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Me, Myself, & Identity Online: Identity Salience on Facebook vs Non-Virtual Identity

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ABSTRACT

Many Social Networking Sites have come and gone over the past decade, but Facebook continues to grow in popularity. Facebook is designed to connect people to one another through virtual networks of "friends" where members participate in the presentation of self virtually- through profile creation, maintenance, and exchanges of content. Social Networking Sites create a location for identity formation and projection that is similar, yet distinct, from face-to-face interactions. Facebook offers a unique avenue for people to control their presentation of self, while maintaining reflexive features. This study this study explores the notion of a particular "Facebook role" while specifically addressing front stage projections in relation to backstage information and the resulting differences in identity. In effect, people are "themselves" on Facebook, just a consistently "good" version of themselves.

Facebook, Presentation of Self Online, Identity Projection, Facebook Role, Front stage/Backstage, Culture and Mediated Communication

INTRODUCTION

Social networking sites increased in popularity over the past decade, although Facebook made it to the forefront. Facebook is a part of everyday discourse, permeating media advertising, and highly salient to many people's social interactions and presentations of self. Due to its explosive popularity Facebook is an important place to study interaction and that is still under-explored. The purpose of this study is to examine how interaction on Facebook differs from face-to-face interaction. Specifically, the focus is: do we present ourselves differently on Facebook compared with face-to-face interactions (in person).

At this stage in the research social networking sites are defined as "web-based services that allow individuals to construct a public or semi-public profile within a bounded system, articulate a list of other users with whom they share a connection and view and traverse their list of connections and those made by others within the system" (Papacharissi 2009: 201). The definition of Facebook according to Facebook (2011) is:

> Facebook, the product, is made up of core site functions and applications. Fundamental features to the experience on Facebook are a person's Home page and Profile. The Home page includes News Feed, a personalized feed of his or her friends updates. The Profile displays information about the individual he or she has chosen to share, including interests, education and work background and contact information. Facebook also includes core applications – Photos, Events, Videos, Groups, and Pages – that let people connect and share in rich and engaging ways. Additionally, people can communicate with one another through Chat, personal messages, Wall posts, Pokes, or Status Updates.(http://www.facebook.com/press/info.php?statistics)

Facebook is designed to connect people through a virtual network of "friends". In doing so, each member participates in the presentation of self virtually- through profile creation, maintenance, and exchanges of content.

Moreover, Facebook has strong implications for our lives and livelihood. For example, admissions offices, hiring personnel, and lawyers are now using information that they find on individuals' Facebook profiles to either benefit or discredit them (Hamilton and Akbar 2010). Facebook is also a practical way for individuals to network and share job related information. Facebook is a common medium for socialization in general. People are able to keep in touch with one another (and the rest of their friend's list) through Facebook. This simple feature has

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major outcomes that are addressed in the background and findings. All of these highlight the importance of the presentation of self and the perception of one's identity on Facebook.

Facebook's popularity began when it swept across college campuses after creator Mark Zuckerberg first introduced the site in 2004. The 'specialness' that Facebook originally held was that users had to have a '.edu' email address; this college only appeal was what set Facebook apart from other major social networking sites at the time such as Myspace and Friendster. Facebook grew rapidly after repealing the condition of requiring a '.edu' email address. The site first opened to high school students in September 2005, and then to the general public in September of 2006.

Today there are over 800 million active Facebook accounts worldwide; and over 50% of these users log in each day (Facebook 2011). Every single one of these accounts may not represent an "actual" person, but this is still an important feature in regard to this research (i.e. difference in interaction, and control over presentation). For example, pets, Santa Claus, and deceased Presidents have Facebook profiles; some individuals maintain multiple personal profiles as well. There are more than 350 million active users currently accessing Facebook through their mobile devices; more than 475 mobile operators globally working to deploy and promote Facebook mobile products; and more than 7 million apps and websites are integrated with Facebook. More than 2 billion posts are liked and commented on per day, and on average, more than 250 million photos are uploaded per day (Facebook 2011). These numbers show how prevalent presenting ourselves on Facebook is in society today.

BACKGROUND

This study takes a Symbolic Interactionist approach and primarily draws on Self and Identity theories, including Dramaturgical theory, Identity theory, and Social Identity theory (see Appendix A). Context and reflexivity are foundational features of these theories. Context refers to the time, location, and audience (i.e. who, what, when, where). Reflexivity is simply a back and forth process that occurs during social interactions- an actor projects an impression for an audience, the audience interprets that projection and responds accordingly, the actor interprets the feedback and then internalizes it. Hence, the actor is both the subject and object of his or her interactions.

The virtual setting of presentation and identity projection on Facebook is similar yet distinct from face-to-face interactions. According to Paik and Zerilli (2003), face-to-face interaction is the medium through which people physically enact their social roles, therefore the authority offered by a person's role only exists when it is applied in the presence of others. For example, male/female are not only identities, but sex role categories that must be enacted through physical interaction to become real and legitimate (Paik and Zerilli 2003). The lack of face-to-face interaction through social networking sites however challenges this view point. Therefore, such media initiates a new playing field for analyzing behavior and the presentation of self.

Presentation of Self & Impression Management

Erving Goffman (1959, 1967) theorized notions concerning the presentation of self in everyday face-to-face interactions. In Goffman's dramaturgical theory, life is a series of interactions and performances where people enact the presentation of self daily. The theory presents social life as a stage, where we are all actors and audience members. The basic dimensions include the *setting,* or the location where interaction takes place (Goffman 1959). This highlights how interaction and presentation are contextual; time and location are important to the outcome of behavior.

Like a theater, there is the *front stage* and *back stage*; an individual's front is the performance that is put forward, while back stage includes personal information and secrets that are kept hidden (Goffman 1959; 1967). We, as social beings, are conscious of our presentation to others and work to guard back stage access. "Performers are aware of the impression they foster and ordinarily also possess destructive information about the show" (Goffman 1959:144). Therefore we hold the possibility of embarrassment by disclosing too much or falsifying information.

One's presentation must remain fairly consistent to been considered authentic. "The individual's initial projection commits him to what he is proposing to be and requires him to drop all pretenses of being other things" (Goffman 1959:10). This is most notable in someone's *demeanor*. Demeanor refers to the element of an individual's ritualistic behavior that serves to express to the immediate audience that s/he is a person of certain desirable or undesirable qualities, which is typically conveyed through dress, manners, actions, and bearing (Goffman 1967). In other words someone's demeanor is a combination of appearance and manner.

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When an individual displays an unmeant gesture (an expression that is inappropriate at the time) the performance may be discredited by the audience (Goffman 1959). These gestures can be avoided more readily through online impression management. For instance, when corresponding through written communication physical gestures are not transmitted. Goffman (1959) notes that there is a level of expressive control that actors must partake in during interactions, physically speaking (i.e. muscle control, stuttering, resist yawning, and the like). On Facebook these physical (re)actions are not visible and do not interrupt the interaction process or the overall front.

To establish how people enact impression management on Facebook, the concepts of identity construction, identity projection and perception will be explored. Facebook offers a unique avenue for people to control their presentation of self leading researchers to discuss two primary trends surrounding this setting: one, this specific arena enables people to create an ideal or an enhanced self; and two, others argue that people enact greater self-disclosure and share personal information more openly on Facebook than in general. However, the relationship between the two is not currently discussed in the literature. The cartoon depicted in figure one displays both; Martha Kent posted personal, secret information about Clark Kent, exposing his hidden or backstage identity as Superman.

Figure 1. Cartoon of Superman's Presentation of Self on Facebook

Superman's social network nightmare.

Facebook as Setting

The setting of online interaction is a distanced front stage performance in comparison to interacting in person or face-to-face. Overall, one major difference between the typical face-to-face interaction and online interactions is that the internet facilitates self-expression (Bargh, McKenna, and Fitzsimons 2002). While this is the case, the structure of Facebook differs from the structure of other social networking sites. On Myspace, for example, users could choose their own background or wall paper for their profiles and even the layout design for information posted. Facebook however, does not allow these creative features; the layout is designed and integrated by Facebook officials and changes only occasionally. Facebook personnel may also delete material from profiles at their own discretion.

Social networking sites are connected to a desire to produce material content (Marshall 2010). The structural features of social networking sites facilitate communication to create a culture of 'real virtuality' (Papacharissi 2009). When users log in to Facebook, their home page

displays their main profile picture and their news feed, which features a running list of "friend's" recent posts or activities (see figure 2). You are immediately exposed to your "friend's" presentations. In return, users are aware that every post they make will be viewed by someone on their "friends" list.

Figure 2. Example Home Page (blurred for privacy protection)

Furthermore, Facebook is a location where private information disclosed can be publicly accessed; although there are some privacy provisions which Facebook offers it's members pertaining to information that can be viewed on one's profile. Facebook.com (2011) states that:

> Facebook has always focused on giving people control over their experience so they can express themselves freely while knowing that their information is being shared in the way they intend. Facebook's privacy policy is TRUSTe certified, and Facebook provides simple and powerful tools that allow people to control what information they share and with whom they share it. More information can be found at http://www.facebook.com/privacy/explanation.php. From its beginning, Facebook has worked to provide a safe and trusted environment by, for example, requiring that people use their real names. Facebook also works with online safety experts around the world and has established a global Safety Advisory Board that it consults with on safety issues. More information can be found at http://www.facebook.com/fbsafety and http://www.facebook.com/security.

According to Papacharissi (2009:215), Facebook is "the architectural equivalent of a glass house, with a publicly open structure which may be manipulated (relatively, at this point) from within to create more or less private spaces". Due to this merging of public and private locations, there is no situational place to orient the individual in the realm of interaction and presentation fostered by this media (Papacharissi 2009). Therefore actors cannot situate themselves in a particular location other than Facebook itself. This creates a notion of Facebook

as it's own separate sphere. Facebook is a distinct location, or setting, where interaction takes place. To reiterate, the location is extremely important because interaction and presentation are contextual.

Some aspects of performance seem to be played to the location, rather than to the audience (Goffman 1959). This point is interesting when applied to Facebook as a location for presentation; users may be acting in certain ways for Facebook 'appropriateness', not necessarily for specific audience members. They may also act according to certain groups of friends on Facebook. The merging of private and public boundaries on Facebook brings about behavioral consequences for those who must adjust their behavior to make it appropriate for a variety of different situations and audiences (Papacharissi 2009). When people adjust their behavior for Facebook in particular, this forms a "Facebook role". That is, people must play a particular role on Facebook that is appropriate for the various audience members and for Facebook itself. The important feature here is that the individual is in control of their presentation to be able to adhere to this role.

Control

It is arguable that the virtual nature of Facebook creates a way for people to represent themselves in a different manner compared to their "real-life" or non-virtual persona (see figure 3). As many researchers noted, Facebook offers a highly controlled arena for the presentation of self which creates an ideal setting to produce an enhanced or ideal self (Christofides, Muise, and Desmarais 2009, Farrell 2006; Gonzales and Hancock 2011; Marshall 2010; Mehdizadeh 2010; Papacharissi 2002; 2009; Subrahmanyam and Greenfield 2008; Wise, Alhabash, and Park 2010). This is done through choosing your own profile picture to represent your web page, which pictures to post or not, status updates, to "tag" or "untag" yourself in others' posts, what content will be on your profile, who can see your profile, and the list goes on. The term "tag" refers to an action feature on Facebook that links an individual's name and profile to information such as pictures, status updates, wall posts, and notes. This is a selective self presentational process, which allows individuals control over impression management. For example, people may choose to emphasize socially valued qualities such as beauty for women and occupation for men (Gonzales and Hancock 2011).

Figure 3. Cartoon depicting control over presentation

"On Facebook, 273 people know I'm a dog.
The rest can only see my limited profile."
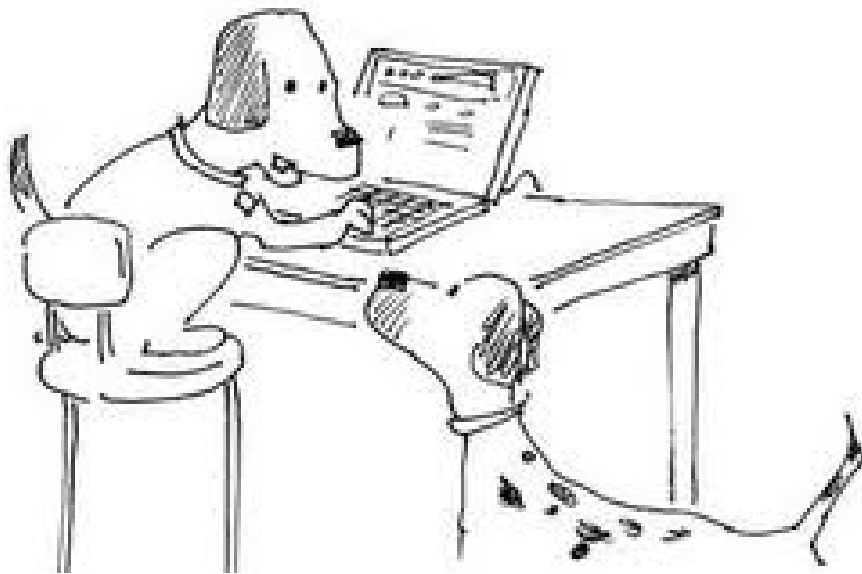
Furthermore, people do not always present their actual selves virtually either through self promotional content or by simply posting things that may not be true (Bargh et al.; Mehdizadeh 2010; Subrahmanyam and Greenfield 2008; Farrell 2006). Some people decide to explore different sides of their persona online, or even invent a virtual life that is different from their lived persona (Papacharissi 2002). Among adolescents, pretending to be older is the most common form of deception on social networking sites; and 51% of respondents stated that they have pretended to not 'be themselves' at one point online according to Subrahmanyam and Greenfield (2008). In other words, the front stage projections do not align with the backstage, non-virtual self.

Individuals control their performance to give off the 'face' that they intend, while maintaining some level of accuracy and authenticity (Papacharissi 2009). This means that the impression is controlled to accurately reflect the 'face' given off and also be perceived as "real"; simply put the impression is tactfully believable. However, this process may take time and care to ensure consistency. It is unclear whether or not people have the time to micro-manage Facebook identities (Papacharissi 2009). Yet, Facebook is increasingly available at all times which reduces the effort involved with managing identities.

Although each member of Facebook is at the center of their social world, the social networking aspect of the site is primarily interpersonal. Exchanges create content as well as individuals (Dalsgaard 2008; Marshall 2010; Mazer, Murphy, and Simonds 2007; Papacharissi 2009; Wise et al. 2010). Marshall (2010) displays how users are highly conscious of their potential audience so that they undergo a mindful, careful production of the self. Therefore norms for interaction will be considered. Most strategies for presentation online were based on common sense understandings of face-to-face interactions (Paik and Zerilli 2003; Papacharissi 2002). While the individual is the central focus on the profile, users still have expectations to interact with others whether directly or indirectly.

Subrahmanyam and Greenfield (2008) discussed how adolescents found privacy and control over who could see their profile to be important, so much that some maintained multiple pages that some people did not know about. Christofides et al. (2009) noted that 76% of respondents in their study found it important to control who sees their information on Facebook. Meaning the (possible) audience is pertinent to the front stage impression given off. While this may be so, Papacharissi (2009) found that few people actually use privacy controls.

Researchers also found that people share personal information openly and enact greater disclosure on Facebook than in general (Christofides et al. 2009; Mazer et al. 2007; Papacharissi 2009; Subrahmanyam and Greenfield 2008). According to Mazer et al. (2007:1), self-disclosure is defined as "any message about the self that a person communicates to another". Students who use computer mediated communication, such as social networking sites, ask more intimate questions and share more information than students in face-to-face conversations (Mazer et al. 2007). This differentiates computer mediated communication from face-to-face interaction; Goffman (1959) states that people slowly drop their disclosure guard only after being reassured that it is safe to do so. The evidence that people are sharing more information through media than face-to-face points to the increased ease of impression management and the ability to save face online.

Saving Face

One's impression must come off as naturally exhibiting the "true" or "real" attitudes and beliefs held by the individual (Goffman 1959). One's "true" characteristics must be displayed with ease or else the impression may be discredited. "When we think of those who present a false front or "only" a front, of those who dissemble, deceive, and defraud, we think of a

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discrepancy between fostered appearances and reality" (Goffman 1959:59). This point drives this study; how do people use Facebook to (re)present themselves, and does this front stage impression align with their backstage selves (e.g. reality)? Ultimately, what is at stake is one's *face* (Goffman 1959, 1967). Your face represents your outer or actual self that is presented/projected during interactions (see Appendix A under Types of Self Concepts).

During interaction, one constantly works to maintain or *save face* from disastrous information (Goffman 1959, 1967). We work to maintain a face that is appropriate for the audience, and we know when our performances are inadequate based on other's perceptions. One way to maintain or save face is by simply guarding certain information about the self backstage.

Control over presentation through Facebook allows individuals to save face more readily than in everyday face-to-face interactions. For instance, Facebook does not allow "offensive" or "obscene" material and personnel may delete content from user's profiles. This would prevent someone from posting highly "inappropriate" pictures of themselves or someone else; or if a highly offensive status update is posted then deleted immediately, this helps the individual by saving face for her/him (by no longer projecting an offensive identity).

