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Facebook Anonymous Information Seeking (FAIS) Behaviors: Emerging Definitions and Conceptual Relationships

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FACEBOOK ANONYMOUS INFORMATION SEEKING (FAIS) BEHAVIORS –
EMERGING DEFINITIONS AND CONCEPTUAL RELATIONSHIPS

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DEDICATION

To my husband Israel, who loves me and makes my many endeavors possible.

To my loving Mother, who has given much to ensure my every opportunity.

To my Father, who taught me to love science, satiate my curiosity about the
world, and consider my mortality.

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FACEBOOK ANONYMOUS INFORMATION SEEKING (FAIS) BEHAVIORS –
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JULIE A. CAJIGAS

ABSTRACT

One of the fastest growing modes of Computer Mediated Communication (CMC), Social Network Sites (SNS) are revolutionizing the way that people communicate and acquire interpersonal information. The largest of these is Facebook, with more than 500 million users (Facebook.com, 2011). A new lexicon of terms has evolved to describe behaviors specific to Facebook, including the term “Facebook stalking,” a term which is used to describe a specific type of browsing behavior on Facebook. This exploratory research study attempts to define and measure “Facebook stalking,” a behavior that has a number of interpersonal and network communication implications.

Using previous research as a guide, the terms Facebook Anonymous Information Seeking (FAIS) and Facebook Anonymous Information Seeking with a Conscious Social Norm Violation (FAIS-CSNV) have been invented as more precise names for the behavior behind Facebook stalking. Survey data from a Facebook snowball sample with more than 1,000 respondents is used to study the relationships between FAIS, FAIS-CSNV and other traits. Based on the survey data, FAIS and FAIS-CSNV have significant statistical relationships with gossip, social comparison orientation, interpersonal curiosity, tendency towards voyeuristic behavior and age. Descriptive results establish that FAIS

and FAIS-CSNV are common, well-known behaviors, and open-ended survey results offer further clarity on the way the term “Facebook stalking” is being used by current Facebook users of all ages. The findings of this study will add to the body of knowledge on Computer Mediated Communication (CMC) as well as afford an opportunity for further research in understanding human behavior and social norms in the context of SNS.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION AND RATIONALE

One of the fastest growing modes of Computer Mediated Communication (CMC) on the Internet today is Social Network Sites (SNS). Of the growing number of SNS that allow users to connect to a network of friends online, Facebook is the largest and currently the fastest growing of its kind (Facebook.com, 2011). Facebook has given users unparalleled access to information about others along with an extremely user-friendly platform from which to broadcast details about their own lives. Facebook users are able to access information from the profiles of those with whom they have articulated a social connection, or their “Facebook friends,” and from some users with whom they have no articulated connection. These connections, both articulated and unarticulated, are governed by a complex set of privacy rules, which control a users access to the profiles of other users. Even with these privacy settings, Facebook has become an unprecedented repository where users can and are making intimate details about their lives available to everyone from spouses to complete strangers.

Evidence suggests that this access to information is not going unnoticed or unused. Several qualitative studies have examined the ways in which Facebook users interact with and utilize the site, and each study names “reviewing the information on other user’s profiles” and “seeking social information” among the most popular uses of the SNS (Lewis & West, 2009; Pempek, Yermolayeva & Calvert, 2009; Urista, Dong & Day, 2009; Westlake, 2008). The studies also document the existence of a browsing or information seeking behavior, which their study participants referred to as Facebook stalking, random stalking, stalking or creeping (Lewis & West, 2009; Pempek et al., 2009; Urista et al., 2009; Westlake, 2008). This behavioral phenomenon is being described in popular media, where it has been called “profile browsing, profile stalking, Facebook cyber-stalking, Facestalking, Stalkerbook and status creeping” (Chaulk & Jones, 2011, p. 245). Chaulk and Jones (2011) identified these colloquialisms in a number of respected national newspapers and magazines.

Though terms to describe Facebook stalking are appearing across academia and popular culture, there is little consensus on the definition of this emergent behavior. The behavior has been identified as socially undesirable, suggesting that it violates social norms (Lewis & West, 2009; Westlake, 2008). It has been described as voyeuristic and creepy (Pempek et al., 2009), and as snooping or spying (Urista et al., 2009). Despite the negative aspects of Facebook stalking that have been described, there are also a number of participants who characterize it as a mild or non-threatening behavior. Lewis and West (2009) also noted that the behavior could manifest as mild, friendly stalking, and one participant in the Urista et al. (2009) study stated that “we like snooping, but we don’t

like when participants snoop on us” (p. 223). Most studies make a distinction between Facebook stalking and criminal stalking, explaining that harassment and malintent are characteristics of criminal stalking that are not necessarily present in Facebook stalking. Perhaps the most repeated theme in the literature is the emphasis on the ubiquity of the behavior. A majority of study participants admit (often begrudgingly) to engaging in the behavior, and in Lewis and West (2009), five of the participants reported that Facebook stalking accounted for a majority of the time they spent on Facebook.

These varied descriptions and definitions lead to the question, “what is Facebook stalking?” The current research endeavors to examine the existing definitions in the academic literature in order to offer a conceptualization for Facebook stalking. In addition, because of the varied definitions of Facebook stalking, it is important to consider that the behavior people currently refer to as Facebook stalking is more than one behavior, and thus more than one conceptual definition is needed to define it. The current research will attempt to offer a complete conceptualization of Facebook stalking and the behavior(s) the term describes. In addition, the current research will attempt to show support for the existence of relationships between a user’s proclivities towards Facebook stalking and their proclivities towards other constructs including gossip, Social Comparison Orientation, curiosity, and voyeurism. If the existence of these relationships is supported, it will help to validate both the conceptual definition and the operational definition(s) for Facebook stalking. The ultimate goal is to look at these four related constructs in their trait and state forms as potential predictors, or Uses and Gratifications, for the behavior (s) currently described as Facebook stalking (Urista et al., 2009).

Background and Need

To understand the importance of studying information seeking behaviors on Facebook, it is crucial to understand the importance of Facebook in a socio-cultural context. Facebook is currently one of the largest and most rapidly growing Social Network Sites (SNS) on the Internet. The social media giant began in 2005 as a Harvard-only SNS, with a small audience (boyd & Ellison, 2008). In August of 2008, Facebook reached 100 million active users, and by July of 2010, it quintupled that number, reaching 500 million active users (Facebook.com, 2011). As of this writing, Facebook users spend an average of 700 billion minutes per month on the SNS, which means the average user spends more than 23 hours per month actively using the site (Facebook.com, 2011).

The next largest SNS that features similar characteristics to Facebook, including articulated social networks and similar messaging and chat functions, is MySpace, and MySpace and Facebook are considered to be the most popular SNS (Urista et al., 2009). To understand the popularity and growth of Facebook, it is useful to note that MySpace, once bigger and more ubiquitous than Facebook, only has 100 million active users today (MySpace.com, 2011). MySpace launched in 2004 and reached 100 million users in March of 2007. Since then, its number of users has not increased, helping Facebook meet and surpass its size and influence. Including SNS with similar characteristics, and those like Twitter and YouTube, which function quite differently, Facebook is the largest and most widely used SNS on the Internet today (Facebook.com, 2011; MySpace.com, 2011; Twitter.com, 2011; YouTube.com, 2011).

As the largest and most popular SNS, Facebook is changing the way that

relationships are maintained, initiated, re-initiated and represented online. Unlike message boards, chat rooms and other previous modes of CMC, Facebook and other social networks do not separate users by groups or interests, but instead allows them to connect to other users across multiple groups and interests. Additionally, Facebook integrates both synchronous and asynchronous CMC. If a user wishes to communicate asynchronously, he or she can send a private message similar to an e-mail message, post publicly on another person's profile via their "Wall" (a comment area section of a user's profile where connections can post content), or post comments on photographs or other content. If a user wishes to communicate synchronously, he or she can use the instant messaging function built in to Facebook to communicate with friends who are currently online. For some users, Facebook is meeting needs that would have previously been met by a combination of CMC platforms such as e-mail and instant messaging, or chat rooms. Urista et al. (2009) posit that individuals use SNS such as Facebook to experience mediated interpersonal communication satisfaction, for validation and support, and as a method to gather information about other users, often without the other user's knowledge.

As more and more people utilizing Facebook and as more people are utilizing all forms of CMC for relationship maintenance, support seeking, social capital building and information seeking, Facebook is beginning to fill social needs previously met by face-to-face communication (Urista et al., 2009). The use of anonymous information seeking, or looking without the other person's knowledge, may be filling needs that were previously filled by face-to-face gossip, for example. Understanding Facebook, a prime example of these new methods of mediated communication, may eventually become the key to

studying many different interpersonal communication phenomena moving forward.

Statement of Need

While there are many reasons a study on Facebook stalking is needed, one of the major reasons is the rapidly evolving Internet and its capacities for new methods of social interaction. This rapid evolution, however, makes a review of the pertinent literature on the topic a challenge. The earliest CMC studies, and even those that were published only a few years ago, sampled an entirely different population who were using a medium that has changed drastically. Even studies published as recently as 2009 and 2010 are already obsolete because of the blinding pace at which this technology is growing and changing.

Facebook, for example, was started as a college-only network in 2004 (boyd & Ellison, 2008), and MySpace's early adopters were teenagers who were left out of Friendster, an early SNS which was popular with college-aged users (boyd & Ellison, 2008). The SNS population skewed fairly young at the outset, but today nearly 40 million of the 130 million users active in the United States on Facebook are 50 years or older (Facebook Ads Data, 2011). Additionally, over 60 million users, nearly half of all users, are over the age of 40 (Facebook.com, 2011). Due to rapid changes in both the user base and the SNS themselves, the studies that are most pertinent to this research are waiting to be published. Because of this tendency to become obsolete before publication, the current study attempts to focus on behaviors that are likely to persist across social networks and over time, assuming that the current infrastructure continues into the future in some form. Studies like this are necessary to gain a foothold on this shifting, yet extremely popular communication channel.

This study is primarily concerned with an emerging behavior on Facebook, which has been given many names in various research studies, including creeping, Facebook stalking, random stalking and stalking. Though this behavior is defined and described many ways, the current research introduces two new terms to encompass all of the current descriptions of the behavior: Facebook Anonymous Information Seeking (FAIS), which describes all anonymous information seeking on Facebook, and FAIS-CSNV which describes anonymous information seeking accompanied by the perception of the user that they are committing a “Conscious Social Norm Violation” by engaging in the behavior. Using the literature on Facebook stalking along with the literature on other previously studied CMC behaviors, the current research will attempt to offer a valid, exhaustive and mutually exclusive conceptual definition of Facebook stalking using the newly created terms FAIS and FAIS-CSNV.

Because the studies in the literature predominantly utilize qualitative analysis methods (Lewis & West, 2009; Pempek et al., 2009; Urista et al., 2009; Westlake, 2008) or simple descriptive statistics (Pempek et al., 2009) to describe and determine the frequency of the behavior, the current study takes a quantitative approach in examining FAIS and FAIS-CSNV. Utilizing themes from the qualitative literature, the current research will not only attempt to offer a valid conceptual definition, it will also attempt to create a valid operationalization of FAIS and FAIS-CSNV. In addition, the current study will hypothesize and attempt to support relationships between FAIS and FAIS-CSNV and established constructs that, based on a theoretical argument, should be related to FAIS if the conceptual definition is accurate. Thus, the current study offers an attempt at

construct validation of FAIS and FAIS-CSNV. If relationships can be found and supported between FAIS behaviors and established, related constructs, the current research will offer an important contribution to the literature with useful definitions of both FAIS and FAIS-CSNV. It will also seek to measure the prevalence of these behaviors, which can guide future research.

CHAPTER II

LITERATURE REVIEW AND CONCEPTUALIZATION

Before delving into the important topics surrounding anonymous information seeking on Facebook, it is first important to understand Facebook as an SNS and to understand how it functions. From there, this review of the literature will begin where the researcher began, with Facebook stalking, a behavior emerging in the literature through the open-ended descriptions of participants in various studies (Brott, 2009; Kennedy, 2009; Lewis & West, 2009; Pempek et al., 2009; Urista et al., 2009; Westlake, 2008). Afterward, it will offer conceptual definitions of the two concepts created to describe the behavior currently known as Facebook stalking, FAIS and FAIS-CSNV. Finally, this review will make an argument for relationships between the explicated concepts and gossip, voyeurism, Social Comparison Orientation, and interpersonal curiosity. If the conceptualizations offered in the current study are valid, a person's proclivity towards the established constructs should be related to his or her proclivity to engage in FAIS and FAIS-CSNV.

Facebook the SNS

One of the most popular Social Network Sites on the Internet today, Facebook is also one of the most complex. It enables users to create an online profile, to create an online representation or articulation of their online and offline social networks, and to view other's profiles (Ellison, Steinfield & Lampe, 2007). The creation and maintenance of the profile, the articulation of the social network, the access to viewing others' profiles and the ability to communicate via private messages, comments and instant messenger are the four architectural features of Facebook.com that distinguish it as an SNS from other social media sites like Twitter, YouTube and weblogs. There are many similarities between Facebook and these other social media sites. Some allow users to "follow or friend" other users, some employ profiles and some offer instant messaging. Though there are some similar sites, none of the social media sites offer as robust an articulation of the social network as Facebook, which Facebook is able to offer by virtue of its massive population of 500 million users.

Other SNS sites like MySpace and LinkedIn, for example, offer many of the same features as Facebook. In addition to the architectural differences, two additional things distinguish Facebook from other SNS. First, Facebook has far more users than these other SNS. Second, Facebook allows users to join networks based on the school they attend (or attended), the city they live in or the place where they work, to name just a few. Facebook allows its users to make all or portions of their profiles accessible to these networks, and users can utilize them to find and form connections. Because there are so many more Facebook users than users of other SNS, and because the use of networks

increases a user's likelihood of finding people they know, it is more likely that any given user can find many of the members of their offline social network to connect to, thus articulating a more complete, connected and integrated social network on Facebook. The more complete, connected and integrated people's networks become, the more useful Facebook becomes for the various Uses and Gratifications reported in Urista et al. (2009), which include gaining information about others quickly, efficiently, and anonymously, and building and maintaining relationships.

Facebook At-a-Glance

When a person becomes a member of Facebook, they are required to create a profile with at least their name, though Facebook encourages users through prompts to add additional personal information including school and work affiliations, age, relationship status, interests and more. School and work affiliations, along with their current location and hometown are used to enroll the user into existing networks that can help them find new friends (boyd & Ellison, 2008). Depending on each user's privacy settings, being in a network with another user often (but not always) gives those in the network the ability to see a full version of the other user's profile. It is important to note that as privacy settings have become more sophisticated on Facebook, there are no absolute rules about who can see what on the SNS. In addition, Facebook encourages users to post and tag photographs of themselves and others, which are accessible via their profile. Facebook also allows users to post links, videos, one-question polls, events and status updates on their profiles. Status updates answer the question "What's on your mind?" asked by Facebook (Facebook.com, 2011).

Though some users prefer to severely limit the information available on their profile, other users vary from posting a small amount of personal information to treating their profile as a repository for all of their personal information, personal photographs, event announcements and more. For some users who are on the extreme end of disclosure and information sharing, the profile can become a detailed representation of their moment-to-moment thoughts and life story.

After a user has created their Facebook profile, the next step is to identify other users with whom they have an existing relationship (boyd & Ellison, 2008). Facebook offers many options to help users find their social contacts. Users can sync their e-mail account with Facebook, after which any of their e-mail contacts who already have a Facebook page will appear so they can decide whether they would like to connect with them or not. If their e-mail contacts do not have a Facebook page, the SNS asks the user to send them an e-mail directly from the Facebook platform inviting them to join. In addition, users can join networks by updating their education, work and location information. Through those networks, users can search for their social contacts. Another option for finding friends is the Facebook general search, which allows a user to search by name. Finally, Facebook analyzes each user's current connections and suggests "People You May Know." Theoretically these potential friends are chosen because they share a certain number of other connections with the user, but it is impossible to know the exact algorithm, because the formula for Facebook's selections is not public (Facebook.com, 2011).

In order to understand the behavior described by the term Facebook stalking, it is

necessary to understand the way that social network articulation works on Facebook.

Once a user identifies another user that he or she has a relationship with, or would like to connect with for some other reason, he or she can send a “friend request” to that person.

The other user is able to accept or deny the friend request (boyd & Ellison, 2008). If the other user accepts, the two become what is commonly referred to by Facebook users as “Facebook friends.” If the other user declines, a connection is not made. After users have connected, there are a number of ways they can communicate with one another.

Facebook offers users the ability to send asynchronous messages using the private message and commenting features, and the ability to send synchronous messages using the instant messaging feature.

Facebook profile. As stated earlier, in order to join Facebook, a user is required to create a profile. The profile has a number of features, but there are five basic sections that are part of every profile: the Wall, the Info page, the Photo page, Notes and Friends (see Figure 1).



Figure 1: Screenshot of Facebook, the five main sections of a profile.

Each user has a profile section called the “Wall.” The Facebook Wall is best described as that user’s public message board. The user can post status updates, photos, links, videos, and other content to their Wall, as can their Facebook friends, as long as they have been granted access to the user’s Wall. The Info page is the portion of Facebook where any personal information a person has chosen to share appears. This information can include school and work affiliations, current location, hometown, relationship status, birthday, biographical data, family members names, religious and political views, contact information, group memberships, fan page subscriptions, and other personal preferences like music and movies (Facebook.com, 2011). The Photo page shows photographs that the user has posted along with photographs the user has been tagged in. Depending on their privacy settings, any user’s Facebook friends may have the ability to tag that user in photographs, whether he or she appears in the photos or not. Users can also un-tag photographs of themselves if they have been tagged in an undesirable image. The Notes page contains notes created by the user, which are text posts, similar to posts on a weblog. This allows Facebook users to post text longer than a status update, which has a limit of 420 characters (Facebook.com, 2011). Finally, the tab labeled Friends leads to a searchable, alphabetical list of the user’s friends. This is the articulated network described by boyd and Ellison (2008). A user can, if allowed access, see, browse and search another user’s friend list. This ability to peruse and investigate the networks of others is noteworthy, since the act of viewing friends of friends and their profiles (if public) is an

activity often mentioned when study participants are discussing Facebook stalking (Lewis & West, 2009).

