ten asked whether there are cultural differences on the relationships between perception of popularity and increasing popularity motive via perception of disinhibition. In order to answer the



research question, PROCESS macros (Hayes, 2009) were used and compared Japanese and American Facebook users. Japanese and American Facebook user data were entered to conduct the mediation analysis. The result shows that the mediation effect of disinhibition was not significant for both American Facebook users (B = .007, 95% CI: -.02; -.01) and Japanese Facebook users (B = .003, 95% CI: -.05; .05).

**Research question eleven.** Research question eleven asked whether there are SNS differences on the relationships between perception of popularity and increasing popularity motive via perception of disinhibition. In order to answer the research question, PROCESS macros (Hayes, 2009) were used and compared Japanese Facebook and Mixi users. Facebook and Mixi user data were entered to conduct the mediation analysis. The result shows that the mediation effect of disinhibition was not significant for both Japanese Facebook users (B = .003, 95% CI: -.05; .05) and Japanese Mixi users (B = .01, 95% CI: -.02; .12).

#### Personality and culture

**Research question twelve.** Research question twleve asked whether there are significant personality differences between Japanese *Facebook* and *Mixi* users. To evaluate the research question, a one-way analysis of variance (ANOVA) was conducted. Japanese *Facebook* users are categorized as: (a) *Facebook* only users, (b) *Mixi* only users, (c) Dual users of *Facebook* and *Mixi*, and (d) nonusers. First, the level of extrovert was assessed as a dependent variable and the types of SNS users as the independent variable. The ANOVA was significant, F(3, 475) = 2.87, p = .04,  $q^2 = .02$ . Because the overall F test was significant, follow-up tests were conducted to evaluate pair-wise differences among the means. Tukey-Kramer



procedure was used to control for Type I error across the multiple pairwise comparisons and for unequal sample size. There was significant difference in the means between Facebook only users (M = 3.15, SD = .06) and nonusers (M = 2.92, SD = .07) on their extrovert, but no significant differences on other pair wise comparisons. Therefore, Japanese Facebook only users reported significantly more extraversion than nonusers.

Second, the level of popularity was assessed as a dependent variable and the types of SNS users as the independent variable. The ANOVA was significant, F(3, 476) = 2.80, p = .04,  $\eta^2 = .02$ . Because the overall F test was significant, follow-up tests evaluated pair-wise differences among the means. Tukey-Kramer procedure was used to control for Type I error across the multiple pairwise comparisons and for unequal sample size. However, there was no significant differences occurred for any pair-wise comparison.

Research question thirteen. Research question thirteen asked whether motives (i.e., communication motive, passing time motive, entertaining motive, increasing popularity motive, social compensation motive), pre-existing conditions (i.e., number of friends, a length of membership with the SNS, popularity, extrovert), perception of disinhibition, or differences of SNS and culture predict sensitive picture postings on SNSs. Several hierarchical regression analyses were conducted. For model one, five motivations (communicative motive, passing time motive, entertainment motive, increasing popularity motive, and social compensation motive) was entered as predictors. For model two, pre-existing conditions (the number of SNS friends, the length of membership with the SNS, the



perception of extraversion, the perception of popularity) were entered as predictors. For model three, the perception of disinhibition as a predictor. Finally, the types of SNS and culture were entered as model four. The hierarchical analysis was conducted for each five types of sensitive pictures (i.e. party, drunk, sexy, and illegal pictures).

First, posting partying picture on SNSs was assessed as dependent variable. The set of motivation variables altogether predicted a significant amount of variance in the posting of partying pictures on SNSs  $(R^2 = .86, F(5, 667) = 13.71, p < .001)$ . The significant effect can be attributed to passing time motive ( $\beta = .09$ ,  $sr^2 = .003$ , t = 2.03, p = .04). In the second model, a set of preexisting variables are entered and altogether predicted SNS users' posting partying pictures on SNSs ( $R^2$  change = .04, F(4, 663) = 6.73, p < .001). The significant effect can be attributed to the number of SNS friends ( $\beta = .13$ ,  $sr^2 = .01$ , t = 3.17, p = .002) and the perception of extraversion  $(\beta = .30, sr^2 = .02, t = 3.58, p < .001)$ . In the third model, the perception of disinhibition was entered as the predictor variable. The perception of disinhibition accounted for an additional significant proportion of the variance in SNS users' partying picture postings on SNS ( $R^2$  change = .02, F(1, 662) = 14.55, p < .001,  $\beta$ =.17,  $sr^2$  = .02, t = 4.37, p < .001). In the fourth model, culture and SNS are entered and altogether predicted SNS users' posting partying pictures on SNSs ( $R^2$  change = .06, F(2, 660) = 22.35, p < .001). The significant effect can be attributed to SNS  $(\beta = .21, sr^2 = .03, t = 5.19, p < .001)$  and culture  $(\beta = .48, sr^2 = .04, t = 5.57, p)$ < .001).

Second, posting drunk pictures on SNSs was assessed as dependent variable. The set of motivation variables altogether predicted a significant amount of variance in the posting of drunken pictures on SNSs ( $R^2 = .09$ , F(5, 667) = 13.34, p < .001). The significant effect can be attributed to increasing popularity motive ( $\beta = .11$ ,  $sr^2$ = .006, t = 2.22, p = .03) and passing time motive ( $\beta = .11$ ,  $sr^2 = .007$ , t = 2.43, p = .007= .02). In the second model, a set of preexisting variables are entered and altogether predicted SNS users' posting drunk pictures on SNSs ( $R^2$  change = .08, F (4, 663) = 14.84, p < .001). The significant effect can be attributed to the number of SNS friends ( $\beta = .16$ ,  $sr^2 = .02$ , t = 3.78, p < .001) and the perception of extraversion ( $\beta$ =.29,  $sr^2$  = .02, t = 3.52, p < .001). In the third model, the perception of disinhibition was entered as the predictor variable. The perception of disinhibition failed to predict SNS users' drunk picture postings on SNS ( $R^2$  change = .003, F(1, 662) = 2.29, p = .13). In the fourth model, culture and SNS are entered and altogether predicted SNS users' posting drunken pictures on SNSs ( $R^2$  change = .02, F (2, 660) = 7.52, p < .001). The significant effect can be attributed to SNS ( $\beta = .12$ ,  $sr^2 = .01$ , t = 3.00, p = .003) and culture ( $\beta = .27$ ,  $sr^2 = .01$ , t = 3.12, p = .002).

Third, posting sexy pictures on SNSs was assessed as dependent variable. The set of motivation variables altogether predicted a significant amount of variance in the posting of sexy pictures on SNSs ( $R^2 = .06$ , F (5, 667) = 8.62, p < .001). The significant effect can be attributed to increasing social compensation motive ( $\beta$  =.14,  $sr^2 = .009$ , t = 2.58, p = .01). In the second model, a set of preexisting variables are entered and altogether predicted SNS users' posting sexy pictures on SNSs ( $R^2$  change = .05, F (4, 663) = 8.59, p < .001). The significant effect can be attributed to

the number of SNS friends ( $\beta$  = .14,  $sr^2$  = .01, t = 2.58, p = .01) and the perception of extraversion ( $\beta$  = .19,  $sr^2$  = .006, t = 2.19, p = .001). In the third model, the perception of disinhibition was entered as the predictor variable. The perception of disinhibition accounted for an additional significant proportion of the variance in SNS users' sexy picture postings on SNS ( $R^2$  change = .006, F (1, 662) = 4.20, p = .04,  $\beta$  = .09,  $sr^2$  = .006, t = 2.08, p = .04). In the fourth model, culture and SNS are entered. However, the model failed to predict SNS users' sexy picture postings on SNSs ( $R^2$  change = .001, F (2, 660) = .40, p = .67).

Fourth, posting illegal pictures on SNSs was assessed as dependent variable. The set of motivation variables altogether predicted a significant amount of variance in the posting of illegal pictures on SNSs ( $R^2$  = .06, F (5, 665) = 7.91, p < .001). The significant effect can be attributed to increasing social compensation motive ( $\beta$  = .11,  $sr^2$  = .002, t = 2.07, p = .04). In the second model, a set of preexisting variables are entered and altogether predicted SNS users' posting illegal pictures on SNSs ( $R^2$  change = .05, F (4, 661) = 9.15, p < .001). The significant effect can be attributed to the number of SNS friends ( $\beta$  = .18,  $sr^2$  = .02, t = 4.12, p < .001). In the third model, the perception of disinhibition was entered as the predictor variable. The perception of disinhibition failed to predict SNS users' illegal picture postings on SNS ( $R^2$  change = .007, F (1, 660) = 5.12, p = .03). In the fourth model, culture and SNS are entered. However, the model failed to predict SNS users' illegal picture postings on SNSs ( $R^2$  change = .00, F (2, 658) = .13, p = .88).

Overall, the results suggest that depending on the types of sensitive picture, the predictors vary. For party and drunk picture postings, SNS and culture were



stronger predictors. Especially, culture was a stronger predictor for party picture postings for American Facebook users (M = 2.45, SD = 1.15) than Japanese Facebook only users (M = 2.35, SD = 1.29) or Japanese Mixi only users (M = 1.39, SD = .83).