In the romance arena of young people social networking sites act as a segue between casual offline acquaintances to more intimate ones (Pascoe 2011). The vulnerability involved in the "getting to know you" part of a new relationship is eased by social networking sites by enabling the user to save face in various ways (Pascoe 2011). For instance, basic information found on Facebook profiles includes many of the general "ice breaker" questions we might ask another person during the "getting to know you" process (i.e. major in school, job, age, relationship status, and the like). This lowers the risk of embarrassment while increasing one's ability to tactfully save face, due the lack of face-to-face confrontation provided by the space and/or time divide between interactions.

Moreover, Pascoe (2011) found that boys prefer using social networking sites for meeting and flirting with girls because they find it "easier to talk to them there". Communicating online does not require "real time" responses; one could think about the best solution or even ask others to negotiate the situation behind the scene (or screen). Let's say a young man is communicating back and forth with a young woman through Facebook, he comes to a point where he is unsure of how to answer a question that the young woman asked. He does not want to embarrass

himself, so he asks his friends around him, comes to a consensus, then responds to her question. She cannot see that his friends are helping him save face backstage.

Identity Maintenance on Facebook

Social agency as well as structure impact the individual on many levels. Social categories are part of a structured society that precede people (Stets and Burke 2000). Social categories are comprised of role identities and group identities. For example, a "cheerleader" is a role identity, and a "Duke cheerleader" is a group identity and a role identity. Roles are positions in society that are connected to certain behaviors and expectations. We do not create new roles, we only fill them; meaning each identity is a social product.

Nevertheless, identities have real meanings to people tied to such categories. People's sense of self is a unique combination of identities that derive largely from the social categories to which they belong, and this changes over time (Stets and Burke 2000). The self and identity are intrinsically linked. Bettie (2003:52) voiced it best, "...we are always performing our cultural identities, and the performance *is* the self." Thus, during impression management we construct, maintain, and project identity characteristics through performative displays.

There are many different identities that characterize an individual; and underlying meanings are attached to such identities. Further, certain identities may be salient at different times according to context. Other's presentations and responses to an individual's performance are involved in this reflexive process as well. Once again this speaks to the pertinence of exploring which identities will be most salient on Facebook.

Identity Construction

Wise et al. (2010) posit that Facebook is used for four primary functions: social browsing, social searching, communication, and impression management. All of these functions contribute to constructing and reinforcing identities. According to Kujath (2011), 40% have "friends" who they have never met in person; and 55% of people communicate with their Facebook friends online more often than in person. This is pertinent to the presentation of self in that the non-virtual, backstage identity cannot fully be compared to the online version by these virtual friends. However, Tufekci (2008) found that the students in his study were confused as to how to distinguish online friends from offline friends since the two groups largely overlap and hardly anyone fit into one group exclusively.

Individuals show rather than tell others about themselves on Facebook, indirectly defining themselves through content (Christofides et al. 2009; Muise et al. 2009; Mehdizadeh 2010). Thus, identities emerge via front stage impressions. On Facebook, users may manipulate identities depending on information that they decide to post or put forward. Again, this information includes profile pictures, album pictures, status updates, wall posts, and personal information such as name, birthday, school, relationship status, email address, favorite movies, favorite bands, favorite quotes, interests, and the like. Users may also utilize the ability to "tag" or "untag" themselves in someone else's pictures. Even the number of "friends" can contribute to constructing one's identity.

Identity is constructed by sharing such visual/textual information. For instance, the language of any text is 'simultaneously constitutive' of social identities, social relations, and systems of knowledge and beliefs (Papacharissi 2009). Identity in this format is a social product of what individuals share about themselves and what others share and say about said individuals (Muise et al. 2009). This goes hand in hand with the looking glass self, you see yourself based on your perception of how others see you. For example, I post a picture of myself that I think looks really good and then I receive multiple positive comments about said picture; the feedback is internalized and I now identify as attractive (or at least photogenic). Once identities are constructed, they may be maintained or altered based on one's identity projection- the expression or display of information related to identity characteristics.

Identity Projection (Projection of Identity Characteristics)

Although traditional Identity theories were applied to establish what an identity is, a more holistic view of identity is used because the self is a compilation of identities. Identity markers and characteristics are shaped by many aspects of our lives. Intersectionality theorists claim that identities are hierarchal social constructs that contribute to a system of power. Even so, identities have meaning and people are attached to such identities.

Leading feminist theorists such as Patricia Hill Collins, Kimberle` Crenshaw, and Dorothy Smith explained how race, class and gender identities cannot be separated; we are all of these identities simultaneously. Furthermore, some identities may be visible while others may be held backstage, either purposefully or not, which guide interpretations of the world around us. This is evident is Standpoint theory's notion of the outsider within; passing front stage while being uncomfortable backstage.

Social identities are displayed through clothing choice, taste in music, literature, sports, and the like; each are associated with certain forms of cultural capital that distinguish identities (Bettie 2003; Pierre Bourdieu 1978; Dalsgaard 2008). Julie Bettie (2003) offers critical insight on the performance of identity in relation to class, gender, and race, as well as identity as meaning, not just simple social categories. She notes how Judith Butler conceptualizes gender and sexuality as a verb- a practice, performance, and accomplishment (Bettie 2003). Thus, gender is performative; we must act in certain ways and display certain qualities to achieve gender (Bettie 2003). This performance can be extended to race, class and sexuality interchangeably, not to forget that each intersects with one another as well (Bettie 2003).

Educational attainment, along with occupation, class, and prestige compile one's socioeconomic status, which is also displayed through impression management. Another cultural difference in class is signified by the use of nonstandard grammar, or speech (Bettie 2003; Bourdieu 1978). Moreover, participating in and playing certain sports are signs of social class (Bettie 2003; Bourdieu 1978). For example, golf is a highbrow sport that requires expensive equipment and greens fees to access a golf course, where as boxing reflects the working class because it does not require much equipment. Class is also related to having time for extracurriculars and leisurely activities.

Furthermore, Bettie (2003) notes that consumption can be associated with class as well; working class students do not have the money for name brand clothes, or prestigious cars. Gender and class identity intersect through style, fashion, and make-up; these features are perceived to be central to a girl's identity, but all girls do not have the same access to trendy/expensive products (Bettie 2003). This speaks to both what it means to be feminine and of a particular class.

Femininity is marked by wearing make-up, dresses, tight clothing, and being non-athletic with the exception of cheerleading; of course this in relation to masculinity, which is marked by athleticism, rowdiness, leadership, and heterosexuality (Pascoe 2007). Pascoe's (2007) work also points to the intersection of performing gender and sexuality when she discusses teenaged girls that "act like boys"; these girls are athletic, outspoken, and predominantly lesbian.

Masculinity was also projected through attire: athletic shorts, ties, and men's button down shirts (Pascoe 2007). Bettie (2003) discusses how race, class and masculinity intersect. She mentions a magazine article about white boys performing "black" identities because they were

wearing hip-hop styled clothing, and a group of young black boys that were performing a "white" identity because they appeared as though they "walked out of Eddie Bauer" (Bettie 2003:47). In this scenario one's racial identity is being interpreted through clothing, just one aspect of performance. However, this is actually a sign of class, not only race; Eddie Bauer signifies middle-class whiteness, not working-class. The students who identified/were identified as the rockers and smokers were white, working class kids who wore mainly black clothing (Bettie 2003). This reference to acting a certain way through clothing speaks to the relationship between projection and perception.

Gendered sexual practices take place in this virtual environment as well. Men are associated with self promoting descriptions in the "about me" section and women self promote in pictures (Mehdizadeh 2010). This is not surprising considering gender stereotypes; women's looks are associated with being their most salient identity characteristic, and status through education, career, humor, and the like are salient identity characteristics of men. Remember that roles influence one's identity and behavior (i.e. gender roles). This is also blatant through pictures, posts, and comments where boys enter a masculine discourse framing girls as sexual objects on profiles (Pascoe 2011). The boys display certain items to project a masculine image that they know will be viewed by others.

These class, race and gender characteristics, or projections, are translated to the cyber-world. The manner in which an individual also conveys a message online displays certain characteristics such as compassion, aggression, extroversion, and the like (Papacharissi 2002). Furthermore, "[a] person who wishes to appear outgoing could provide links to pages of friends and photos of gatherings as evidence" (Papacharissi 2002:646). This emphasizes how all parts of one's presentation (appearance and manner) contribute to how one's identity is perceived and then attached to individuals.

Bargh et at. (2002) found that participants tended to project qualities one hopes for in a close friendship onto new online interaction partners. However, this was not the case when confronted with a new face-to-face interaction partner. This means that when people interact through Facebook, rather than face-to-face, they seek to create a bond or a "friendship" instantly. Projecting the qualities one desires in a friendship, also displays that you are a worthy friend. "We have a real need to have others see us as we see ourselves" (Bargh et al. 2002:36). Higher levels of narcissism are related to more self promoting content on these web-pages, while

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individuals with low self esteem tend to display 'realistic' or non-self enhancing profile pictures (Mehdizadeh 2010). The possibility of seeing Facebook friends face-to-face, and risking discontinuity, could be the deterrent for the low self esteemed to enhance their identities on Facebook.

In addition, Bargh et al. (2002) found that the true self, here the identities that are not easily expressed or verified, is activated during chat room interactions; people are better able to present, and have accepted by others, aspects of their true selves online compared to face-to-face interactions. Thus it is less intimidating to portray ideal characteristics in the virtual setting, or simply easier to navigate a desired front stage performance compared to in person.

Perception

Perception of identity projection is important because we present ourselves with our audiences in mind through comparison processes and the looking glass; this then affects how we present ourselves or project our identity to the said audience, in this case the Facebook audience. Among culturally valued qualities lies sociability. Since Facebook is a social network, people may increase their perception of being popular and social through images and posts. Christofides et al. (2009) found that (perception of) popularity and information disclosure on Facebook are inextricably linked. The more we share, the closer we feel to one another; more disclosure equals more friendly and popular in the world of Facebook.

The display of friends also defines who one is. Within this reasoning, Facebook "friends", according to Dalsgaard (2008), can be understood as symbolic characters rather than as signifying important long-term relationships built on exchanges. In other words who your friends are, as well as how many friends you have, impacts how you will be seen. Having too many friends causes viewers to doubt the authenticity of one's popularity (Christofides et al. 2009). Although, the estimated number surrounding "too many" friends was not given; it is noteworthy that the average user has 130 friends (Facebook stats 2011).

Others use information posted to make inferences about one's character (Papacharissi 2009). For example, a teacher's identity projection online can be uplifting or detrimental to their professional persona in the classroom, depending on the students' perception of presentation. Mazer et al. (2007) found that students were motivated by teachers who disclosed high amounts of information on Facebook; participants also anticipated higher levels of effective learning after viewing profiles with high disclosure compared to viewing profiles with less disclosure. People

who disclose high amounts of information are seen as more trustworthy (Christofides et al. 2009). Arguably, because these teachers are seen as more trustworthy the students feel connected to the teacher, therefore more comfortable, because they know bountiful amounts of information about the teacher. While this is so, there are also mixed results on the perceived appropriateness of teachers' Facebook use; 33% of respondents said it was somewhat inappropriate and 35% said it was somewhat appropriate (Mazer et al. 2007). Simply having a profile can foster assumptions about one's character and therefore identity. Even not having a Facebook profile fosters negative perceptions about individuals today. "People may start to ask the question that, if you aren't on social channels, why not? Are you hiding something?...The norms are shifting." (Wortham 2011).

The perception of our identity is important to the overall presentation of self in that we need to know how our presentation is being perceived by others and whether or not this supports our identities. Feedback mechanisms, such as comments and the 'like' button on Facebook, mark a need for social approval (Papacharissi 2002) (see figure 4.). This 'need' for social approval highlights the cyclical pattern of identity maintenance within society. Comparison processes are another aspect involved in the perception, and reception, of identities; and Facebook is used as a medium for such processes. At the same time the like button can work to verify or enhance one's identity.

Figure 4. "Like" Button on Facebook

Being interpersonally liked is important to one's well being even through adulthood; further, "the size and strength of a person's social support networks are related to health and longevity" (Wortman 2011). However, there is a fine balance between many and too many friends on Facebook. A greater number of (virtual) friends is possible on Facebook compared to face-to-face friendships (see results).

Emotional Responses (Verification & Enhancement)

University administrators are now faced with another difficulty concerning dormitory assignments due to social networking sites. Many incoming Freshmen are using social networking sites to research their future roommates (Farrell 2006). Students are viewing information about a complete stranger, comparing their identity to what they perceive the other to be, and then internalizing "what it will be like to live with that person". Anxiety is aroused when the assigned roommates perceived identity conflicts with the student's identity; this is internalized as future interruptions to one's identity process. As a result, college officials report that they are receiving more complaints (prior to students actually meeting) than ever before (Farrell 2006). Prescreening is dangerous because an individual's lived identity, or experience, may not be fully represented online. "Students are trying to create an image that makes them seem fun and cool, and they post things that may or may not be true about themselves as a result" (Farrell 2006:3). In contrast, some students report that using Facebook is a good thing because starting out fresh is scary (Farrell 2006). In these cases, some knowledge of identity is better than none to prepare oneself for identity compatibility or conflict.

Furthermore, Pascoe (2011) found that some youth monitor previous intimate partners for both closure and information on whom they are currently dating. (In slang terminology, repetitive monitoring such as this is considered "Facebook stalking".) Viewing an ex's profile can spawn various effects: their appearance can reaffirm that the couple was not compatible resulting in closure, and/or individuals may compare their identity to the perceived identity of whom the ex is currently dating. Social networks also offer a form of background check for new potential romantic interests (Pascoe 2011). New potential dates can be prescreened for identity compatibility.

The use of Facebook can result in psychological emotions that are aroused during the comparison process. Jealousy is now associated with Facebook use due to the amount of friending, disclosure, and communication among 'exes'; jealousy is also increased due to a lack of context concerning the information viewed (Desmarais 2009). More importantly jealousy is aroused because the information gathered affects a salient identity for the individual involved (i.e. committed partner). This illustrates the importance and centrality of mediated performances of relationships (Pascoe 2011). The ranking of friends and presenting profile pictures including

significant others is a distinct way of displaying identity. The lack of such information also speaks to one's identity online. All of this highlights the significance of identity salience online compared to one's non-virtual identity.

Social Psychologists know that students' self esteem levels change from day to day based on daily feedback related to their identity standards (Goffman 1963). This reflects the situational differences in self esteem (i.e. context) as well as the connection to reflexivity and perception. The access to interactions and the amount/frequency of interactions is also a factor. They suggest "that self-esteem will be stable when the situations in which a person finds him- or herself have consistently positive (or consistently negative) implications for the self"(:159). Facebook is unique location for this because it offers an avenue for a consistently positive situation in regard to identity maintenance.

Impact on self esteem is another effect that results from Facebook use. Positive self esteem is associated with self-awareness, or the impression of oneself as displayed on the screen (Gonzales et al. 2011, Greenfield 2008). Gonzales et al. (2011) found that participants that view their own profile more often have higher self esteem. This may be due to the fact that one can pick and choose what information will represent them, possibly composing their ideal self. Thus, positive feelings will result because the image represents ideal identity characteristics. Christofides et al. (2009:343) found that higher self esteem indicted a higher likelihood of controlling information; "those with higher self esteem are only concerned about their popularity within their chosen circle". Simply put- Facebook boosts self esteem (Gonzales et al. 2011).

The opposite also occurs. Facebook lowers self esteem for those who already have low self esteem levels (Becker-Phelps 2012). Individuals with low self esteem tend to display 'realistic' or non-self enhancing profile pictures; this may be due the possibility of seeing Facebook friends face-to-face risking discontinuity and further negative affect (Mehdizadeh 2010). Further, Mehdizadeh (2010) found that the increasing duration of time on Facebook contributes to lower self esteem. This is possibly a result of viewing and comparing others' profiles and/or scrutinizing your own page. Together these studies display the variation found among researchers in regard to Facebook's affect on self esteem. Once again, the combination of actor and context are pertinent to the outcome (in this case self esteem).

In summary, the cyclical pattern of identity construction and reinforcement is complicated and extended via cyberspace. Facebook allows users to control/enhance identities

through selectively presenting information, communication with other individuals, and interpreting others' perceptions of one's identity. This identity is thus a social product due to the interpersonal, give and take atmosphere of social networking sites. External statements could affect what one posts in the future based on the perceived identity. Social networking sites also allow people to investigate individuals before establishing relationships. Emotional responses such as self esteem, jealousy, and narcissism, are associated with Facebook use as well. The particular responses correspond to identity saliency as broken down by comparison processes. Overall, Facebook fosters high levels of disclosure and enables more control over the impression management process in comparison to face-to-face interactions.

All of the studies discussed above provided useful insights into the world of social networking sites, and Facebook in particular. Each focuses on a particular aspect or use function of Facebook concerning the presentation of self. What sets my investigation apart from previous research is that the focus is to explore what is front stage (on Facebook) and what is backstage (non-virtual self). In doing so, identity salience on Facebook compared to one's non-virtual identity is addressed as well. Salient identities are the most important and/or the most visible identities (see Appendix A).