In addition to the public portions of the profile, there is also a feature called the Newsfeed. The Newsfeed is unique for each user on the SNS, and shows a running list of status updates and postings from those they are connected with. The Newsfeed is not a public collection of these postings, but a private one, accessible only by the individual Facebook user. Each person can control what appears in their Newsfeed by selecting from options offered by the SNS including “most recent posts, top news, status updates only, photos only, links only, pages only (posts by pages they have subscribed to) or questions only” (Facebook.com, 2011). Users can also create their own lists of friends to segment and select content for their Newsfeed. The Newsfeed is the first thing a user sees when they sign in to their Facebook page (Facebook, 2011).

As evidenced by the discussion above, explaining access on Facebook is no easy task. There are no hard and fast rules that govern who can access someone’s profile. Some user’s profiles are completely public, and can be viewed by any member of Facebook, some user’s profiles can be viewed by anyone in their school network or city network, some user’s profiles can only be viewed by friends of friends and friends, some by friends only, and some even restrict their friends from viewing portions of their profile. Privacy settings on Facebook have become so complicated over the past several years in response to user requests, that in order to understand how users navigate the SNS and access information, one needs to understand the privacy settings.

Privacy and access on Facebook. “Privacy is a sense of control over information,

the context where sharing takes place, and the audience who can gain access,” says boyd (2008, p. 18) when discussing Facebook’s 2006 decision to collect users posts and broadcast them via the Newsfeed to all other users. boyd (2008) discusses the social convergence that occurred when suddenly, the disparate social contexts represented by a user’s many relationships on Facebook were collapsed into one constantly-updating Newsfeed. Users had previously posted information that was relevant in certain contexts, the contexts which were available on their profile. Once the Newsfeed aggregated their posts, removed them from that context, and fed them to other users, privacy issues on Facebook suddenly exploded (boyd, 2008).

boyd (2008) likens the posts that first appeared in the Newsfeed in 2006 to the comments of a person at a party if the ambient noise at that party suddenly stopped, and their commentary was unintentionally broadcast to everyone in attendance. She describes this broadcasting as a social faux pas, created by a loss of control over one’s own information disclosure. Users were caught off-guard by the broadcast of their personal information to all of their Facebook friends when the Newsfeed went public with no warning. A good example of this is the relationship status. Before the Newsfeed, the only way a user’s friends would see a change in their relationship status was directly on that user’s profile. Posted nearby might be an explanation of the change in status: a break up or a new love connection. The user also expected that only close friends and family who visited his or her profile often would be likely to see the status change. Thus, he or she did not have to worry about explaining the relationship change to an unfamiliar coworker he or she had connected with out of politeness. That coworker would be violating his or

her expectations, and also might be violating social norms held among the office staff about Facebook usage. This would likely discourage any coworker from checking daily, limiting the chances of the coworker seeing the relationship change. With the addition of the Newsfeed, the relationship change was fed to the coworker directly, appearing on his or her feed upon login to the site. Even though the information was always public, the broadcasting of that public information created a social norm violation that hadn't previously existed. Less than three days after the launch of the Newsfeed, Mark Zuckerberg, founder of Facebook, was forced to respond to an uproar of users who felt their privacy had been violated, and who were angry over their unintentional and forced norm violation, with a new offering of privacy settings (boyd, 2008).

Several scholars have looked and are looking at privacy on Facebook. A study conducted by Lewis, Kaufman and Christakis (2008), attempted to determine predictors of privacy settings. They found that students were more likely to have private profile if their friends and roommates did, if they were more active on Facebook, if they were female, and if they preferred popular music. These predictors might be valuable to the current research, except that they are likely obsolete given the massive changes that have occurred in privacy over the past several years. The study does, however, uncover a pattern of privacy adoption that occurs as a new SNS technology becomes mainstream, which can still be applied to Facebook and other emerging SNSs.

The pattern in privacy postulated by Lewis, Kaufman and Christakis (2008) is a Theory of Internal Regulation. Early adopters of the SNS experience a high degree of ambiguity in normative rules of conduct, and the individual early adopter faces a conflict

as to whether they should believe the new technology is truly private or not. Even when the new SNS technology's lack of privacy enters the user's awareness, they have a tendency not to consider the consequences of their disclosure, and their excitement for the new technology outweighs their caution. At this juncture, many users retain the default privacy settings. Then, as more and more users join the new technology, the illusion of privacy is shattered. At some point the user, or another user they know, discloses too much into the public environment created by the SNS and suffers a real, offline consequence. Suddenly, the user becomes acutely aware that privacy is an issue. As stories of these consequences are shared, privacy awareness spreads via the social ties on the SNS, and eventually reaches a tipping point. Users respond by recognizing the normative boundaries and self-regulating using the privacy settings. Thus, the research by Lewis, Kaufman and Christakis (2008), suggests that the boundary between what is private and public on Facebook is normative and internally negotiated. Understanding how social norms play a role in regulating privacy and disclosure, as discussed by boyd (2008) and Lewis, Kaufman and Christakis (2008), is an important step to understanding other normative boundaries and behaviors on the SNS, which are significant to the topic of this study.

One challenge to discussing the specifics of privacy and access on Facebook is that they are constantly changing, often due to new capabilities and additions to the technology itself. An article that seemed potentially useful for this section, Tufecki (2008), describes privacy on SNS such as Facebook and MySpace. Even though it was published less than three years ago, the article is already obsolete because of the

significant changes in privacy that have occurred since it was written. For example, the study describes Facebook as a “walled garden,” because Facebook profiles are not indexed in Google (Tufecki, 2008, p. 22). Facebook began to allow Google to index profiles several years ago, rendering the information and conclusions in the article invalid. For a current explanation of privacy settings on Facebook, the site has been consulted directly, but readers of this thesis should be forewarned that this explanation of privacy is as of the time of this writing, and may have changed.

Privacy: “Connecting on Facebook.” Facebook offers two different categories of privacy settings. The first of the two is “Connecting on Facebook” (Figure 2). This category allows a user to control which users on Facebook can see his or her name in searches, send him or her friend requests, see his or her friend list (articulated network), see his or her education and work, see his or her current city and hometown and see his or her likes, activities and other content. Users have the choice to allow “everyone,” “friends of friends and networks,” “friends of friends” or “friends only” to see or do the above actions. Several of the settings, however, allow fewer choices. For example, for the “Send you friend requests” setting, a user may only choose between ‘everyone’ and ‘friends of friends.’

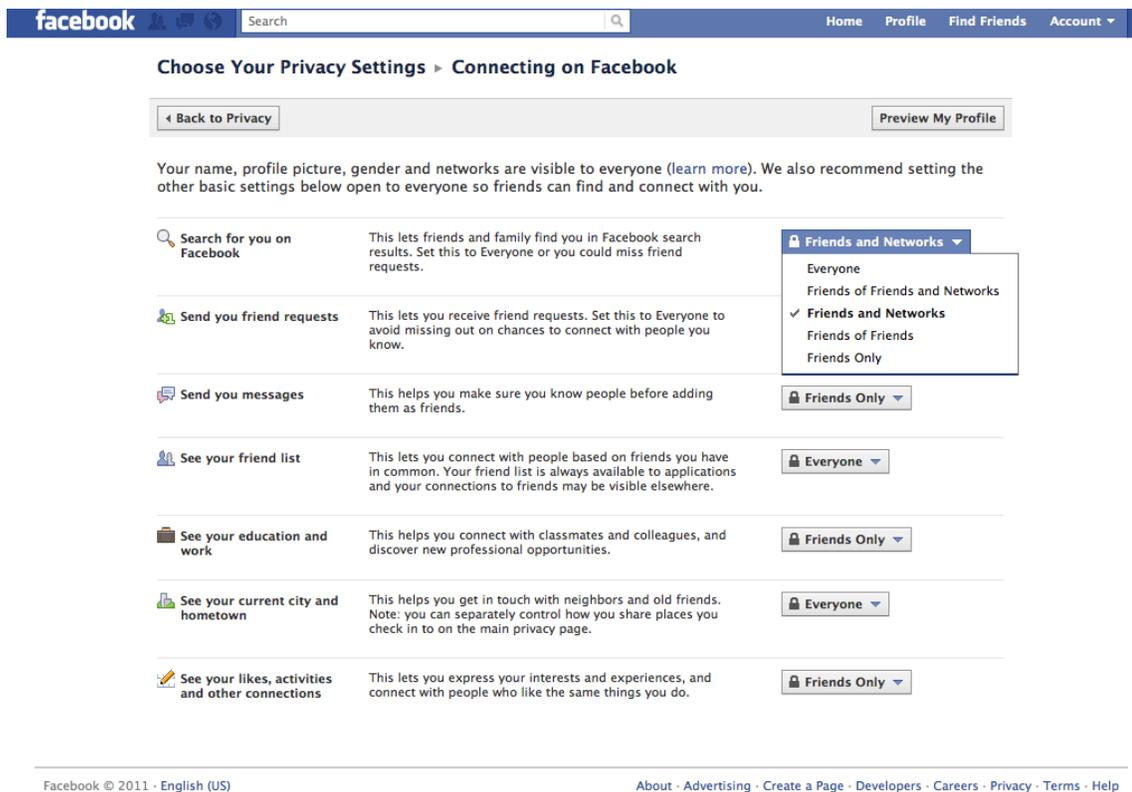


Figure 2: Screenshot of Facebook.com “Connecting on Facebook” privacy settings

Figure 2, a screenshot of the privacy settings for Connecting on Facebook, gives a brief description of the purpose and scope of each setting. In addition, in the upper right-hand corner of the screenshot, there is a button that says “Preview My Profile.” When a user presses this button, it allows him or her to preview his or her profile as it would look to most people on Facebook (representing those not connected to him or her), but it also allows the user to preview his or her profile by entering the name of a friend. It offers, “Preview how your profile appears to a specific person: Start typing friend’s name” (Facebook.com, 2011, Preview My Profile Page). This allows for privacy settings that are fine-tuned for each individual connection.

Privacy: “Sharing on Facebook.” The second category of privacy settings on Facebook govern access to a user’s personal content. The various types of content are listed in Figure 3 and include the items viewable on a user’s Info page along with photographs and “Places you check into.” Places allows users to check themselves and their friends into locations based on GPS data harvested from their mobile phones. Users can customize the settings for each item in this section. Customized settings appear as “other.” For example, the user whose settings appear in Figure 3 has customized Places so that no other user on Facebook can see or check him or her into any location. Note that the user can also choose to allow friends of friends who are tagged in his or her photos and posts to see those posts, or not.

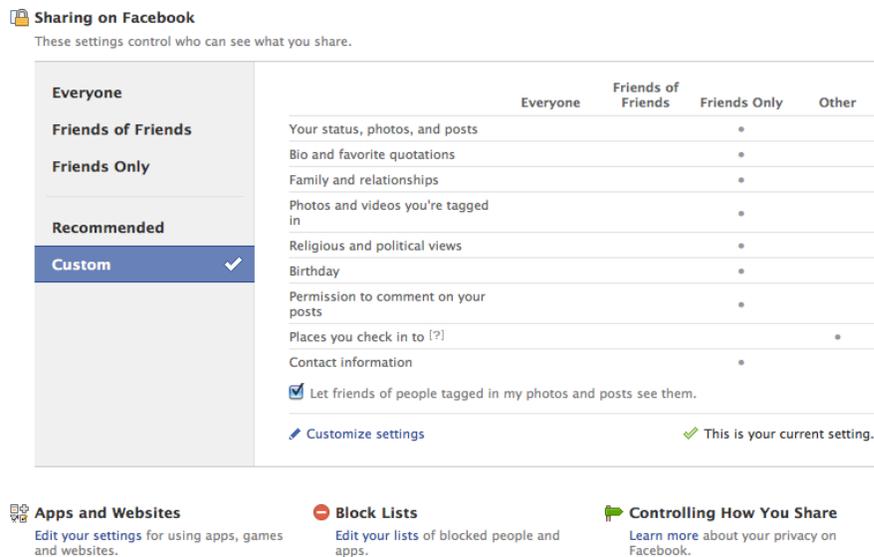


Figure 3: Screenshot of Facebook.com “Sharing on Facebook” privacy settings

If a user utilizes the “recommended” or default settings (Figure 4), everyone on

Facebook can see his or her status, photos, posts, biography, favorite quotations, and family and relationships. In the recommended settings, friends of the user’s friends can see photos and videos he or she is tagged in, his or her religious and political views, and his or her birthday if the user has shared all of this information with Facebook. The shared items restricted to “friends only” in the recommended settings are places the user checks into, the user’s contact information and permission to comment on the user’s posts. It is not difficult to see why Facebook recommends “friends only” privacy for these last three, and why many people customize the settings to make them even more restrictive. Places is a feature that is uniquely conducive to criminal stalking, because it gives actual coordinates for a user’s location. Additionally, a user may choose to include his or her cellular phone number or personal e-mail address in contact information, making it one of the more sensitive sections of a profile.

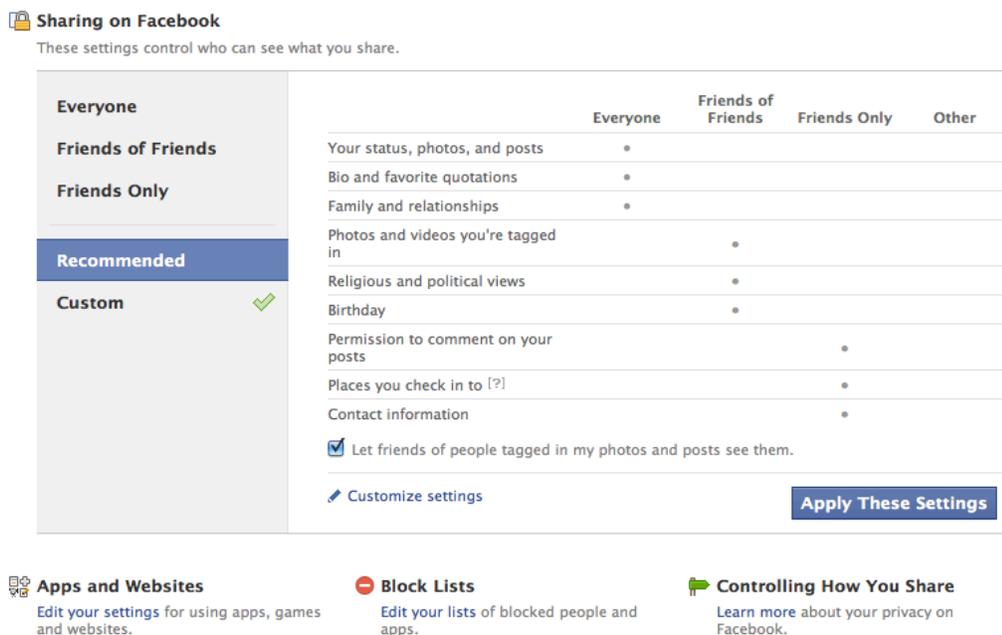


Figure 4: Screenshot of Facebook “recommended/default” sharing privacy settings

Because privacy settings on Facebook are so robust and customizable, it is impossible to make generalizations or assumptions about what users have access to what content or information. Understanding privacy settings is crucial in examining anonymous information seeking behaviors on Facebook, because one always needs to keep in mind the potential for users to have access to the public profiles of strangers, or conversely, to have challenges accessing the profiles of friends. In fact, nearly any mode of communication or piece of information on Facebook can be either completely public or completely restricted. For this reason, it is important to focus on general browsing patterns without making any assumptions or generalizations about access.

Facebook networks. What is a friend? Whatever the conceptual definition assigned to the term over the history of human relationships, the definition of a friend on SNSs is something quite different (boyd, 2006). The average user on Facebook has around 130 friends (Facebook.com statistics, 2011), while some users have as many as thousands of friends. The maximum number of friends a Facebook user is allowed is 5,000 (Facebook.com, 2011). The 130 friend average is relatively close to Dunbar's 150 (Dunbar, 1993), which Dunbar established as the maximum number of people that the human mind is built to have meaningful social relationships with at one time. Though this seems to support the idea that friends on Facebook are equivalent to friends in reality, the statistic can be deceiving. The range of numbers of friends is broad; even the author of this thesis has upwards of 800 friends. If human beings can truly only process relationships with 150 "friends," who are the 650 other individuals that make up this researcher's friend list?

boyd (2006) did extensive ethnographic and secondary research on the subject and discovered that while some friends really are friends, there are many reasons why connections are initiated and maintained that have little to do with actual, offline friendship. According to boyd (2006), the most common reasons respondents listed for initiating connections with people other than actual, offline friends were as follows: (1) users would initiate such connections in situations where it would be inappropriate to turn down the connection because they knew the person, at least cursorily, (2) Users would initiate such a connection because the connection would make them look cool, or because they were collecting multiple connections in order to look popular, (3) users would initiate such a connection because it allowed them to see private profiles, to see information that was viewable by friends only, and to see which users the potential connection was friends with, and (4), users would initiate these connections in order to create a virtual address book of all the people they had come into contact with, in case they need to leverage the connection later (boyd, 2006).

When one begins to look at these articulated networks less as friends and family, and more as a complex mixture of friends, family, acquaintances, previous weak-tie relationships, and even strangers, the complexity of social norms on Facebook comes into focus. Though a person's friend list is an articulation of their social network, it is not Dunbar's (1993) group of 150 social connections that are represented. Instead, the online social network is often a projection of who the person wants to be, a collection of weak-tie relationships that the user has created and maintained for a large variety of reasons, and an articulation of some of their 150 social connections that matter (boyd, 2006; boyd,

2008). Because the network represents such a variety of relationships and non-relationships, it is crucial that scholars do not make assumptions or generalizations about the rules and norms that govern interactions between Facebook friends, based on the rules that govern interactions between actual, offline friends.

Facebook Stalking: An Anonymous Information Seeking Behavior

Because Facebook is an articulated social network, rife with communication opportunities via posting updates, posting on Walls, posting photographs, sending private messages and chatting via the instant messenger function, it might seem natural that a majority of a user's time on Facebook would be spent engaging in active communication. Pempek et al. (2009), however demonstrated that the activities that users reported performing most often were not active communication behaviors. The activities study participants reported engaging in most often are, "looking at/reading other people's profiles, looking at photos, reading the Newsfeed, reading the user's own wall posts, reading posts on other's walls" (Pempek et al., 2009, p. 234). These passive information seeking behaviors outranked posting on walls, reading and sending private messages, commenting on photos and other active communication behaviors. With information seeking listed as the most popular use of Facebook, it begs the question, "what are Facebook users looking for?"