#### **Gender Differences**

**Hypothesis twelve.** Hypothesis twelve predicted male college students post significantly more sensitive pictures than female college students. Several paired-samples t tests evaluated whether there existed significant gender differences on sensitive picture postings. First, American college students' data were entered. When partying, drunk, sexy, and illegal picture postings were included in the analyses, only illegal picture postings indicated significant gender differences. Thus, American male students posted significantly more illegal pictures on Facebook (M = 1.41, SD = .87) than American female college students (M = 1.24, SD = .59), t = 1.41, t = 1

Next, a gender comparison was conducted for Japanese Facebook users. When partying, drunk, sexy, and illegal picture postings on Facebook were included in the analyses, only drunk picture postings indicated significant gender differences. Thus, Japanese male students posted significantly more drunken pictures on Facebook (M = 1.77, SD = 1.11) than Japanese female college students (M = 1.37, SD = .85), t (133) = 2.92, p = .004.

Lastly, Japanese *Mixi* users were considered. When partying, drunk, sexy, and illegal picture postings were included in the analyses, all of the variables found no significant gender differences.



#### **CHAPTER 4**

#### **DISCUSSION**

This dissertation investigated the influence of culture and platform on SNS user online behavior. The present research employed Uses and Gratification to posit users of SNSs as agent and with the ability to select the media and the platform to achieve needs and gratifications. At the same time, the present study believes the users are not "free agents" (Flew, 2005, p.27). That is, SNS users are not free from cultural and social norms or fully independent from society. SNS users do not behave individually but follow social norms and behave normatively.

The present dissertation investigates American and Japanese college students' use of SNSs and the self-presentation phenomena using sensitive picture postings. The comparisons of two different cultures and two different SNSs (*Facebook* and *Mixi*) enabled an investigation into the cultural and SNS platform influences on SNS user behavior online. The implications of the results are discussed next in terms of culture and platform differences. In addition, the consequences of online behavior on SNSs are discussed in line with social changes.

## **A Large Number of SNS Friends**

Previous SNS literature consistently reports a large number of SNS friends compared to friends in face-to-face settings (Fogg & Iizawa, 2008). Consistent with previous studies on SNSs, the present study found SNS users reporting a large number of SNS friends.

Culture and SNS platform influence on the number of SNS friends. The



results of present study suggest that SNS platform and culture influence SNS users' friending behavior on SNSs. American *Facebook* users had the largest number of SNS friends on average, followed by Japanese *Facebook* users and Japanese *Mixi* users. However, inconsistent with previous studies, the present study reported that Japanese *Facebook* users had the largest number of SNS friends on average, followed by Japanese *Mixi* users and American *Facebook* users after controlling for gender, the length of membership with the SNS, perception of extraversion, and perception of popularity. Especially, perception of extraversion and perception of popularity influenced the number of SNS friends. Therefore, Japanese who perceive themselves as extraversion and popular had significantly more *Facebook* friends than American *Facebook* users.

Predictors of the number of SNS friends. As discussed above, the present study found SNS platform and culture influence on the number of SNS friends. However, the larger number of friends on SNSs cannot be explained only by the differences of culture and SNS platform because the number of friends on SNSs is much larger than the number of friends in face-to-face settings. One American *Facebook* user reported that s/he had 3714 *Facebook* friends. Communicating with 3714 friends or even becoming friends with 3714 people is unusual if not impossible. Therefore, the present study investigated the predictors of the number of SNS friends. Consistent with previous literature (Baym, 2010), the strongest predictor of the number of SNS friends was extraversion. In other words, social persons reported a larger number of SNS friends. Because social networks created on SNSs reflect offline social networks, the result is not surprising. As Baym (2010) discussed, social people use



multiple means available to communicate with others. Previous work finds that SNS users felt turning down other's friend request as rude (boyd, 2006). In other words, social people have more friends and in turn they might have more friend requests than unsocial individuals. Interestingly, the present study found significant difference between Japanese non SNS users and Japanese *Facebook* users in terms of the level of extraversion while there was no significant difference between Japanese *Facebook* and *Mixi* users. Japanese *Facebook* users reported significantly more extraversion than nonusers. Considering the fact that the most *Facebook* users used *Facebook* as peer communication and the most popular activity for *Facebook* users was looking at other's pictures, introverts who might have a smaller number of friends might not be motivated to use SNSs.

Previous study found that especially Americans differentiate SNS friends from friends from other settings (boyd, 2006). In other words, Americans easily accept friend requests from people hardly known on SNSs because they differentiate SNS friends from other friends and could limit communication on SNS. Therefore, people don't think too much to add strangers or hardly known people as SNS friends because they know that they never see the SNS friends in other settings. In the future, investigating the relationship between the number of friend requests and the number of rejection of the friend requests might help to understand the SNS user behavior.

In addition, the present study found that the passing time motive predicted the larger number of friends for American *Facebook* users; while the increasing popularity motive predicted the large number of friends for Japanese *Facebook* and



Mixi users. However, due to the design of the study, the causality is unclear; the motives can be causes of the large number of friends or the results of the large number of friends. Fono and Raynes-Golidie's (2006) study reports that some users of LiveJournal, a free blogging service with a strong networking and community elements, add friends when they wish to read the person's blog. Likewise, American Facebook users might add a large number of friends to access to the contents only friends can access. Furthermore, Fono and Raynes-Golidie's (2006) study report some *LiveJournal* users did not feel anything to add people as friends on LiveJournal. Similarly, on Facebook people can add celebrities as friends, even though the celebrities are not even acquaintances in real life to the users. However, understanding the result as: (a) the passing time motive is the *results* of having a large number of Facebook friends for American Facebook users and (b) improving one's popularity motive is the *cause* of having a large number of *Facebook* and *Mixi* friends for Japanese Facebook and Mixi users, is more reasonable than just think the motives are causes of a large number of SNS friends. In sum, the present result suggests extroverts have more friends both online and offline. For American Facebook users, social individuals are social both online and offline and have a large number of friends on *Facebook*. *Facebook* users with a large number of Facebook users use to pass time motive more than other motives such as communicating with others due to the large number of friends. When Facebook users have a large number of friends, people have more accessible content than users with a smaller number of Facebook friends.

For Japanese SNS users, reflecting the cultural characteristics, they have a



smaller number of friends or social network in face-to-face settings compared with American SNS users. However, Japanese SNS users seeking to improve popularity tend to have a larger number of SNS friends to present self more social and popular online. In relation with the result, the present study further investigated the relationship between the number of friends and the time spending on the SNSs.

The number of friends and average time spending on SNSs. The present study found SNS users spending longer time than previous report (Pempek, Yermolayeva, & Calvert, 2009). American Facebook users used approximately two hours and 41 minutes per day and approximately 51.3 minutes for Japanese Facebook users, while Japanese Mixi users used Mixi approximately 36 minutes per day. The difference of the length spending time on SNSs is related to the number of friends. Considering the fact that the most popular activity of SNS users was looking at others' pictures and profiles, the more friends the users have, more content available for viewing. The present study found that the most popular activity for American Facebook users was looking at others' pictures followed by reading others' profiles. For Japanese Facebook users' most popular activity was looking at others' pictures followed by reading others' messages. Similarly, the most popular activity for Japanese Mixi users was reading others' tweet on Mixi followed by looking at others' pictures. The result indicates college students' surveillance behavior online. Facebook's strategy of active suggestion of offline friends on Facebook works successfully. The easiness of finding friends as well as the active friend suggestions from Facebook might help users to increase the number of friends on Facebook. The key for SNSs to engage users on the SNS is to have more



active SNS friends. Furthermore, the present study found significant correlation between the number of SNS friend and the length of spending time on SNSs.

Types of SNS friends and interpersonal/media communication. The present study revealed a much larger number of SNS friends than previous research. Although Fogg and Iizawa (2008) reported the average number of friends on Facebook was 281 and 58 on Mixi, the present study found American Facebook users had approximately 513 friends, approximately 171 for Japanese Facebook users, and approximately 80 friends for Japanese Mixi users. Previous study argues that SNS friends transform the notion of face-to-face setting of (a) friends, (b) acquaintances, and (c) celebrities (Donath, 2008). In other words, SNS friends include more than friends than in face-to-face settings. The trend is called "hiperfriends" (Fono & Raynes-Goldie, 2006). The meaning of hyperfriends deviates from the term "friends" because the term includes multiple relationship types. Most of the SNSs use "friend" to articulate the people in the social network. However, the multiplicity of the relationship type included in the SNS friendship sometimes becomes a cause of drama or confusion (Fono & Raynes-Goldie, 2006). As the results show, some SNS users friended with parents, teachers, or just acquaintances. In the conventional f2f sense such relationships are normally not considered "friends". However, SNS users add them as friends on SNSs, for a variety of reasons. Some parents might friend with the children for surveillance. SNS user might friend with an acquaintance to get to know the person more (Fono & Raynes-Goldie, 2006). In order to access a majority of content, a SNS user needs to friend the person. Furthermore, Fono and Raynes-Goldie (2006) report some SNS



users friended people for fun or make the list of friends longer. People might be friended with someone to avoid losing face or being rude. boyd (2006) reported a user of *Frindster*, one of the SNSs, differentiated *Frindster* friend from actual friend or in other words friends in the convention sense. In the US, friends indicate someone who has a strong relationship that provides emotional and practical support (boyd, 2006). In sum, the notion of "friend" in SNSs is very different from the traditional sense or in the real life. The "friends" on SNSs might be a sign of privilege to access to the majority of contents.