METHOD

The current study seeks to explore the similarities and differences in presentational behavior in person compared to on Facebook. The study will explore people's use of Facebook in relation to identity maintenance and perception. The particular questions of interest reflect how this research is primarily exploratory. The research questions are: 1) how does interaction differ on Facebook compared to face-to-face; 1a) is there a difference between identity projection in person and identity projection on Facebook; 1b) which identities are most salient (more visible) on Facebook compared to saliency during a face-to-face interaction; 2) will there be an exaggerated self on Facebook concerning "good" and "sociable" qualities compared to non-virtual self; and lastly 3) is there a "Facebook role"?

The Facebook role refers to projections that are unique to Facebook but common among users, thus referring to a norm for identity projection on Facebook. People tailor their behavior on Facebook for Facebook as its own unique location. For instance, people behave a certain way in church or in a courtroom because of the location more than the particular audience members;

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of course the performance is also for the audience, but it is driven by the location- the location breeds certain expectations. Facebook is not exempt from this; Facebook breeds certain expectations for behavior (and identity) as well. In this way, people act a certain way on Facebook because of the characteristics of Facebook.

Participants were twenty (20) individuals, in the New Orleans area, who have a personal Facebook profile. There are 15 females and 5 males, from various racial backgrounds, whose ages range from 18 to 42. Participants were not chosen if they are on my personal "friends" list; to ensure this, a separate Facebook profile was created for this study. Individuals voluntarily "friended" this research profile to participate (instructions, consent information, and a link were provided on the recruitment announcement). Recruitment took place via posting a call for participants on my personal Facebook profile, the walls of various Facebook friends, and then asking others to repost the information on other peoples' walls. The recruitment announcement was also posted on the UNO Sociology Department and on the College of Liberal Arts Facebook pages. In addition, recruitment flyers were posted on campus. This most closely resembles snowball sampling, yet it does leave room for some randomization.

Extensive measures were taken to not only test the research questions, but also to allow the opportunity for unexpected findings to emerge. Content on Facebook profiles reflect front stage behavior (e.g. comments, posts, the like) and the emergent identities can be viewed as the outcome of presentational behavior. Face-to-face interviews were conducted to gain backstage access to participant's Facebook self/front/face. The non-virtual self is backstage of Facebook but is still a front stage presentation, or a face-to-face front. Theoretically, the twenty statements test responses are the best reflection of backstage information.

The data collection and analysis process are linked in a time specific manner. The process from beginning to end is as follows: (for a complete example see Appendix C). A content analysis of individual Facebook profiles was completed for each of the twenty (20) participants (see figure 5. for an example profile). The participant's name, information featured at the top of the profile, top five featured photos, main profile picture, wall content, and information listed in the info section were coded for identity markers/characteristics (various identities). For example, if the profile listed "works at [pizza hut]" this is coded as "employed", "working class" and "pizza hut". The researcher allowed qualitative subjectivity based on the other information featured on the profile to make decisions regarding identities. Overall, coding

is based on the researchers experience and expert eye. The amount of wall content analyzed relied on a function of Facebook and internet technology. Only the content that appeared after opening the profile page once was analyzed and coded; meaning the researcher did not move on to the next page of wall content or to "older posts".

Identity markers (i.e. characteristics, descriptors) emerged both inductively and deductively through the profile analysis, and from the interview transcriptions and observations. The profile analysis is primarily inductive meaning codes emerged on their own rather than searching for or counting them specifically (Krippendorf 2004). The analysis is partially deductive because there are particular counts for two categories: "center of attention" and "friendly". Center of attention is based on posts about oneself, and friendly is based on "friending" others and posting on others' walls or responding to comments left of their walls. The categories race, gender, class, and sexuality are also taken into consideration during the analysis. The identity characteristics were recorded by each section on the profile. The researcher then counted the occurrences of identity descriptors, and then organized the identities according to most salient (i.e. top twenty). These identity characteristics represent each participant's Facebook self during a later stage of analysis.

Each content analysis was performed prior to interviewing the profile owner, but in the same general time span to account for changing moods, holidays, and the like. The content analyses were completed nearest to the date and time of the interview, after scheduling was confirmed. The particular sequential order is to maintain a non-preconceived perception of the individual's identity in order to assess their virtual presentation as virtual only; it is also important because the participant may change their behavior post-interview.

The interview process began with participants reading and signing a statement of consent. The participant was then asked to complete a "short activity", the Twenty Statements Test (see Appendix). The Twenty Statements Test (TST) is used simply to measure how each participant identifies his/herself on a personal level. The exercise was intended for the individual to actively think about their identities. In addition, the ten minute time allotment enabled the researcher to record initial observations of appearance and manner (e.g. on time, late, early, clothing, hairstyle, sitting position/posture) while participants completed the TST on their own.

The Twenty Statements Test (TST) is a basic measure used for assessing an individual's sense of self or identities (ASANET.org 2008). The instructions are to describe yourself in 20

words or phrases as if you are answering to yourself and not anyone else. These 20 descriptions reflect identity characteristics that participants attach to themselves; yet we may never see them expressed (i.e. backstage, or "true self"). Or these statements reflect important salient identity characteristics that are not projected concurrently. Prior research used the measure to examine different types of identity characteristics such as roles versus groups (ASANET.org 2008). This study is not interested in the category of identities, but all identities that are expressed.

The following interview statements were recorded for accuracy of transcriptions. The participant was first asked their name and demographic information. These questions reflect/replicate questions that Facebook prompts users to list: first and last name, birth date/age, educational attainment, sex and gender. Then the interview questions asked participants about their Facebook use in relation to their presentation of self (see Appendix). What they do/do not post about for example. This non-virtual self disclosure about Facebook usage provides backstage information about the projected Facebook self/face/front. Observations of presentational behavior were also noted during the interview process; such as: engagement, eye contact, volume of voice, and anything that particularly "stood out".

After all twenty content analyses and interviews were completed, the interviews were transcribed and coded. The interview process was recorded for accuracy and transcription purposes. The interviews are transcribed "naturally", meaning all inflections, pauses, and accents are noted (Oliver, Serovich, and Mason 2005). This is pertinent because all of these features contribute to one's identity or identities. The face-to-face interviews were initially coded for identity characteristics according to content, observations and impressions (see Appendix C). As with the content analysis, the categories race, gender, class, and sexuality were constantly considered while coding the transcriptions and observations.

Observations such as "lengthy response, stayed after to continue talking to me" are coded as "talkative" and "friendly" for example. A response that mentioned "...my daughter..." is coded as a "mother" identity; according the context this response is also coded as reflecting "adult", "caring", "proud", "loving", "responsible" and/or "feminine" identities. The identity characteristics were once again organized according to how many times they emerged (i.e. most occurring = most salient).

The data was triangulated for each individual participant and then across participants (collectively). First face-to-face data (backstage) was compared to Facebook data (front stage).

The list of identity characteristics that emerged from the Facebook profile was compared to the list of identity characteristics that emerged from the interview session for each individual participant. The demographic information was compared first because the questions are identical for both data sets. To measure saliency the top twenty identities projected on Facebook were compared to the most frequently occurring identities face-to-face for each participant accordingly. The number of congruent identities was noted, as well as the corresponding number of incongruent identities projected for each medium (i.e. on Facebook vs face-to-face).

Then to see whether or not participants project more of how they see themselves on Facebook vs in person, the TST responses were compared to each individually. There was no need to re-code the TST responses because they are identity characteristics as is. Each participant's top-twenty projected face-to-face identities were compared to his/her TST responses; TST responses were then compared to top twenty Facebook identities for each individual. Furthermore, TST responses were compared to the face-to-face data and Facebook data combined. Each individual's similarities and differences were assessed for each comparison. The results for each were compared across participants collectively. Finally, the interview responses regarding Facebook use were analyzed and organized according to common themes across individuals. The interview responses alone were rich with backstage information to find congruencies and in-congruencies in presentation and identity projection. The data was reviewed and analyzed over again after to see if the interview responses opposed or aligned with the Facebook content.

Only the researcher coded for identity characteristics during the content analysis and coding of transcriptions. The fact that both data sets were analyzed by the same researcher makes them comparable, because the study is founded on reflexivity and perception within a given context. Any person can look at a Facebook profile and formulate notions of how to identify that individual. The perception of the researcher is guided by prior research and knowledge of popular culture as well as local cultural identities. Of course there is no such thing as 100% objectivity, but that is quite alright.

Perception is involved in assessing participants' presentation both on Facebook and in person. However, the focus is on what participants admit about their backstage behavior (in relation to Facebook use) compared to their front stage presentation (image on Facebook). In addition the TST provides a reference to how each participant see his/herself, enabling the

researcher to assess the differences between the perceived impression and how the participant sees his/herself internally. Another way to view this is using the TST responses as salient identities that are/may be backstage; backstage during Facebook use and/or backstage during the face-to-face interaction (interview).

Figure 5. Sample Profile (note: this image was found on Google images and is not one of the participant's profiles)
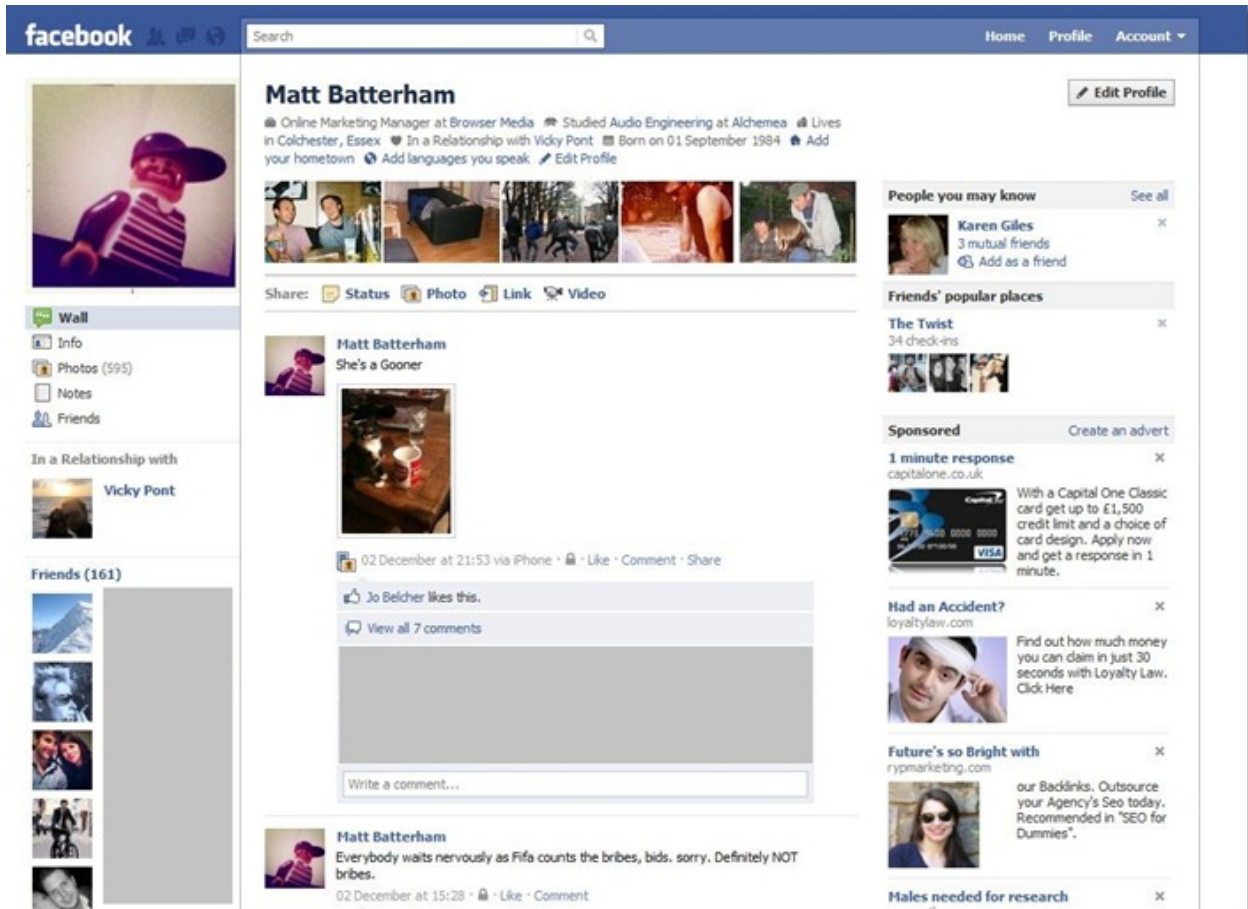
FINDINGS

There are a multitude of themes that emerged from the data due to the triangulations. Many results overlap and answer more than one research question, which provides additional support for the findings in itself. The median age for participants is 22.5 years old and the mean is 25.2 years of age, within the range of 18 to 42 years old. The average number of years spent on Facebook is 4.1 years; 3.6 years on average for males and 4.3 years on average for females.

The average number of friends is 388; the largest number being 1098 friends and the lowest is 86 friends on a participant's friends list. To test if the number of years on Facebook could be a possible reason for such large variation, the participant's average number of friends per year was calculated to set them all at "year one", and the participants with the lowest remain the lowest. Furthermore, the number of friends on one's friends list is dispersed across age and gender. Females display slightly more friends than males; females have 404 friends on average compared to 339 on average for males (see Chart 1. below). The number of friends constitutes the size of the audience for each participant. The large numbers of friends contributes to interacting differently on Facebook compared to in person.

Chart 1. Number of Friends on Friends List for Females and Males
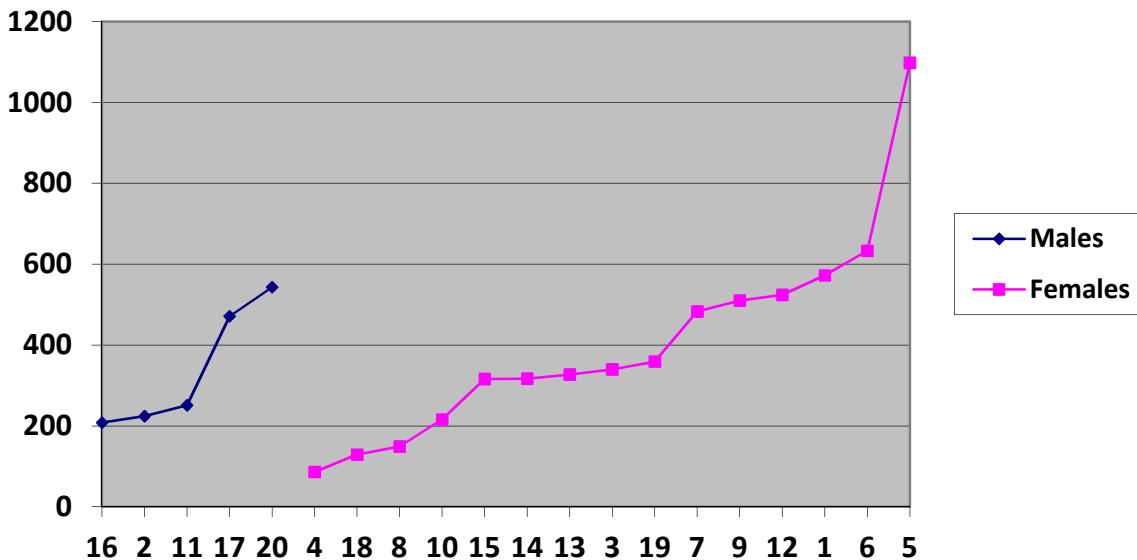
Incongruencies Between Facebook Self and Non-virtual Self

Comparison of Salient Identities: *Twenty Statements Test Cross-Comparisons*

The congruency among identity projections is greater when comparing Facebook data to face-to-face data alone, and less when TST identities are introduced to the triangulation. This is interesting in that this displays how simply the perception and projection of identities aligns more than perception/projection and internalized identities (i.e. how we see ourselves) combined. In other words, people's actions and the interpretation of those actions aligns more frequently than actions, interpretations, in addition to how people see themselves internally. The TST data represents participant's backstage-backstage identities as well as one's most salient identities. The instructions are to silently fill in the blanks as if you are only talking to yourself and no one else. Therefore, this is interpreted to reflect the identities that are backstage of the face-to-face interaction and backstage of the Facebook self as well.

In general, less than a third of the TST identities aligned with the participant's front stage and backstage projections combined. This displays how people reserve a portion of themselves and only share/project certain information. Participants project some congruent qualities across the board, but also project different identities according to context (i.e. only on Facebook, only in person, neither). Some participants displayed more of their TST identities on Facebook, where as others project more of their TST identities (or salient identities) in person. Technically, a higher number of participants projected more TST (backstage-backstage) identities on Facebook (front stage) compared to in person (backstage), but by only one participant.

Front Stage Projections vs Backstage Information

The results from comparing participant's Facebook data to their face-to-face data shows that there are more identities that differ between the two data sets (or presentations) than align for the majority of participants. Thus, participants do project varying identities according to each context. For instance, specific descriptors (identities) emerged from the Facebook profiles more than the face-to-face interactions (e.g. guitarist versus musician). In general, more identity characteristics emerged from the Facebook profiles compared to the interview data, but not by much. For the sake of time and brevity, only the identity projections that are common among participants are discussed. Interview responses are provided as examples as well as additional support for the findings.