Alice Mathias (2007) wrote, in an Op-Ed piece for the New York Times, "My generation has long been bizarrely comfortable with being looked at, and as performers on the Facebook stage, we upload pictures of ourselves cooking dinner for our parents or doing keg stands at last night's party; we are reckless with our personal information. But

there is one area of privacy that we won't surrender: the secrecy of how and whom we search" (Mathias, 2007, p. 2). Mathias shares the story of a friend who panicked over rumors of a Facebook application that would allow users to see who had been visiting their profiles. Her friend had spent time looking at the page of a man she was interested in, and was afraid he might find out. "There's no way Facebook would allow such a program to exist: the site is popular largely because it enables us to indulge our gazes anonymously," says Mathias (2007, p. 2). Her piece suggests that people feel comfortable in the spotlight, but don't want to be caught in anyone else's audience. When she was in college, she explains, people always warned against the dangers of "Facebook stalking" at a public computer, in case the owner of the profile you were perusing ended up standing right behind you (Mathias, 2007).

Facebook's frequently asked questions page concurs with Mathias' assessment about the ability of users to see who is viewing their profiles, at least for now. "Facebook does not provide the ability to track who is viewing your profile, or parts of your profile, such as your photos. Applications by outside developers cannot provide this functionality, either" (Facebook.com, 2011). In addition, Facebook's FAQ page states, "Applications CANNOT track profile visits for users who simply go to another person's profile; Facebook has made this technically impossible" (Facebook.com, 2011). So, despite a number of unscrupulous application developers who have advertised the ability for users to see who is looking at their profiles, there is not now, nor has there ever been a way to know who is viewing another user's profile, except via the method of standing behind the computer and peering over their shoulder.

What was Mathias referring to when she said “Facebook stalking?” This is the initial question that inspired the current research. The term Facebook stalking, or one of several related terms, began to appear in the academic literature following an emergence in the popular media around 2007. Chaulk and Jones (2011) cites four popular references to Facebook stalking in a variety of popular media circa 2007, and highlights the ubiquity of the term in popular culture. In these popular media sources, the behavioral phenomenon was referred to as “profile stalking, Facebook cyber-stalking, Facestalking, Stalkbook, status creeping and stalking” (Chaulk & Jones, 2011, p. 245). The behavior described by these terms began to emerge in the academic literature via qualitative research in social networks, Facebook in particular, as early as 2008 (Lewis & West, 2009; Pempek et al., 2009; Urista et al., 2009; Westlake, 2008). Researchers weren’t looking for the behavior, but research participants began to mention it during interview questions about browsing and passive, information seeking behaviors on Facebook and MySpace. Lewis and West (2009) offer a description of Facebook stalking that demonstrates its ubiquity among Facebook users: “most of the respondents referred to this [browsing profiles] as ‘stalking’ rather than browsing” (p. 1215). Participants in that study used the term stalking to refer to looking at profiles, Walls, the Newsfeed and “what people were up to” in general (Lewis & West, 2009, p. 1215). Facebook stalking, as described in the research, is not cyber-stalking or criminal stalking, but is a colloquial term used by Facebook users to describe an information seeking or browsing behavior via the popular SNS (Lewis & West, 2009; Urista et al., 2009; Westlake, 2008).

Facebook Stalking in the Literature: An Incomplete Idea

Attempts to define or conceptualize Facebook stalking in the academic literature are nonexistent outside of a few conference and student papers. This may be because publication-caliber pieces on the emerging topic are awaiting publication. Brott (2009) endeavored to measure Facebook stalking and demonstrate a relationship between Facebook stalking and reality television consumption based on voyeuristic tendencies as a characteristic of both. In his study, Brott (2009) offers the following definition of Facebook stalking: “Stalking means randomly browsing through other people’s profiles, pictures, Wall posts, etc. to entertain oneself, or to figure out things about that person that one wouldn’t know otherwise, etc. Usually, this would be somebody one doesn’t know or doesn’t know very well. Of course, this person doesn’t know that their photos or posts are being accessed” (Brott, 2009, p. 11).

While this definition certainly incorporates some of the characteristics of Facebook stalking behavior as described by participants in the published studies, it also has several problems. Brott (2009) was not able to establish an exclusive or exhaustive definition. The definition offered by Brott (2009) is very general. Whenever a person browses another person’s profile or wall posts for entertainment, are they Facebook stalking? Whenever a person looks up information they did not already know about another person, are they Facebook stalking? Another conceptual issue with his definition is the assertion that the target of the stalking behavior does not know that their content is being accessed. Any person who posts content on Facebook knows that it is being accessed. They cannot know which specific users are accessing their photos, but they do have complete control

over their privacy settings, and thus know who in a broad sense has access and does not have access to their photos (Facebook.com, 2011). They may not be able to say with certainty who is looking at their photos, but they do know who is capable of accessing them. Though this conceptual issue exists, this part of the definition does make the case for anonymity as a necessary condition for Facebook stalking. If anonymity was not a necessary condition of Facebook stalking, at least some targets of the behavior might know they were being stalked, either via comment postings or conversations with their stalker. Anonymity appears throughout the descriptions of the behavior given in the qualitative studies that have been published (Lewis & West, 2009; Urista et al., 2009; Westlake, 2008) and seems to be a key component of the behavior.

Kennedy (2009) also offers a definition for Facebook stalking. Kennedy's (2009) study, which attempts to describe Facebook as a modern panopticon, with users taking roles as the guards and the prisoners, offers not one definition of Facebook stalking, but several, each based on in-depth interviews with 15 subjects. Kennedy (2009) describes the behavior as "a harmless way for friends to keep in touch via the social networking site without obtrusively asking for updates" (p. 84), as "another way to perform surveillance on friends and acquaintances" (p. 84), as "a more innocuous form of online data consumption...seen as harmless and less dangerous than its more overt and offensive cousin, cyber-stalking" (p. 84), and as "fueled by a healthy curiosity that feeds one's desire to know about their friends and therefore perform surveillance activities" (p. 85). In addition, Kennedy (2009) proposes the following characteristics or microthemes: " (1) Facebook stalking is considered to be dependent on certain situations; (2) Facebook

stalking is more about a healthy curiosity about friends and online acquaintances rather than an unhealthy obsession with them as seen in cyber-stalking cases; and (3) Facebook stalking is a consequence of the site's design" (p. 83).

Unlike Brott (2009), who did not utilize qualitative findings or references to Facebook stalking in the literature to construct his definition, Kennedy (2009) completed 15 in-depth interviews and follow-up interviews, after several pilot studies, in order to draw her conclusions. Kennedy has a tendency to describe a relationship between Facebook stalking and cyber-stalking, though the literature review offered in the study does not support this relationship statistically or qualitatively. Definitions of the term Facebook stalking offered in Kennedy (2009) are also somewhat contradictory. Though the study repeatedly suggests that Facebook stalking is innocuous, harmless, healthy and unavoidable, it continues to mention a relationship between Facebook stalking and cyber-stalking. Cyber-stalking, however, as defined in the stalking literature, is a criminal behavior (Spitzberg & Hoobler, 2002), and nowhere in Kennedy's research, save in the response of one of the 15 participants, does a link between Facebook stalking and criminal behavior exist.

The most useful portions of Kennedy's (2009) research are the responses from the study participants about the nature of Facebook stalking. Though one participant viewed Facebook stalking as a dangerous behavior, every other direct quote in the study demonstrated that participants viewed it as a harmless curiosity that was not the equivalent of cyber-stalking. The definitions instead focused on the stalker being intrigued, interested, curious and harmless. The participants also suggested that active

browsing and checking was a necessary component of Facebook stalking, which echoes descriptions given by the participants in the published literature (Lewis & West, 2009; Urista et al., 2009; Westlake, 2008).

Bornoe and Barkhuus (2011) found that people are engaging in passive activities, “particularly, using Facebook to passively browse through profiles, popularly referred to as ‘Facebook stalking,’” (Bornoe & Barkhuus, 2011). The study references social surveillance and suggests that Facebook stalking includes spying on romantic partners and other negative social behaviors. Participants in the study noted that Facebook stalking could lead to social troubles if the information gleaned from the browsing activity was disclosed to others. Overall, Bornoe and Barkhuus (2011) found that browsing was correlated with positive aspects including awareness of social ties, entertainment, and as an information seeking behavior that allowed users to learn more about people. Their study also found that passively browsing profiles was taboo. “Despite everyone being engaged in ‘Facebook stalking,’ it was considered ‘creepy’ to let people know” (Bornoe & Barkhuus, 2011, p. 4).

Participants in Lewis and West (2009), Urista et al. (2009) and Westlake (2008) provide some of the only published descriptions of Facebook stalking behavior. Lewis and West (2009) also offered a definition of Facebook stalking, but as a note in the conclusion rather than as a conceptualized and operationalized study variable. “Much time was spent stalking: browsing the profiles of both Facebook friends and other people in the network” (Lewis & West, 2009, p. 1223). In the Lewis and West (2009) diary study, all respondents reported checking profiles, Walls, and the Newsfeed on a regular

basis. “This was done for people they knew, but also for anyone on the network who permitted it, in order to know what people ‘were up to’ (most of the respondents referred to this as ‘stalking’ rather than browsing)” (Lewis & West, 2009, p. 1215). Participants in the study called this “stalking” behavior addictive, and several said it made up the majority of their time spent on Facebook. Lewis and West (2009) point out, however, that many of the respondents in the study seemed uncomfortable admitting stalking or heavy use of the SNS. One respondent hid the amount of stalking behavior he or she committed from others, and others reported feeling guilty. Another group of participants expressed that stalking was normal and even fun. “One of these talked about: ‘mild... friendly... stalking... it is quite fun stalking people. Another, who ‘stalked’ her friends, said that they all wanted to have a ‘bit of a sneak around’ and that she felt it was common courtesy to put up something for people to look at” (Lewis & West, 2009, p. 1216). Participants in this study notably differentiated between stalking and “random stalking.” The researcher noted that there were different shades of meaning to the term, including Facebook stalking a person the user didn’t know or someone outside their normal social circle (Lewis & West, 2009) and Facebook stalking without goal directed motivations.

Participants in Westlake’s (2008) qualitative examination of Facebook described using Facebook stalking in a multitude of ways. Respondents noted that while they like to learn things about others, they feel strange when someone learns about them from their profile, as opposed to learning about them in a face-to-face interaction. “Such unintended consequences cause students to feel stalked, or feel like they are stalking by virtue of the fact that they have, in the hidden environment of the internet, gained information about

each other” (Westlake, 2008). One participant’s description of Facebook stalking paints a picture of a useful behavior. “Facebook is the ultimate stalking tool. If I forget someone’s name, instead of embarrassingly asking the person again, I can look it up. I’ve used Facebook to get screen names, phone numbers... and even to see if a friend was still dating her boyfriend,” (Westlake, 2008, p. 33). In addition to noting the potential uses of Facebook stalking, participants discuss an uneasiness that accompanies their stalking behaviors, “though they routinely refer to each other as ‘stalkers’ for having used Facebook to find information on acquaintances and classmates” (Westlake, 2008, p. 33).

Westlake (2008) also notes that in some cases the stalking behaviors turned into what the study refers to as “actual stalking.” Though the participants descriptions indicate social norm violations were committed consciously, the descriptions of behaviors that Westlake (2008) includes in this section on actual stalking do not meet the criteria required for criminal cyber-stalking (Mullen, Pathé & Purcell, 2001). These include being addicted to checking a profile, feelings of jealousy and hurt when checking a profile and feelings of being randomly followed (how users described being followed by someone they do not know). Though these are more serious than basic feelings of guilt or shame, they do not involve the malicious, harassing or unwanted communications characteristic of criminal stalking (Mullen, Pathé & Purcell, 2001). One respondent did receive unwanted communications from an ex, who found her on Facebook, which is the one instance that might be considered cyber-stalking. But, as discussed in a later section of this research, the act of contacting her, not the information seeking, is the criminal cyber-stalking behavior.

In Urista et al. (2009), focus group participants admitted to using SNS to seek information about people that interested them. This included friends, romantic interests, classmates, strangers they would like to know better, and others. Participants mentioned stalking and stalkers, suggesting that they set their profiles to private to keep stalkers from getting their information. Urista et al. (2009) noted that even though participants were concerned about their privacy because of other users' "stalking behavior," they themselves admitted using SNS to keep tabs on others. A participant in the study explained, "we like snooping, but we don't like it when participants snoop on us" (Urista et al., 2009, p. 223). The participants suggested that private profiles they could not access frustrated them, and Urista et al. (2009) reported that the majority of the research participants reported anonymously viewing other SNS users' profiles. Thus, as it did in Brott (2009), anonymity surfaces again as an important characteristic of Facebook stalking.

Some key concepts that can be drawn from the Lewis and West (2009) diary study, the Urista et al. (2009) focus research and the Westlake (2008) qualitative research are the following. First, the behavior is common. In all three studies a vast majority of the participants admitted to engaging in some level of the stalking behavior they described. Second, anonymity is an important condition for the behavior. In all three studies participants admit to anonymously looking, sometimes to the point of actively working to hide the behavior from others. Third, the behavior carries a negative connotation under most conditions, often related to the relationship between the stalker and the target (whether or not the stalker knows the stalked), but also related to the type of information

and the frequency with which they are viewing the information. This negative connotation manifests itself for the study participants as feelings of guilt or shame, or in the participants' descriptions of the behavior as snooping, spying, monitoring and most obviously, stalking. The dichotomy between those who find the behavior to be friendly and fun and those who are guilty and ashamed suggests that there may be more than just one behavior or one concept behind what participants are calling "Facebook stalking." In addition to the issues raised by these three studies, there are some important distinctions and related ideas to consider. The first is the distinction between Facebook stalking and cyber-stalking, and the second is Facebook stalking and its relationship with lurking behaviors, which have appeared throughout the literature.

Facebook stalking vs. cyber-stalking. One of the most important conceptual distinctions, which can be inferred from Chaulk and Jones (2011) and validated by reviewing the criminal stalking literature, is that Facebook stalking, in and of itself, is not a criminal stalking behavior. It is also important to note that cyber-stalking, as defined below by Spitzberg and Hoobler (2002) is a term specifically used to describe criminal stalking that is carried out via electronic means. It does not refer to non-criminal behaviors. After describing the jargon used in the popular media to describe Facebook stalking, Chaulk and Jones (2011) points out that though the terms are widely used, it is rare for actual criminal stalking behaviors to result from Facebook stalking or the use of social network sites in general. While Facebook is a repository for personal information, and users can gain access to that information either via public profiles or via their connections, gathering personal information alone does not constitute the commission of

stalking from a legal perspective (Chaulk & Jones, 2011).

Criminal stalking, according to Mullen, Pathé and Purcell (2001) refers to “persistent harassment in which one person repeatedly imposes on another unwanted communication and/or contacts” (p. 9). Criminal stalking has also been conceptualized as the “willful, repeated and malicious following, harassing, or threatening of another person” (Melton, 2000, pp. 247). Cyber-stalking, criminal stalking that takes place online, is described as the use of the internet or other internet-based, electronic communication devices to stalk another person (Spitzberg & Hoobler, 2002). Nearly all of the definitions of Facebook stalking offered in the qualitative literature by participants describe a harmless looking behavior, not a threatening, deviant behavior. One exception is a participant in the Kennedy (2009) study who described it as “when someone has very strong emotions towards another, lustfully and hatefully. This stalker feels that they must constantly view his victim’s profile for the purposes of knowing what the victim has done, is doing and is going to do” (Kennedy, 2009, p. 55). This participant suggested that Facebook stalking and cyber-stalking are the same behavior. Though Kennedy (2009) calls this the most comprehensive definition, none of the other 14 participants in the study described Facebook stalking as a dangerous behavior. In fact, many of them referred to it as a joke or a harmless curiosity. Urista et al. (2009) found that Facebook stalking was bothersome to the participants in their study, but many of their participants who found it bothersome also admitted to doing it. Westlake (2008) found that in rare cases, Facebook stalking could become actual cyber-stalking, though only one example offered in the study meets the definition of criminal cyber-stalking. The example is of an

ex-boyfriend who used Facebook to locate and send unwanted communications to an ex-girlfriend (Westlake, 2008). While this incident might have begun with Facebook stalking, as soon as the woman's ex-boyfriend began to contact her, it became criminal stalking.

Though the academic literature available on the topic is limited, a convincing argument can be made that Facebook stalking is not equivalent to cyber-stalking. Cyber-stalking has been defined as the commission of criminal stalking via electronic means (Spitzberg & Hoobler, 2002). The examples from the research demonstrate that, while "Facebook stalking" may have earned its name for its practical similarity to the modern idea of a stalker gathering information about the stalked, it is not a dangerous, threatening or malicious behavior, and thus does not constitute cyber-stalking. In addition, both Lewis and West (2009) and Urista et al. (2009) emphasize that their research participants do not want others, especially those they are viewing, to know that they are looking. In order for Facebook stalking to be criminal cyber-stalking, the user committing the behavior would need to demonstrate to their target that they were following them online, or impose repeated unwanted communications on them. Because this contradicts the terminally secret nature of Facebook stalking described by research participants, once a person has transitioned from reading information on a profile to sending harassing messages, imitating a user, engaging in actual physical following or harassment, or any combination of these criminal stalking behaviors, they would have transitioned from the behavior described as Facebook stalking to criminal stalking or cyber-stalking, an entirely separate behavior.

Facebook stalking vs. lurking. Another article that discusses information seeking behaviors on Facebook, Pempek et al. (2009), does not use the term Facebook stalking. Instead, Pempek et al. (2009) uses the terminology “online lurking” to describe the anonymous looking behaviors that are called Facebook stalking by participants in the other similar studies. Pempek et al. (2009) selected lurking as a term because her respondents reported observing without posting, which is similar to the conceptual definition for lurking offered in a number of studies (Rau, Gao & Ding, 2008). Though the terminology used in Pempek et al. (2009) to describe Facebook stalking is slightly different, the respondents in the study seem to be describing the same behavior as those in the other studies mentioned (Lewis & West, 2009; Urista et al., 2009; Westlake, 2008). One participant in Pempek et al. (2009), called Facebook “extremely voyeuristic – there’s something great and at the same time, creepy, about knowing when someone you haven’t talked to in 5 years broke up with their boyfriend who you never even met” (Pempek et al., 2009, p. 235). Since the descriptions of the behavior offered in the other studies sound remarkably similar to those in Pempek et al. (2009), and lurking is an established concept, Facebook stalking could be characterized as a lurking behavior and the existing lurking literature could be used to study it.