The present study differentiates different types of friends on SNSs: (a) close friends seen regularly, (b) not close but friends seen regularly, (c) close friends seen irregularly, (d) not close friends seen irregularly, (e) acquaintances, (f) siblings and cousins, (g) parents, (h) teachers, (i) friends' friends, (j) strangers, and (k) others. The present study predicted there exist cultural differences on the types of SNS friends due to the cultural differences of offline social networks. Especially, Western social networks and Eastern social networks vary the size and the characteristics. For example, Japanese offline social networks are relatively small and require exclusive loyalty and commitment much more than Westerners. The result revealed SNS users friended with close friends seen regularly and irregularly in general. Regardless of the differences of SNSs and culture, people reported that they communicated with close friends seen regularly the most, followed by close friends seen irregularly. Thus, people are using SNSs to communicate with close friends seen regularly and irregularly. Friended with parents and teachers are uncommon among SNS users, especially for Mixi Japanese users. Interestingly two Japanese



Facebook users reported they friended with people from the company they applied for a job (they were still not sure whether they would be hired by the company). Overall, American SNS users included different types of friends more than Japanese SNS users such as friends seen irregularly and parents more. Therefore, reflecting the cultural differences, Japanese Mixi users created a relatively smaller size of social network on Mixi compared with the size that American and Japanese Facebook users' social network on Facebook. In addition, Japanese Mixi users included limited types of friends on Mixi compared with American and Japanese Facebook users by not including teachers and parents.

The results of the present study support previous literature that *Mixi* represents more of Japanese culture and *Facebook* reflects more American cultural practices. Japanese *Mixi* users restricted the types of friends than Japanese *Facebook* friends by not friending with parents. The result is consistent with American's high and Japanese low "relational mobility" (Schug, Yuki, & Maddux, 2010). Thomson and Ito (2012) argue that *Facebook* reflects American high relational mobility, whereas Japanese SNS site, *Mixi* reflects Japanese low relational mobility. When comparing *Facebook* and *Mixi*, *Mixi* users felt more obligations to give responses quickly and committed to the relationship. Barker and Ota (2011) explained how *Mixi* users felt more obligations to communicate with *Mixi* friends. Reflecting offline relational mobility, American females unsatisfied with the current social group used SNS to find another group to compensate for the negative collective self-esteem, whereas Japanese females stay within the current social group (Barker & Ota, 2011).



## **Information Sharing on SNSs**

The results of the present study suggest significant culture and SNS differences on the contents of sharing information. Specifically, there exist significant cultural and SNS platform differences on email, last name, and picture sharing. Interestingly, Japanese *Mixi* only users share last names significantly less often than Japanese *Facebook* users and American *Facebook* users. American *Facebook* users and Japanese *Facebook* only users shared the current affiliation, high school names, phone numbers, and the wall significantly more than Japanese *Mixi* only users. American *Facebook* users shared the relationship status significantly more than Japanese *Facebook* as well as *Mixi* users.

Privacy settings and the number of SNS friends. On most SNSs, users possess the ability to limit the access to certain content. For example, *Facebook* users can restrict access to certain pictures. Therefore, even if a *Facebook* user has 3000 friends, the user can restrict the access to the certain content only for limited *Facebook* friends. Lewis, Kaufman, and Christakis (2008) states, privacy settings on social media provide "self-regulating systems" and "the public/private boundary on *Facebook* is implicit, normative, and internally negotiated" (p. 96). SNS users possess an ability to regulate the privacy setting by selecting content and regulating the access of the content depending on the relationship. The result of the present study however revealed the tendency that American *Facebook* users allow unrestricted access to the private information to public more than Japanese *Facebook* users and Japanese *Mixi* users. Culturally, Japanese are required to alter oneself depending on the situation to take an appropriate social role. Reflecting the



cultural differences, Japanese *Facebook* users were more cautious of revealing the private information than American *Facebook* users. For example, 44.3% of American *Facebook* users shared email addresses with friends, while majority of Japanese *Facebook* users did not share email addresses with anyone. Interestingly, 47% of American *Facebook* users shared relationship status with friends, while 67.1% Japanese *Facebook* users and 62.6% *Mixi* users did not share relationship status.

However, the results should be read with caution because users' privacy settings might be related with the familiarity of the SNS platform. Lewis et al. (2008) found the more active *Facebook* users become, the more they keep profiles private. Therefore, when SNS users are unfamiliar with SNS platform, they might not be aware of having ability to change the private settings. Furthermore, limiting the types and number of audience helps Japanese to communicate with audience respectively and appropriately. The restriction of audience becomes vital for Japanese SNS users for two major reasons. First, Japanese language requires honorific expression for certain people such as teachers, parents, and seniors. Including different types of people on SNSs create confusion of proper language uses. Second, compared with Americans, Japanese are more sensitive to the existence of the third party (Lim, 2009). People from East perceive self in relation with others (Markus & Kitayama, 1991; 1998). As a consequence, Japanese are more sensitive than Americans about self-presentation in front of close friends than distant friends.

#### **Uses and Gratifications on SNSs**



Consistent with previous study (Baker & Ota, 2011), American and Japanese Facebook users as well as Japanese Mixi users reported the major motive involved using SNSs to communication with peers and passing time. However, further investigation found cultural and SNS differences in motivation for using SNSs. For example, American Facebook users scored highest in communicative motive following Japanese Facebook only users and Japanese Mixi only users. Likewise, American Facebook users scored significantly higher in passing time motive than Japanese Facebook users and Japanese Mixi users. Similarly, American Facebook users scored significantly higher in entertainment motive than Japanese Facebook only users and Japanese Mixi only users. In addition, American Facebook users scored significantly higher in increasing popularity as a motive compared to either Japanese Facebook users or Japanese Mixi users. The results show communication motives and entertainment motives significant differences both SNS and culture, passing time as well as increasing popularity motive only show significant differences between culture (American and Japanese), while there were no cultural and SNS differences in social compensation. The mixed results suggest the existence of additional variables such as personality and pre-existing conditions. The combination of personality and pre-existing conditions with motives of using SNSs is discussed later.

### **Self-Presentation on SNSs: Picture Postings on SNSs**

While variety of self-presentation is available on SNSs, such as writing about self in "about me" bulb on *Facebook*, previous study suggests most SNS users take implicit technique to express oneself on SNSs. Zhao et al. (2008) found



most of the *Facebook* users used implicit technique to create one's identity by posting pictures and enumerating one's tastes of music. Implicit identity claims or description of self remains common among *Facebook* users by showing than telling audience about self and receiving compliments by others instead of making positive remarks about oneself. Supporting the previous study, the present research revealed that SNS users, especially American Facebook users posted numerous pictures on SNS. The result of the present study found American Facebook users posted significantly more pictures on Facebook than Japanese Facebook or Mixi users. Specifically, American college students posted an average of 535 pictures while Japanese participants posted an average of 140 pictures on Facebook. Japanese Mixi users posted an average of about 33 pictures. In addition, the multiple regression analysis revealed that the number of SNS friends and the length of membership with the SNS were significantly related to the number of pictures posted on SNSs whereas culture, SNS, popularity, and extraversion failed to predict the number of pictures posted on SNSs. Therefore, culture, personality, and SNS differences do not influence the numbers of pictures posted on SNSs. Rather, the result suggests the number of friends and length of the years are the stronger predictors of the numbers of pictures posted on SNSs. In other words, American Facebook users posted significantly more pictures on Facebook because they have significantly more friends on Facebook and using Facebook significantly longer than Japanese Facebook or Mixi users. As discussed above, the present study found American Facebook users had significantly more SNS friends following Japanese Facebook users and Japanese Mixi users. In terms of the length of using SNS, Japanese Mixi



users used *Mixi* significantly longer than Japanese *Facebook* users while American *Facebook* users have been using *Facebook* significantly longer than Japanese *Facebook* users reflecting the fact that Japanese version of *Facebook* was introduced in 2008 (Lu,2008). Furthermore, the present study found that majority of users shared pictures regardless the SNS and cultural differences. Comparing with the different private information such as last names and relationship status, the tendency is rather consistent between different types of SNSs.

#### **Self-Presentation on SNSs: Sensitive Picture Postings**

Despite the concern of the trend of youth posting overly revealing pictures on SNSs (Finder, 2006; Langley, 2011), the present study found most of American and Japanese college students never posted sexy, and illegal pictures on SNSs. However, 66% of participants had posted partying pictures on SNSs and 44% of participants had posted drunk pictures on SNSs.

The present study investigated the cause of the sensitive picture postings on SNSs using hierarchical regression analyses for five different types of sensitive picture posting (partying, drunk, sexy, and illegal). The present study predicted that the types of SNS and culture would predict significant amount of variance of posting sensitive pictures on SNSs. The results of hierarchical analyses indicate partying and drunk picture posting on SNSs were attributed to the types of SNS and culture. American college students posted significantly more partying and drunk pictures on *Facebook* than Japanese college students. While the types of SNS and culture explained significant amount of variances of partying and drunk picture postings, culture contributed more than SNS to explain partying and drunk picture



postings. For sexy picture postings on SNSs, the perception of disinhibition explained a significant amount of variances above the motivation and preexisting variables regardless of the differences of SNS and culture. For illegal picture postings, pre-existing conditions, especially the number of friends and the perception of extraversion, added further explanation of variances of illegal picture postings controlling for the motivation variables. Overall, the results suggest what predicts SNS users' sensitive picture postings vary depending on the types of sensitive pictures. For partying and drunk picture postings, culture provided a stronger predictor, whereas sexy picture postings were attributed to the perception of disinhibition, and for illegal picture postings was attributed to pre-existing conditions, such as a number of SNS friends and personality.

### **Culture and SNS Influences on Sensitive Picture Postings**

As predicted, the present study revealed significant SNS platform and cultural influence on self-presentation on SNSs, especially pictures posted on SNSs. At the same time, the results varied depending on the types of sensitive pictures. For example, both cultural and SNS platform difference were significant predictors of partying and drunk pictures postings, but not for sexy, or illegal picture postings. Especially, culture was a stronger predictor for partying and drunk picture postings on SNSs. Partying and drunk picture postings are considered as "social acts" because partying and drinking involves social aspects. Showing numerous pictures taken with friends in social settings provides a sign of popularity or the sign of social status in the society. For young adults such as high school and college students, gaining popularity is an important matter because popularity secures status



in-group. From high school age, popularity becomes pretty important subject in American society. Furthermore, in the US, sociability is one of the ought-self, or ideal characteristics (Zhao et al., 2008). Therefore, by posting partying and drunk pictures on SNSs, American college students represent the self as more social to improve social desirability.