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Many participants expressed a difference in their educational status in person compared to on Facebook. For the majority of this group, no educational information was featured on Facebook; these individuals admitted having little or no college education during the face-to-face interview. This means that their educational status is not important to them, or that that it does not function to bolster one's image on Facebook. Another individual increased their level of educational attainment on Facebook (e.g. college senior in person and graduate student on Facebook), and another participant de-emphasized the level of prestige in person (e.g. did not project Ivy League affiliation in person, but this was listed on Facebook). In addition participants displayed multiple specific school affiliations on Facebook and not in person.

More than half of participants did not list their birth year on Facebook; only one male contributed to this category. A few individuals did not have their entire birthdate listed (i.e. no day, no month, and no year). In turn, one's age is not directly displayed, nor the identity attached to that age. What is telling is that participants did not want others to know their birth year, for identity theft reasons or concerns over age related perceptions. Due to retaining this information backstage, many participants seemed younger and more youthful on Facebook, with the exception to one individual that looked and seemed much older on Facebook versus in person. This is not only reflected in physical appearances through pictures. For example, "The Lion King" listed as a favorite movie under a participant's info section signifies a youthful identity.

Overall, participants' racial identities were congruent. All males identified themselves as men during the interview, which aligned with their appearance on Facebook. One participant identified as queer during the interview, but appeared more womanly than androgynous on Facebook. The remaining female participants identified themselves as women, and their Facebook data was synonymous. Gender was also measured by recording masculine, feminine or gender neutral identities. Collectively, males were more gender neutral on Facebook when compared to their backstage, face-to-face selves/identities. It is notable that female participants appeared more feminine on Facebook compared to their non-virtual self.

Additionally, many women projected a difference in their name via front stage. Married women tended to use only their married last name in person, which is only a slight difference than on Facebook but is telling. It is possibly easier to retain the connection with one's maiden name via Facebook, or easier to state only one name in person. Identifying and displaying both

the maiden name and married name may be necessary for Facebook in particular. For instance, people that do not know one's married last name can still search for her through the maiden name (if listed of course). The other women displayed different first names and/or last names. This could represent a different identity online or it could signify private and extra-cautious characteristics. Either way, different is different!

When it comes to physical appearance, there were numerous incongruencies in display. Some participants appeared taller, some shorter, some heavier, or slimmer on Facebook compared to their backstage appearance (in person). Multiple participants displayed "prettier" or "better looking" versions of themselves on Facebook versus in person. Some were more "put together" on Facebook, compared to a messy, sloppy, or frumpy appearance face-to-face; with the exception to one individual who seemed more sophisticated in person. This speaks to the point that we are ourselves, just a 'better' version. Another way to look at this would be a consistently 'good' version of the self is on Facebook, and inconsistencies reside backstage.

Moreover, participants outright admitted to controlling their image (on Facebook) through pictures. Specifically, body image was solely a female response. Females do not want unflattering pictures of themselves on Facebook. Meaning the front stage impression is maintained by keeping (existing) unflattering pictures backstage. For example, only posting pictures "from the chest up" or "no uglies"; these females expressed not posting ugly pictures of themselves, and concerns over others' posting this sort of image of them.

me: "ok. um, what are your concerns with Facebook, if any?"
P8: "um, [pause] I think the only one is that people occasionally post really ugly pictures of me, [light chuckle] I think that's just about it."

If others' do post "ugly" or unflattering pictures, the solution is simple according to P3, "I would delete it or untag it" and P12, "I would delete it or untag it, unless it's *really* funny". Ugly pictures are seen and discussed in a negative light because society both admires and rewards physical beauty. Ugly pictures threaten this avenue for a positive, approval worthy front stage image on Facebook. In the case of the funny picture, no matter how ugly, it still reflects a happy, likable, approachable and socially positive identity.

Furthermore, it is not such a surprise that this is a female response/behavior. Physical appearance is held at a higher standard for women, thus it is usually more important to women (both the maintenance and perception of beauty). Due to this, the disturbance of a positive

beauty image is more destructive to women's impressions and social value compared to men. On the most basic level women did not want ugly pictures of themselves on Facebook because they want to put forward their best face possible. On a more abstract level, ugly pictures threaten perceived femininity and may interfere with a possible source of power or status, or an identity standard at the least.

For the majority of participants, they are the center of attention on Facebook. Every status update, profile picture update, and post about oneself highlights the individual as the center of attention all in the name of "sharing" information. These are expected behaviors on Facebook that are not applicable during face-to-face interactions. Participants' direct (backstage) statements on the matter provide support for the in-congruency. Most participants also repeated posting about *their* interests, *their* performances, *their* day, and the like. For instance, P17 actually expressed feeling obligated to update and inform others about himself.

P17: "…I feel like if I haven't posted in a while I should inform people about the latest what how whether that's stupid or not."

However, the same action is perceived to be "obnoxious" if the content is considered too personal or too generic. There was a general notion that people post "too much information" on Facebook. This refers to private information and general information.

P3 exclaimed, "...it's getiin to tha point where its like we can all see into each other's lives, [slight pause] it's just gettin too deep."

P5: "I learn a lot about other people that I don't even talk to from Facebook so,..."

P7: "uh my concerns, sometimes I think people post too much stuff like the new thing is to put where you're at like your location some people put like in bed like you can see where they live and I know alota people aren't like me like they don't know their friends on Facebook they just oh I have a new friend request Ima accept it, so they might have like two thousand friends and you just told your two thousand friends where you live {chuckle} and ya know that you're in your bed."

Not posting about one's private or personal life was an important issue to highlight for the majority of participants. These participants noted that this type of information does not need to be shared with the entire Facebook community, which was also a recurring theme on its own. However, what is considered private and personal to some may not be personal nor private to another. Participants generally defined this in terms of importance, closeness, or things that only a few people would know about.

Relationships in particular are a private/personal matter that people do not post about, or try not to post about because it is too close/important to them. Some participants categorized "feelings" in this manner as well. Personal thoughts and opinions fall within this theme, but the importance of the presumed/expected outcome of sharing that information also coincides with the another major theme- positivity vs negativity front stage.

Me: "Do you have personal rules for your Facebook use?"
P2: -slight pause- "I wouldn't say rules, I just I, really the only rule I have is that I'm not gonna post too much about my personal life. That's really it."

P18: "my personal stuff [laughs] [slight pause] definitely not relationship stuff or anything personal."

P14: "...I don't like to {ta} ya know like oh I love you so much like I don't post all that stuff."

P20: "I try not to post about relationship stuff" "cuz I just {jus} don't feel the need to {ta} share that kinda stuff people, don't care well I guess some people care but people need-ta ya know read that it's not important, to share with the {tha} Facebook world."

Moreover, participants also stated avoiding posting general, day-to-day information. Additionally, participants expressed that they do not like it when other people post about general everyday tasks. The majority of participants displayed this sort of discontent, while only a small minority claimed to actually post general, day-to-day information. At first it seemed to be a mystery complaint with no evidence of action, but then evidence arose later on. For instance-
me: "and what do you post about the least?"
P4: slight pause- "probably {probly} the day to day activities ya know like some people'll say today I'm going to school, and then I'm goin ta work [chuckle] really?! We all do that! [chuckle]" P4: "You don't wanna see and I don't wanna see what you're doin. [chuckles]"

P12: "It's like screaming to everyone you know I just ate spaghetti for dinner...no one cares!"

me: "ok, what do you try to post about?"
P13: "Just family ya know kid stuff grankids and what we did the day..."

Another theme that emerged from the data is maintaining an interesting impression front stage (i.e. not boring). Participants stated that backstage, they make posts based on the interest of others; or posting things that they think other people will find interesting. Other participants explained posting interests of their own.

me: "What do you post about the most?"

P6: "Um, [slight pause] I think it's just stuff that kinda goes on through the day that I think other people might find interestin or might find humorous."

me: "ok, so what do you try to post about?"
P17: "um mostly I I try an keep it as non-cliche as possible because the cliche posts kinda make me nauseated..."

me: "What do you try to post about?"
P14: "... or um if there's a quote or a lyric something sometimes that I like an I wanna share or like a video ya know just stuff that I wanna share, pretty much."

Being funny or humorous was the most exaggerated front stage identity characteristic. The majority of participants displayed humorous, funny, comical, silly, or witty content on their Facebook profiles. While backstage, most participants spoke about being witty or displaying humorous material as well, but they were not funny or witty. The funniest participant in person happened to appear more bland on Facebook in comparison. This shows how humor and wit are easier to portray on Facebook for most. This is also evidence that wit and humor are valued identities on Facebook. Being funny is entertaining, i.e. not boring.

Many participants seemed happy on Facebook while this was incongruent with their face-to-face (backstage) projections/presentation. In addition, those who were happy in person still provided signs of emphasizing happiness on Facebook. For instance, P5 directly states "do[ing] happy things" while avoiding "negative things"; and P2 stated not posting about his/her personal life "cuz um I don't need anyone to {ta} see how depressing that is." Descriptions of what participants do not post, i.e. descriptions of backstage behavior, contribute to the identities that are projected on Facebook.

One of the major themes throughout the interview data is the awareness and disapproval of negative posts on Facebook. Backstage, participants explicitly stated that Facebook is not a place for negativity, and expressed discontent for those who do post negative information. Complaining, sadness, negative feelings, personal problems, and posting about being sick were redundantly mentioned as "no-no's". Furthermore, many participants specifically described avoiding "drama" on Facebook, while expressing opinions/feelings towards those who do post about others in a negative fashion.

P7: "I try not to post negative stuff on there like I don't think I don't think people should put their negative business out like oh I'm fighting with a friend um I might post how I'm feeling I

might say I'm aggrivated but not necessarily say why I'm aggrivated cuz I don't think that's everybody's business why I'm aggrivated."

P12: "...it's like not a place for {fer}, just being like uuuuuuhh I don't know how you're gonna transcribe uuuuh but, mmeh just being like mopey n like people aren't attracted to mopey I guess is where I'm goin with that like nobody wants to fuckin hear you uuuuuuh {sad sounds} oh my God my life sucks [in a sad voice] like after a while my life sucks, it's like pssh I don't wanna hear that anymore,..."

P1: "I guess I don't really complain, like, and I don't curse on there cuz my {mah} lil sisters are all like all of em are on there. Nothin about drinkin."

me: "What do you post about the least?"
P11: "uh drama [slight pause] really."

P12: "it's like talking behind someone's back in front of everyone...it's awful...it's trashy".

P19: "I hate when people post mean things on there, I never do that!"

Of course there is always an exception to the rule. One participant did admit to talking about others in a negative fashion through status updates and posting about feeling down or sad at times. However, this individual also mentioned not having local friends. It is possible that this seemingly negative behavior is because Facebook is the only outlet/avenue for this individual to vent to friends. In addition to expressing how they avoid negativity, participants indirectly display how a positive image is a goal to maintain on Facebook via front stage presentation/impressions.

The pro-positive front stage impression is backed by further backstage information. Participants expressed that they do not post inappropriate material on their Facebook page and they do not allow others to tag them in this sort of content either. Most notably participants emphasized a concern for "inappropriate" pictures. Participants hold themselves accountable for their own image by not posting particular pictures of themselves. In general, most described not wanting to have pictures of partying, drinking alcohol, doing drugs, and/or nudity on Facebook. People make a conscious effort to keep these images off of Facebook. For some participants their friends even know not to post/tag them in inappropriate pictures. Controlling pictures is one way of avoiding a deviant identity.

P1: "...like my friends and {an} stuff know not to post like certain pictures if they take pictures out, like if we're out drinkin n stuff like that they know certain pictures they can't post."

me: Is there anything that you are especially concerned about not having on Facebook?
P20: [pause] what do ya mean {whatta-ya-mean} like personal information or pictures or both?
me: anything yea
P20: um, [pause] not really, I guess like, [slight pause] pictures of {uh} me smokin weed I wouldn't want that on Facebook.

P8: "I think it's just only friends can see pictures n stuff but [pause]"
me: "and why is that?"
P8: "um cuz there's pictures of me smoking and being gay, [lowers voice-] like literally being gay not like gay as in stupid like hanging out at queer clubs {pubs?} n stuff."

Some participants were vague with their description of inappropriate behavior by simply referring to something that they may regret in the future. P6 provides the quintessential example for this notion: "um, for me, I guess is don't put anything on there that I would later regret or feel different about or have someone think differently of me because I actually even though Facebook I think should be like a personal like ya know like little box that you have, people like professional people especially look at that so it may skew like their perception of you even though it is really just for that ya know personal space I think that is like one of the {tha} factors." Avoiding inappropriate posts coincides with avoiding negativity. Inappropriate or deviant actions are associated with negative identities (i.e. stigma).

The majority of participants were identified as sociable, outgoing, fun loving, supportive, helpful, thankful, giving, and friendly based on their front stage impression. Those who are friendly face-to-face are even friendlier on Facebook. This finding aligns with past research on "likable" personality traits. Wortman and Wood (2011) found that participants who identify with communal, or other oriented, traits are highly liked by their peers. This is not surprising that these characteristics are emphasized on Facebook, being that Facebook is a *social* networking site. What is interesting is that most participants expressed these identities on Facebook but were not identified as so in person (backstage). This means that these identities are characteristic of the expected norm on Facebook.

Participants are more eclectic and project a more diverse collection of identities on Facebook compared to their non-virtual identities. Some participants seemed "mainstream" or "normal" on Facebook, but not in person. While others seemed "weird" or "alternative" on Facebook, but not in person.

Many participants display their employment and religious affiliations on Facebook but did not mention either backstage. Individual talents were also represented on Facebook over and again, while these same identities were not made apparent in person; for example, singer, drummer, cook, seamstress, actor, writer and the like. The projection of class status was also slightly incongruent, in that participants displayed more elevated status symbols via front stage (on Facebook) compared to backstage (face-to-face). Once again this is putting forward the "best" face front stage by displaying socially valuable qualities that may not be easily expressed in person.

Facebook is a constant billboard for the qualities, characteristics, and identities participants want to be associated with. The majority of participants have personal rules or guidelines that they follow while using Facebook. Following rules and guidelines reflect increased levels of backstage control while using Facebook. This shows that participants are worried about their image as to take the steps to control their behavior and tailor it to Facebook (as a specific place), which contributes to identity maintenance significantly.

Facebook as Location (for front stage projections)

For most people, Facebook is a location where various groups of acquaintances, friends, family, and/or strangers come together to view an individual's presentation of self at all times. Due to this users tailor their behavior to accommodate any possible audience member; this behavior is specific to Facebook because this is the only place where all of these people will be "together" at once (viewing and interpreting one's identity projection).

Friends and Family

Friends and Family was a major theme featured in the data. Friends and family were featured in a mass amount of content on Facebook profiles; and family and friends were mentioned throughout the interviews in different contexts. Participants' family relations and the associated identities were more apparent on Facebook, even though the majority of participants did express family related identities backstage as well. Overall, there are more direct references to family on Facebook than in person.

Furthermore, most participants claim to post about their friends and family. This shows that family ties are still important (to display). Although this was mainly a female response during interviews, both males and females had posts about friends and family on their profiles. Many responses referred to posting about their kids/grandkids in particular. Depending on

context, this can reflect an adult, parent/grandparent, proud, responsible, caring, loving, family oriented/family person, and/or youthful identy (among others).

me: "and um, What do you post about the most?"
P10: "ooh haha about how my kids doin, generally things like that, oh randy did this and randy did that ya know."

In this respect posting about family is not seen as too personal or private, it is framed as approvable information to share. Posting about one's friends displays that one is a friend, friendly, social, sociable, likable, and/or popular which are all socially positive characteristics. More evidence of connections (and number of connections) the better especially because Facebook is a social networking site. Posting about friends or family also portrays a communal identity because the individual is not posting about oneself specifically; they are posting about others. This can say that other people are important to the individual, not only the self, or even more than the self.

In general, participant mostly interact with their friends on Facebook; interactions with close friends or best friends are more likely than other friends. This not surprising when considering the purpose of Facebook; yet it is still interesting. One would think that you would interact with close friends via texting, phone conversations, and face-to-face interactions, therefore reserving Facebook for "others" as expressed by some. For example, "acquaintances...because I can always call my best friends..." and "whoever's on my newsfeed". Although, P10 explained the logic behind it best "...it's langiappe...it's like an extension of who I see anyway..." Langiappe is a local New Orleans term that means just a little extra, like a bonus. In this way Facebook did not replace their time with friends, it extends it! At the same time, there were also concerns for Facebook replacing time with loved ones. For example-

me: "ok, and how important is Facebook to your social life?
P17: "I'de say Facebook right now is probably twenty five percent of my social life because there I have a limit and if I realize that Facebook is the {tha} reason why I'm kind of holding off on see certain people, like if I have the mentality that well I just talked to them on Facebook so I don't need to {ta} really see them then ya know I kind of back off for a minute so but yea Facebook is uh an important part of planning things ya know making sure you keep touch with people that are far away, and, e-even if that wasn't Facebook it'll be something else or it'll always be that site it'll kinda just switch as time goes by."