In some sense, that is what Rau, Gao and Ding (2008) set out to do in their study of lurking in online SNS. These researchers were looking at the effect of verbal and affective intimacy on whether or not a person would choose to post in a SNS. Their study focused on the Microsoft social network Wallop. Though their study was able to measure conceptual online lurking behaviors by locating users who had not posted within three

months, based on the operationalization of online lurking by Nonnecke and Preece (2001), they did not fully address the differences between earlier CMC channels and social media, specifically SNS. While Rau et al. (2008) noted some of the differences between SNS and traditional online forums, notably that SNS are focused on establishing online identities and building networks rather than gathering information on a topic, they did not transfer those differences into their study.

Lurking, as it was studied in traditional online forums, dealt with users participating in an online community in a non-public manner. This was determined in previous studies by the length of time a user read or visited the sites without posting (Nonnecke & Preece, 2001). In many of these online communities, users did not need to have a profile to engage in lurking. Or, if they did have to be registered, their profile or page might consist of a username only. These lurkers did not have to form articulated connections with others in order to lurk. In fact, as a public, participating user, one had no way of knowing who the lurkers were. Based on what has already been discussed about Facebook, it is clear that there is no real possibility of being a true lurker. Lurking requires total anonymity, and though there may be some opportunities on Facebook to view public profiles without a user's knowledge, one cannot become a member of Facebook without creating a profile. A Facebook profile, at the very least, is required to have the user's real name. If Facebook at any time learns that a user is not using a real name, they can remove that user from the service (Facebook.com, 2011). Additionally, as more and more Facebook users have tightened their privacy settings, it has become increasingly difficult to acquire information without "friending" or connecting with other users. The very act of

friending or connecting with another user is conceptually very distant from lurking on a message board or traditional online forum. Once the user makes that connection, he or she no longer has total anonymity as far as access is concerned. The user who has connected with them knows their name and knows that they now have access and may be browsing their information. As many users will not add strangers, a user will likely need to disclose his or her identity in order to make a connection with another person. Simply creating an anonymous username will no longer allow a user to access the information one might have acquired as a lurker in traditional online communities, which include message boards, forums, newsgroups and other pre-social network online communities (Rau et al., 2008).

In addition, with the exception of the group function, Facebook does not function as a community in the way that traditional online communities did. Instead of the content being posted in forums, message boards or online community gathering locations, the content on Facebook is posted on the personal profile. Instead of functioning as a group, Facebook functions more as a social network with nodes, which are personal profiles. Thus, a user anonymously browsing another user's profile does not benefit from the interaction of a community discussing a topic of interest to them, per se. Instead, they can see a string of comments and posts directed at a single user, along with that user's posts and status updates. Nonnecke, Andrews and Preece (2006) found that the most common reason that lurkers did not post was that reading the information was enough. While Facebook users might also refrain from commenting or interacting because reading the information on another person's profile is enough, participants in the studies who

described Facebook stalking seemed to have other motivations for anonymity, including feelings of guilt, or the feeling that they were spying, prying or voyeuristic (Lewis & West, 2009; Urista et al., 2009). Some of the other major reasons that lurkers in the Nonnecke et al. (2006) study did not post included: that they were still learning the group, that they were shy about posting, and that they had nothing to offer the group. These reasons for traditional lurking behaviors do not translate well to SNS, since the unit of the social network is the individual, not the group.

The differences between SNS and traditional online communities are so great that studying a behavior on Facebook or another robust SNS by applying the lurking literature directly is not valid. There are, however, some similarities between Facebook stalking and lurking that may make the lurking literature useful as a starting point. In the late 90s, it was reported that more than 90% of members of some large online groups were lurkers (Nonnecke & Preece, 2001). Gathering information anonymously was a very common behavior, and its ubiquity is echoed in the descriptions and definitions of Facebook stalking offered in the literature (Brott, 2009; Kennedy, 2009; Lewis & West, 2009; Pempek et al., 2009; Urista et al., 2009). The lurking literature offers support for the idea that large numbers of online community members engage in anonymous information seeking behavior at some point or another in their browsing (Nonnecke & Blair, 2006).

Facebook stalking vs. interpersonal electronic surveillance. The concept currently in the literature that has the most in common with Facebook stalking as described by participants in the above studies is interpersonal electronic surveillance (IES). Different from surveillance by the government, referred to as Big Brother

Surveillance, Little Brother Surveillance is the idea that individual Internet users use surveillance techniques to gain information and awareness about internet-related behaviors of others (Tokunaga, 2011). Tokunaga (2011) expands this definition to include offline behaviors and information as well, and describes the behavior as a mindful and goal-oriented behavior where other individuals are placed under constant surveillance. The conceptualization of IES suggests that it is used to monitor the world around us, examine the environment for deviant behavior, as a relational maintenance strategy, and to reduce uncertainty in new relationships (Tokunaga, 2011), all of which could be functions of Facebook stalking. It also suggests that this new surveillance involves the collection of data and information from individuals, moving away from surveillance as close observation, which could also apply to Facebook stalking. Though IES seems to have some parallels to Facebook stalking as defined in the qualitative studies, there are some conceptual pieces that do not fit.

Facebook stalking is referred to by a number of participants (Lewis & West, 2009; Urista et al. 2009), and by Brott's (2009) definition, as a random activity. Some users specifically call it "random stalking" (Lewis & West, 2009, p. 1216). As previously mentioned, their definition of random generally describes browsing without a goal-oriented motivation, or browsing the profiles of strangers or members at the fringe of their social networks. IES is defined as a mindful and goal-oriented behavior (Tokunaga, 2011) and thus is at odds with the first of these two definitions. Based on the descriptions of Facebook users, Facebook stalking is often driven by chance encounters with details in the Newsfeed rather than systematic surveillance (boyd, 2006). Still, the relationship

between Facebook stalking and interpersonal electronic surveillance as defined by Tokunaga (2011) and his predecessors deserves future attention, though it is not specifically addressed in this study. It is possible that, while not all instances of Facebook stalking are IES, some instances of Facebook stalking may be IES. The evidence for this is found in a comparison of reasons participants give for Facebook stalking and the reasons Tokunaga (2011) offers for engaging in IES. Uncertainty reduction, relational maintenance and monitoring are all motivations mentioned in at least one study that mentions Facebook stalking, and seem to match up with the IES motivations. Facebook stalking does not conceptually match up with IES perfectly, but there is a possibility that IES may be a type of Facebook stalking, or that these two concepts are otherwise related.

Defining Facebook Stalking: FAIS and FAIS-CSNV

The literature leaves researchers with a conundrum as to which parts of research participants' open-ended descriptions should be taken and which should be left in conceptualizing Facebook stalking. As noted earlier, the contradictions in the descriptions hints at the idea that there may be more than one behavior being described as Facebook stalking (Lewis & West, 2009). Table 1 offers a breakdown of the definitions offered in the literature along with the target of the behavior mentioned, whether or not anonymity was a necessary condition, whether or not the Facebook stalker perceived a social norm violation via feelings of guilt and whether or not the study characterized the behavior as positive or negative

Table 1

Definitions of Facebook stalking found in the literature

Study	Definition	Target	Anon	Guilt	Pos/Neg
Bornoe & Barkhuus, 2011 Qualitative	Passive profile browsing, social surveillance, unfavorable spying. Associated with social troubles. Mostly correlated with positive aspects: entertainment, tie awareness, information seeking. Taboo, though everyone does it, it is considered “creepy” to let others know.	Not specified	Yes	Yes	Pos. and Neg.
Brott, 2009, p. 11 Quantitative	“Randomly browsing other people’s profiles, pictures, Wall posts to entertain oneself, or to figure out things about that person one wouldn’t know otherwise.”	Usually somebody one doesn’t know or doesn’t know very well.	Yes	No	Neutral
Kennedy, 2009 Qualitative	A way to perform surveillance on family and friends. An innocuous, harmless form of online data consumption, cousin of cyber-stalking. Users reported stalking as keeping an eye on what friends are up to, and as being nosy. Mentions that stalking is done in secret where users felt guilty at intruding.	Family members, friends, acquaintances. Rarely complete strangers.	Yes	Yes	Pos. and Neg.
Lewis and West, 2009 Qualitative	Browsing the profiles of Facebook friends and others in the network. Addictive behavior, some guilty participants. Most see as normal and major part of Facebook use.	Friends and non-friends.	Yes	Yes	Pos. and Neg.
Pempek et al., 2009 Quantitative	Viewing information without directly interacting. Note: does not use the term stalking. Calls it voyeuristic and creepy to know information about strangers.	Friends and non-friends.	Yes	Yes	Neutral/ Neg.
Urista et al., 2009 Qualitative	Facebook used to acquire more information about people, participants set profiles to private to avoid “stalkers,” several users forced to terminate due to stalkers. Many participants acknowledged committing the behavior, calling it snooping.	Friends, but predominantly non-friends	Yes	No	Pos. and Neg.

Westlake, 2008 Qualitative	People refer to others as stalkers for using FB to find information on acquaintances and classmates. Facebook stalking is a tool to get information. Facebook stalking is creepy. Can lead to actual cyber-stalking in some cases.	Predominantly non-friends.	Yes	Yes	Neg.
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Note: Anon stands for anonymous, and Pos/Neg stands for whether the behavior is treated as positive or negative in the definitions/participant descriptions.

Facebook stalking is an information seeking behavior. All seven studies use the terms browsing, surveillance, viewing and information acquisition to describe the behavior. The behavior is described as one in which users are passively (Lewis & West, 2009) or actively (Urista et al., 2009) seeking to acquire information about others on Facebook. Users are finding this information via the Newsfeed, other users' profiles, Walls, photographs and other content (Brott, 2009; Kennedy, 2009; Lewis & West, 2009; Pempek et al., 2009; Urista et al., 2009).

From there, the studies disagree on a few definitional points. First, there is some question as to whether or not the behavior is harmless. This was addressed in the previous section comparing Facebook stalking to cyber-stalking, and the conclusion drawn is that in all its forms, Facebook stalking is conceptually harmless. In order for Facebook stalking to become harmful, it must transition into or be combined with other negative behaviors. Thus, the idea of harmlessness is accepted as part of the conceptual definition.

There is some disagreement among the studies about the target of the behavior. Brott (2009) and Kennedy (2009) are at opposite ends of the spectrum, with Brott suggesting that the target is usually a stranger and Kennedy suggests that the target is rarely a stranger. Urista et al. (2009) also suggests that Facebook stalking is something

carried out predominantly with non-connections; the discussion of the behavior in that study is in the section on privacy and access. The participants suggest that they maintain their privacy settings to ward off stalkers. Lewis and West (2009) and Pempek et al. (2009) simply suggest that Facebook stalking can occur with both friends and non-friends. Thus, for the conceptual definition, relationship type will be left open, though relationship type can have an effect on what social norms apply to any given situation, and social norms are a key part of defining Facebook stalking.

All of the studies describe the behavior as one that is anonymous (i.e., the user committing the stalking behavior attempts to remain anonymous). Additionally, the comparison Pempek et al. (2009) makes to lurking is apropos in that both behaviors rely on anonymity while browsing, which is maintained by not directly interacting. Interaction could be achieved via commenting on the browsed content, chatting on instant messenger about the browsing behavior, sending private messages about the browsing or talking about the browsing during face-to-face interactions. As it is ubiquitous in the studies and descriptions, anonymity is obviously an important characteristic of Facebook stalking.

Finally, in four of the seven studies, specifically those which were open-ended and qualitative, participants mention a sense of guilt or shame accompanying the behavior. The other three studies do not mention guilt, but do make note of potential perceived social norm violations wherein either the stalker or the stalked person feels that the behavior is “creepy,” or “snooping” (Bornoe & Barkhuus, 2011; Pempek et al., 2009, Urista et al., 2009). But, users in a number of the studies also had a positive view of this behavior, admitting that they engage in it, and in at least one case, calling it “mild...

friendly... stalking... it is quite fun stalking people” (Lewis & West, 2009, p. 1216). This dichotomy is where defining Facebook stalking becomes difficult. It is clear that some users perceive a social norm violation, which causes them guilt and discomfort, while other users, like one mentioned in Lewis and West (2009) do not seem to experience a social norm violation. Even though some users do not seem to experience a social norm violation, the argument can be made that, if they require anonymity for their browsing, and would change their browsing habits if the target of the browsing knew, that social norms are still involved. In these cases, perhaps the social norm violation is milder, subconscious or instead of perceiving a social norm violation, the user instead has a fear of what the target or other users might think about their behavior, or a subconscious fear of violating social norms. The degree of social norm violation, and the presence or absence of a conscious social norm violation seems to be an important point. First, because nearly all of the definitions and descriptions offered in the studies include it in some form or another, and second, because it seems to differentiate between anonymous browsing similar to traditional lurking (i.e., remaining anonymous or not posting because just reading/browsing is enough) and Facebook stalking, which has a slightly negative connotation, even as a harmless behavior.

A starting point for defining Facebook stalking is lurking. Facebook stalking has some conceptual links to lurking in traditional online communities because, in order to protect their anonymity, users engaged in stalking behavior will not post or comment on the profiles of those they are browsing (Bornoe & Barkhuus, 2011; Nonnecke & Preece, 2001; Pempek et al., 2009; Urista et al., 2009). Also similar to lurking behaviors,

Facebook stalking as described by participants appears to be nearly ubiquitous among users of the SNS based on quotes from several of the research studies (Lewis & West, 2009, Nonnecke & Preece, 2001). Facebook stalking departs from lurking there, as anonymity, though a feature of lurking, has not been described as a necessary condition for lurking. The only necessary condition for lurking is not posting, which does tend to contribute to anonymity, but one can not post and still communicate in other ways with members of the community (Nonnecke & Preece, 2001).

One of the current study's challenges is to attempt to account for contradictory accounts of Facebook stalking found in the literature. The dichotomy that exists between participants who find the behavior to be friendly and fun, and those who experience guilt and shame when engaging in the behavior, suggests that Facebook stalking as a term is describing at least two different behaviors. In four of the studies that describe the Facebook stalking, the behavior is characterized in both a positive and a negative light (Bornoe & Barkhuus, 2011; Kennedy, 2009; Lewis and West, 2009; Urista et al., 2009). These contradictory definitions suggest that the key to successfully conceptualizing Facebook stalking requires more than one term. The participants that describe Facebook stalking as a negative behavior also mention feeling guilt, shame or discomfort, or call Facebook stalking creepy, snooping, spying or other negative terms (see studies listed in Table 1). This suggests that many participants feel that they are committing a social norm violation through their "stalking" behaviors. This conscious social norm violation that is causing the guilty feelings offers a motive for the anonymity of the behavior. If participants feel they are breaching social norms via their information seeking behaviors,

the behaviors become taboo (Bornoe & Barkhuus, 2011) and thus anonymity becomes a necessary condition for the commission of the behavior.

Social Norms and Facebook stalking. Kugler and Jones (1992, p. 318) define guilt as a “dysphoric feeling associated with the recognition that one has violated a personally relevant moral or social standard.” Social norms have been conceptualized as social rules or standards of human behavior which are based on widely shared beliefs. They govern how a person should behave in a given situation under specific circumstances (Fehr & Fischbacher, 2004). “The group in which social norms prevail can be a family, a peer group, an organization or even a whole society” (Fehr & Fischbacher, 2004, p. 185). Thus, the connection between the guilt feelings that Facebook stalkers are feeling and social norms, which govern what behaviors are acceptable and which are not, becomes clear. In an examination of social norms, Elster (1989) explains that norms are partly sustained by the approval or disapproval of other people, and that they are also sustained by feelings of embarrassment, anxiety, guilt and shame that a person suffers at the prospect of violating them.

The conscious and sometimes overt perceived social norm violation that lead users to express feelings of guilt and shame when describing Facebook stalking could be influenced by a number of factors. These factors include the strength or weakness of the relationship between the user and the user they are browsing (norms about relationship type and appropriate behavior), the frequency with which they browse that user’s profile, the type and amount of information they look at when browsing, or the amount of time spent browsing (norms about appropriate amount of interest in another user’s profile).

The social norm violation may also occur because of a violation of reciprocity, where a user believes they have more access to a person's profile than that person has to their profile. According to Joinson (2008, p 2.), "If social searching is a public good, then reciprocity rules would dictate that by enabling a degree of surveillance of oneself, one should also be able to engage in reciprocal surveillance of others." But regardless of what social norm the user feels they are violating, a social norm violation would create the feelings of discomfort, guilt, spying, snooping and creepiness reported in the studies.

This leaves the researcher with a conundrum. If a conscious social norm violation creates the need for anonymity as a necessary condition, how can one explain the other participants who use the term "Facebook stalking" to describe, as one participant puts it, "mild...friendly...stalking...it is quite fun stalking people" (Lewis & West, 2009, p. 1216). Or as another puts it, "[we] all wanted to have a 'bit of a sneak around'"(Lewis & West, 2009, p. 1216). The second participant continued to explain that it was a common courtesy for Facebook users to put up something for people to look at. Additionally, Kennedy's (2009) participants describe the behavior as a harmless, healthy curiosity and a joking thing that people say. The participants in Kennedy (2009) also noted that one could take the behavior too far, to the point at which it would become creepy.

These descriptions, which are also common in the literature, do not seem to contain a conscious social norm violation. Instead, it seems that users do not recognize a social norm violation, either because it is too small to be concerned about, they are in denial, the violation is subconscious or they are experiencing the fear of a violation rather than a violation. Thus, it becomes difficult to explain the need for anonymity, though many of

these participants and the studies they participated in are clear about anonymity as a characteristic of this behavior. One explanation for this need for anonymity, the one which is adopted in the current research is that all anonymous information seeking behavior on Facebook involves some sort of social norm violation. Though the participants in the above study do not mention a social norm violation, and may not actively perceive one in their behavior, it is likely that on a subconscious level, they believe they are committing a social norm violation, or, alternately are concerned about potentially unintentionally committing a social norm violation, and thus require anonymity.