While American *Facebook* users posted partying and drunk pictures more frequently than Japanese Facebook users and Japanese Mix users, after controlling for gender, and the length of membership with the SNS, Japanese Facebook users posted partying and drunk pictures on Facebook significantly more frequently than American *Facebook* users. The results support the assumption that Japanese Facebook users accommodate behavior to fit in Facebook culture. As discussed in the literature review, Japanese individuals do not promote self offline in general. In addition, previous study argues that Japanese Mixi users do not use Mixi for selfenhancement like American Facebook users. However, the present study indicates Japanese Facebook and Mixi users' tendency to post sensitive pictures such as partying and drunk pictures on SNSs more than American Facebook users. Future research needs to investigate the mechanism of the incompatible Japanese user behavior on SNS and offline. As discussed in the literature review, Japanese are known as sensitive to the surroundings and do not mind altering self according to the environment. The incompatible behavior might be the results of altering the self to fit in the SNS environment or SNS norms. Furthermore, hierarchical regression analyses report after controlling for motivation, preexisting conditions, and



perception of disinhibition variables, SNS and culture added a significant amount of explanation of posting partying and drunk pictures.

In particular, *Facebook* platforms facilities popular competition among users because the social network of users is articulated (boyd & Ellison, 2007). On *Facebook*, people can see the number of *Facebook* friends the person has and how social the person is from the pictures and comments on those pictures. Now SNS users face a challenge to demonstrate they are "connected" to as many as people as possible due to the design of the SNS platform. The larger number of friends indicates popularity in the society. Both partying and drunk pictures might contribute the SNS users to articulate the popularity and showing social power using SNSs because both acts are not possible without others in general.

Behavioral switching. Supporting the media ecology perspective, the present study found Japanese *Facebook* and *Mixi* dual users changed behavior between *Facebook* and *Mixi*. From the media ecology perspective, the present study expected that SNS users follow norms of SNS platform. Because each SNS reflects certain cultural norms, behavioral changes are expected if people from different cultural background use a SNS originated in a different country. Social network built on SNSs reflect the offline social life (boyd, 2006), and the online behavior on SNS should incorporate the norms of society. Donath (2008) argues that SNS users feel pressure to conform to group norms when using SNSs (p. 81). In particular, people live in collectivistic culture like Japan operates as sensitive to social norms. In other words, Japanese are expected to change behavior according to the norms there are in. Therefore, when Japanese uses Western originated SNSs such as



Facebook, Japanese are believed to switch behavior according to the norms of Facebook that reflects Western values.

In terms of sensitive picture postings, the present study found that the same individual posted partying and drunk pictures on *Facebook* significantly more frequently than *Mixi*. On the other hand, the same individual did not change the frequency of posting sexy, and illegal pictures between *Facebook* and *Mixi*. The result indicates how Japanese *Facebook* and *Mixi* dual users manage self-description according to the each SNS.

Perception of injunctive norms. The mediation analyses found that the perception of injunctive norms mediated the relationship between drunk picture postings on *Mixi* and *Facebook*, whereas injunctive norms failed to mediate the relationship between posting partying pictures on *Mixi* and *Facebook*. The incompatible results that significant indirect effect was found only for drunk picture postings but not for partying picture postings indicate the existence of other mediation variables. In addition, SNS users from individualistic culture might not change behavior according to the norms in the situation. Thus, investigating the relationship between sensitive picture postings on SNSs and the perception of injunctive norms including more mediation variables and different cultures is needed in future studies.

Perception of disinhibition. Previous research found that people change behavior between online and offline. In general, people become more open online. The locus of the change has been discussed from the online communication characteristics such as asynchronous communication and reduced nonverbal cues.



Regarding the socially negative behavior online, the role of disinhibition has been suggested by researchers as the cause (Suler, 2004). Consistent with the previous research, the present study found that the perception of disinhibition predicts SNS users' sensitive picture postings. However, when entered user data separately such as American Facebook users, Japanese Facebook users, and Japanese Mixi users, cultural and SNS differences are stronger than the influences of the perception of disinhibition. While the perception of disinhibition successfully predicted American Facebook users' sensitive picture postings, the perception of disinhibition failed to predict Japanese Facebook users' sexy picture postings and Japanese Mixi users' drunk, sexy picture postings. Therefore, while the perception of disinhibition influenced American Facebook users' sensitive picture postings, Japanese SNS users seemed to follow cultural norms not to post sexy pictures on SNSs. The difference might come from the differences in facework. Even when Japanese people perceived SNS platform as free from judgments, posting sexy pictures might cause a loss of face. The same tendency was found in Herrman et al's (2014) study of Japanese women's disapproval for sexy poses and clothes in fashion magazines.

In addition, the present study found that American Facebook users perceived disinhibition significantly more than Japanese Facebook users or Japanese Mixi users. From the results, cultural differences were more apparent than SNS differences in terms of perception of disinhibition and the influence on sensitive picture postings. In other words, American Facebook users perceived disinhibition and in turn the perception influenced sensitive picture postings significantly more than Japanese Facebook users and Mixi users. The perception of disinhibition might



be related to the definition of SNS friends. As discussed above, American SNS users have tendency to differentiate SNS friends from friends in real life (boyd, 2006).

Because American SNS users differentiate SNS friends from friends in real life, they might perceive disinhibition or free from judgments more than Japanese SNS users.

Furthermore, mediation analyses found popular disinhibited SNS users posted significantly more sensitive pictures on SNSs. On the other hand, the mediation analyses examining the relationship between American *Facebook* uses' increasing popularity motive and sensitive picture postings via perception of disinhibition was not significant. The result is consistent with the previous study (Omori & Allen, 2013) that reported popular American *Facebook* users posted significantly more sensitive pictures on *Facebook*. The present results suggest people won't post sensitive pictures even when they motivated to increase popularity via perception of disinhibition. The present results highlight the importance of user personality and the perception of disinhibition to post sensitive pictures on SNSs. That is, popular SNS users post sensitive pictures only when deciding that SNS is a place with no judgments are attached.

Networked Individualism. Wellman et al. (2006) argue SNSs foster

Individualism because of the characteristics of SNSs. Communications on SNSs are middle of interpersonal and mass communication (Baym, 2010). Some messages on the walls are not targeted to a particular audience or person. At the same time, SNS users can use SNSs for interpersonal communication because some messages on the walls or chat are targeted to another individuals and the communication can be dyad.



However, previous literature found people use SNSs because with no felt obligation to respond or communicate whenever they do not feel like it. The tendency is therefore perceived very individualistic.

One of the problems associated with partying, drunk, sexy, or illegal picture posing on SNSs is that users do not realize the pictures on SNSs are public. Baym (2010) raised the question, "the boundaries between public and private are implicated in and changed by digital media" (p.5). Similar to other digital media such as *YouTube*, people post some private pictures of video intended to show for certain audience, but resulted in the views of public eyes are typical examples.

### **Identity Formation and Self-presentation on SNSs**

Personality differences. Accumulating studies found that extroverts use a variety of means to communicate with others including SNSs (Baym, 2010). Consistent with studies on user profiles of SNSs, the current study found Japanese *Facebook* only users perceived themselves significantly more extroverted than nonusers. In other words, social personals are social both online and offline regardless the cultures. On the other hand, the present study found no differences in the popularity of users. Japanese *Facebook* users and Japanese *Mixi* users rated one's level of popularity equivalent.

Gender differences. The present study found that American male students posted illegal pictures significantly more frequently than female students on *Facebook*. Similarly, Japanese male students posted drunk pictures on *Facebook* significantly more frequently than Japanese female college students. However, no significant gender differences on Japanese *Mixi* existed because *Mixi* users in



general hardly posted sensitive pictures on Mixi.

The results suggest that depending on the types of pictures, gender differences are apparent. A previous study argues children trying out forbidden or risky activities are well perceived and gain popularity by peers (Lease, Kennedy, & Axelrod, 2002). Therefore, showing illegal pictures might help to increase male students' popularity. Rodkin, Farmer, Pearl, and Van (2000) found two types of popular boys: tough and model boys. While model boys are friendly, tough boys show high levels of overt aggression. As the term, "tough boys" indicates, this study found the toughness only applies to boys. The present results suggest gender differences in attitude about drunk pictures for Japanese *Facebook* users. Japanese male *Facebook* users posted drunk pictures on *Facebook* significantly more frequently than Japanese female *Facebook* users. Viewing drunk pictures might influence Japanese male students' popularity or sociability but might not for female Japanese students.

Identity formation. Present study revealed American as well as Japanese Facebook users' tendency to create social-self online personas on Facebook by having a large number of friends and posting partying and drunk pictures. The mediation analyses confirmed users' perception of disinhibition accelerated sensitive picture posting behavior on Facebook especially for American Facebook users. As Uses and Gratifications argues, SNS users' motivation to present the self as more social online speaks of the ideal-self or requirements of the society. The excessive social-self presentation on Facebook is a reflection of American cultural values. On the other hand, Japanese Facebook users' social-self presentation on



Facebook speaks to the Japanese cultural value of conforming to cultural norms. That is, Japanese Facebook users present the social-self by perceiving norms of Facebook culture.