Family was the first runner up when participants were asked who they interact with most on Facebook. Although Facebook was originally created for college students only it is now a

place for people of all ages. This means family members of all ages can keep in touch with each other on a daily basis despite distance, not to mention extended family that one might not have the time to interact with if not for Facebook. Being able to keep in touch with others was a repeated explanation for using Facebook.

Facebook Role

The Facebook role is simply a representation of the norm for front stage presentational behavior (on Facebook). The results described above, in addition to the following, reflect how social approval is the underlying feature of the Facebook role. By default, positive and "appropriate" projections are characteristic of the role. According to the results the appropriate front stage identity projections are not boring and socially valuable.

Not posting general information in addition to posting witty, humorous and/or interesting "things" re-iterates the "not boring" front stage norm. Furthermore, explicitly stating posting things that they think other people will find interesting, directly reflects the pertinence of perception and reflexivity. This displays how people post for their audiences and that they are also seeking approval/acceptance from that audience. This directly contributes to the Facebook role because they want to be socially acceptable actors on Facebook.

Some participants explained posting interests of their own rather than the interests of others. They still think others will find it interesting but it's more about the self. In one way the participant is posting for the place more than the people/audience; or the image on Facebook more than for any particular person. This is another sign of attention seeking and social social approval- it is saying outright, this is what I think is interesting and you should see it (and like it) too!

P4 explicitly stated, "I kind of tailor it to an audience I think that that's there in my friend group."

Tailoring one's behavior to the expectations of Facebook friends, signifies how participants connect and find belonging on Facebook. When asked, "do you post certain things for specific people?" nineteen (19) of twenty (20) participants responded yes. This means that their actions are generated toward a particular audience. More than half of these participants described "tagging" others in their status updates or personal comments; in affect the post connects the individuals and manifests belonging among friends. These actions also reflect attention seeking and social approval through Facebook. For instance:

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me: "ok. Do you post certain things for specific people?"
P2: "if it is intended for a specific person, there's a thing you can do on there like type their name down and it'll tag them in your comments."

me: Do you post certain things for specific people?
P9: um I mean I'll occasionally tag people but usually I post usually I'll do that um as like a comment or a message on their wall I don't usually use my status update to call out other people

Posting for a specific person through one's status update, rather than posting directly to the friend's wall, signifies that the individual wants as many friends as possible to see the post in addition to the specific recipient. This speaks to the need for attention and social approval on Facebook because the individual wants as many "friends" as possible to see the post and like it, both literally and figuratively. P18 expressed this need best, "...I hear it all {awl} the {tha} time when they're like oh my Facebook oh my Facebook fine I'll go on {awn} it other than that I probably won't go on it if my cousin doesn't tell me oh go like my picture or go like my status I won't go on it like constantly so, I go on {awn} it when I want to." The need for social approval (and attention) through Facebook posts is explicit in this statement. This implies that P18's private or face-to-face approval is not good enough for his/her cousin; the approval needs to be visible on Facebook through the "like" button. This has two functions: it legitimates the approval of the post, and displays this positive feedback to the rest of users' Facebook friends (through their newsfeed). This is the norm on Facebook.

Belonging to a Facebook group, or page, was also a theme that emerged from the data. Many participants expressed that they are active members of one or more Facebook groups. This in-group association is an important identity for said individuals. Once again this is not very shocking because Facebook is supposed to facilitate networking and information exchange for groups of people. However, it is interesting that this was solely a female feature; possibly because women are socialized to maintain interdependence through groups.

Difference in Interaction

Due to its features, Facebook fosters a different mode of interaction which enables people to project different identities at will. For instance, twenty percent of participants report maintaining more than one account that they personally created. Males are more likely to have multiple accounts on Facebook compared to females (only their most current personal profile was analyzed). Another individual expressed creating new profiles every now and then to start

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fresh, and currently does not use her (real) first name on Facebook. The following results provide further evidence that there *is* a difference in interaction on Facebook compared to face-to-face interactions.

me: "so, why do you have multiple accounts?"
P17: "um kinda got bored with one account so you feel like takin on a new personality [chuckle]."

In general participants check their Facebook profiles at least one time per day. Most responses fell in the one to five times per day category, with the exception to three participants lying on the high end (15 times per day to constantly) and three participants lying on the low end (about three times per week to about once per month) (see Chart 2). Specifically, no males report using Facebook more than a few times per day; and no one over 25 years of age reports using Facebook more than a few times per day as well. Thus, females aged 18-24 are more likely than any other group to check their Facebook page five, ten, fifteen, or more times per day. Whether on the high end or low end this marks a difference in interaction simply in regard to the accessibility and frequency of interactions.

Some participants felt the need to explain why they check their pages more than once per day. The most recurrent reason expressed is because Facebook is on their phones. For example, P3 stated: "because I have it on my phone and my computer, um, so I'de say probably like fifteen (15) times a day." In other words it is always around/accessible. More participants access Facebook through their phone and computer than accessing Facebook via computer only (laptop or desktop). It seems that females are more likely to access Facebook from their phone rather than computer alone. The majority of participants who respond using only a computer to view their profile are older.

Facebook displays when users post status updates and other posts from a smartphone (i.e. via blackberry, android, iphone, and the like); this is a constant symbol and reminder of differences between the generations and socioeconomic classes. First, smart phones are the most technologically advanced cellular device which represents someone who is "up-to-date". Additionally, smart phones are a sign a middle-class (or higher) status; smart phones are more costly than "regular" phones due to added data packages and the like. Mentioning one's iphone or smart phone capabilities signifies these identity characteristics. This marks a difference in the interaction mediums, and displays a salient identity characteristic for Facebook users.

A running theme throughout, but mostly mentioned in conjunction with frequency of interaction, is how Facebook is a way to keep in touch with others. It is a way to contact or inform friends (and family) that are near for social events; and it enables people to keep in touch with friends and family that are far away. P9- "...I do use it to stay in touch with people that I would never see." P20- "Guess it's good because you can interact on a daily basis."

Users do not see all of their Facebook friends everyday but they do log in daily. When asked if they interact face-to-face, with those whom they interact with the most on Facebook, nearly a third responded that they do not see the people that they interact with most on Facebook. Another third of participants claim to only see some of their friends whom they interact with the most on Facebook. This is important because if someone never sees their "friends" there are no repercussions for presenting oneself differently on Facebook compared to face-to-face (because there is no way to compare). Even more so, subtle differences (exaggerating/minimizing) are easier to attain and maintain with less frequent interactions.

Control

There is evidence of expressive control (backstage) throughout the given examples, which speaks to differences in presentation and identity projection. As discussed previously, Facebook provides users control over who sees what information and users benefit from this during impression management. The majority of participants claim to be 'private' in that their page is viewable by "friends only", or 'completely private' to where they are "unsearchable". When asked why those privacy settings are set, most participants stated that they do not want strangers being able to see anything on their profile. For example, P1 stated: "just don't like the idea of strangers being able to see my page..." Though this was the most common response, it was also a female response- only one male contributed to this reason. Males are more likely to respond with concern for hackers, 'no reason', or 'not worried'.

Knowing/Not Knowing Who is Looking

What is interesting is that people expressed that they must know someone before that person is allowed to view their information, but then they later mention not "really" knowing one's Facebook friends or simply not knowing who is looking at their profile. For instance:

P5: "I don't really like to post extra things just cuz it's really unnessecary cuz alota friends that you have on Facebook you really don't talk to em, they're just Facebook friends air quote,..."

me: "Do you have personal rules for your Facebook use?"

P15: "um, I don't post too personal, and I only put certain pictures up like, select pictures mostly from like the chest up, an I watch what I post of my {mah} niece and nephews uh you don't know who's looking even though it's private, still [chuckle]."

Participants also expressed that other people do not know everyone on their friends lists, which is interesting as both an assumption and a comparison process. For example P7 exclaimed, "I know alota people aren't like me like they don't know their friends on Facebook they just oh I have a new friend request I'ma accept it,..." At the same time, there are a few participants that claimed to know all of their Facebook friends.

The idea that you do not know who is looking is a reason for caution and reserved identity projection. This is because people are more comfortable being "themselves" in front of people that they already "know". This is a simple defense mechanism to protect one's image. This also shows that even though people post vast amounts of content on Facebook, they are skeptical, suspicious, aware, and/or pre-cautious as well. In turn this speaks to a difference in interaction and presentation on Facebook compared to in person (face-to-face).

Privacy Issues

In general people have concerns over various privacy issues relating to everyday Facebook use. There are direct statements of dissatisfaction toward changes and updates to privacy controls taken on Facebook (Facebook does not inform users when updates are made, therefore this leaves one at risk or under protected compared to privacy levels set before the update). In turn this puts the individual's identity at risk.

Information storage and access

Another theme that emerged is a concern over information storage and access through Facebook; and this ranges over various sub-topics. There is a concern over the amount of information stored and the ability to access this information via Facebook in general, which leads to more specific concerns. Some individuals directly addressed the fact that Facebook stores all content posted and the content can never truly be erased from the internet and also the discomfort associated with this; and some noted that other people may regret certain things on Facebook in the future. The ease and ability for hackers and even Facebook employees to access one's information was specifically addressed as a major concern. In this sense, one's identity is on the line. Identity theft is both literal (financial information, social security number, and the like) and

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abstract as in pretending to be that individual. The fear of identity theft is coupled with the fear of strangers seeing one's actions without knowing/permission.

P4: "...um, but that's kind of the {tha} things that bother me that they can they can have access to that sort of information and that Facebook stores that information [-slight country twang here] and that's why they're in trouble now they're always tryin to negotiate with that, um, like google will like gmail n things will store for a certain amount of years and that's their legal limit and then it'll all wash away but Facebook doesn't have that yet so theoretically they could have that stuff forever, anything an everything that you have on there [country twang] [pause]"
me: "and I thought it was just a couple years"
P4: "it's supposed to be, but I think that they keep statistics that, most people do keep statistics, but the the way they're doing it is more detailed than than other agencies so, yea yea the rules are supposed to be two years but, I don't think they're wiping it as as cleanly as alot of other people are."

me: "What are your concerns with Facebook (if any)?"
P6: "because it is, I kinda like understand how technology works and every time you put in your password or you enter {enner} information it's just out there people can hack this all the {tha} time. um Facebook users people who create it people who maintain the website the server or whatever it's just all of that information that's there and there's really no way of deleting it or like taking it off the internet unless you're like ya know the {tha} CIA or somethin and then uh, {chuckle} I, I don't think it's that drastic so I just wouldn't put it on there from the beginnin."

me: "What are your concerns with Facebook (if any)?"
P10: "Oh just the amount of people who can hack your Facebook page, which which is sad cuz ya know they'll they'll send you this junk they'll send you this link in in via your mailbox inside of {a} Facebook an people not knowing what it is will click on it an their whole Facebook account gets gets hacked into..."

Jobs

People described "future employers" accessing Facebook for information as an invasion of privacy and an explanation for controlled behavior/impressions. The job market and future employers are a reason for posting, not posting, untagging, or deleting certain information (i.e. maintaining a certain image/identity maintenance). A few participants mentioned current jobs in reference to not posting certain information; and even not "friending" co-workers or bosses to protect one's 'professional' appearance. For instance:

me: "ok. Do you have personal rules for your Facebook use?"
P6: "um, for me, I guess is don't put anything on there that I would later regret or feel different about or have someone think differently of me because I actually even though Facebook I think should be like a personal like ya know like little box that you have, people like professional

people especially look at that so it may skew like their perception of you even though it is really just for that ya know personal space I think that is like one of the {tha} factors."

P5: "nah I make sure, I mean I when people post stuff I make sure it's like ok just for later on in {n} life and I put I mean n all my {mah} stuffs pretty decent I mean I'm gonna be a teacher so I hafta kinda watch what goes up and what I say n what other people say." {spoke quickly}

P3: "um, I wouldn't want pictures of me like partying or something especially since I'm gonna be hitting the job world, so if someone puts that up there then I would delete it [giggles a little while saying- delete it]."

me: "What do you post about the least?"
P14: "Mmmm, [slight pause] I don't put too much about work like if I'm working like if I'm oh I'm tired an like somethin like that cuz certain people may see it so I don't put um, even though I'm not gonna be working there for very much longer but I don't like to {ta} post any of it."

Selling information

Some expressed discomfort with the relationship between Facebook and corporate business advertisers. Facebook is allowed to sell one's information to maintain it's free subscription status. Facebook picks up on anything that you type and links it with advertisements that are tailored directly to "your needs". This is seen as both an annoyance and an invasion of privacy.

P4: "...ya know how they have the ads on the side, that they sort of pinpoint pick up on things that you've posted about and then it'll show up on the side, that's sort of an invasion of privacy too..."

One individual even specifically emphasized the worry over Facebook selling information to the government, which is linked to yet another issue with info storage and access- "Big Brother". The possibility of Big Brother accessing individual's information is a concern for vast amounts of information being on Facebook. This concept is also addressed in relation to not posting about location.

 me: "ok and um, what are your concerns with Facebook, if any?"

P12: "That it's like big brother, it's scary, somebody posted somethin the other day that was like open your eyes people like it's like I was fake married to my friend and I got marriage things on the {tha} side like wedding gowns and rings n limousines n an like you just type in words to other people and it'll start, like linking that up and I don't want the government selling my personal information that means nothing really for their own profit,..."

Location

Another backstage feature that emerged is being cautious and somewhat suspicious of possible audience members (viewers). Besides having activated privacy controls, many participants take extra steps not to inform others about their location. Throughout the interview responses, across participants and questions, the topic of location was repeated over and again. This included general everyday information such as one's address, where one is presently located, and where one is going or plans to go. Specific reasons for caution, concern, or avoiding posting about one's location varied. The distinct concerns over tracking one's location, Big Brother, strangers/stalking, and travel were shared by multiple participants; therefore each is briefly discussed.

Participants expressed a concern for people being able to track them via Facebook posts that include their location. The statements ranged from addressing the general audience, (e.g. P11: "I don't want anyone tracking me") to more detailed concerns such as particular individuals knowing the participant's location.

P6: "...people that may dislike me they may try to figure out where I am or who I'm surrounded by so it's just like a precautionary measure."

Multiple participants mentioned "Big Brother" and concern for, or the possibility of, "Big Brother" knowing the respondent's location. For instance, "Big Brother is watching you." Another issue is that, not only does "Big Brother" have access to the participant's current whereabouts, "they" are able to track all users and record every position over time. For example:

P11: "I mean only thing my concern is I don't like like how they can kina like track you on what you're {whatcher} doin ya know that's why I really don't use that."

P12: "I just don't understand how it's like, [slight pause] this beast that was created and that that's dangerous I feel it's like the masses have this thing n but it is big brother cuz he's got he's got everybody now [light chuckle] he's got us all like and you're weird if you don't have a Facebook like that's kind of {kine-a} sick too..."

P15 added: "something might happen."

The fear of strangers was repeated throughout the backstage data. Participants noted taking cautious measures toward protecting themselves from the lurking stranger. The possibility of stalkers tracking one's location and being able to find you, is both a concern and deterrent for some participants. One participant stated that she never posts when she's alone-

just in case- because you don't know who's out there. Suspicion and precaution guides action and projection on Facebook, which protects identity as a result.

P14: "Yea, ya know I like to to check in an things like where I'm from so sometimes they can find out who's especially cuz this is such a small like city some people can easily find you like they could go in here and say do you know who this person is and like ya know so that's like the only thing that scares me the most is people finding you on {through} Facebook in the end."

Participants listed multiple safety issues in addition to the fear of strangers knowing/tracking location information. There is a general concern for posting specific information about traveling (i.e.when, to where, for how long, and the like). Further, descriptions of being aware of informing the entire Facebook community about traveling revolved around the possibility of burglary. Of course there is always the exception, one participant directly stated that she does post about spontaneous trips; but, she has one of the fewest number of friends on her list and claims to "know every one of them" and her page is "friends only". Interestingly this is a reason for concern among those who do not post about travel; P20: "you don't know all of the people on your friends list", and P9: "I mean not that this is hugely necessary but I like to be cognizant of when I'm leaving town not necessarily broadcasting that to a wide network".

What is interesting is despite the collection of fears or concerns, people continue to use Facebook consistently. To counter this worry (to an extent) these individuals control their Facebook use and will not post certain information. Thus, guidelines contribute to the difference in interaction and individual identity maintenance (via control); and the Facebook role because this highlights how people tailor their front stage behavior specifically to Facebook.

DISCUSSION
Importance to Users & Social Approval

Participants were asked how important Facebook is to their social lives on a one to ten scale (ten being the most important). The average was only a 4.8, but participants followed this by claiming that they would not want Facebook to "go away". It is interesting how participants stated that Facebook is only sort of important to their social lives, yet they usually log in more than once daily and they interact with those that are "closest" to them. Checking one's Facebook works to reaffirm certain identities (e.g. through approval of projected identities). Downplaying

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the importance of Facebook's contributions to social life displays the salience of people's "sociable/friendly" identity in "real life".