This subconscious social norm violation or fear of an unintentional social norm violation is not at the forefront of the participants' minds, but if hard pressed as to why they maintain anonymity, they might respond in the same way that Facebook users in Westlake (2008) responded. The Facebook users created and joined a group called, "I See People from Facebook on the Street, but If I Speak, They Might Think I'm a Stalker" (Westlake, 2008, p. 33). Though the stalking behaviors are characterized as fun, joking, harmless, healthy curiosity, and in other positive ways, they are still referred to as stalking, and conditional anonymity is still required. Based on this argument, social norm violations occur in all Facebook stalking behaviors, but operate on a continuum that ranges from the fear of an unintentional norm violation to the conscious commission of a social norm violation. The social norm violations likely also range from mild to severe, which may play a role in whether the person committing the violation recognizes it as a violation or desires anonymity but does not know why.

It is important to note that as far as the term Facebook stalking is concerned, most of the studies in Table 1 mention guilt and shame feelings associated with Facebook stalking, and none of the studies describe Facebook stalking in a completely positive light. Because of the predominance and ubiquity of negative descriptions, it is likely that a minority of participants are also using stalking to describe a related, but more positive browsing behavior, without a conscious social norm violation. These participants may be using the same term to describe these behaviors because of a lack of nuanced terminology to describe anonymous browsing behaviors. Also, the term Facebook stalking has not been clearly defined for users. It is currently a purely colloquial term, subject to inconsistencies across groups of people.

In order to rectify the contradictory accounts of Facebook stalking, and in order to provide the best description of the actual behaviors, the current research proposes that the term Facebook Anonymous Information Seeking (FAIS) be used to describe an overarching behavior that includes all instances of information seeking where anonymity is a conditional requirement. Then, Facebook Anonymous Information Seeking with a Conscious Social Norm Violation (FAIS-CSNV), will describe a specific type of FAIS wherein the Facebook user believes that they are committing a conscious social norm violation, causing them to feel guilt and shame as noted in the research. Both terms can be used to describe Facebook stalking, but given the predominantly negative characterizations found in each study, FAIS-CSNV is conceptually the closest to the definition offered by the majority of participants throughout the studies, and will be the conceptual equivalent of Facebook stalking utilized in the subsequent analysis.

Facebook Anonymous Information Seeking (FAIS) defined. Because Facebook is such a specific medium, even among SNS, Facebook stalking warrants a term that denotes it as a Facebook phenomenon. Though some of the research and ideas in this study can be applied to other SNS and other forms of Computer Mediated Communication (CMC), it is important to recognize that the complex functionality and privacy settings on Facebook combined with the massive number of people participating in the medium creates a very specific environment. For that reason, the term Facebook Anonymous Information Seeking (FAIS) (as opposed to Social Network Anonymous Information Seeking) is used to describe anonymous browsing behaviors on Facebook. Even though the terminology created here applies specifically to Facebook, the concepts and relationships investigated in this study, and the results achieved can apply to other SNS platforms that have similar characteristics to Facebook, both now and in the future.

The definition for FAIS is as follows: Facebook Anonymous Information Seeking (FAIS) is a harmless information seeking behavior, wherein a Facebook user browses through the profiles, content or other information of any other Facebook user under the necessary condition of anonymity. If anonymity is not possible, the user will browse differently, cut back on the amount of browsing or discontinue the browsing altogether. Anonymity is a necessary condition because the user has either a subconscious perception that they are committing a social norm violation, a subconscious fear of potentially committing such a social norm violation (FAIS-SSNV), or a perception that they are consciously committing a social norm violation (FAIS-CSNV).

Defining anonymity. Anonymity is an important concept that has appeared in every

study which mentions Facebook stalking (see Table 1). In order to best understand the definition of FAIS, it's important to answer the questions, "what is anonymity?" and, "when is a user anonymous?" Anonymity is defined as a state in which a person is not identifiable (Qian & Scott, 2007). Based on this definition, anonymity may seem simple, but consider the following situation. Two users are sitting together at a terminal and "Facebook stalking" another student from their school. Should their behavior be considered anonymous? It's not completely anonymous based on the definition of anonymity offered by Qian and Scott (2007). The two users are identifiable to one another, and thus are not in a total state of anonymity. Anonymity, however, is not a dichotomous concept. Instead there are degrees of anonymity (Qian & Scott, 2007). Though the users looking at their classmate's profile are not anonymous to one another, they are not identifiable to the student whose profile they are "Facebook stalking," and therefore they are anonymous to him or her.

In order for a browsing behavior to be considered anonymous in terms of FAIS, it must meet one condition: the target of the behavior (the person whose profile, photos, content or other information are being browsed) must not know that the user is browsing/has browsed their profile. If the user committing the information seeking behavior is anonymous to the target, and their behavior meets all the other conditions of the FAIS definition, the behavior is considered FAIS (or FAIS-SSNV, FAIS-CSNV). This is not to say that FAIS doesn't or can't include users who keep their behavior private and don't share it with others including family and friends. Users who are subconsciously or consciously committing a social norm violation may not want anyone to know about

their behavior, and a researcher asking them about their reticence for others to know about their browsing habits may be a way to measure the social norm component of FAIS (specifically, FAIS-CSNV). So, in the case of the two users viewing the other student's profile, as long as they maintain anonymity and are not identified to their target, and as long as that anonymity is a necessary condition of their browsing, they are engaging in FAIS.

One additional note about anonymity involves the difference between anonymity in browsing and anonymity of access. Due to the robust privacy settings on Facebook (Facebook.com, 2011), Facebook users are able to know, down to the individual connection, how much access other users on Facebook, both friends and non-friends, have to their profile. It could be argued that browsing on Facebook is no longer anonymous because each user knows who can access what information. Though access is no longer anonymous on Facebook for users who make full use of the privacy settings, a user cannot identify which other users are browsing their profiles, and they cannot identify which content users are looking at, how long they are looking at the content, or how frequently they are looking at the content. This inability to identify who is actually browsing their profile at any given time, and to identify what content they are browsing, how long they are browsing and how frequently they are browsing is the anonymity referred to in FAIS.

FAIS-CSNV: Facebook Anonymous Information Seeking with a perceived “Conscious Social Norm Violation.” All information seeking behaviors (or browsing behaviors) on Facebook where anonymity is a necessary condition are considered FAIS

behaviors. This includes two types of information seeking behaviors. First, it includes information seeking where anonymity is required because the user has a subconscious perception of a social norm violation, or a subconscious fear of potentially committing a social norm violation.

This sub-group of FAIS behaviors can be called FAIS-SSNV (Facebook anonymous information seeking behavior with the Subconscious perception of a Social Norm Violation, or fear of committing a social norm violation). FAIS-SSNV describes situations where people do not recognize the feelings of awkwardness, discomfort and guilt or shame that accompany a social norm violation in their conscious mind, but subconsciously, there is a recognition that they have committed a social norm violation or there is a subconscious fear that they may be committing one, and will be “found out” if anonymity is breached. FAIS-SSNV may also have a relationship with denial. As the FAIS-SSNV cases are not of primary interest in this research, they will not be measured or analyzed.

The second type of FAIS, is an information seeking behavior on Facebook where anonymity is required because the user perceives that they have consciously violated a social norm. This sub category of FAIS characterized by a conscious social norm violation is of specific interest to the current research. Based on the definitions from the studies which mention Facebook stalking (see Table 1), this sub category of FAIS is what the vast majority of study participants would classify as Facebook stalking. This type of FAIS can be called FAIS-CSNV, or Facebook Anonymous Information Seeking Behavior with a perceived Conscious Social Norm Violation. FAIS-CSNV is proposed

by the current research as a conceptual equivalent to Facebook stalking.

The definition offered for FAIS-CSNV is as follows: FAIS-CSNV is a harmless information seeking behavior, wherein a Facebook user browses through the profiles, content or other information of any other Facebook user under the necessary condition of anonymity, created by the user's perception that they are consciously committing a social norm violation. If anonymity is not possible, the user will browse differently, cut back on the amount of browsing or discontinue the browsing altogether.

The first step to establishing these definitions in the literature is to test the assumptions drawn from previous qualitative research that, while useful, often did not include large sample sizes. In order to do so, the current research poses the following research question:

RQ₁: What components and characteristics do Facebook users include when describing the behavior commonly known as Facebook stalking?

As the research continues, FAIS and FAIS-CSNV will be included in each research question and hypothesis as separate concepts. As FAIS-CSNV is a type of FAIS, some similar relationships between these two concepts and other constructs and traits are expected. But, because FAIS and FAIS-CSNV are conceptually different, and because FAIS also includes FAIS-SSNV, which is conceptually different from FAIS-CSNV, there should be some differences between the size of the relationships observed between FAIS, FAIS-CSNV and other concepts. Because FAIS-CSNV is a type of FAIS, the two should

be highly correlated with one another. This leads to the first hypothesis:

H₁. FAIS will have a positive relationship with FAIS-CSNV.

FAIS, FAIS-CSNV and Age

Another important consideration when studying behaviors like FAIS and FAIS-CSNV is the age of the participants. The current literature is limited, in most cases, to traditional college-age students 18-25. Because of this lack of variance in participant age, it is currently unknown if this behavior manifests in older populations, or if there are other age differences. It is possible that persons in an older demographic do not recognize or commit this behavior. The behavior could be specific to a younger demographic who have more readily adopted the technology and who are the technology's heaviest users, even given the recent migration of older members to sites like Facebook (Facebook statistics, 2011). Additionally, with the longevity of Facebook as an SNS, some of the younger users have used Facebook since their very early teens, when they first began using the computer autonomously. Facebook allows users as young as 13 years of age to join and utilize the site. The users who have been on Facebook from the time they were first on the computer will have had a vastly different experience than users who joined at a later time in their life. Users who were already in varying stages of adulthood when Facebook came into being had to adapt to the new medium, and had to join the party late, after college students and high school students. Many younger participants, however, may not remember a time before there was Facebook as far as their computer use is

concerned. The lack of available research and evidence to make a prediction about how age relates to SNS use leads to the following research question, which looks at the relationship between age, FAIS and FAIS-CSNV.

RQ_{2a-b}: What is the relationship between the amount of (RQ_{2a}) FAIS or (RQ_{2b}) FAIS-CSNV a user engages in and age?

Comparing FAIS and FAIS-CSNV to related constructs, concepts and traits is important to begin a construct validation of the conceptual definitions offered here. The relationships that may be observed between the new construct and established constructs will deepen the understanding of the behaviors described and provide support for the validity of the FAIS construct. Thus, this thesis will examine the relationships between gossip, Social Comparison Orientation, interpersonal curiosity, voyeuristic tendency and FAIS/FAIS-CSNV.

Gossip and its Relationship to FAIS Behaviors

Gossip, which can be defined as producing, hearing or otherwise participating in evaluative comments about someone who is not present in the conversation (Foster, 2004), is an important construct. At least 60% of adult conversations are about people who are not present (Wert & Salovey, 2004). Foster (2004) explains that in a complex social environment, humans need information about people around them in order to function, but because the environment and interconnections of their network are so highly complex, they rely on intermediaries to provide the information they are not able to

absorb directly from primary exchanges (Foster, 2004). Dunbar (2004) claims that gossip is the core of human social relationships and society itself, supporting these assertions through the evolutionary perspective, which states that gossip facilitates the bonding of large social groups and allows human beings to exchange information about the changes that occur within their social networks (Dunbar, 2004). Another definition states that gossip refers to unverified news about the personal affairs of others, which is shared informally between individuals (Litman & Pezzo, 2005). Gossip has also been defined as a negative, malicious, destructive behavior (Dunbar, 2004). For the purposes of this research, gossip will be treated as a neutral behavior in which two or more people engage in evaluative talk about an absent other (Wert & Salovey, 2004). The valence of their remarks, whether positive or negative, will not be considered part of the definition. Many definitions of gossip emphasize the idea that gossip is behind another person's back (Litman & Pezzo, 2005), which implies to some degree that gossip is secretive, at least secret from the person who is being gossiped about. This also implies some shared anonymity from the target of gossip between the gossipers, which echoes the anonymity users on Facebook require when engaging in FAIS/FAIS-CSNV.

Similar to gossip, Facebook facilitates and connects large social groups and allows users to exchange information about changes that occur in their social network. In fact, in many ways Facebook is an online representation of the social network, and thus as users post updates, share photographs and publish other information via the SNS, they are creating a body of interpersonal information that allows other users to acquire and share social information across their social network. Adding in the anonymity that occurs in

many gossip transactions, FAIS and FAIS-CSNV are behaviors that function much the same way that secretive gossip does. FAIS and FAIS-CSNV accomplish the same end that gossip does (i.e., gathering information about non-present others in a person's social network), but they do so without the social risk of being discovered or caught by the person who is the target of the information seeking behavior. In gossip, a person's anonymity is only protected if the other person they were gossiping with does not share their identity with the target at some point. In gossip, therefore, one participant does not have sole control over whether or not their anonymity is protected. In Facebook stalking, however, the user committing the behavior has complete control over their anonymity. Borgatti and Cross (2003) suggest that information seeking behavior is governed by a balance between the value of the information sought, the access to the person with the information, and importantly to the current research issue, the cost and interpersonal risks of acquiring the information. Thus, FAIS and FAIS-CSNV may serve as proxy behaviors for gossip, allowing members of a social group to gather the information they need to maintain their social bond and connectedness to their network without engaging in the socially-risky behavior of gathering that information about a third part via gossip. If FAIS and FAIS-CSNV are similar to gossip, a person's tendency to gossip should correlate with a tendency to engage in each of the behaviors. Based on this, the following hypotheses emerge:

H_{2a-b} : An individual's tendency to gossip will have a positive relationship with the amount of (H_{2a}) FAIS and (H_{2b}) FAIS-CSNV in which they engage.

Social Comparison Orientation and its Relationship to FAIS Behaviors

Festinger introduced Social Comparison Theory in the 1950s in order to describe the process of self-evaluation enacted by humans based on information gathered about the opinions and abilities of others (Festinger, 1954). As gossip is also an evaluative behavior that relies on the gathering of information about others, it has been shown to be related to the concept of social comparison (Wert & Salovey, 2004). Social comparisons are motivated by the desire for self-evaluation against others' abilities and opinions (Festinger, 1954), and gossip is one way for people to gather information about those abilities and opinions. Thus, gossip proceeds from social comparison, allowing researchers to apply social comparison motivations to gossip (Wert & Salovey, 2004). Gossip allows individuals to gain information about the validity of their opinions and abilities, improve themselves (gossiping comparisons with superior others), and feel better about themselves (gossiping comparisons with inferior others) (Wert & Salovey, 2004).

Social comparison stems from the idea that people are sense makers who need to create meaning and understand their personal and social world (Stapel & Tesser, 2001). In his classic explication of Social Comparison Theory, Festinger proposed that individuals are driven by a desire for self-evaluation, a motivation to establish that one's opinions are correct and to know precisely what one is capable of doing (Festinger, 1954). Wood (1996) defines it as the process of thinking about information about one or more people in relation to the self. Over the history of this complex theory, researchers have looked at fear-affiliation (Buunk & Gibbons, 2007), which is a person's tendency to seek

out someone going through the same situation to compare with. This has a close relationship to the “same boat” function of gossip described by Foster (2004), in which the gossiper is engaging in gossip to seek information about people who are in the same situation. In addition, the direction of comparisons has been pinpointed as a method of mood management (Buunk & Gibbons, 2007), which is echoed in Wert and Salovey’s (2004) gossip motivations and functions. The four motives behind social comparison listed by Wert and Salovey (2004) are self-evaluation, self-improvement, self-enhancement and establishment of a social-identity. Later, individual differences were studied, showing that people have a trait called Social Comparison Orientation, which has a strong relationship with neuroticism, anxiety and uncertainty (Gerard, 1963; Gibbons & Buunk, 1999; Van der Zee, Oldersma, Buunk & Bos, 1998). Neuroticism also has an empirically supported relationship to anxiety (Muris, Roelofs, Rassin, Franken & Mayer, 2005), which has an empirically supported relationship with interpersonal curiosity (Renner, 2006), which is the next potential concept this research will examine.

FAIS and FAIS-CSNV behaviors, which function as a proxy for gossip based on the above argument, should then, based on the theoretical arguments of Wert and Salovey (2004), proceed from Social Comparison and share the same motivations. In addition, a high Social Comparison Orientation, or trait social comparison, should predict a higher frequency of reported FAIS-CSNV, and a higher amount of reported FAIS behavior.

From this, the following hypotheses emerge:

H_{3a-b}: An individual’s Social Comparison Orientation will have a positive relationship

with the amount of (H_{3a}) FAIS and (H_{3b}) FAIS-CSNV in which they engage.

Interpersonal Curiosity

Interpersonal curiosity (IPC) is a construct and a trait connected to both gossip and social comparison in the literature (Renner, 2006; Litman & Pezzo, 2005). In developing a trait measure for IPC, Litman and Pezzo (2007) cited the gossip and social comparison literature extensively; thus IPC can be linked to FAIS and FAIS-CSNV logically through their hypothesized relationships to gossip and social comparison. In addition to these relationships, there is also a strong case for testing a relationship between FAIS and FAIS-CSNV and interpersonal curiosity that can be made by looking at the Facebook stalking literature. When asked why they engage in Facebook stalking, curiosity is often cited by participants in studies where this new behavior is mentioned (Kennedy, 2009; Lewis & West, 2009; Pempek et al., 2009; Urista et al., 2009), suggesting that it may be an important motive or predictor for the behavior when viewed as a trait. Litman (2005) defines curiosity as a desire to know, see, or experience that motivates an individual to acquire new information.

In the past, two competing curiosity models dominated the curiosity literature: the optimal arousal model, which suggests that humans and animals are motivated to maintain an optimal level of arousal, and the curiosity-drive theory, which equates curiosity to uncertainty, the reduction of which is rewarding (Litman, 2005). Litman and Jimerson (2004) proposed that both the satiation (from the uncertainty model) and activation of curiosity (from the arousal model) might be valid models for curiosity.

Litman (2005) calls the coexistence of these two models the interest/deprivation model of curiosity, and measures curiosity as a feeling of deprivation (CFD), and curiosity as a feeling of interest (CFI). Based on motivations mentioned for FAIS-CSNV in the literature, which included learning about new people such as potential roommates (uncertainty-deprivation), entertainment (arousal-interest), and to learn about current strong and weak tie relationships within a person's network (uncertainty-deprivation and/or arousal-interest) (Borneo & Barkhuus, 2011; Lewis & West, 2009), curiosity needs are potential motivators for FAIS-CSNV and other FAIS behaviors.