As discussed in the literature review, the emerging media such as SNSs enables users to present the self ideally more easily than ever due to the selectability and editability. Without regulation and proper education, the alternation of the self and creation of the social-self persona on SNSs would be accelerated. The accelerated popular competition on SNSs especially on *Facebook* might cause a negative influence on young adults. For one, by posting sensitive pictures on SNSs, the users might give a negative reputation of the self and affiliated institutions, which might end up losing a job or losing job opportunities. In addition, if users fail to present a social-self on SNSs, the users might lose self-worth or self-esteem.

#### Media/Technological Determinism

Media portrays a certain cultural value to the audience. Rosengren (1981) argues that there are four types of relationships between mass media content and social structure: (a) idealism, (b) materialism, (c) interdependence, and (d) autonomy. The idealism believes media as an agent changing social structure; whereas, materialism argues that media do not have a power to change social structure and are just a mirror of the social structure. Autonomy argues for no relationship between media and social structure. Interdependence point of view believes that both society and media influence each other. In order to assess the relationship between social structure and culture, the longitudinal study is ideal to know the changes in cultural value over time. More recently, Postmes and Baym



(2005) argue that technological determinism considers the cause of social change, which reflects the characteristics of technology, while social determinism argues that technology use is the outcome of social factors and social norms formed by the collective. Postmes and Baym (2005) argue technological and social determinism make different assumptions about the user of technology. Technological determinists see the users as individuals with cognitive capacities, while social determinists see users more as a product of social structure.

The discussions about Technology versus Social determinism mainly focus on the effect of media and social change (e.g., Rosengren, 1994) to understand the influence of media and the consequences for society. However, conducting research on new media such as SNSs requires caution when using the Technology or Social determinism dualism because online behavior such as posting pictures on SNSs might represent a consequence of the use of the media. Furthermore, online and offline behavior might not be parallel. For example, Japanese *Facebook* users might act more Americanized online but not in face-to-face settings. Therefore, the participatory characteristics of new media create ambiguity in terms of assessing the media effects more than old media such as TV viewing.

Postmes, Spears, and Lea (2000) investigated the emergence of group norms at CMC. Postmes et al. (2000) found that emails students had sent in the online statistic course demonstrated similar contents and format within a group over time. At the same time, the same norms were not used for out-groups. Postmes and Baym (2005) argue the importance of including social identity to avoid simple agency (technological determinism) versus structure (social determinism) dualism. Postmes



et al. (2000) proved that the norms of the group emerge through interaction of CMC. The students taking the same online statistic course supposedly had no previous interactions, but they formed social identity and created the norms online.

Rosengren (1981) summarized the studies that investigate the relationship between media and social structures over time. The studies that compare fact (social structure) and fiction (media depiction) such as the proportion of women working and crime rate, however shows inconsistent results.

When mass media became prevalent in the society, Gerbner's Cultivation Theory (Signoriellei, Gerbner, & Morgan, 1995) explained media influences by the amount of media consumed over time. Uses and Gratifications perspective takes active audience position. Uses and Gratifications view audience as free agents making decisions and interpreting the content. The present study supports the interdependence position in Rosengren's (1981) category. As discussed above, Japanese *Facebook* users acted more like Americans when using *Facebook*. Therefore, media influence user behavior. At the same time, while motivations did not differ between Japanese Facebook users and Mixi users in the current data, there were significant personality differences among American Facebook users, Japanese Facebook users, and Japanese Mixi users. American Facebook users perceived themselves extraversion and popular followed by Japanese Facebook users and Japanese Mixi users. Therefore, Facebook attracted extraverted and popular users. Moreover, in part, because SNS is a creation of users, the contents might reflect the society more than they reflect mass media. However, most importantly, SNS culture involves the desires of SNS users to present the self ideally using CMC



characteristics such as selectivity, reduced nonverbal cues, and asynchronous communication. SNS users behave more forwardly or differently on SNS because the communication is not in face-to-face settings.

#### **Limitations and Future Research**

The text should be read with caution because there are some limitations.

First, the study is conducted using self-reports. Despite the usability of the method to investigate user personality and motivations, the results might not represent a full map of SNS use and self-presentation on SNSs. For example, the present study focuses on self-presentation especially negative self-presentation such as posting partying, drunk, sexy, or illegal pictures on SNSs. However, the present study does not look at each picture the participants posted on SNSs. Therefore, the present study is not able to describe the depiction or representation of the self in the pictures in depth. Qualitative methods that can describe the pictures SNS users post on SNSs are useful for future studies to understand more about self-presentation on SNS. In addition, using new technology such as *Comment Flow*, the real usage and communication with SNS friends can be illustrated. In the future, illustration of SNS uses and communication such as how often a SNS user communicates with which SNS friend becomes useful to further investigate self-presentation.

The second limitation of the present study involves the limited number of cultures and SNS platforms used. The present study only compares American and Japanese users and two SNS platforms (*Facebook* and *Mixi*). These two cultures are used because Americans and Japanese have very different cultural values such as Americans are considered more individualistic and Japanese are considered more



collectivistic (Hofstede, 1980); Americans have larger social networks than Japanese (Nakane, 1967; Schug et al., 2010). However, in order to understand the influence of culture and SNS platforms to the people from different cultural backgrounds, including more cultures and SNS platforms is ideal.

Third, due to the difficulty in collecting enough large number of samples both in the US and Japan, the present study used mixed methods to collect data. For example, American data were collected online in class whereas Japanese data were collected both online and offline. In future studies, collecting data systematically is advisable to avoid any systematic error in the sampling procedure. However, previous studies used similar procedure due to the difficulty to collect data from Japanese sample.

# **Concluding Remarks**

The present study proved that there are cultural and SNS differences on selfpresentation on SNSs. Consistent with previous literature, American *Facebook* users had the largest number of SNS friends followed by Japanese *Facebook* users and Japanese *Mixi* users. In addition, the present study revealed that American *Facebook* users posted sensitive pictures such as partying, drunk, sexy, or illegal pictures the most frequently followed by Japanese *Facebook* users and Japanese *Mixi* users. At the same time, after controlling for confound variables (gender, perception of extraversion, perception of popularity, and the length of membership with the SNS), the order reversed and Japanese *Facebook* users had the largest number of SNS friends followed by Japanese *Mixi* users and American *Facebook* users. The same pattern occurs after controlling for gender, perception of extraversion, perception of

popularity, and the length of membership with the SNS, Japanese *Facebook* users posted partying and drunk pictures more frequently followed by Japanese <u>Mixi</u> users and American *Facebook* users.

The results of the present study suggest not only culture and SNS platform, but pre-existing conditions (i.e., the number of SNS friends, the length of membership with the SNS, and personality) and characteristics of SNS such as disinhibition influence user behavior on SNSs. Specifically, culture and SNS platform were stronger predictors for partying and drunk picture postings, while disinhibition was the stronger predictor for sexy pictures and pre-existing conditions such as the number of friends and the length of membership with the SNS was the stronger predictor for illegal picture postings.

Due to the influence of American culture and the SNS platform that facilitate popularity competitions, *Facebook* users had a large number of *Facebook* friends that no individual could have in real life. The *Facebook* culture might be a creation of American culture and SNS environment. SNS users take advantage of the SNS characteristics to display the self more social. Two ways of doing this are having a large number of friends, posting partying and drunk pictures. Because sociability or popularity is one of the ideal characteristics of *Facebook* culture as well as American youth culture, American *Facebook* users, especially extroverted users with many SNS friends, posted partying and drunk pictures on *Facebook*. Likewise, Japanese *Facebook* users holding a desire to increase popularity posted partying and drunk pictures on *Facebook*.

The present study provided another evidence of behavioral switching.



Japanese *Facebook* and dual users changed behavior according to the SNS norms. When using *Facebook*, Japanese dual users had more friends and posted significantly more pictures including sensitive pictures on *Facebook* than they do in *Mixi*. The mediation analyses underscore the importance of injunctive norms for Japanese dual users of *Facebook* and *Mixi*. Japanese SNS dual users who perceive the injunctive norms that posting drunk pictures are normal posted significantly more drunk pictures on *Facebook* than *Mixi*.

The behavioral change between online and offline for American and Japanese college students indicate a creation of online persona and SNS culture. The SNS culture is not a mirror of the society the SNS is originated or the users live in. The SNS culture reflects strong ideal self-presentation only possible using SNS platform. The ideal-self in part comes from the society the SNS users live in, but it also comes from in-group (SNS friends). Self-presentation on SNSs have more freedom than face-to-face settings but not totally free. The self-presentation is based on the self-presentation in real life. SNS is a media that users have stronger power compared to old media such as TV and magazines. The audience or users of SNSs are at the same time publishers and senders of messages. However, SNS platform also has power to alter SNS user behavior for example showing the number of SNS friends.

The study of self-presentation on SNSs just started. More studies are needed to understand how SNS users in different cultures and different SNS platforms present the self on SNSs. However, the present study helped to understand SNS user behavior especially why college students post potentially sensitive pictures on SNSs



using two different cultures and SNSs.



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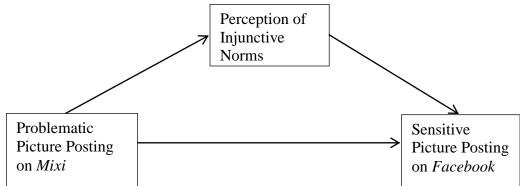
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Figure 1. Path Model for Behavioral Switching



Partying
Picture Posting
on Mixi

Perception of
Injunctive
Norms

.35\*\*

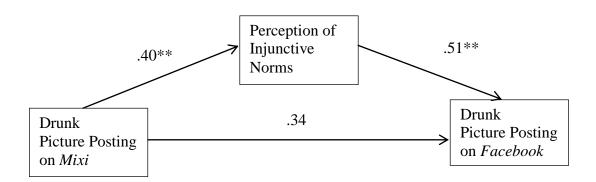
Partying
Picture Posting
on Facebook

**Figure 2. Parameter Estimates: Party Picture Postings** 

*Note.* Scores in the figure represent standardized path coefficients. \* p < .05, \*\* p < .01.