Actually, Facebook may not be that important to one's social life but it may be important for effects associated with identity maintenance via social approval (e.g. self esteem). Being interpersonally liked is important to one's well being even through adulthood (Wortman 2011). The "Like" button on Facebook: it is not necessarily about the item/content posted, it is more about the person needing to be liked on Facebook (i.e. social approval). This displays a backstage need for social approval through checking one's Facebook page for front stage feedback from "friends".

Display of Social Value

Overall, participants display a more positive, socially approachable image front stage, or try to at least. People are more likely to display socially valuable characteristics on Facebook such being interesting, friendly, family oriented, sociable, outgoing, happy, funny, employment, and/or education. In other words, socially valuable qualities are visible and/or enhanced front stage via backstage behavior.

People want to appear interesting and appealing on Facebook. For example, many participants described posting about interesting 'things' which reflects someone who is interesting or at least experiences interesting things. Some stated specifically things that are interesting to others. This shows the need for social approval on Facebook. This also works in conjunction with not posting boring day-to-day activities. One more way to look at this is-interesting is the opposite of boring, no one wants to be boring on Facebook.

Being funny or displaying humorous content was a common theme across individuals, which was an exaggerated front on Facebook. What is interesting is that people spoke about being witty or displaying humorous material, but did not project a funny identity face-to-face. This shows how humor and wit are valued and easier to portray on Facebook.

Differences in identity projections were highly visible through pictures. Many people appeared better looking on Facebook (front stage) and then admitted backstage to controlling their image(s) through posting/not posting unappealing pictures. No "inappropriate", deviant, ugly or unflattering pictures were warranted; and woman displayed more feminine characteristics on Facebook. This protects one's image, or identity, while also projecting a socially acceptable or appropriate image (by their standards). Being pretty is valued and being deviant is not;

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Facebook is not a place for deviant material, or deviant identities. Displaying a consistently "good" image contributes to the Facebook role by consistently putting your best foot (or face) forward.

Difference in Interaction + Difference in Projection = Facebook Role

Interaction on Facebook differs from face-to-face interaction in various ways. First and foremost, the design of Facebook and how users interact with the site initiates differences in interaction compared to interacting in person. The medium and frequency of interactions (such as phones, computers, and daily usage) are also different from face-to-face interactions. Facebook is used to keep in touch with those that you normally would not see on a regular basis and/or as an extension of interaction with those that you do see regularly.

One of the most important features of Facebook that distinguishes it from face-to-face interactions is that it offers a greater level of presentational control for impression management. Participants are able to tailor their behavior to Facebook because of Facebook's structural features. Front stage impressions are fostered by backstage actions/control.

The results offer many examples of control over presentation and projection during Facebook use; from privacy settings to privacy issues such as information storage and access, future and current employers accessing information, strangers accessibility to one's information, and Facebook selling users' information affect posting or not posting certain material. There is also an underlying sense that people do not know all of their Facebook friends or they may not know who is looking at their page. This leaves people skeptical about posting information about their personal and private lives. Along these same lines there is also a fear of strangers viewing, interpreting and misjudging ones identity.

One of the most distinct examples of controlling identity projections on Facebook is the existence of personal rules or guidelines. The majority of participants abide by personal guidelines while using Facebook. Through their responses, participants emphasized certain qualities, expressed certain regulations, and noted other direct statements in regard to their self presentation on Facebook. The personal rules or guidelines contribute to identity maintenance on an individual level and the Facebook role collectively via common themes across participants. Specifically, participants repeated over and again that Facebook is not a place for personal information, general information or "TMI", possibly deviant information, and negativity. This

specifically shows how people tailor their behavior for Facebook itself, as a location or a place, along with the general or specific audience.

One of the major characteristics of the Facebook Role is no negativity and pro positivity. Over and again people expressed that Facebook is not a place for negativity. This is corresponds with the notion that people want to put their best image forward on Facebook. Being negative and pessimistic is not considered valuable, therefore it is understandable that this is "unnecessary" to have on Facebook. Moreover, there were examples that directly addressed avoiding social disapproval and the repercussions to follow. Also, people emphasized a pro positive outlook on Facebook. Facebook is a place to share positive information and express likable, valuable qualities.

References to negativity include drama, sadness, complaining, and offending others. For example, one participant exclaimed that he does not post about his personal life because he "doesn't need anyone to see how depressing that is". This highlights the general audience (people on friends list/anyone) and the "appropriate" impression for the location (i.e. not sad). Participants' explicit claims of not featuring anything inappropriate, deviant, negative, general, private or personal, supports the socially positive projections that emerged from the content analysis. People try to put forward a positive, approachable identity front stage (on Facebook); an image that many people will like.

Another specific difference in identity projection is how participants refer to posting 'interesting things', whether it is their interests or the interests of others. Overwhelmingly participants projected a funny/humorous identity front stage, but were not funny backstage (in person). Being funny, witty, comical, silly, goofy, or the like, makes people laugh or smile which contributes to a happy and positive identity. Being happy and joyful are associated with being likable according to past research. Being likable front stage corresponds to positive social approval.

Moreover participants displayed positive identities by featuring happiness and distinctively avoiding negative material on Facebook. Participants claimed that Facebook is not a place for negativity. No drama and no negative talk about other people were most commonly addressed, and all of these individuals displayed fear of social disapproval.

Consistent with other research, belonging is a powerful need for people. The findings show that there is a general sense of connectivity, and people find belonging on Facebook.

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Participants expressed belonging to a variety of groups on Facebook. Furthermore, friends and family were featured over and again throughout front stage and backstage data. Family and friends are the majority audience, and they represent and reaffirm social identities. Discussing friends frequently was not surprising because Facebook is a social networking site based on the assumption of interacting with friends. Family as a major theme, is both surprising and not. It is interesting that people use Facebook more to keep in touch with and inform family members/ relatives about their lives, rather than casual acquaintances and friends from the past. At the same time it is not surprising that people use Facebook for family correspondence/information because of the ease and accessibility of displaying large amounts of info to so many people at once. Yet, it is still rather interesting that although Facebook enables people to interact with endless groups of people, participants still expressed family and close friends as focal points of interaction/Facebook use.

Presumably one gains a sense of belonging through connectivity, affirmation and social approval. The need for belonging also implies an underlying link to the control over behavior; so that people display appealing images to maintain connection and a sense of belonging through "keeping in touch" with others. This is reflected in participants' expressions of tailoring their behavior for their audience or because of their audience.

An overwhelming majority of participants post wall posts or status updates for certain people which marks the need for belonging and social approval on Facebook as well. Furthermore, the set-up of Facebook facilitates attention seeking in the name of sharing. This is visible in the results when some participants emphasized posting to a friend's wall, where as others mentioned posting status updates for a particular individual but everyone else can see it too. In this sense, they want as many people as possible to see it and like it (both literally and figuratively). Every participant, but one expressed this on Facebook.

The connection between attention seeking and social approval on Facebook comes full circle via the "Like" button: it is not necessarily about the item/content posted, it is more about the person needing to be liked on Facebook (i.e. social approval). This is explicit in the results when a participant expresses being pressured into logging into Facebook to "like" her cousin's posts/comments/updates; and other participants mentioned posting things so that others would like it. Therefore the design and user capabilities of Facebook, coupled with individuals

controlling their image through personal rules, essentially leads to differences in projected identities.

According to past research, traits that are rated highly on communion levels are more liked by others. In other words, people that express qualities that are more for others than the self are more liked (i.e. other oriented/socially valuable). Once again with Facebook being a social networking site, communal traits would be expected to be (most) valuable. Identity characteristics such as being deep or complex are significantly associated with being disliked by others (Wortman 2011). When coupled with participants adamant expression of disliking those who post "TMI" or too much information, this provides support for the argument that people want to be likable/liked on Facebook. This is still distinct from face-to-face interactions because Facebook is a highly controlled arena, enabling people to create and maintain a more likable image. People are still themselves, just a more likable version.

It is interesting that there are more than twice as many characteristics that leads one to being disliked by others (as there are likable characteristics) according to past studies. This was also exemplified in the data/findings; there were more direct backstage statements of what is disliked on Facebook. Furthermore, the traits that are associated with being liked and disliked align accordingly with what is considered "appropriate" and "inappropriate" behavior on Facebook. Thus, people want to be "liked", or likable, front stage.

Why would anyone post something negative on Facebook if it is just as easy to keep that information backstage? Facebook offers the possibility to provide a purely happy place, if people would just not post negative information. Essentially this is the desirable/approvable/appropriate Facebook front/face- to be likable, approvable and connected. Most participants disapproved of posting general information although there were the few exceptions who did admit to this. In general Facebook is a place for happy events and not boring menial or sad content. Once again participants repeated that negative information does not need to be shared with the entire Facebook community. In sum, keep negativity backstage and put forward positivity front stage.

The results from the Twenty Statements Test comparisons show us that people are not going to put their whole selves out there. Even though general posts are viewed as "TMI", personal, and/or private information, in the end profiles display general information which does not reflect one's true self or inner personal identities. This also supports the idea that people will

display what they think is appropriate, acceptable, expected, and valued. Moreover these qualities are more likely across individuals versus personal identity characteristics that are unique to said individuals. In other words the Facebook Role does not highlight each individual's complete self, it highlights the socially acceptable/expected/valuable version.

Holistic Discussion of Identity

One of the most interesting findings is that participants are more eclectic and diverse front stage. Incongruencies in identity projection may not speak to false presentations, but may point to maintaining a wider variety of identity projections in general. The display of varying identities reflects a more post-modern vision of identity. Identities are more fluid and diverse; people can pick and choose the features they please. It is easier to display a vast variety of information on Facebook compared to in person. Profiles portray various identities at once and over an extended amount of time. Presentational information is featured at all times in user's info section, profile pictures, personal info featured at the top of the profile, and concurrently through their wall posts, comments and updates.

Content reflects various identities, even oppositional identities simultaneously. Projecting masculine and feminine characteristics for instance; appears to be wearing make-up in the profile picture (feminine) and a computer science major (masculine). There is more fluidity, yet identities still have meaning and matter to people.

To reverberate, feminist theorists highlight how we hold various identities (i.e. race, class, gender, sexuality) at once and these identities cannot be separated. This also means that one affects the other and vice versa (e.g. intersectionality). The current results are no exception. Race, gender, and class were constantly visible during both front stage and backstage presentations. As mentioned in the findings, race was congruent for participants overall. Women were more feminine and men were more masculine front stage. Again, this finding aligns with past research on gender presentation in mixed group interactions. Projection of class varied for each participant but overall participants expressed slightly higher class characteristics front stage. This point greatly supports the notion that people present consistent or consistently better version of themselves on Facebook.

Strengths and Limitations

A limitation of this research is simply time and length boundaries. The methods chosen may not be completely suitable for this reason in particular. It would be better if more time was

available to include more participants and further analysis. The method might not be the absolute best, but either way the qualitative information supplies rich information on the subject matter.

One of the difficulties during the research process was realizing the many avenues that the results could take, while remaining focused on the particular research questions of interest. There was not enough time to discuss each and every finding or connection. Future research can address this limitation among the others. An abundance of data is exciting and useful, but each theme could not be discussed in great depth because it would be overwhelming. There is much more that could be done with the findings in regard to each emergent theme, which is useful for future endeavors. However, generally discussing the array of results is pertinent to this particular research.

Furthermore, future research can focus an extensive discussion on the various identities projected solely face-to-face. Or research can go the opposite direction and have an extended discussion of the identity characteristics that are projected on Facebook solely (as compared to in person). The interview responses alone could be discussed as a separate topic concerning how participants describe their Facebook use. Another avenue for future research is to focus on race, gender, and class specifically.

The strength of the research lies in the multiple forms of data collection and triangulation. The findings are valid due to this; claims made by respondents were either supported or refuted/discredited by their Facebook content. If only interviews were completed, this last step would not be possible. Another degree of validity is added by the extensive analysis process, participants' results were assessed individually and then collectively. This adds credibility to the findings because these features were not unique to individuals' display, but there were numerous commonalities among participants which represents the collective. In other words, the major themes and similarities among participants is also supported by each individual participant's assessment. This is a major contribution to the literature on presentational behavior due to the results and exploratory methodology chosen, and is foundational to social media research.

IMPLICATIONS & CONCLUSION

From the current study, participants are well aware that their identities will be assessed by others without their presence (at any time). Many are concerned about their front stage impression and how it will be perceived by others. On a macro level, peoples' front stage impressions affect their non-virtual, backstage selves as noted in the literature. Multiple participants pointed out that there are safety implications for impression management on Facebook. It is notable that participants expressed concerns over strangers (stalkers, sex offenders, and the like) when past research shows that offenders are usually close to the victim. Hackers and identity theft are an additional internet safety issue.

Identity projection on Facebook has lasting effects when hiring personnel use Facebook to screen people. The results show that participants are different front stage. Although this is mostly a "positive" difference, some positive qualities get left behind. For instance, many participants were identified as being reliable and responsible in person, but these characteristics were not reflected by their Facebook content.

Overall the findings imply that people create norms for behavior for any social setting and Facebook is not exempt. It is interesting that even though drinking and partying is widely acceptable in New Orleans, it was still avoided on Facebook. This means that Facebook norms override local norms when participants engage in presentational behavior on Facebook.

If the norm is being funnier, happier, consistently good-looking and the like on Facebook, the underlying implication is that participants expect this of others and assume that there is some "missing" information. Therefore, the Facebook face is expected to be the "best" face. Participants claiming to not post anything that they will later regret shows that they are not perfect (backstage) and that they do make mistakes. However, they will not publish their mistakes front stage because they do not want to tarnish their image on Facebook. In the end, the profile is like a face with no blemishes.

The results show discontent with certain behavior on Facebook (e.g. negativity, drama, general information). Breaking the norm by posting information that "should not" be shared with the Facebook world, has real effects. Ostracism occurs through "hiding" or "unfriending" friends. Past studies found that ostracism occurs through mediated communication despite the lack of physical proximity (Smith and Williams 2004). The individual does not have to be physically ostracisized to experience the effect. Moreover, the studies discussed in the

background claim that self esteem fluctuates with interaction on Facebook, meaning that anything we post is subject to others' interpretation and perception of the impression and the feedback provided (or not) contributes to higher or lower self esteem levels. This claim highlights the importance of context and reflexivity.

Participants project incongruencies front stage but they are not necessarily presenting a false front. This highlights the importance of context. The backstage evidence that participants cater to their friends list reiterates reflexivity and the need for social approval. Presentation through Facebook is founded on reflexivity, no matter how distant the reaction.

There are norms and expectations, and rewards and punishments for identity maintenance/projection on Facebook. The Facebook role is a collective representation of the norms for front stage and backstage presentational behavior. Participants act a certain way, so that their identities are convergent with expectations. Users control their presentational behavior not only according to a specific audience, but also according to Facebook as a location on it's own. In general the appropriate Facebook Role is characterized by positivity, no negativity, friendliness, sociability, normativity, happiness, humor, and a good/better image front stage. Thus, people display socially valuable characteristics and behave in appealing manners on Facebook. Further, the results show that people present a consistently "good" version of themselves front stage. Overall, the findings show that Facebook is yet another distinct location for social interaction where front stage impressions are fostered by backstage control.

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APPENDIX

A. Extended Theoretical Basis

Types of Self Concepts

The presentation of self is an outward representation of one's self concept. Bargh, McKenna, and Fitzsimons (2002:34) distinguish various types of the self-concept as, "ideal, ought, and actual self-concepts: the ideal self contains qualities one strives to someday possess, the ought self those qualities one feels obligated to possess, and the actual self those one actually expresses to others at present". So during face-to-face interactions it would be difficult to produce the ideal self because that consists of qualities that one does not possess at the moment, and the ought self is not necessarily expressed to others. However, when constructing the self on Facebook the ideal and ought selves can be produced as the actual self more readily through selective self presentation of content. This can be achieved through photoshopping images, or stealing from others and claiming it to be your own work. The lack of face-to-face contact may simply provide the courage to produce an ideal self online; and only displaying certain information may speak to one's ought self (more than actual self).

The true self consists of qualities that are presently held by an individual, but not outwardly expressed in social life (Bargh, et al. 2002). This could refer to the backstage self, or even an identity that is hoped for but not yet attained. Mason-Schrock (1996) found that Transexuals found ways to reconcile discrepant information (about their bodies) while doing identity work to create a phenomenologically real "true self". This is one example of how people believe in the notion of a true self, whether or not it exists. The internet is a tangible outlet for the true self, yet the nonymous nature of Facebook threatens this while simultaneously enabling a heightened sense of self displayed virtually.

Identity Theory & Social Identity Theory

The actual self reflects one's identity which is constructed and maintained through impression management. Identities are thus internalized through a reflexive process- performer to audience back to performer which is also addressed in both Identity Theory and Social Identity Theory. Identity Theory and Social Identity Theory are similar yet have minute differences; therefore both will be applied to the theoretical approach of this study. Roles define identities in Identity Theory and groups or categories define identities in Social Identity Theory

(Burke 2006; Callero 1985; Stets and Burke 2000). Both stances of identity are visible on Facebook (roles and group identities).