As a type of curiosity, IPC is particularly suited for comparison to FAIS and FAIS-CSNV behaviors. Litman and Pezzo (2007) suggest that the target of interpersonal curiosity is people-information, or interpersonal information, explaining that, "people-information has special value in the social world; obtaining it is important for social comparison, while its transmission (i.e., gossiping) plays a role in forming friendships and attacking adversaries. In addition, because people-information often involves private matters that cannot be easily confirmed, individuals differ in their willingness to share it" (Litman & Pezzo, 2007, p. 1449). As information provided on Facebook is primarily "people information," engaging in FAIS and FAIS-CSNV is the act of acquiring interpersonal information. These relationships and arguments lead to the following hypotheses:

H_{4a-b} : An individual's level of interpersonal curiosity will have a positive relationship with the amount of (H_{4a}) FAIS and (H_{4b}) FAIS-CSNV in which they engage.

Voyeurism, Social Surveillance and FAIS Behaviors

One of the participants in the Lewis and West (2009) study noted in her observation of information seeking on Facebook that the SNS is very voyeuristic. Instead of looking at IES, which describes a strategic, goal-oriented behavior and has already been discarded as an equivalent for Facebook stalking, the current research looks to the related concept voyeurism, specifically mediated voyeurism, which is described by Calvert (2000) as the consumption of information about the personal, private lives of others for the purposes of entertainment via the internet. Both surveillance and voyeurism have been conceptualized in the past as “looking” behavior involving sex and sexuality (Bell, 2009; Smith, 1976). The early voyeurism literature conceptualizes the term as looking at some form of nudity as gratification in place of the normal sex act (Smith, 1976). Even in contemporary studies, voyeurism is considered a psychological/psychosexual disorder, covered under the DSM-IV (Langstrom, 2010).

In the television Uses and Gratifications literature, and the reality television literature, the terms voyeurism and surveillance began to be used to describe a prying curiosity into the lives of others, especially in the case of reality television (Abelman, Atkin & Rand, 1997; Bagdasarov, Greene, Banerjee, Kremar, Yanovitzky & Ruginyte, 2010; Baruh, 2009; Brott, 2009; Calvert, 2000; Nabi, Biely, Morgan & Stitt, 2003). These studies have moved away from the sexual definition of voyeurism and focused on the surveillance and watching of others for gratification. Though Calvert’s (2000) definition was given in the context of sexual consumption on the Internet, it is easily

applicable to non-sexual behavior as well. In addition, surveillance, which is conceptualized throughout the literature as collection of usage of data on individuals or groups to be used for control and discipline (Fuchs, 2010) has received a new definition in Nabi et al. (2003), where it is described as the desire to watch others and access information that can be gained by watching characters in reality television. These new conceptualizations of voyeurism and surveillance have a much stronger relationship to FAIS and FAIS-CSNV as defined in the current study than the prior, sexually-based conceptualizations. One definition that has a particularly strong relationship to FAIS and FAIS-CSNV is offered by Baruh (2009), who suggests that voyeurs seek private information because they derive pleasure from access to private details.

The connection between reality television and social networks has been established in the literature. As discussed earlier, interpersonal electronic surveillance applies and adapts this more contemporary definition of surveillance to describe the Little Brother surveillance in which individual users mindfully and strategically observe other users online (Tokunaga, 2011). Stefanone, Lackaff and Rosen (2008) make the connection between surveillance, voyeurism and social networks by comparing social network behaviors with reality television watching, and Brott (2009) found a significant relationship between Facebook stalking behaviors and beliefs, voyeurism and reality television watching. Bumgarner (2007) makes the argument that Facebook cultivates mediated voyeurism as described by Calvert, and that the overt exhibitionism on Facebook created by the disclosure of person details is the impetus for this voyeurism. Bumgarner (2007) also found that voyeurism was commonplace on Facebook and found

that gratifications for this voyeuristic behavior included reading personal information, looking through photos, seeing who someone's friends were and checking updates on walls. Based on the above studies, results and definitions, the following hypotheses emerged:

H_{5a-b}: An individual's tendency towards voyeuristic behavior will have a positive relationship with the amount of (H_{5a}) FAIS and (H_{5b}) FAIS-CSNV in which they engage.

Based on the arguments in each of the above sections that attempt to demonstrate a relationship between tendency to gossip, Social Comparison Orientation, interpersonal curiosity, tendency towards voyeuristic behavior and FAIS/FAIS-CSNV, and given the interrelationships of these variables, the following hypotheses emerged:

H_{6a-b}: The linear combination of tendency to gossip, Social Comparison Orientation, interpersonal curiosity and tendency towards voyeuristic behavior will predict the amount of (H_{6a}) FAIS and (H_{6b}) FAIS-CSNV in a person engages, when controlled for demographics and Facebook usage.

CHAPTER III

METHODOLOGY

There has been little research conducted in the area of Facebook stalking because it is a relatively newly documented phenomenon. Any research that has been done with measures of Facebook stalking as a variable may be awaiting publication as of the writing of this paper. In addition, Facebook stalking has predominantly appeared in qualitative studies up until this point (Lewis & West, 2009; Urista et al., 2009), signaling that there is qualitative evidence to support a quantitative study of the behavior. Thus, the current research will look at this newly described behavior from a quantitative perspective, but provide open-ended questions that allow users to define Facebook stalking in their own words to examine the colloquial term and the definitions offered by users of the SNS.

Facebook stalking as a variable has only previously been measured in one study that could be located at the time of this writing, Brott (2009). As explained in the literature review, Brott's (2009) conceptualization and operationalization relied only on

browsing behavior and the Wall, a portion of each Facebook user's profile where their own posts and posts left by their connections are viewable. This conceptualization and the subsequent operationalization included anonymity, but did not emphasize it as a necessary condition, and no mention of the social norm violations that were argued for in the lit review of the current study was made. Brott (2009) asked study participants to indicate whether or not they used the Wall for Facebook stalking, and how frequently they used it. Despite Brott's (2009) lack of specificity in his measures, the online survey method he used was successful and collected more than 300 responses. Thus, the current study used online sampling and survey methods in order to recruit participants and survey them.

Procedures and Participants

Divining a sampling procedure for studying Facebook behaviors poses many challenges to the researcher. First, obtaining a probability sample is challenging since there is no master list of Facebook users available to researchers. One way to sample randomly on Facebook is to sample from a group or fan page, but that type of sampling would only yield generalizable results if the research question or hypothesis examined members of that particular group or fan page as a population. Another way to create a probability sample on Facebook is to randomly sample one person's friend list or a group of people's friend lists. Sampling this way, however, still limits the population to the networks of the people who are selected. Additionally, sampling on Facebook is challenging due to privacy settings. Even if a researcher sampled from a group or friend list, the users selected via the random sampling method might not accept messages from

non-connections. Since the population for the current study is all Facebook users over age 18, none of the above sampling methods would be useful to generate a probability sample. For that reason, a convenience sample obtained via a snowball sampling procedure on Facebook was utilized.

Benefits and Challenges of Online Survey Methods

Benefits and challenges that apply to online research via e-mail and other methods also apply to using Facebook as a source for recruiting potential participants. For example, Evans and Mathur (2005) note in their research that online survey methods tend to be more affordable, more convenient, more time efficient, more flexible and tend to provide data that is easier to analyze than traditional pen and paper surveys. They also note that researchers have the option of requiring answers in an online survey (Evans & Mathur, 2005). Even with these strengths, the potential weaknesses of surveying online still pose a challenge to researchers. First, online surveys, whether delivered via mail or Facebook postings, can be perceived as spam, scams or junk mail. In addition, the voluntary nature of participation in many online surveys means that the samples gathered online are not always representative, limiting the generalizability of the research (Evans & Mathur, 2005). But, perhaps the most challenging aspect of online survey methods is the potentially low response rate. A number of researchers have experienced low response rates in online surveys. According to Evans and Mathur (2005), even though study after study has reported a low response rate when using an online survey, there is still an erroneous perception among academics and others that online surveys have higher response rates than traditional surveys. In order to combat this challenge, Evans and

Mathur (2005) recommend limiting the number of times respondents are contacted, offering small incentives and developing the best possible surveys which will not fatigue potential respondents. With these challenges and recommendations in mind, a survey questionnaire was distributed on Facebook via a snowball sampling method, where users were asked not only to take the survey, but to invite other users to take it as well.

Facebook Snowball Sample Recruitment

Since there is a lack of empirical research examining Facebook stalking, and because of the difficulties associated with sampling from Facebook as a population, a convenience sample was chosen. In order to recruit respondents with diversity in age as a major consideration, a Facebook snowball sample method was chosen. A survey questionnaire was developed and distributed primarily via Facebook, though also via Twitter and a small local online publication, to adults age 18 and up. Survey respondents were offered the option to enter a drawing for an Amazon Kindle and a \$50 Amazon Gift Certificate as an incentive. Once the survey was created and finalized, the research protocol application for Cleveland State University's Institutional Review Board (IRB) was completed and sent in for IRB approval. The approval was received via mail (see Appendix B).

Recruitment for the online survey questionnaire was undertaken in four different online mediums. Over the course of the study 1,223 unique Internet users were recruited for the study, with 1,011 respondents completing the survey. The researcher recruited using a Facebook event page, which recruited 620 or 50.6% of the survey respondents. The researcher also recruited using a Facebook post, which recruited 339 participants or

about 27.6% of the survey respondents. Another 206 respondents, or 16.8% were recruited from a posting on Twitter. Fifty-eight respondents, or about 5% of the overall sample, were recruited via a small, local online publication that ran a link to the survey.

The use of Facebook events for snowball sample recruitment. Events on Facebook are part of the Facebook platform where users can create an event page, which includes information about the event along with a date, time, location and any other event information. The user can then invite their friends to the event. The event can be public or private. If the event is public, a user's friends can invite their friends to the event. If the event is private, only the users invited by the event creator receive invitations, and they are not able to invite others to the event (Facebook.com, 2011). An event can be used to recruit research participants to take an online survey. Though a survey is not technically an event that occurs at a specific time, the event timeframe on Facebook can be extended to occur over several weeks or even several months. The event function is used by many non-profit organizations and users to notify Facebook friends about long-term opportunities to donate to a cause, participate in a survey or purchase tickets for a raffle.

Facebook events are useful in recruiting for online researchers for a few reasons. First, the event has a constantly updated display of (1) users who have responded that they will attend the event, (2) users who have responded that they may be attending the event, (3) users who are still awaiting reply and (4) users who have responded that they are not attending (see Figure 5). When the event creator sends out invitations, each user who has received an invitation will receive an event notification along with a prompt to RSVP. Once the event creator, or an event invitee (if the event is public) has invited

another Facebook user, they become part of the guest list for the event (see left column in Figure 5). The creator of any event can then send a message to all guests of the event, or to a specific group including those who have RSVP'd as "attending," "maybe attending," or "not yet replied" (Figure 6). The only group that the event creator cannot message is those who have declined to attend the event.

facebook

Search

Home Profile Account

Please Take My Thesis Survey (And Enter to Win a Kindle)

You are Attending · Share · Public Event

Time: Friday, April 22 at 3:30am - May 6 at 11:30pm

Location: Here on Facebook

Created By: Julie Powell Cajigas

More Info: Hello friends. I have been working tirelessly these past two years to get my Master's degree. Now I'm at the culminating point where I get to architect a study and learn something about Communication.
<http://www.surveymonkey.com/s/f2F8JGS>

Now I need your help. The link above is to my survey. Please copy it and do two things with it:

1. Please take it! It only takes about 20-25 minutes, and you can enter to win an Amazon Kindle. Just copy and paste it into your browser and you'll go straight to the survey.
2. Please pass it on. I need to get a large number of people to take it in order to have good results. You can invite your friends to this event, or you can post it on your page, or send it to someone you think might be interested.

I appreciate your help with this more than you know, and if I can ever take a survey, or do anything to help you along, please let me know. Thank you all so very much!

If you've already taken the survey, THANK YOU, please feel free to invite others to this event!

(Oh, also - another quick request, if you want to chat with me about the survey, please send a private message. It's important that everyone remain unbiased before they take it, so I want the topic of the survey to remain a surprise.

THANKS again!!!

Share: Post Link Photo Video

Write something...

Friends' Events: See All

- Transformers: Dark of the Moon Opens...
Wednesday, June 29
- RSVP: Yes - No - Maybe
- Special 10 year annvs for DJ FRES...
Tomorrow, June 17
- RSVP: Yes - No - Maybe

Sponsored: Create an Ad

Promopet: The first and only promotional products supplier focused on pet products. "Like us" to unleash the potential with our great selection.
Like - Lisa Howard Horn likes this.

Hospice Software: CareAnyware provides web-based solutions for hospice. Click here to see how we can help you manage risk and provide better care.

Parrot Bay: 1.5 oz Parrot Bay Coconut, 4 oz OJ, 1 oz Cranberry Juice, Garnish w/ Pineapple "Like" it & Enjoy.

Like - Kevin Bogdanowicz likes this.

Love Smallville? shop.callpress.com

Car the Best Smallville

+ Select Guests to Invite

278 Attending See All

- Dawn E Durdella
- Susan George
- Corey Rubin
- Israel J Cajigas
- Bob Judge
- Joselin Ramirez
- Gabriela Martinez
- Joy Powell

84 Maybe Attending View

2,295 Awaiting Reply View

398 Not Attending View

Figure 5. Screenshot of Facebook.com showing the event page created for the current study, along with an expanded description of the study and the guest list

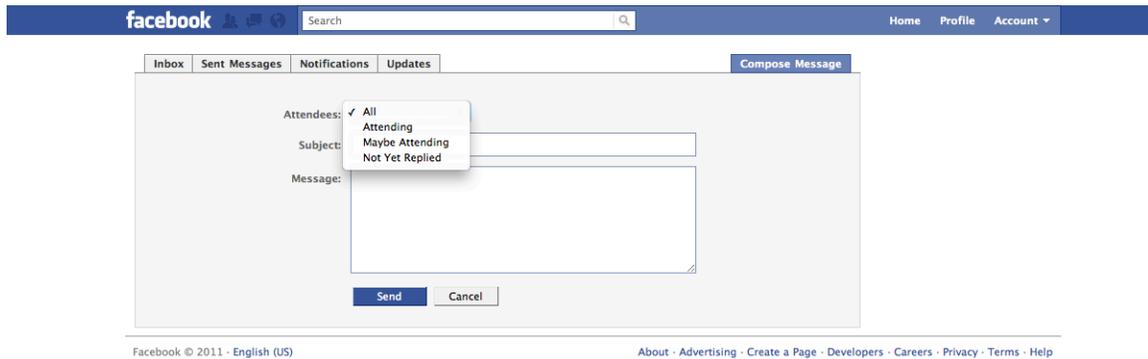


Figure 6. Screenshot of Facebook.com showing the message screen where an event creator can message guests of the event who have RSVP'd attending or maybe attending, or who have not yet RSVP'd.

The ability to mass message the guests invited to an event benefits the researcher in a number of ways. First of all, it is the only function on Facebook where you can mass message a group that has been invited to join, but has not yet joined. In the case of a Facebook group, you can invite people, but if they do not respond favorably, there is no way to mass message them. The mass messaging function is very useful when reminding people about the survey and any survey deadlines, but should be used sparingly. Though for this study only two mass messages were sent out, at least two responses indicated that the recipients felt the survey messages were spam. Each time a mass message was sent out to the invited guests of the online survey event, a large spike was observed in the number of completed surveys, though not in the number of event attendees, which demonstrates that the messages and not the event page itself were instrumental in encouraging event invitees to take the survey. This ability to reach a large group of

Facebook users through both the event invitation and through private mass messages is an useful tool for researchers looking to recruit using Facebook.

Another functionality of events that helps researchers recruit for their studies is the ability to create public events where other users can invite additional guests. In the current research, the researcher asked several colleagues who had Facebook profiles to invite their entire friends list to the survey event, creating a much larger list of guests than the researcher could have alone. This could be particularly useful in the case of a researcher working with student researchers on a semester-long basis. While the researcher's personal network may quickly tire of taking and sending out the researcher's surveys, by creating an event and asking student researchers to invite their friend lists as guests, researchers can access a very large, unique number of Facebook users with each group of student researchers. Events on Facebook also allow the event creator to appoint other administrators who can then send out messages and edit the event. This function is potentially very useful in research settings where undergraduate and graduate students participate in research.

One limitation of using events to recruit is the presence of a Wall on the Facebook event page. Each event page has a wall, and despite efforts, the researcher was not able to suppress, hide or restrict the Wall. The challenge this poses is a management one. Event guests can post on the wall, and over the course of the current research guests had a tendency to post information about the research. Because the current survey involved some potentially socially undesirable behaviors, it was designed in an ordered fashion so as not to bias participants. When respondents would post on the wall after taking the

survey and divulge information about the survey that might introduce bias (see Figure 7), it was up to the researcher to remove those comments as quickly as possible and to notify the commenter as to why their comment was removed. Depending on the sensitivity of the topic and the amount of bias possible, the presence of a Wall on the event page might present a large challenge for some studies.



Figure 7. An example of the type of comment that might introduce bias into future respondents if left on the event Wall.

In the case of the current research, the use of the event page was extremely successful. A total of 3,055 people were invited to the online survey event. Since there was no actual event, the event page contained the survey information (see Figure 5). Out of 3,055 invitees, only 362 responded to the event request with ‘attending’ or ‘maybe attending,’ but according to the online survey website www.surveymonkey.com, around 620 of the survey respondents were directed from the Facebook event page.

Participant Demographics

While 1,223 respondents began the survey, 1,010 respondents completed the survey. All questions in the survey were required except for the demographic questions including age, sex and education, resulting in different, but very similar *N*'s for each demographic variable. Participants were 675 females and 333 males (2 participants did not report their sex), ranging from 18 to 71 years of age ($M = 32.69$, $SD = 11.55$). Sex has a skew of .722 ($SE = .077$) and a kurtosis of -1.48 ($SE = .154$) and age has a skew of 1.1 (SE

= .078) and a kurtosis of .503 ($SE = .155$). Participants reported various levels of education from non-high school graduates to Doctoral Degrees. 23.2% of respondents had some college, but no degree, 40.3% of respondents had a Bachelor's degree and 21% of respondents had a Master's degree. 5% of respondents reported having their associates degree, 4.6% reported having a professional degree (MD, JD), 2.8% had a Doctoral degree, 3% had a GED or high school diploma, and less than 1% had not graduated from high school.