Figure 3. Parameter Estimates: Drunk Picture Postings



*Note.* Scores in the figure represent standardized path coefficients. \* p < .05, \*\* p < .01.



Table 1. Information Sharing: First Name

	1	2	3	4	5	Total
US	2	5	86	34	436	583
	38%)	(9%)	(14.8%)	(5.8%)	(74.8%)	(100%)
Japan	2	5	33	17	202	259
	(.8%)	(1.9%)	(12.7%)	(6.6%)	(78.0%)	(100%)
Mixi	35	22	51	12	52	172
	(20.3%)	(12.8%)	(29.7%)	(7.0%)	(30.2%)	(100%)



Table 2. Information Sharing: Last Name

	1	2	3	4	5	Total
US	40	3	96	37	407	583
	(.8%)	(.9%)	(16.5%)	(6.3%)	(69.8%)	(100%)
Japan	2	5	33	17	201	258
	(.8%)	(1.9%)	(12.8%)	(6.6%)	(77.9%)	(100%)
Mixi	55	15	52	12	38	172
	(32.0%)	(8.7%)	(30.2%)	(7.6%)	(22.1%)	(100%)

Table 3. Information Sharing: Email Address

	1	2	3	4	5	Total
US	170	14	258	40	101	583
	(29.2%)	(2.4%)	(44.3%)	(6.9%)	(17.3%)	(100%)
Japan	180	14	80	5	28	257
	(50.6%)	(5.4%)	(31.1%)	(1.9%)	(10.9%)	(100%)
Mixi	127	13	23	3	4	170
	(74.7%)	(7.6%)	(13.5%)	(1.8%)	(2.4%)	(100%)

Table 4. Information Sharing: Affiliation

	1	2	3	4	5	Total
US	44	8	258	57	216	583
	(7.5%)	(1.4%)	(44.3%)	(9.8%)	(37.0%)	(100%)
Japan	50	7	52	10	139	258
	(19.4%)	(2.7%)	(20.2%)	(3.9%)	(53.9%)	(100%)
Mixi	36	17	45	12	61	171
	(21.1%)	(9.9%)	(26.3 %)	(7.0%)	(35.7%)	(100%)

Table 5. Information Sharing: Phone Number

	1	2	3	4	5	Total
US	371	27	156	13	16	583
	(63.6%)	(4.6%)	(26.8%)	(2.2%)	(2.7%)	(100%)
Japan	192	7	41	1	11	252
	(76.2%)	(2.8%)	(16.3%)	(.4%)	(4.4%)	(100%)
Mixi	148	7	10	2	1	168
	(88.1%)	(4.2%)	(6.0%)	(1.2%)	(.6%)	(100%)

Table 6. Information Sharing: Relationship Status

	1	2	3	4	5	Total
US	132	13	274	45	119	583
	(22.6%)	(2.2%)	(47.0%)	(7.7%)	(20.4%)	(100%)
Japan	171	7	39	5	33	255
	(67.1%)	(2.7%)	(15.3%)	(2.0%)	(12.9%)	(100%)
Mixi	122	12	19	4	11	168
	(62.6%)	(7.1%)	(11.3%)	(2.4%)	(6.5%)	(100%)

Table 7. Information Sharing: Wall

	1	2	3	4	5	Total
US	170	14	258	40	101	583
	(29.2%)	(2.4%)	(44.3%)	(6.9%)	(17.3%)	(100%)
Japan	56	8	103	9	80	256
	(21.9%)	(3.1%)	(40.2%)	(3.5%)	(31.3%)	(100%)
Mixi	107	10	39	3	9	168
	(63.7%)	(6.0%)	(23.2%)	(1.8%)	(5.4%)	(100 %)

Table 8. Information Sharing: Pictures

	1	2	3	4	5	Total
US	21	56	417	48	41	583
	(3.6%)	(9.6%)	(71.5%)	(8.2%)	(7.0%)	(100%)
Japan	34	11	109	16	86	256
	(13.3%)	(4.3%)	(42.6%)	(6.3%)	(33.6%)	(100%)
Mixi	50	19	64	13	22	168
	(29.8%)	(11.3%)	(38.1%)	(7.7%)	(13.1%)	(100%)

Table 9. Information Sharing: Pictures with My Face

	1	2	3	4	5	Total
US	16	16	211	58	282	583
	(2.7%)	(2.7%)	(36.2%)	(9.9%)	(48.4%)	(100%)
Japan	45	11	81	20	98	255
	(17.6%)	(4.3%)	(31.8%)	(7.8%)	(38.4%)	(100%)
Mixi	59	18	47	12	32	168
	(35.1%)	(10.7%)	(28.0%)	(7.1%)	(19.0%)	(100%)

Table 10. Information Sharing: High School Names

	1	2	3	4	5	Total
US	70	4	262	59	188	583
	(12.0%)	(.7%)	(44.9%)	(10.1%)	(32.2%)	(100%)
Japan	74	7	52	10	139	258
	(19.4%)	(2.7%)	(20.2%)	(3.9%)	(53.9%)	(100%)
Mixi	57	16	39	12	46	168
	(33.5%)	(9.4%)	(22.9%)	(7.1%)	(27.1%)	(100%)

Table 11. Sensitive Pictures: Partying Pictures

	Never	Rarely	Sometimes	Fairly	Often	Total
				Often		
US	151	142	189	64	32	578
	(26.1%)	(24.6%)	(32.7%)	(11.1%)	(5.5%)	(100%)
Japan	107	34	70	31	15	257
	(41.6%)	(13.2%)	(27.2%)	(12.1%)	(5.8%)	(100%)
Mixi	120	20	17	6	5	168
	(71.4 %)	(11.9%)	(10.1%)	(3.6 %)	(3.0%)	(100%)

Table 12. Sensitive Pictures: Drunk Pictures

Never	Karery	Sometimes	Fairly	Often	Total
			Often		
262	146	113	35	22	578
(45.3%)	(25.3%)	(19.6%)	(6.1%)	(3.8%)	(100%)
188	28	25	11	5	257
(73.2%)	(10.9%)	(9.7 %)	(4.3 %)	(1.9 %)	(100%)
156	3	7	4	0	170
(91.8%)	(1.8 %)	(4.1 %)	(2.4%)	(0%)	(100%)
	(45.3%) 188 (73.2%) 156	(45.3%)     (25.3%)       188     28       (73.2%)     (10.9%)       156     3	(45.3%)     (25.3%)     (19.6%)       188     28     25       (73.2%)     (10.9%)     (9.7 %)	262     146     113     35       (45.3%)     (25.3%)     (19.6%)     (6.1%)       188     28     25     11       (73.2%)     (10.9%)     (9.7 %)     (4.3 %)       156     3     7     4	262     146     113     35     22       (45.3%)     (25.3%)     (19.6%)     (6.1%)     (3.8%)       188     28     25     11     5       (73.2%)     (10.9%)     (9.7 %)     (4.3 %)     (1.9 %)       156     3     7     4     0

Table 13. Sensitive Pictures: Sexy Pictures

	Never	Rarely	Sometime	Fairly	Often	Total
			s	Often		
US	426	96	43	8	5	578
	(73.7%)	(16.6%)	(7.4%)	(1.4%)	(.9%)	(100%)
Japan	233	10	12	2	0	257
	(90.7%)	(3.9 %)	(4.7 %)	(.8%)	(0%)	(100%)
Mixi	163	3	4	0	0	170
	(95.9%)	(1.8 %)	(2.4 %)	(0%)	(0%)	(100%)

Table 14. Sensitive Pictures: Illegal Pictures

	Never	Rarely	Sometimes	Fairly	Often	Total
				often		
US	465	68	32	7	6	578
	(80.4%)	(11.8%)	(5.5%)	(1.2%)	(1.0%)	(100%)
Japan	247	6	3	0	0	256
	(96.5%)	(2.3%)	(1.2 %)	(0%)	(0%)	(100%)
Mixi	165	2	1	0	0	168
	(98.2%)	(1.2%)	(.6%)	(0%)	(0%)	(100%)

Table 15. Means and Standard Deviations of Activity

	1 <i>M</i>	2 M	3 M	4 M	5 M	6 M	7 M
	(SD)	(SD)	(SD)	(SD)	(SD)	(SD)	(SD)
US	3.03	3.00	2.71	3.48	3.35	3.74	3.28
(N = 578)	(.97)	(1.03)	(.94)	(1.05)	(1.65)	(.98)	(1.04)
Japan	2.56	2.79	2.24	2.99	3.16	3.75	2.96
(N = 123)	(1.12)	(1.15)	(.86)	(.98)	(1.21)	(1.06)	(1.30)
Mixi	J 1.72	2.16(.	2.41	2.81	J2.82	3.01	2.68
(N = 151)	(.75)	89)	(.71)	(.87)	(.97)	(.96)	(.94)
	T 2.67				T 3.40		
	(1.02)				(1.10)		

Note. 1. Post messages on walls, 2. Post pictures, 3. Update profile, 4. Read others' profile,

5. Read messages on walls, 6. Look at others' pictures, 7. Comment others' messages or photos. US = American *Facebook* user, Japan = Japanese *Facebook* user, *Mixi*= Japanese *Mixi* User. *Mixi* does not have a wall function. Thus, the number in the wall indicates activities such as reading/posting messages on journal and tweet. *J* indicates journal and *T* indicates tweet on *Mixi*.