In Identity Theory, categories depend on a named and classified world where symbols are used to designate positions or roles; roles are "relatively stable, morphological components of the social structure..." (Stets and Burke 2000:225). Roles are simply social positions that are connected to certain behaviors, obligations and meanings. The center of identity is the categorization of the self as an occupant of a role and incorporating the meanings and expectations of the role into the self and performance (Stets and Burke 2000). Role identities also correspond to counter identities (Callero 1985; Burke 2006). For example, the gender role of man counters the role of woman. Thus, identity performances are a result of actors attempting to interrelate their identities with those of others in a situation (Burke 2006).

Role identities imply action as well; it is through action that role identities are realized and validated (Callero 1985). Meaningful activity within a role revolves around the control of resources (Stets and Burke 2000). In this light activity on Facebook can be used as a tool and resource. For example, the network of friends can help one get a job, a sitter, or anything in social life where connections are advantageous (if a positive impression is maintained). The ability to control identity is the tool and networking is the resource.

According to Stets (2006), Identity Theory claims that the self is made up of multiple identities which are tied to the social structure. The self concept encompasses the structure of the complete self as a reflection of the complete social process (Callero 1985). Facebook's penetration into everyday life leaves a mark on one's self concept because it is a major social infrastructure where people interact daily. Identity projection and saliency may be affected by Facebook (as a social space) in order to create/maintain a particular role on Facebook.

One's expectations of how a role should be performed may differ from another's expectations of the same role; as a result conflict may occur, but can be resolved through negotiation and compromise between actors (Burke 2006). This is important because one's face, and identity, is on the line when the impression is challenged. Individuals use two different mechanisms for aligning audience perception with held identities- "selective perception" and "selective interpretation" (Burke 2006). With selective perception individuals respond to cues that relate to their projected identity while ignoring other cues; and selective interpretation refers to actors interpreting cues as supportive of their identity, when they actually do not support the

presentation (Callero 1985; Burke 2006). Either is highly possible on Facebook due to the increased difficulty of interpreting responses virtually when there are no physical or oral cues.

According to Identity Theory people adapt expectations and meanings to a role as it relates to other roles in a groups, and act to represent and preserve those expectations and meanings (Stets and Burke 2000). However, when roles are verified strong attachment develops (Stets and Burke 2000). Users can choose to interact with those that proficiently verify their role most often. Group-based identities on the other hand only involve the actor's perceptions and actions directly (Stets and Burke 2000).

Social Identity Theory differs from Identity Theory due to focusing on identities as group related; people create in-group norms that are internalized and guide behavior to enact their social identity (Burke 2006). There are different ways of looking at the self through this theoretical lens as well. The individual self is defined by personal traits that differentiates the self from others, the relational self is defined by dyadic relationships between the self and significant others, and the collective self is defined by group membership that differentiates "us" from "them" (Burke 2006). However, for both Identity Theory and Social Identity Theory, one belongs to a group and occupies a role simultaneously; therefore role identities and social group identities are relevant and influence perceptions, affect, and behavior (Stets and Burke 2000).

The personal identity is a self-construal of idiosyncratic personality attributes that are not shared with other people, i.e. personality traits (Burke 2006). The personal identity is the set of meanings that are tied to and sustain the self as an individual according to Identity Theory (Stets and Burke 2000). In Social Identity Theory the person (or personal) identity is the lowest level of the self categorization which is unique and distinct from other individuals (Stets and Burke 2000). Within Identity Theory the personal identity may override the role when necessary to maintain the personal identity (Stets and Burke 2000). Social Identity Theory claims that the group identity overrides the personal identity to maintain a normative fit (Stets and Burke). It would be noteworthy to find which overrides which in the virtual setting and particularly on Facebook.

Identity Construction

In both Identity Theory and Social Identity Theory the self is reflexive; it takes itself as an object and categorizes, classifies, and names itself in relation to other social categories (Stets and Burke 2000). People do not live in a vacuum; therefore people are continuously feeding

information back and forth with the social world around them. Essentially this is the process by which an identity is formed; and I will simply refer to this as a part of identity construction. Cooley's "Looking Glass Self" is also exemplary of this concept; we see ourselves how other's see us.

In Identity Theory, this process is called identification and there are actually two processes involved in social identity formation, self categorization and social comparison (Stets and Burke 2000). Through the comparison process similarities with others become categorized as the 'in-group' (Stets and Burke 2000). On Facebook, users are now able to separate groups of friends which could create an in-group without the out-group members even knowing that they belong to the out-group. Furthermore, people may accentuate "good" social qualities on Facebook because the site constantly feeds users information about others with whom they can compare themselves. According to Stets and Burke (2000:225), "[t]he consequence of the social comparison process is the selective application of the accentuation effect, primarily to those dimensions that will result in self-enhancing outcomes for the self."

Identity Activation

There are also motivational processes for the activation of identities. Self efficacy and self regulation are motivational factors in Identity Theory; while maintaining and enhancing self esteem are motivational processes described in Social Identity Theory (Stets and Burke 2000). Acquiring and presenting social identities is motivated by self enhancement, positive distinctiveness, optimal distinctiveness, and uncertainty reduction (Burke 2006). Overall, identities referring to roles or groups are motivated by self-esteem, self consistency, self regulation, and self efficacy (Burke 2006; Stets and Burke 2000). Once again, all of these processes can be linked to impression management on Facebook, which is discussed further in the literature review.

Once an identity is activated, cognitive processes ensue; the central cognitive process in Identity Theory is self verification, or seeing the self in terms of the role as embodied in the identity standard (Burke 1991; Stets and Burke 2000). People take action to modify self verification in different situations according to the perception of the performance by others (Stets and Burke 2000). Compared to face-to-face interactions, this is much easier to accomplish through Facebook; one can completely end the interaction or use outside resources to verify one's identity. In Social Identity Theory depersonalization represents this process of seeing the

self as embodying the in-group prototype rather than unique individuality (Stets and Burke 2000).

Identity Control Theory

Peter Burke's Identity Control Theory works on the basis that one's identity, which is composed of a set of meanings, is the standard reference for an individual; when an identity is activated in a situation, the feedback loop is ignited as well (Burke 2006). The loop has four components: one, the identity standard; two, input self relevant meanings of the situation including appraisals from others; three, compare the reflected input with the identity standard; and four, output meaningful behavior that is a function of the comparison (Burke 2006). Therefore the self is measured against one's standard and the perceived feedback of the performance from others. "When perceptions are congruent with the standard, *identity verification* exists" (Burke 2006:97). This is vital to the maintenance of identities through Facebook; for example, identity verification can be induced merely through the "like" button or even misinterpretation of information. When there is an interruption to the identity standard negative affects such as anxiety and stress are induced, specifically salient identities will be affected most according to Identity Control Theory (Burke 2006).

Identity Salience

Additionally, because people hold various identities at once, the said identities are organized into a hierarchy within the self; but this hierarchy reflects the situational self and not the ideal self (Burke 2006). In other words, certain identities will be at the forefront of performance depending on context, yet "actual" self identities will be most salient.

The saliency of an identity refers to it's importance, prominence, and visibility. Identity Theory delves into the concept of saliency more than Social Identity Theory. Identity Theory distinguishes between salience (probability of activation) and activation (identity is actually played out), whereas Social Identity Theory merges the two (Stets and Burke 2000). According to Stets and Burke (2000) Identity Theory can investigate factors such as context due to the separation. Facebook is the contextual location that drives behavior in this study, which highlights the prominence of context. The probability of activation can be measured based on frequency of activation based on context.

Furthermore, saliency is a product of accessibility and fit in Identity Theory; and the activation of identities allows people to accomplish personal and/or social goals (Stets and Burke

2000). There are a multitude of routes for these goals being met on Facebook, which will be addressed later in the literature review. Salient role identities announce to others who we are and others then come to define us in terms of those salient role identities (Callero 1985). Therefore our performance must be consistent with this identity, which brings the impression management process full circle. Thus displaying how salient role identities are tied to interpersonal, societal expectations (Callero 1985). Salient role identities impact how we define others and with whom we develop social relationships as well (Callero 1985). Who we interact with the most on Facebook reflects this notion.

Commitment to an identity also plays a part in how salient an identity will be. Commitment is related to the number of people one is tied to through the identity and also the relative strength or depth of the ties to others; stronger ties lead to more salient identities (Stets and Burke 2000). Commitment to an identity is also affected by positive and negative emotions attached to the identity at different times (Burke 2006). Salient role identities help determine self esteem; positive self esteem rests on successful performance of salient role identities (Callero 1985). Therefore the commitment to the identity partially rests on the outcome of self esteem produced by the performance; if the performance is not perceived as congruent with the salient identity self esteem may fall as well as the commitment to the identity.

Hierarchy is inherent in the concept of saliency for both theories. This salience hierarchy reflects which role will be enacted when multiple roles may be appropriate choices in Identity Theory (Stets and Burke 2000). The most salient role identities are at the top of the hierarchy and those less representative (of the self) are positioned near the bottom (Callero 1985). In Social Identity Theory different identities are organized into a hierarchy of inclusiveness where different levels of identities are activated based on context (Stets and Burke 2000). Ultimately, Identity Theory focuses on structural arrangements and links between people, while Social Identity Theory focuses on the characteristics of the situation in which the identity may be activated (Stets and Burke 2000). All of the theories display how this is a reflexive process: from the actor to the audience, back to the actor.

B. Ethics & Measures

The first and foremost ethical concern that I, as the researcher, must take in mind, is that this involves people's personal information. All information will be held confidential and will not be used to harm participants in any manner. The University of New Orleans IRB found this

study exempt from full review on the 11th of October 2011; which means the study meets the ethical standards of the IRB.

A statement of consent and information about the study is posted on the research Facebook profile, so that individuals were aware of what the study entails before volunteering to participate. A written statement of consent is also administered at the time of the interview. This informs the participant that s/he may leave at any time, along with contact information for questions or concerns. Finally, all steps in the research process were carried out with the utmost integrity.

B.1. Approval Notification from IRB (as it appears in email correspondence):

University Committee for the Protection
of Human Subjects in Research
University of New Orleans

Campus Correspondence

Principal Investigator: D'Lane Compton

Co-Investigator: Nathalie N. Delise

Date: October 11, 2011

Protocol Title: "Me, Myself, and Identity Online: Identity Salience on Facebook vs. Non-virtual Identity"

IRB#:   01Oct11

The IRB has deemed that the research and procedures described in this protocol application are exempt from federal regulations under 45 CFR 46.101category 2, due to the fact that any disclosure of the human subjects' responses outside the research would not reasonably place the subjects at risk of criminal or civil liability or be damaging to the subjects' financial standing, employability, or reputation.

Exempt protocols do not have an expiration date; however, if there are any changes made to this protocol that may cause it to be no longer exempt from CFR 46, the IRB requires another standard application from the investigator(s) which should provide the same information that is in this application with changes that may have changed the exempt status.

If an adverse, unforeseen event occurs (e.g., physical, social, or emotional harm), you are required to inform the IRB as soon as possible after the event.

Best wishes on your project.
Sincerely,

Robert D. Laird, Ph.D., Chair
UNO Committee for the Protection of Human Subjects in Research

B.1. Informed Consent as it Appears on Facebook:

Nathalie Delise
Informed Consent

The purpose of this study is to complete Graduate level thesis research at the University of New Orleans. This study is to examine the use of Facebook from a social interaction perspective. Participants' profile pages will be viewed and analyzed followed by a supplemental face-to-face interview. Each participant can expect to be involved in the interview process for approximately one hour or so. If for some reason the participant feels uncomfortable at any point during the research process, they may leave and any information collected will be destroyed. All information gathered will be kept confidential and held securely in the Social Psychology Lab on campus. One benefit of participation is to see how social research is conducted, along with helping a fellow student complete required work. Participants may also learn something new about their Facebook use that they may not have realized before.

Like · · Share · October 19, 2011 at 2:54pm

B.2. Recruitment Note as it Appears on Facebook:

Nathalie Delise
Recruitment Note:

Participants Needed!

For: Sociology Graduate student thesis research

What: Study on Facebook use

How: Analysis of Facebook Profile and Follow-up Interview

I am conducting a study on how people use social networking sites, particularly Facebook. By adding my research page to your friend list, you are agreeing that I can view your profile for active information and contact you for a brief interview. The interview should last about an hour or so. All information will be kept confidential! The information gained will not be used against participants in any fashion or manner.

If you or anyone you know that may be interested in participating in this study on Facebook use, please add me to your friend list!

Like · · Share · October 19, 2011 at 2:53pm

B.3. Informal 'Thank You' to Participants as it Appears on Facebook:

Nathalie Delise
Thank you to everyone for signing up for this study!!!! And a special thanks to everyone who sat down for an interview with me!!! Graduating wouldn't be possible without you :)

Like · · Share · January 3 at 11:02am
    Jean Cortazzo Fernandez, Amani Jaber and 2 others like this.

B.4. Written Statement of Consent (administered at interview):

UNIVERSITY of NEW ORLEANS

Informed Consent

The purpose of this study is to complete Graduate level thesis research at the University of New Orleans. This study is to examine the use of Facebook from a social interaction perspective. Participants' profile pages will be viewed and analyzed followed by a supplemental face-to-face interview. Each participant can expect to be involved in the interview process for approximately forty-five minutes. If for some reason the participant feels uncomfortable at any point during the research process, they may leave and any information collected will be destroyed. All information gathered will be kept confidential and held securely in the Social Psychology Lab on campus. One benefit of participation is to see how social research is conducted, along with helping a fellow student complete required work. Participants may also learn something new about their Facebook use that they may not have realized before.

By signing below you agree to be part of this study under the specified conditions:

_____   _____

Signature of Subject   Date

_____

Signature of Researcher

Participation is completely voluntary; you have the right to leave the study at any point in time! If you have any questions or concerns contact:

Dr. D'Lane Compton 504-280-6200
dcompton@uno.edu
Nathalie Delise 504-606-080
ndelise@my.uno.edu

B.5. Twenty Statements Test (administered after Informed Consent):

Twenty Statement Test (TST)

Please write twenty answer to the simple question "Who am I?" in these blank. Just give twenty different answers to this question; answer as if you were giving the answers to yourself- not someone else. Write your answers in the order that they occur to you. Don't worry about logic or "importance." WHO AM I?

1. _____

2. _____

3. _____

4. _____

5. _____

6. _____

7. _____

8. _____

9. _____

10. _____

11. _____

12. _____

13. _____

14. _____

15. _____

16. _____

17. _____

18. _____

19. _____

20. _____

B.6. Interview Questions (read aloud to the participant):

Interview Questions:

Name:_____

Birthday/Age:_____

Race:_____

Sex:_____

Gender:_____

Classification/highest year of schooling (educational

attainment):_____

1) How long have you been a member of Facebook?

2) How often do you use Facebook? [where do u access it from?]

3) How many accounts do you have?

4) If more than one, why do you have multiple accounts?

5) Which privacy settings are activated on your account(s); why?

6) Is there anything that you are especially concerned about not having on Facebook?

7) What do you try to post about?

8) What do you post about the most?

9) What do you post about the least?

10)   What do you try to not post about; why?

11)   Do you post certain things for specific people?

12)   Do you post certain things at specific times?

13)   Who do you mainly interact with on Facebook?

        1) of the people that you interact with most on Facebook, would you say that

        you see them often face-to-face?

14)   What kind of activities do you participate in on Facebook?

15)   Do you have personal rules for your Facebook use?

16)   What are your concerns with Facebook (if any)?

17)   How important is Facebook to your social life? [on 1-10 scale?] (ten being the

   most important)

C. Sample of Coding & Analysis:

C1. Example of Profile Content Analyzed (*"top five pics" missing, would not print)

Friends   Message

Guest Services at Audubon Zoo   Studies at Southeastern Louisiana University
Lives in Hammond, Louisiana   In a relationship with James Beck   From Chalmette,
Louisiana   Born on September 29

Wall
Info
Photos (153)
Friends
Subscriptions (1)

In a relationship with

James Beck

Friends (321)

Shan Crain
Franklin High Sc

Vanessa Pernici...

Sabrina Culotta

Monica Leona P...

Katie Carlisle

Theodore Smythe

Amanda Joan M...
S.E. Louisiana

Shelby Elizabeth
Colorado Denver

Genie Nicole Al...