Participant Facebook usage. 100% of respondents of the 1,010 who completed the survey were active Facebook users, which is not surprising since the recruitment was done via Facebook, and all links to the survey clearly communicated that the survey was about Facebook. Ten of the 1,223 respondents who began the survey were not Facebook users, and did not complete the survey. The number of years the respondents have been on Facebook ranged from 0 years to 10 years ($M = 3.82$, $SD = 1.78$, $Mdn = 4$). Years on Facebook has a skew of .399 ($SE = 0.08$) and a kurtosis of -0.33 ($SE = .15$). This is a curious range, since Facebook is technically only 7 years old. This means that participants who identified with 8, 9 or 10 years essentially represent error. The question was open-ended, and upon further reflection, should have been a multiple-choice question to avoid that error. Only 2.2% of respondents reported 8 years or more, so the error is minimal. The number of friends respondents reported being connected with ranged from 12 to 5,000 ($M = 427.63$, $SD = 427.17$). Number of friends has a skew of 5.097 ($SE = .077$) and a kurtosis of 42.61 ($SE = .154$). Respondents reported spending from 2 minutes to 18 hours per day on an average day on Facebook ($M = 95$ minutes, SD

= 101 minutes). Minutes per day on Facebook has a skew of 3.56 ($SE = 0.08$) and a kurtosis of 21.64 ($SE = .15$).

Survey Instrument

The survey instrument was a questionnaire that was administered online via www.surveymonkey.com. There were different sections in the survey which included demographics, Facebook usage measures, FAIS and FAIS-CSNV measures, and measures of the various constructs and traits that were hypothesized to have relationships with FAIS and FAIS-CSNV (see Appendix A for instrument).

Demographic Measures

Standard demographic measures including sex, age, race/ethnicity and education were included. Age was of particular interest in this study, as much of the research that documents FAIS-CSNV has been conducted with college-age respondents. In addition to use in Research Question 1, demographic measures will be used as controls in Hypothesis 6. See Q 2 – 6 in Appendix A.

Collecting Definitions

In order to answer Research Question 1, “What components and characteristics do Facebook users include when describing the behavior commonly known as Facebook stalking?” participants were asked “Please define ‘creeping’ or ‘Facebook stalking’ in your own words below” (Q 113, Appendix A). This question was preceded by a question asking whether or not participants have previously heard of creeping or Facebook stalking. If a participant answered no to this question, the survey then skipped the definition question. Out of the 1,010 participants, 864 responded with a definition. In

order to quantify the definitions, Yoshikoder, a program mentioned in Neuendorf (2002) for use in content analyses was used to derive word counts for all 864 definitions. After the word count analysis, frequently used words were divided into themes through a qualitative analysis. Then, Microsoft Word 2011 was used to examine the context of these terms for further clarification of their meaning as related to Facebook stalking. This yielded a list of words used by participants to describe specific characteristics or components of Facebook stalking, which were then collapsed into categories through a qualitative analysis to be further examined.

Facebook Usage Measures

While Facebook usage was not the primary concern of the research, there were many variables that might have been important control variables when looking at relationships between FAIS and FAIS-CSNV and other established constructs and traits. The survey asked respondents the number of years, months and days they have used facebook. The survey also asked for the respondents' total number of friends on the SNS, which were broken down by asking how many of their friends were immediate family, extended family, very close friends, friends, acquaintances, non-acquaintances and ex-romantic partners. In order to ensure validity, the survey asked respondents to navigate to their Facebook profile in another window to retrieve their exact number of friends. The survey also asked users to consider the frequency with which they visit Facebook two ways. First, it asked them to consider the times they visit Facebook per day, and second it asked them to consider number of minutes they spend on Facebook in an average day where they use Facebook. The first measure was intended to encourage respondents to

think about their Facebook usage carefully before estimating the time they spend on Facebook in the second measure. Other questions in this section included amount of time spent browsing as opposed to posting on Facebook, the location from which respondents access their Facebook profiles (home, work, library, mobile), and what purposes their profiles serve (personal, business, etc.). See Q 7 – 24 in Appendix A, the questions utilized to measure Facebook usage.

Measuring FAIS

The most difficult task of the explication was conceptualizing FAIS and FAIS-CSNV, and since there are not currently established measures, the operationalization of these two concepts also offers some challenges. The conceptual definition for FAIS was given as follows: Facebook Anonymous Information Seeking (FAIS) is a harmless information seeking behavior, wherein a Facebook user browses through the profiles, content or other information of any other Facebook user under the necessary condition of anonymity. If anonymity is not possible, the user will browse differently, cut back on the amount of browsing or discontinue the browsing altogether. Anonymity is a necessary condition because the user has either a subconscious perception that they are committing a social norm violation, a subconscious fear of potentially committing such a social norm violation (FAIS-SSNV), or a perception that they are consciously committing a social norm violation (FAIS-CSNV).

Because the social norm violations in FAIS behavior can be conscious or subconscious, they are not useful in measuring FAIS. Additionally, the measurement of conscious norm violations is part of the operationalization for FAIS-CSNV. So, the

portion of the definition that is useful for operationalization of FAIS is the amount of information seeking behavior wherein a Facebook user browses through profiles, content or other information of any Facebook user under the necessary condition of anonymity. The operational definition then for FAIS is the amount of browsing a user engages in, where anonymity is a necessary condition. The researcher created a three-item scale to test the amount of FAIS behavior respondents engaged in. The third item was later determined to be a measure of conscious social norm violations, and was included instead in the FAIS-CSNV measure. Thus, the study makes use of a two-item index measure of FAIS ($\alpha = .740$), see Table 2.

The first measure determines the amount of browsing a user engages in that requires anonymity, or in other words, if anonymity was lost, how much of their current browsing behavior would they cut back on. The amount of browsing they would cut back on is equivalent to the amount of browsing they currently engage in under the necessary condition of anonymity. The second measure asks how often a Facebook user avoids commenting specifically because they want to remain anonymous. This draws on the lurking principle of not posting/commenting (Nonnecke & Preece, 2001), and puts it in the Facebook context and the FAIS context of necessary anonymity. The two-item scale was created by adding and averaging respondent's scores on the variables ($M = 3.91$, $SD = 2.92$), and will be referred to as the FAIS variable for the remainder of the research. It represents the amount of FAIS behavior any given user engages in on Facebook.

Table 2

Items in the FAIS scale/variable

Item Name	Corresponding Survey Item
1. Anonymous Browsing ($M = 4.75, SD = 3.51$)	For the next question, imagine that all Facebook users were given reports that showed: <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Who was viewing his or her profile. 2. What content each individual user looked at while viewing. 3. How frequently each individual user viewed the profile/content. 4. How much time each individual user spent viewing their profile/content. <p>Q.44 If these reports became a reality tomorrow, how much would you cut back on the amount of time you currently spend looking at other people's profiles? Never- 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 -Almost Always</p>
2. Avoid Commenting ($M = 3.07, SD = 3.03$)	Q.45 How OFTEN do you avoid commenting on parts of <i>any other Facebook user's</i> profile to keep that user, or other users from knowing that you were looking? Never- 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 -Almost Always

Measuring FAIS-CSNV

The conceptual definition of FAIS-CSNV was given as follows: FAIS-CSNV is a harmless information seeking behavior, wherein a Facebook user browses through the profiles, content or other information of any other Facebook user under the necessary condition of anonymity, created by the user's perception that they are consciously committing a social norm violation. If anonymity is not possible, the user will browse differently, cut back on the amount of browsing or discontinue the browsing altogether. As the conscious committing of a social norm violation is what distinguishes FAIS-CSNV from FAIS, the researcher created a scale of FAIS-CSNV items ($\alpha=.711$) that attempt to measure the frequency of browsing behavior where social norm violations occur.

Table 3

Items in the FAIS-CSNV scale/variable

Scale Item	Corresponding Survey Question
1. Overt Social Norm Violation Frequency ($M = 1.66, SD = 2.68$)	Q. 42 How OFTEN, overall do you feel like you <u>shouldn't</u> be looking at something on other users' profiles, but continue to look anyway? Never- 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 -Almost Always
2. Avoid Mentioning Browsing Due to Perceived Social Norm Violation ($M = 3.05, SD = 2.98$)	Q. 46. How OFTEN do you avoid mentioning something you learned while looking at a Facebook profile in order to avoid an uncomfortable, awkward feeling? Never- 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 -Very Often
3. If Non-Target Anonymity Compromised, Level of Embarrassment due to Perceived Social Norm Violations ($M = 2.42, SD = 2.71$)	Q. 49. If my friends and family found out what I look at, how frequently I look, or how long I look at certain things on Facebook, I would be embarrassed. Strongly Disagree- 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 -Strongly Agree
4. Facebook Stalking Frequency ($M = 2.03, SD = 2.55$)	Q. 115. How often do you engage in "creeping" or "Facebook stalking" when you are browsing on Facebook? Never- 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 -Almost Always

The first scale item is a measure of the frequency of overt social norm violations committed by each user. By asking how often they feel like they shouldn't look at something, but look anyway (intentionally left vague so it could apply to a variety of potential social norm violations), this question asks users how often they commit conscious social norm violations while browsing. Since a social norm is a rule of conduct that is agreed upon (Fehr & Fischbacher, 2004), looking at something one shouldn't (whether because it is too personal, too old, or otherwise socially unacceptable to look) would create a social norm violation.

The second scale item measure incorporates both the concept of anonymity and social norm violations. By asking how often a user avoids mentioning their browsing behavior, the question asks how often they protect their anonymity. By including the

condition of “in order to avoid an uncomfortable, awkward feeling,” the question is adding the condition of a conscious social norm violation. The respondent would need to be conscious of previous social norm violations in their browsing to agree that they attempted to protect their anonymity to avoid feelings associated with social norm violations, and by telling the researcher how often this occurred, they are thus giving an indication of how often they require anonymity due to social norm violations on Facebook. There is support for the use of the word awkward to describe the result of a social norm violation. Feldman (1984) suggests that social norms will be enforced if they help avoid embarrassing interpersonal problems, and specifically if they save the face or self-image from potential damage. Additionally, Feldman (1984) suggests that the feeling of awkwardness that occurs when a social norm violation is brought to the attention of the group is caused in part by the person’s self-image being called into question.

The next item focuses on the degree of embarrassment a person would experience if the extent of their anonymous browsing social norm violations were revealed. This measure attempts to quantify the severity and amount of social norm violations a respondent is committing on Facebook. The more embarrassed they would be if others found out, the more severe and frequent their social norm violations. In addition, the more overt and severe a social norm violation is, the more likely it was done consciously. Embarrassment is a term that has appeared in the social norm literature as a response to others finding out or to the self-image being called into question (Feldman, 1984). Elster (1994, p. 24) says “[Social Norms] are sustained by the feelings of embarrassment, anxiety, guilt, and shame that a person suffers at the prospect of violating them.” Using

the term embarrassment as opposed to guilt or shame should help with social desirability concerns as well. Berthoz, Armony, Blair and Dolan's (2002) fMRI study shows that stories of social norm violations and embarrassing stories light up the same part of the brain. Their research suggests that embarrassment is more common in unintentional social norm violations (Berthoz et al., 2002). This might make admitting to embarrassment slightly easier than admitting to guilt or shame. Though this scale item does not measure something that can be construed as equivalent to behavior frequency like the other three measures, it does include a component of frequency, and the scale's reliability holds. This scale item is important because it helps distinguish between conscious and subconscious social norm violations. The higher a person's score on this scale item, the more severe their violations, the more frequent their violations or both.

The fourth and final measure utilizes the colloquial terminology Facebook stalking. FAIS-CSNV is a concept that represents the characteristics a vast majority of participants in studies assigned to Facebook stalking (see Table 1). Since FAIS-CSNV is purported to account for cases of true Facebook stalking (as opposed to those which are FAIS-SSNV, but mistakenly labeled due to lack of sophistication of terminology), the final measure in the FAIS-CSNV scale directly references Facebook stalking. It asks respondents outright how often they engage in "creeping" or "Facebook stalking," two of the most common terms used to describe the behavior in the literature. The four-item scale was created by adding and averaging respondents' scores on the variables ($M = 2.29$, $SD = 2.00$), and will be referred to as the FAIS-CSNV variable for the remainder of the research. It represents the amount of FAIS-CSNV behavior any given user engages in on Facebook.

Measuring Tendency to Gossip

Tendency to gossip was measured using the 20-item Tendency to Gossip Questionnaire (Nevo, Nevo, & Derech-Zehavi, 1993), which showed acceptable reliability in Nevo's work ($\alpha = .87$). All items were measured on a 0 to 10 scale, with 0 being never and 10 being always. The scale includes items such as "I like talking to friends about other people's grades and intellectual achievements" and "Usually, I feel I know what is going on, who is going out with whom, etc." To see the complete list of items, refer to Appendix A, Questions 56 – 75. For the remainder of the current study, the variable will be referred to as TTG (tendency to gossip) ($\alpha = .917$) ($M = 3.66$, $SD = 1.70$).

Measuring Social Comparison Orientation

Social Comparison Orientation was measured using the 11-item Iowa-Netherlands comparison orientation measure (Gibbons & Buunk, 1999), which Gibbons and Buunk found to be reliable ($\alpha = .83$). All items were measured on a 0 to 10 scale, with 0 being never and 10 being always. Example items include "I often compare myself with others with respect to what I have accomplished in life" and "I often try to find out what others think who face similar problems as I face." To see the complete list of items, refer to Appendix A, Questions 93 – 103. For the remainder of the current study, the variable will be referred to as SCO (Social Comparison Orientation) ($\alpha = .893$) ($M = 5.61$, $SD = 1.81$).

Measuring Interpersonal Curiosity

Interpersonal curiosity was measured utilizing the 17-item Interpersonal curiosity (IPC) Scale, which Litman and Pezzo found to be reliable ($\alpha = .82$) (Litman & Pezzo, 2007). All items were measured on a 0 to 10 scale, with 0 being never and 10 being

always. Example items from this scale include: “I like to know what other people do” and “If I found someone’s diary I would read it.” To see the complete list of items, refer to Appendix A, Questions 76 – 92. For the remainder of the current study, the variable will be referred to as IPC (interpersonal curiosity) ($\alpha = .912$) ($M = 4.84$, $SD = 1.83$).

Measuring Tendency Towards Voyeuristic Behavior

Voyeuristic tendency was measured utilizing an eight-item voyeurism scale, which Baruh (2009) found to be reliable ($\alpha = .91$). Items were measured on a 0 to 10 scale, with 0 being I would stop listening/looking/reading immediately, and 10 being I would try to hear/learn/see/read as much as I could. Example items from the scale include: “While shopping in a clothing store, you see a gap through which you can see inside a dressing room” and “If you realized you could see inside the bedroom of your neighbors because they forgot to close their curtains.” To see the complete list of items, refer to Appendix A, Questions 104 – 111. For the remainder of the current study, the variable will be referred to as TTVB (tendency towards voyeuristic behavior) ($\alpha = .899$) ($M = 3.46$, $SD = 2.21$).

CHAPTER IV

RESULTS

The results section will focus on examining the results of the tests performed in order to offer potential support for the research question and hypotheses. In addition to the variables measured in pursuit of supporting the research questions and hypotheses, participants were requested to provide their own open-ended definition of Facebook stalking. A rudimentary word count of repeated terms and themes was conducted, and results of that analysis will be shared in this section as well.

Descriptive Results

Perhaps some of the most compelling statistics in the study are the very basic descriptive statistics that can be easily gleaned from the data. 87.1% of the survey respondents have heard of the term Facebook stalking, and 864 respondents, 85.5% of the 1,010 who took the survey, provided an open-ended definition of Facebook stalking. One of the questions used to measure FAIS in the current research is very useful in describing the ubiquity of FAIS behavior. 81.5% of respondents said that if others could get a report

of what they were looking at, how often they were looking or how frequently they were looking, they would cut back on their current browsing behaviors. 14.8% of respondents said they would cut back drastically. Finally, 56.1% of survey respondents admitted that they engage in Facebook stalking when asked if they engage in Facebook stalking by name (Appendix A, Q 115).

It is also important to consider the usage patterns of respondents in order to put their FAIS and FAIS-CSNV behaviors into context. Respondents have spent an average of 3.8 years on Facebook ($M = 3.82$, $SD = 1.78$, $Mdn = 4.0$). Years on Facebook was normally distributed with a skew of .399 ($SE = 0.08$) and a kurtosis of -0.33 ($SE = .15$). Respondents spent an average of about an hour and a half, or 90 minutes on Facebook per day ($M = 95.58$, $SD = 101.92$, $Mdn = 60$). Minutes per day on Facebook was non-normally distributed with a skew of 3.56 ($SE = 0.08$) and a kurtosis of 21.64 ($SE = .15$). Respondents reported spending an average of about 27% of their time on Facebook engaged in posting behaviors ($M = 26.98$, $SD = 22.22$) and 73% of their time on Facebook engaged in browsing behaviors ($M = 73.09$, $SD = 22.11$). Browsing and posting behavior measures both had a normal distribution.

Research Question 1

Research Question 1 asked about the components and characteristics Facebook users include when describing the behavior commonly known as Facebook stalking. Participants were asked the open-ended question (see Q 114 in Appendix A) “Please define “creeping” or “Facebook stalking” in your own words. Participants were screened by whether or not they had heard of “creeping” or “Facebook stalking” before in Q 113

(See Appendix A). Of the 1,010 participants who completed the survey, 864 participants offered a definition of Facebook stalking. Table 4 offers the word counts of categories formed by a thematic analysis of the word counts provided by Yoshikoder (Neuendorf, 2002). The definitions were further analyzed using Microsoft Word from the Microsoft 2011 suite. Microsoft Word 2011 offers a search function that shows every incidence of a search term in context. It also allows you to wild-card, or search for the root of a term and find all occurrences.