Table 16. Means and Standard Deviations of Purpose

	1 M (SD)	2 M (SD)	3 M (SD)	4 M (SD)	5 M (SD)
US	3.98(.85)	3.58 (.96)	3.23 (.87)	2.15 (.84)	2.27 (1.04)
Japan	3.68 (.89)	2.98 (.87)	2.85 (.92)	2.11 (.62)	1.79 (.81)
Mixi	3.46 (.97)	2.89 (.87)	2.52 (.86)	1.98 (.64)	1.69 (.78)

Note. 1. Peer group contact, 2. Pass time, 3. Entertainment, 4. Social compensation, and 5. Increase popularity. US = American Facebook user, Japan = Japanese Facebook user, Mixi= Japanese Mixi User.



Table 17. Means and Standard Deviations of Intention: Sensitive Pictures

	Partying	Drunk	Sexy	Illegal
	M(SD)	M(SD)	M(SD)	M(SD)
US	2.73	2.29	1.72	1.45
(N = 576)	(1.27)	(1.18)	(.94)	(.78)
Japan	2.55	1.67	1.21	1.12
(N = 255)	(1.28)	(1.00)	(.55)	(.41)
Mixi	1.74	1.36	1.14	1.09
(N = 171)	(1.09)	(.74)	(.47)	(.36)



Table 18. Means and Standard Deviations of Subjective Norm: Sensitive Pictures

	Partying	Drunk	Sexy	Illegal
	M(SD)	M(SD)	M(SD)	M(SD)
US	3.80	3.63	3.07	2.52
(N = 576)	(1.00)	(1.06)	(1.17)	(1.22)
Japan	3.54	2.78	1.69	1.29
(N = 254)	(1.16)	(1.14)	(.85)	(.64)
Mixi	3.28	2.40	1.44	1.17
(N = 169)	(1.62)	(1.36)	(.73)	(.46)



Table 19. Means and Standard Deviations of Normative Beliefs toward Sensitive Pictures

	Partying	Drunk	Sexy	Illegal
	M(SD)	M(SD)	M(SD)	M(SD)
US	2.76	2.61	2.22	1.98
(N = 574)	(1.18)	(1.16)	(1.11)	(1.04)
Japan	2.54	1.85	1.51	1.36
(N = 253)	(1.22)	(1.00)	(.86)	(.91)
Mixi	1.90	1.55	1.28	1.16
(N = 170)	(1.12)	(.90)	(.67)	(.51)



Table 20. Means and Standard Deviations of Attitude toward Sensitive Pictures

	Partying	Drunk	Sexy	Illegal
	M(SD)	M(SD)	M(SD)	M(SD)
US	2.64 (.81)	2.64 (.84)	2.25(.92)	1.95 (.89)
(N = 574)				
Japan	3.31 (1.10)	2.57 (1.12)	1.73 (.95)	1.31 (.65)
(N = 254)				
Mixi	2.96 (1.11)	2.26 (1.08)	1.60 (.90)	1.26 (.60)
(N=171)				



Table 21. The Bivariate and Partial Correlations of the Motivation Variables with Sensitive Picture Posting (American Facebook)

В	SE B	β
.01	.04	.01
.10	.04	.13*
.04	.04	.05
.10	.04	.15**
.10	.05	.11*
	.01 .10 .04 .10	.01 .04  .10 .04  .04  .04  .04  .04

Note. *p* < .05 \*, *p* < .01 \*\*.

Table 22. The Bivariate and Partial Correlations of the Motivation Variables with Sensitive Picture Posting (Japanese Facebook)

Motives	В	SE B	β
Relationship	.05	.04	.09
Maintenance			
Pass Time	.18	.04	.31**
Popularity	02	.04	03
Social Compensation	.08	.05	.10

Note. p < .05 \*, p < .01 \*\*. Entertainment motive was illuminated during analysis.

Table 23. The Bivariate and Partial Correlations of the Motivation Variables with Sensitive Picture Posting (Japanese Mixi)

Motives	В	SE B	β
Relationship	.05	.03	.14
Maintenance			
Pass time	.06	.04	.13
Entertainment	12	.05	28*
Social Compensation	.09	.07	.16
Popularity	.10	.05	.19

Note. p < .05 \*, p < .01 \*\*.

Table 24. Means and Standard Deviation of the Variables Used in ANCOVA(RQ1 & RQ2)

		American		Japanese		Japanese Mixi	
		Faceboo	ok (N =	Facebook (N =		(N = 68)	
		570)		141)			
		Mean	SD	Mean	SD	Mean	SD
Number	Unadjusted	513.33	430.14	189.11	155.28	58.10	
of							45.14
Friends	Adjusted	342.02	23.03	652.61	55.05	503.54	
							65.99
Partying	Unadjusted	2.45	1.15	2.35	1.29	1.40	.85
Pictures	Adjusted	2.13	.07	3.26	.16	2.25	.19
Drunk	Unadjusted	1.98	1.11	1.50	.95	1.00	.00
Pictures	Adjusted	1.68	.06	2.30	.15	1.83	.18

Note. Unadjusted = unadjusted means and SDs. Adjusted = Means and SDs after controlling for gender, perception of extraversion, and the length of membership with the SNS for party picture postings. Means and SDs after controlling for gender, perception of extraversion, perception of popularity, and the length of membership with the SNS for the number of friends and drunk picture postings.

Table 25. *Correlation Matrix for Path Model: Posting Partying Pictures (N = 87)* 

Variable	1Partying pic on <i>Mixi</i>	2.Norms	3.Partying pic on <i>Facebook</i>
2	.21		
3	.39**	.40**	
M	1.70	2.62	2.17
SD	1.14	1.14	1.26

Table 26. *Correlation Matrix for Path Model: Posting Drunk Pictures (N* = 89)

Variable	1Drunk pic on <i>Mixi</i>	2.Norms	3.Drunk pic on Facebook
2	.40**		
3	.41**	.45**	
M	1.30	1.85	1.55
SD	.79	.97	1.00

## **Appendix A: Online Survey Questions**

## **SNS Usage**

## Q1 Which SNS do you use?

Facebook, Mixi, Others (Specify)

Please answer the below questions about Facebook/Mixi (For Americans Facebook only, Japanese Facebook and Mixi)

Q2 In the past week, on average, approximately how many minutes per day have you spent on *Facebook*?

1 = Less than 10, 2 = 10-30, 3 = 31-60, 4= 1-2 hours, 5 = 2-3 hours, 6 = More than 3 hours

Q3 Please indicate the information you share with others on the SNS.

1 = Do not Share, 2 = With Certain People, 3= Friends Only, 4 = Friends' Friends Only,

5= Public

My first name, My e-mail address, My last name, My current affiliation (school and company names), High school name, My phone number, My relationship status, My wall, My pictures

My picture that is showing my face

Q4 About how many total SNS friends do you have?

Q5 Please indicate types of SNS friends. Please check all that applies to your SNS friends.

- 1. Close friends seen regularly
- 2. Not close but friends seen regularly



- 3. Close friends not seen regularly
- 4. Not close but friends not seen regularly
- 5. Acquaintances
- 6. Siblings, cousins
- 7. Parents
- 8. Teachers
- 9. Friends' fiends
- 10. Strangers
- 11. Other (Specify)

Q6 Please indicate the duration you have been using the SNS.

Q7 About how many total pictures were tagged from friends on the SNS?

1= None, 
$$2 = 1-5$$
,  $3 = 6-10$ ,  $4 = 11-15$ ,  $5 = 16-20$ ,  $6 = 21-30$ ,  $7 = 31-50$ ,  $8 = More$  than 50

## **Sensitive Picture Posting**

Q8 Please indicate the frequency that you post below items on the SNS.

1= Never, 2 = Rarely, 3 = Sometimes, 4 = Fairly Often, 5 = Often

- 1. Partying pictures
- 2. Drunk pictures
- Sexy pictures (e.g. showing lots of skin, showing cleavage, stressing body parts)
- 4. Pictures that show illegal conducts

### Self-Disclosure/Self-Presentation (Wheeless and Grotz, (1976)

Q9 Please indicate your response according to the scale below.



- 5 = Strongly Agree, 4 = Agree, 3 = Moderate, 2 = Disagree, 1 = Strongly Disagree
- When I wish, my self-disclosure on the SNS is always accurate reflections of who I really am.
- 2. I rarely express my personal beliefs and opinions on the SNS.
- 3. I usually disclose positive things about myself on the SNS.
- 4. I am honest in my self-disclosure on the SNS.
- 5. Once I get started, I cannot stop expressing myself on the SNS.
- My SNS disclosures regarding personal beliefs and opinions are relevant to the interests of my audience.

## SNS Activities (based on Pempek et al., 2009).

Q10 Please indicate how often you engage in each activity on the SNS.

1= Never, 2 = Rarely, 3 = Sometimes, 4 = Fairly Often, 5 = Often

- 1. post messages (journals)
- 2. post pictures
- 3. update my profile
- 4. read others' profiles
- 5. read others' messages on walls
- 6. read others' journals
- 7. look at others' pictures
- 8. commenting others' messages and photos.
- 9. others (specify)

### Motivation for SNS use (Base on Barker & Ota, 2011 etc.)

Q11



5 = Strongly Agree, 4 = Agree, 3 = Moderate, 2 = Disagree, 1 = Strongly Disagree

- 1. to communicate with close friends
- 2. to stay in touch with close friends
- 3. to swap news with close friends
- 4. to pass time away
- 5. because it's a habit
- 6. because it gives me something to do
- 7. because it's enjoyable
- 8. because it's exciting
- 9. because it's pleasant
- 10. to increase my popularity
- 11. to promote myself
- 12. Others (Specify)

### Disinhibitation (adapted from Schouten et al., 2007)

Q12

5 = Strongly Agree, 4 = Agree, 3 = Moderate, 2 = Disagree, 1 = Strongly Disagree

- When using the SNS, I feel less constrained to use certain words than in a face-to-face setting
- 2. When using the SNS, I feel less restricted to share my private information (including private pictures)
- 3. When using the SNS, I feel freer to talk about things than in a face-to-face meeting.