Rosalyn Cantrell
Chalmette High

Family

Jean Cortazzo F...
Mother

Work and Education

Employers   **Audubon Zoo**
Guest Services

College   **Southeastern Louisiana University**
Class of 2013

Philosophy

Religious Views   **Johnny Depp**

Political Views   **Johnny Depp for PRES lol**

Favorite Quotations   "There are four questions of value in life... What is sacred? Of what is the
spirit made? What is worth living for, and what is worth dying for? The
answer to each is the same: Only love." –Johnny Depp

People Who Inspire Rachel

Johnny Depp

Arts and Entertainment

Music

Super Hero Junkies   Changing a song after lol   Sky Fell to Earth   I use Music as an escape   A Day To Remember

More

Movies

Alice in Wonderland   Hi, I'm Troy McClure and   I actually find Chandler's   The lamp that ghetto

Nolan Lorenzo
Brother

Timothy Fernan...
Brother

Clade Fernandez
Brother

Chad Taliancich
Cousin

Report/Block

Dear John   SWEENEY TODD   Friday, Next Friday, Friday   Disney   Toy Story

The Hangover   The Tourist   Buddy The Elf   Despicable Me   Easy A

Inception

Televisions

The Fresh Prince of Bel   True Blood   Chelsea Lately   So You Think You Can

Doug   All those years I   When I was your age, wi   Cake Boss   Glee

House   That '70s Show   All That   Are You There,   Once Upon a Time

Criminal Minds   Tosh.0   The Secret Life of the   Teen Mom   HBO
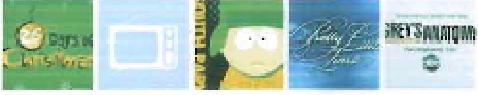
ABC Family's   I'm a 90s kid.   South Park   Pretty Little   Grey's

73

25 Days of   I miss being   Liars   Anatomy

Family Guy   "The Game"   Keeping Up   Rob & Big   Law & Order:
                            With The   Special

Activities and interests

Activities   Chocolate chip cookies

                     Flirting

                     Cuddling

                     Amusement parks

                     Flip-flops

                     Love

Show Other Pages

Basic Information

About Rachel   "strange things are afoot at the Circle K."

Interested in   Men

Relationship   In a relationship with James Beck
Status
Anniversary   March 6, 2011

Sex   Female

Networks   Chalmette High School

Contact Information

Facebook   http://facebook.com/rachel.m.fernandez

C3. Coding/Content Analysis of Profile Above

Part. # 15
Date: 12.19.11

~ Name: Rachel Fernandez {feminine, spanish american}
Bday/age: Sept. 29 {no year listed}
friends: 316

✓ info @ top   cont. ✓
  student   neighbor
  South Eastern   sociable
  Hammond   outgoing
  Southern   helping
  Louisiana (girl)   feminine (2)
  monogamous   neighborhood assoc. member
  girlfriend   festly
  committed   celebratory (2) 4
  heterosexual   ☻ heterosexual
  dalmatian   girlfriend
  (libra)   pretty
                                middle class
top 5 pics   sociable (☻) 5
                                friend ☻) 4
  woman (2)   partier (2)
  heavyset (2)   lowbrow {flippin the bird}
  glasses (2)   friendly
  happy (2)
  looks just like her mom!   wall content
  short   celebratory
    young ☻) 5   christmas ♥ lennmusical
    white (☻#) 5   outgoing
  dalmatians   girlfriend
  work/middl. class ☻) 4   heterosexual
  daughter   narc. MLI
  volunteer   aboutself MLI
                                sharing pics   links |

friendly (intr.)
feminine
mainstream
reader
supportive (2)
work/midd. class
feminine
music ♥/enthusiast
indie
alternative
White
young (2)
friendly (2)
inquisitive
thoughtful
cheesy
White (2)
masculine
low brow
(?) middle class [caption tv]
or work/midd. (?)
youthful
childlike/kiddish
random
sociable (2)
White
woman
heavyset
feminine
pretty
short

happy
volunteer
helpful
giving
charitarian
good neighbor
neighborhood assoc. member
celebratory (2)
festiv (2)
t.v. lover (2)
gender neutral
low brow (2)
food ♥/enthus.
american (3)

side info
girlfriend
heterosexual
monogamous
committed

info sec

student
southeast.
work/midd. class
c/o 2013
junior
offensive
exaggerating

Cont.

Johnny Depp fan (#) 5
careless (2)
apathetic (2)
Feminine (#)(5)
romantic (2)
loving (2)
music ♥/enthus.
mainstream (3)
low brow (# #5)
white (#)(4)
young (#)(3)
movie ♥/enthus.
youthful
gender neutral (2)
t.v. lover #
Choc. chip cookie ♥
food /sweets ♥
flirtatious
cuddler
thrill seeker
outgoing
excitement seeker
laid back
witty
humorous
work class
strange
random
heterosexual (2)
girlfriend
monogamous; committed; ~~develop the relationship~~

female
Chalmatian
Chalmette high school
work class [network]
Yat

_____

Profile pic

white
young
girl
heterosexual
girlfriend
monogamous
committed
affectionate/loving
feminine
heavyset
glasses

Proudly
9 months long

Collectively:

narc. ||||| |
   about self |||||
   sharing time |

Yat	Feminine ||||| ||||| ||
Chalmette high	Spanish
	Hammond
proud	Louisianian
	~~monogamous~~ |||
Flirtatious	~~heterosexual~~ |||||
	Libra
Cuddler	~~heavyset~~ |||
	happy -|||
thrillseeker	work/middle class ||||| ||
	daughter / fam. person
excitement seeker	volunteer ||
	neighbor ||
	festv |||
laidback	~~celebratory~~ |||||
	middle class
witty	~~low brow~~ ||||| ||||
	Christmas ♡
humorous	reader
	supportive ||
Strange	alternative
	thoughtful
work.class 6 ||	~~masculine~~
	childlike
female	kiddish
	t.v. ♡ |||
	gender neutral |||
	c/o 2013
	offensive
	exaggerating
	romantic ||

choc chip cookie ♡ /sweets♡
movie♡
  loving ||
White ||||| ||||| |||
Young ||||| ||||| |
looks just like her mom!
student ||
southEastern ||
southern
~~girlfriend~~ |||||
committed |||
~~chalmatian~~ ||||
woman ||
glasses ||
short ||
~~sociable~~ ||||| |||
outgoing |||
helping ||
neigh. assoc. member ||
  pretty ||
~~friend~~ ||||
  partier |||
~~friendly~~ ||||| |||
~~mainstream~~ ||||
music♡ ||
indie
inquisitive
cheery
youthful ||
random ||
giving
foodie ||
~~American~~ |||
Junior
Johnny Depp fan |||||
Cortez ||
apathetic ||

**Facebook Identities; Underlined Most Frequently Occurring = Top Twenty = Most Salient

C4. P15 Interview Demographic Responses & Observations

name: Rachel Fernandez
B/day / age: Sept. 29, 1991 {20} {"september"}
race: white
sex/gender: female / female {"2 though they were {laughs} the same thing"} {laughs} #15
ed. status: Junior (college)
date: 12·19·11

1) 4yrs
   3x week   computer @ home
   "1"

   no-one "only Friends"

6) actual wherabouts - alone

13) woman   crush "lesbi-honest"
15) not too personal
    Select pictures

17) "2"

<u>observations</u>
young   {yat accent}
glasses
hair fixed {wavy}
smiled, was really into answering ?'s
happy, laughed
pretty
attentive
green 4H club t-shirt (old)   {mentioned how
jeans   She's just like
shoes?)   her mom! }
bag (not reg. purse)
spoke clearly, good volume
short / heavy set

C5. Coding of Interview Transcription P15

Interview Transcription
Participant # 15
Date of: 12-19-11

Start:
me: So, how long have you been a member of Facebook?
her: four years (4)

me: ok, um How often do you use Facebook?
her: like three (3) times a week, not often
me: and where do u access it from?
her: my {mah} computer at home

me: um, How many accounts do you have?
her: one.

me: Which privacy settings are activated on your account?
her: uh no one can see anything, unless they're a friend = short, concise, to the point
me: and why is that? private, closed, cautious
her: why those settings? cuz you don't know who's out there [laughs] = suspicious (of others), careful, precautious, feminine
me: Is there anything that you are especially concerned about not having on Facebook? aware safe questioning nervous laughs
her: um, I don't put my actual whereabouts [pause] or I don't say if I'm alone rather not
let people know that
mindful careful private no location safe fear of strangers/attackers f = feminine
   precautious suspicious of others
me: ok. What do you try to post about?
her: um, what's goin on at tha house, or tha family [slight pause] that's about it
   general abt self - narc. family person, loving, connected
me: What do you post about the most? family member, caring
her: her face [chuckle] I barely get on anymore [chuckles] = unaware, avoids the answer
   sarcastic, witty, funny, not serious, happy, laid back, silly, goofy
me: What do you post about the least?
her: people. = vague short answer = uninterested, or not talkative
me: like other people?
her: yea, I don't write about people, everything I write's about me [slight lisp] [chuckle] = happy
   non controversial, me: What do you try to not post about? narcissistic, honest, unaware
   = non- her: uh, politics gossip = downplaying legitimacy of political discussion = young, youthful,
   political me: and why is that? questionable / apathetic
   feminine her: I don't wanna get inta that I don't have anything ta back it up eitha cuz I donno an'
   I'm not about ta throw out one opinion that I heard = unaware, uninformed, yet wise,
   mature, polite, apathetic
me: ok. um, do you post certain things for specific people?
her: no. → short answer = blunt, straight forward
   about self (?) gender neutral (?)
me: Do you post certain things at specific times?

her: mm-mmn maybe I did a few times at 11-11when I was in high school [laughs]

me: um, Who do you mainly interact with on Facebook?

her: um my mom an a few close friends

me: and would you say that you see them regularly face to face?

her: yea, well I interact {inneract} with the {tha} Chloe Kardashian page but I don't. I wish I could interact with her face to face [laughs- big laughter] [pause] it's one a my {mah} daily uh lesbi-honest here it's mah woman crush

me: ok. What kind of activities do you participate in on Facebook?

her: I get in an get off {awf}. I get in check mah stuff then get off [chuckle]

me: Do you have personal rules for your Facebook use?

her: um, I don't post too personal, and I only put certain pictures up like; select pictures, mostly from like the chest up, an I watch what I post of my {mah} niece and nephews uh you don't know who's looking even though it's private, still [chuckle]

me: ok, um, what are your concerns with Facebook, if any?

her: mmhm it might start somethin {somein} in tha world who knows, ya never know they I've been readin the hunger games, so I been readin about rebellions so that's what I got in mah head right now [laughs] what I read influences me

me: How important is Facebook to your social life?

her: it's not

me: ok, on a one to ten scale, ten being the most important what number would you assign it (1-10 scale)?

her: a two (2) the one bein family [chuckle-laugh]

*yat accent

no questions about study, thank you's and exit

*Each Identity Written Above was Compared to the List of Collective Facebook Identities

C7. Completed Twenty Statement Test = TST Identities

*Used As Is, No Further Coding

Twenty Statement Test (TST)

Instructions: Please write twenty answers to the simple question "Who am I?".
Use a different word or phrase that you believe is true about yourself each time.
Answer as if you were giving the answers to yourself- not someone else. Write
your answers in the order that they occur to you. Don't worry about logic or
"importance."

"I am..."

1) Sarcastic
2) a Khloe Kardashian fan.
3) in love with the color blue
4) smart
5) lively
6) fun to be around
7) a movie buff
8) a Harry Potter Geek
9) in love with the Hunger Games
10) love Reading
11) overwhelmed in college
12) an english major
13) a Camtey fan
14) ready to move out
15) not ready to grow up
16) like my mother sometimes
17) sister
18) daughter
19) girl
20) a secretary

C8. Comparison of Name and Demographic Information

85

15

N   ✓
B
A
S   ✓
G   ✓
V   ✓
e   ✓

✓ no year
✓ isused on FO
✓ 6/02 2013 aug

8/ top   24 matches total
22   21 are exact matches

Category	Same	Somewhat Different	Different
Name	Yes	-	-
Birthday	-	X- no birth year listed on Facebook	-
Age	-	X- class of 2013 = 21 years old	-
Sex	Yes	-	-
Gender	Yes	-	-
Race	Yes	-	-
Educational Attainment	Yes	-	-

C9. Matching & Differing Identities: Via Comparison of Collective Projected Identities

Identities Projected in Person (only)	Identities Projected on Facebook* (only)	Identities Projected on Facebook and in Person
Very smiley	Friendly	Young
Lighthearted	Proud	Youthful
Comical	Flirtatious	White
Jokester	Cuddler	Girl
Silly	Thrill Seeker/Excitement Seeker	Chubby/heavyset
Unserious	Strange	Happy
Vague	Spanish	Funny/witty
Honest	Hammond	Humorous
Feminine	Monogamous	Apathetic
Non-controversial	Heterosexual	Family person
Blunt/brief/straightforward	Middle Class	Daughter

Identities Projected in Person (only)	Identities Projected on Facebook* (only)	Identities Projected on Facebook and in Person
Fearful of strangers	Volunteer	Reader
Aunt	Neighbor	Short
Open	Festive	Pretty
Dependent	Celebratory	Friend
Open-minded	Christmas Lover	Yat
Skeptical	Supportive	Low brow
Dork	Alternative	Chalmatian
Close friend	Thoughtful	Working class
Sarcastic	Masculine	Glasses wearer
Attentive	Childlike	Just like her mom
Old School	Kiddish	Laid back
Spoke clearly/good volume/extraverted	T.V. lover	Feminine
Nonchallant	Gender Neutral	
	Class of 2013	
	College Junior	
	exaggerating	
	Romantic	
	Sweets lover/chocolate chip cookie lover	
	Movie lover	
	Southeastern student	
	Southern	
	Girlfriend	

Identities Projected in Person (only)	Identities Projected on Facebook* (only)	Identities Projected on Facebook and in Person
	Committed	
	Sociable	
	Outgoing	
	Helping	
	Neighborhood Association Member	
	Partier	
	Chalmette High Affiliated	
	Mainstream	
	Music lover	
	Indie	
	Inquisitive	
	Cheesy	
	Random	
	Giving	
	Foodie	
	Johnny Depp Fan	
	Careless	
	*Facebook Identities are Not Listed According to Saliency	
-24	-50	-23

C10. Twenty Statements Test Identities Compared to Most Salient Identities (Order of Appearance: TST/F2F; TST/FB; F2F/FB/TST)

	TST to Face-to-Face	TST to Facebook	TST/F2F/FB
Number of Matching Identities	10	11	8
Percent Match	50%	55%	40%

Nathalie Delise

Graduate Assistant at University of New Orleans   Lives in New Orleans, Louisiana
Add your school   Add your hometown   Edit Profile

Edit Profile   View As...
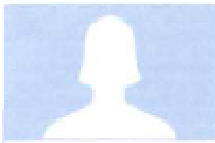
Wall
Info
Photos
Notes
Friends
Subscriptions

Find Friends

Best Friends

Coworkers

Classmates

Friends (34)

Uno Pierre
University of Ne...

Jacob Tolpi

Korl Exsierstein
University of Ne...

Nicholas Lambert

Lauren Rierhaum

Angelica Monica
Garcia

Christy Hedlund
t So

Keion Brown

Stephanie
Permiciaro
Pittsburgh

Ashley Otting
University of Ne...

Work and Education   Edit

Employers   **University of New Orleans**
Graduate Assistant - New Orleans, Louisiana
Social Psychology Lab Assistant; Graduate Student
Department of Sociology

Share Your
Experiences   Add a School

Arts and Entertainment   Edit

Share Your
Interests

Add Music   Add Books   Add Movies   Add TV
Shows   Add Games

Activities and Interests   Edit

Other   UNO College of Liberal Arts

Basic Information   Edit

Sex   Female

Contact Information   Edit

Email   ndelise@my.uno.edu

Facebook   http://facebook.com/socthesisresearch

Welcome to Your Profile

Your profile helps your friends learn about the people, experiences and activities that matter to you most.

Get Inspired: See Lauren's Profile

92

Nathalie Delise

Graduate Assistant at University of New Orleans   Lives in New Orleans, Louisiana
Add your school   Add your hometown   Edit Profile

Edit Profile   View As...

Update Status   Add Photo / Video

What's on your mind?

Nathalie Delise updated her current city to New Orleans, Louisiana.
Like · Comment · October 26 at 9:41am

RECENT ACTIVITY

Nathalie is now friends with Chris Pellegrin and 5 other people.

Nathalie is now friends with Uno Pierre and 10 other people.

"Participants Needed! For..." on UNO College of Liberal Arts's Wall.

Nathalie likes UNO College of Liberal Arts.

"Recruitment Note: Participants..." on UNO Sociology Department's Wall.

"Recruitment Note: Participants..." on THE University of New Orleans's Wall.

Nathalie Delise
Informed Consent

The purpose of this study is to complete Graduate level thesis research at the University of New Orleans. This study is to examine the use of Facebook from a social interaction perspective. Participants profile pages will be viewed and analyzed followed by a supplemental face-to-face interview. Each participant can expect to be involved in the interview process for approximat...
See More
Like · Comment · Share · October 19 at 2:54pm

RECENT ACTIVITY

Nathalie is now friends with Jonny Roberts jr and 8 other people.

Nathalie Delise
Recruitment Note

Participants Needed!
For: Sociology Graduate student thesis research
What: Study on Facebook Use
...
See More
Like · Comment · Share · October 19 at 2:53pm

Nathalie Delise added University of New Orleans to her work (Graduate Assistant).
Like · Comment · October 19 at 2:46pm

RECENT ACTIVITY

Nathalie is now friends with Penny Huffman and 9 other people.

There are no more posts to show.

Vita

  The author was born in New Orleans, Louisiana and raised in Chalmette, Louisiana until Hurricane Katrina in August of 2005. She then obtained her Bachelor's of Arts in Sociology from Loyola University New Orleans in May of 2009. She was admitted to the University of New Orleans Graduate program in Sociology to pursue a Master's of Arts Degree in 2010. While completing her studies she was also a Graduate Assistant for the Social Psychology Laboratory from August 2010 until May 2012.