### Online controllability (adapted from Schouten et al., 2007)



Q13

1 (Not at all unimportant) to 5 (Extremely important).

- 1. I have more time to think about what I want to say than face-to-face settings.
- 2. I have time to think about how I say things.
- 3. I am able to choose pictures I would like to post.

## **Offline Popularity**

Q14

1 (Very unpopular) to 5 (Very popular).

- 1. How popular would you consider yourself offline?
- 2. How popular were you in high school?
- 3. How popular would other people consider you offline.

## Level of Extraversion from International Personality Inventory Pool (Donellan,

# Oswald, Baird, & Lucas, 2006)

Q15

1 (Strongly disagree) to 7 (Strongly Agree).

- 1. I am the life of the party.
- 2. Don't talk a lot. (R)
- 3. Talk to a lot of different people at parties.
- 4. Keep in the background. (R)

### Perception of Subjective Norm

Q16

5 = Very common, 4 = Common, 3 = Moderate, 2 = Not Common, 1 = Not

Common at all



- 1. Posting Partying pictures
- 2. Posting drunk pictures
- 3. Posting sexy pictures
- 4. Posting pictures that show illegal conducts

### **Attitude**

Q17 What is your attitude toward your SNS friends' behavior stated below?

5 = Very Positive, 4 = Positive, 3 = Don't care, 2 = Negative, 1 = Very Negative

- 1. Posting Partying pictures
- 2. Posting drunk pictures
- 3. Posting sexy pictures
- 4. Posting pictures that show illegal conducts

# Social Compensation (Adapted from Barger & Ota, 2011)

Q18

I go on the SNS to:

5 = Strongly Agree, 4 = Agree, 3 = Moderate, 2 = Disagree, 1 = Strongly Disagree

- 1. Because there's no one to talk to
- 2. Because it makes me feel less lonely
- 3. To see what happens to people like me
- 4. Because it helps me learn about myself
- 5. To see what could happen to me
- 6. To get away from other people
- 7. To improve my social status
- 8. To improve my popularity



# 9. To be seen more social

# **Demografic Information**

Q19 Gender Male/Female

Q20 Age

Q21 Ethnicity



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### PROFESSIONAL PRESENTATIONS

- Omori, K., & Allen, M. (under review). Why do college students post sensitive pictures on SNSs?: American and Japanese college students' sensitive picture posting practice on SNSs. Paper submitted to the 100thannual convention of the National Communication Association, Chicago, IL.
- Song, H., **Omori, K**., Kim, J., Tenzek, K., Hawkins, J., Lin, W.-Y., Kim, Y.-C., & Jung, J.-Y. (under review). *Trusting social media as a health information source: A cross-cultural Study*. Paper submitted to the 100thannual convention of the National Communication Association, Health Communication Division, Chicago, IL.



- Omori, K., & Allen, M. (2014, May). Sexting: Motivation and Underlying Mechanisms of Sexting. Paper was accepted for presentation at the annual convention of International Communication Association, Seattle, WA.
- Lim, T., Kim, J., Kim, S., Ota, H., **Omori, K**., & England, N. (2013 November). *Cognitive relativity, gender, culture, and face needs.* Paper presented at the annual conference of the 99th annual convention of National Communication Association, Washington, D.C.
- Song, H., Zmyslinski-Seelig, A., Kim, J., Drent, A. M., Victor, A., **Omori, K.**, & Allen, M. R. (2013 Novermber). *Does Facebook Make You Lonely? A Meta Analysis*. Paper presented at the annual conference of the 99th annual convention of National Communication Association, Washington, D.C.
- Omori, K., & Allen, M. (2013, April). Why Do Persons Share Socially Negative Images on Facebook? Popularity and Problematic Self-Disclosure on Facebook. Paper presented at the annual convention of Central Sates Communication Association, Kansas City, MO.
- Kim S., Lim T., Song H., Herrman H., **Omori K**., Hawkins J., Ota H., Kim H., Kim J., Kim J., England N., Tenzek K., Cramer E., Grimes D., & Dilbeck K.(2013,April). *The impact of self-construal on weight estimation and health practice: A cross-cultural study*. Paper presented at the annual convention of Central Sates Communication Association, Kansas City, MO.
- Kim, S., Lim, T., Song, H., Hawkins, J.M., Herrman, A. R., Kim, H., Ota, H., Kim, J., Kim, J., England, N., Tenzek, K., Cramer, E., Omori, K., Grimes, D., & Dilbeck, K. (2013, February). Promotive versus preventive dietary practice and self-construal: Communicating healthful food choice. Top Paper in the Health Communication Interest Group presented at the Western Communication Association Convention, Reno, NV.
- Song, H., Hawkins, J.M., Kim, J., **Omori, K**., Tenzek, K., Kim, S. & Lim, T. (2013, February) Health information seeking online: An experimental study focusing on Internet skills. Paper presented at the Western Communication Association Convention, Reno, NV.
- Omori, K., & Allen, M. (2012, November). Creating online learning community: Does participation influence perception of social presence and students' satisfaction? Paper presented at the 98th annual convention of National Communication Association, Orlando, Florida.
- Kim, S., Lim, T., Song, H., England, N., Herrman, A., Hawkins, J., Kim, H., Ota, H., Kim, J., Kim, J., Tenzek, K., **Omori, K**., Cramer, E., Grimes, D., & Dilbeck, K.(2012, November). *What's Healthy? Community Perceptions of Healthy Food.* Paper presented at the 98th annual convention of National Communication Association, Orlando, Florida.
- Kim, S., Lim, T., Song, H., Cramer, E. M., Tenzek, K., England, N., Herrman, A., Hawkins, J. M., Kim, H., Ota, H., Kim, J., Kim, J., **Omori, K**., Grimes, D., Dilbeck, K. (2012, November). *Integrating cultural worldviews into health self-assessment and behavior when a family member is ill.* Paper presented at the 98th annual convention of National Communication Association, Orlando, Florida.
- Omori, K., Herrman, A. R., McNallie, J., & Allen, M. (2012, April). Beauty ideals



- in magazines: Cultural differences between Japanese citizens and US citizens in the US. Paper presented at the Central States Communication Conference, Cleveland, Ohio.
- Allen, M., Dilbeck, K., England, N., Herrman, A., Kartch, F., Kim, J., Kulovitz, K., Lau, A., Maier, M., May, A., McNallie, J., **Omori, K**., & Shoji, K. (2011, November). *Test of a Causal Model for Sexual Harassment Using Data from a Meta-Analysis*. Paper presented at the National Communication Association Convention, New Orleans.
- Herrman, A., **Omori, K**., McNallie, J., & Allen, M. (2011, November). *Traditional or Local Standards of Beauty? Japanese and American Responses to Fashion, Beauty, and Body Image in Magazines*. Paper presented at the National Communication Association Convention, New Orleans.
- Maier, M., Herrman, A., Kartch, F., Omori, K., Tenzek, K., Stache, L., Grimes, D., Dilbeck, K., Ahn, S., Glocka, J., Maloney, J., Zoromski, A., Burrell, N. (2011 November). *Managing conflict while owning a small business: Saving face and figure in a health club*. Paper presented at the National Communication Association Convention, New Orleans.
- Omori, K. (2011, April). *Gender Stereotype and Family: Who Does the House Chores?* Paper presented to the Central States Communication Association, Milwaukee Wisconsin.
- Allen, M., Kim, S., Antos, A., Gattoni, A., Grimes, D., Huang, H., Kim, J., Lu, S., Maier, M., May, A., Omachinski, K., **Omori, K**., Tenzek, K., Turkiewicz, K.L., & Zhang, Y.(2010,November). *Testing an additive model for the effectiveness of evidence on the persuasiveness of a message*. Paper presented at the National Communication Association Convention, San Francisco. Top Paper.
- **Omori, K.**, Zhang, YB, Ota, H., & Imamura, M. (2010, May). *Japanese college students' media exposure to sexually explicit material, perceptions of women, and sexually permissive attitudes*. Paper presented at the Conference of the International Communication Association, Singapore.

### **SERVICE**

Committee member: ICA Student Affairs Committee 2012-2014

Journal Reviewer: Communication Quarterly 2012-2014

Guest speaker: Presentation about Japanese culture for senior citizens in Milwaukee, WI.

March, 2012

Mentor: Mentor of first year master's student (Morgan Foley) 2011-2012

Kansas City Japan Festival Teachers Workshop: Helped teachers to learn
Japanese culture and games in Johnson County Community
College, Overland Park KS.

September, 2008

### **AWARDS AND HORNORS**

Top paper award, Health Communication Interest Group, Western Communication Association Reno, NV 2013

Melvin H. Miller award for outstanding doctoral research at the University of

Melvin H. Miller award for outstanding doctoral research at the University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee 2012



Top paper award, Argumentation and Forensics, National Communication Association, San Francisco

*2010* 

### PROFESSIONAL ASSOCIATION MEMBERSHIP

Central States Communication Association International Communication Association National Communication Association