Table 4

Word count analysis of open-ended Facebook stalking definitions

Word Category	Description	Words	Count
Behavior descriptions Total references: 775	These words are used by respondents in order to describe the actual behaviors that are part of Facebook stalking.	look*	422
		find*, find out & finding out	187
		information (looking for)	160
		comment	127
		check*	114
		follow	74
		view*	66
		learn	37
		watch*	36
		keep tabs	23
		track	21
		monitor	13
		search*	19
Relationship terms Total references: 461	Generally these words and phrases denote different levels of knowing. The word know, for example, is used to refer to two separate concepts. First, it refers to someone a user doesn't know, and second it refers to someone not knowing that a stalker is looking at their profile	know*	227
		don't know	(50)
		(do) not know	(20)
		friend	191
		not friends	(13)
		ex/exes/ex-bf/ex-gf	41
		personal	27
		interact* (without interacting)	23
		crush	7
		opposite sex	4

Scope of Viewing Total references: 234	These are words that respondents use to describe the scope or levels of the above behaviors that constitute Facebook stalking.	Profile/page (as target of looking behavior) life (used to denote full profile) every, everything (on a profile) excessive degree in-depth past/old (the content) detail*	566 79 74 39 7 3 13 19
Time Spent (Norms) Total references: 229	Many definitions included a time component, either with words like constant and repeated or with words like excessive or always.	time constant more excessive frequent* amount of time (too much) always multiple* consistent continually	95 84 66 39 32 31 22 12 9 7
Negative Behaviors (Norm violations) Total references: 170	Though many definitions fell into the neutral category, a number included negative terms that all describe various types of conscious, overt social norm violations.	obsess* real stalking (same as) snoop private (looking private info) spy inappropriate creepy unhealthy lurk harass unwanted harass harm embarrassed pry nosey peeping tom unwelcome hurt sexual predator (does it)	68 13 13 13 11 9 8 5 4 4 4 4 3 3 2 2 2 2 2 1
Positive descriptions Total references: 24	Some of these like normal and natural suggest that Facebook stalking is a behavior acceptable in the face of social norms. These descriptions are rare. The others describe it as harmless and joking.	normal joking natural harmless	12 5 4 3

Note: * indicates that a word has been wild-carded, and all suffixes were searched.

Research Question 2 and Hypotheses 1 – 5b.

The relationship between FAIS and FAIS-CSNV, as well as the relationships

between these two new variables and the established constructs/traits age, tendency to gossip (TTG), Social Comparison Orientation (SCO), interpersonal curiosity (IPC) and tendency towards voyeuristic behavior (TTVB) will all be tested using a correlational analysis. In order to make digesting the descriptive statistics for each of the variables being measured in RQ₂ and H_{1-5b} easier, the following table (Table 5) provides the *N*, minimum, maximum, mean and standard deviation for each of those variables.

Table 5

Descriptive Statistics for variables in RQ₂ and H_{1-5a}

	N	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	SD
FAIS	1,010	0	10	3.91	2.91
FAIS-CSNV	1,010	0	9.5	2.29	2.00
Age	933	18	71	32.69	11.55
TTG	1,010	.1	9.9	3.66	1.70
SCO	1,010	0	10	5.61	1.81
IPC	1,010	0	9.76	4.84	1.83
TTVB	1,010	0	10	3.46	2.21

Important to note is the difference in the *N* for age. Age and other demographic variables were not set as required on the online survey in order to allow respondents who did not feel comfortable providing their demographics to take the rest of the survey without being forced to answer. Other survey questions were required, which explains the

consistency in N across the other variables. In order to simplify the results section, each of the correlations for Research Question 1 and Hypotheses $H_1 - H_{5b}$ will be provided in a single correlation matrix below (see Table 6).

Table 6

Correlation matrix for RQ_2 and $H_1 - H_{5b}$

	FAIS	FAIS-CSNV	Age	TTG	SCO	IPC	TTVB
FAIS	-	.700	-.357	.316	.305	.256	.236
FAIS-CSNV	-	-	-.358	.390	.380	.344	.295
Age	-	-	-	-.342	-.283	-.232	-.181
TTG	-	-	-	-	.539	.662	.459
SCO	-	-	-	-	-	.532	.350
IPC	-	-	-	-	-	-	.506
TTVB	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

Note: All correlations are significant at the .01 level (1-tailed) (pairwise deletion).

An interesting note about the above table is that the relationships between gossip, social comparison, interpersonal curiosity and voyeurism that were argued in the literature review in order to build a strong case for Hypotheses 2 – 5b appear in the correlations between TTG, SCO, IPC and TTVB which range from $r = .350$ ($p < .01$) at the smallest to $r = .662$ ($p < .01$) at the largest. The correlational analysis of these variables validates the arguments that led to the various hypotheses.

Hypothesis 1: FAIS and FAIS-CSNV

The first hypothesis, which stated that the relationship between FAIS and FAIS-CSNV will be positive, is supported by the above correlation analysis (see Table 6). The correlation between FAIS and FAIS-CSNV is positive $r = .70$ ($p < .01$), and the change in one of the two variables explains about 50% of the variance in the other. This data supports Hypothesis 1 and offers some validation to the conceptualization of FAIS-CSNV as one of two (and possibly more) types of FAIS.

Research Questions 2_{a-b}: Age and FAIS, FAIS-CSNV

Research Question 2_{a-b} asks about the relationship between age and FAIS (RQ_{2a}) and the relationship between age and FAIS-CSNV (RQ_{2b}). Age has a $r = -.357$ ($p < .01$) correlation with FAIS, which suggests that as a person's age increases, they engage in smaller amounts of FAIS behavior. The research question also asks about the relationship between FAIS-CSNV, a type of FAIS behavior and age. There is no significant difference between the correlation of FAIS-CSNV (RQ_{2b}) and age and the correlation of FAIS and age based on the Preacher (2002) calculation for the test of the difference between two independent correlation coefficients test computer program, which is based on Cohen and Cohen's (1983) test. The lack of a significant difference may suggest a relationship between age and perception of social norm violations, both conscious and subconscious, mild and severe. The correlation between FAIS-CSNV and age is $r = -.358$ ($p < .01$), which suggests that as a person's age increases, they engage in smaller amounts of FAIS-CSNV.

This effect may be a cohort effect, which means that people in older cohorts tend to

use Facebook less overall and engage in this behavior less as well. If it is a cohort effect, the relationship between age and FAIS/FAIS-CSNV might change over time as the young generation who grew up using Facebook gets older. They may continue to engage in the behaviors as much then as they do now. On the other hand, the effect may be a generational effect, meaning as those who are young now get older, they will also decline in the amount of FAIS/FAIS-CSNV behavior they engage in.

Hypotheses 2_{a-b}: TTG and FAIS, FAIS-CSNV

The second hypothesis, which stated that an individual's tendency to gossip (TTG) will have a positive relationship with the amount of (H_{2a}) FAIS and (H_{2b}) FAIS-CSNV in which they engage, was supported by the correlational analysis. The correlation between FAIS and TTG was $r = .316$ ($p < .01$), and the correlation between FAIS-CSNV and TTG was $r = .390$ ($p < .10$). The difference in the correlations may not be extremely large, but they are significantly different ($p < .03$) with a one-tailed p -value. It is an important point for discussion, especially since FAIS and FAIS-CSNV are such strongly related concepts to begin with. Gossip behaviors are, in many cases, a conscious social norm violation, which may explain why FAIS-CSNV has a larger effect size.

Hypotheses 3_{a-b}: SCO and FAIS, FAIS-CSNV

The third hypothesis, which stated that an individual's Social Comparison Orientation (SCO) will have a positive relationship with the amount of FAIS (H_{3a}) and FAIS-CSNV (H_{3b}) in which they engage, has been supported by the correlational analysis. The correlation between FAIS and SCO is $r = .305$ ($p < .01$), and the correlation between FAIS-CSNV and SCO is $r = .380$ ($p < .01$). Again, the difference between the

correlations is significant ($p < .03$), with a one-tailed p -value. Social Comparison Orientation's relationship to neuroticism may explain the difference between the two correlations and will be explored further in the discussion.

Hypotheses 4_{a,b}: IPC and FAIS, FAIS-CSNV

The fourth hypothesis, which stated that an individual's level of interpersonal curiosity (IPC) will have a positive relationship with the amount of FAIS (H_{4a}) and FAIS-CSNV (H_{4b}) in which they engage, was supported by the correlational analysis. The correlation between FAIS and IPC is $r = .256$ ($p < .01$), and the correlation between FAIS-CSNV and IPC is $r = .344$ ($p < .01$). The difference between these two correlations is significant ($p < .015$), with a one-tailed p -value, and larger than previous differences, and may suggest that interpersonal curiosity is a motive for FAIS that encourages Facebook users to commit conscious social norm violations, or the information gathered when satiating interpersonal curiosity may often cause users to commit a conscious social norm violation.

Hypotheses 5_{a,b}: TTVB and FAIS, FAIS-CSNV

The fifth hypothesis, which stated that an individual's tendency towards voyeuristic behavior will have a positive relationship with the amount of FAIS (H_{5a}) and FAIS-CSNV (H_{5b}) in which they engage, was supported by the correlation analysis. The smallest of the correlational relationships, the correlation between FAIS and TTVB is $r = .236$ ($p < .01$), and the correlation between FAIS-CSNV and TTVB is $r = .295$ ($p < .01$). There is no significant difference between the two correlations.

Hypotheses 6_{a-b}: A Multiple Regression Analysis

Hypothesis 6 states that the linear combination of tendency to gossip, Social Comparison Orientation, interpersonal curiosity and tendency towards voyeuristic behavior will predict the amount of FAIS (H_{6a}) and FAIS-CSNV (H_{6b}) in which a person engages, when controlled for demographics and Facebook usage. In order to maximize the amount of variance available to the control variables, a hierarchical multiple regression model has been chosen to test Hypotheses 6_a and 6_b. In this hierarchical model, age and sex were entered in the first block, as they are the primary control variables. Facebook usage variables including the number of minutes a user spends on Facebook during an average day they visit Facebook (Time on FB Avg. Day), the number of Facebook friends a user has (Number of FB Friends), and the number of years a person has been a member of Facebook (Number Years on FB) were entered in the second block. The primary variables of interest including tendency to gossip, Social Comparison Orientation, interpersonal curiosity and tendency towards voyeuristic behavior were entered in the third block.

Multiple regression, FAIS. The multiple regression table (Table 7) for Hypothesis 6_a shows that all three blocks were significant contributors to the independent variable, which is a measure of FAIS behavior. It also shows that all three models for the multiple regression were also significant. This offers support for hypothesis 6_a, which states that the linear combination of tendency to gossip, Social Comparison Orientation, interpersonal curiosity and tendency towards voyeuristic behavior will contribute a significant amount of variance to FAIS. The multiple regression table (Table 7) also

shows that the R^2 for the third model with all three blocks is .200, meaning that the variables of interest and control variables account for around 20% of the variance in the amount of FAIS in which a person engages.

Table 7

Multiple Regression Table, FAIS

	Block			Model				
	R^2 Change	F Change	Sig. Change	R	R^2	Adjusted R^2	F	Sig.
1	.133	75.23	.001	.364	.133	.131	75.23	.001 ^a
2	.007	2.76	.041	.374	.140	.136	31.91	.001 ^b
3	.059	18.13	.001	.447	.200	.192	27.03	.001 ^c

Dependent Variable: FAIS. ^a Predictors: age, sex (maleness); ^b Predictors: age, sex (maleness), number years on FB, number of FB friends, time on FB average day; ^c Predictors: age, sex (maleness), number years on FB, number of FB friends, time average day, tendency to gossip, Social Comparison Orientation, interpersonal curiosity and voyeuristic tendency.

By examining the table of coefficients for this multiple regression (Table 8) and the Beta coefficients (β) for each variable in the regression in the third model where all variables had been entered, unique contributions can be considered. Significant contributors to the third model include age, sex, number of facebook friends, tendency to gossip, Social Comparison Orientation and voyeuristic tendency. With a significant β of -

.239, age has a negative relationship with the independent variable, FAIS. Sex (or maleness) has a significant β of $-.102$, suggesting that females are more likely to engage in FAIS behavior. It is important to note that the N for females is significantly larger than that of males, which may skew the data. Number of Facebook friends is also contributing unique variance to the amount of FAIS behavior a person engages in. With a significant β of $.063$, the contribution is not as pronounced as Age, for example, but we can still conclude that the more Facebook friends a person has, the more FAIS behavior they engage in.

Table 8

Multiple Regression Coefficients Table, FAIS

Block		b	SE B	β	Sig.
1	(Constant)	7.497	.335		.001
	age	-.086	.008	-.340	.001
	sex (maleness)	-.561	.186	-.091	.003
2	(Constant)	6.899	.482		.001
	age	-.079	.009	-.313	.001
	sex (Maleness)	-.610	.187	-.099	.001
	number of years on FB	.058	.055	.036	.289
	number of FB friends	.001	.001	.074	.017
	time on FB avg. day	5.51E-5	.001	.002	.949

3	(Constant)	4.254	.588		.001
	age	-.060	.009	-.239	.001
	sex (maleness)	-.634	.186	-.102	.001
	number of years on FB	.033	.053	.020	.540
	number of FB friends	.001	.001	.063	.035
	time on FB avg. day	5.51E-5	.001	-.003	.906
	tendency to gossip	.160	.071	.094	.025
	Social Comparison Orien.	.227	.057	.141	.001
	interpersonal curiosity	-.039	.066	-.025	.550
	voyeuristic tendency	.148	.045	.113	.001

Dependent Variable: FAIS.

Of the primary variables the study is investigating, three have a significant β : tendency to gossip, Social Comparison Orientation, and tendency towards voyeuristic behavior. Interpersonal curiosity has a small, non-significant β , which may suggest that it is too related to the other constructs examined and its unique contribution disappears when placed into a regression equation with them. Multicollinearity of the variables in the regression was examined and no significant multicollinearities were discovered. The significant beta coefficients of these three variables from the group of interest provide partial support for Hypothesis 6_a.

Multiple regression, FAIS-CSNV. The multiple regression table (Table 9) for Hypothesis 6_b shows that all three blocks were significant contributors to the independent

variable, which is a measure of FAIS-CSNV behavior. It also shows that all three models for the multiple regression were also significant. This offers support for hypothesis 6_b, which states that the linear combination of tendency to gossip, Social Comparison Orientation, interpersonal curiosity and tendency towards voyeuristic behavior will contribute a significant amount of variance to FAIS-CSNV. The multiple regression table (Table 8) also shows that the R^2 for the third model with all three blocks is .260, meaning that the variables of interest and control variables account for around 26% of the variance in the amount of FAIS-CSNV in which a person engages.

Table 9

Multiple Regression Table, FAIS-CSNV

	Block			Model				
	R^2 Change	F Change	Sig. Change	R	R^2	Adjusted R^2	F	Sig.
1	.128	72.22	.001	.358	.128	.126	72.22	.001 ^a
2	.018	7.05	.001	.383	.147	.142	33.65	.001 ^b
3	.114	37.44	.001	.510	.260	.253	38.11	.001 ^c

Dependent Variable: FAIS-CSNV. ^a Predictors: age, sex (maleness); ^b Predictors: age, sex (maleness), number years on FB, number of FB friends, time on FB average day; ^c Predictors: age, sex (maleness), number years on FB, number of FB friends, time average day, tendency to gossip, Social Comparison Orientation, interpersonal curiosity and voyeuristic tendency.

By examining the table of coefficients for this multiple regression (Table 10) and the Beta coefficients (β) for each variable in the regression in the third model, where all variables had been entered, unique contributions can be considered. Significant contributors to the third model include age, number of facebook friends, tendency to gossip, Social Comparison Orientation and voyeuristic tendency. With a significant β of -.228, age has a negative relationship with the independent variable, FAIS-CSNV. Sex (or Maleness), however, does not have a significant β in the regression with FAIS-CSNV, or Facebook stalking behavior, as the independent variable. Number of Facebook friends is also contributing unique variance to the amount of FAIS-CSNV behavior a person engages in. With a significant β of .099, the contribution is not as pronounced as age, for example, but we can still conclude that the more Facebook friends a person has, the more FAIS-CSNV behavior they engage in.

Table 10

Multiple Regression Coefficients Table, FAIS-CSNV

Block		b	SE B	β	Sig.
1	(Constant)	4.510	.231		.001
	age	-.061	.005	-.350	.001
	sex (maleness)	-.167	.128	-.039	.193
2	(Constant)	4.135	.330		.001

	age	-.058	.006	-.332	.001
	sex	-.195	.128	-.046	.129
	number of years on FB	-.010	.038	-.009	.786
	number of FB friends	.001	.001	.116	.000
	time on FB avg. day	.001	.001	.061	.043
3	(Constant)	1.483	.389		.000
	age	-.040	.006	-.228	.001
	sex	-.179	.123	-.042	.147
	number of years on FB	-.036	.035	-.032	.302
	number of FB friends	.001	.001	.099	.001
	time on FB avg. day	.001	.001	.050	.078
	tendency to gossip	.137	.047	.117	.004
	Social Comparison Orien.	.204	.038	.184	.001
	interpersonal curiosity	.036	.044	.034	.403
	voyeuristic tendency	.106	.030	.118	.001

Dependent Variable: FAIS-CSNV.

Of the primary variables the study is investigating, three have a significant β : tendency to gossip, Social Comparison Orientation, and tendency towards voyeuristic behavior, which mirrors the results for the same regression with FAIS as the independent variable. Because FAIS and FAIS-CSNV are so highly related, and because these contributions are relatively similar in size, support for the differences between FAIS and

FAIS-CSNV in regards to contributions of the constructs is best examined by looking at both the results of the uncontrolled correlations and the beta coefficients. Interpersonal curiosity, again, has a small, non-significant β , which may suggest that it is too related to the other constructs examined and its unique contribution disappears when placed into a regression equation with them. Multicollinearity of the variables in the regression was examined and no significant multicollinearities were discovered. The significant beta coefficients of these three variables from the group of interest provide partial support for Hypothesis 6_b.

CHAPTER V

DISCUSSION

When it comes to browsing the profiles of others, Facebook users have adopted a new terminology to describe their behavior, “Facebook stalking” (Brott, 2009; Lewis & West, 2009; Urista et al., 2009; Westlake, 2008). Beginning to approach conceptualizing and quantifying this term, contradictions in definitions offered by users provided some formidable challenges. The first important question in the face of a group of mostly qualitative studies with very small *N*'s was, is this behavior as ubiquitous as these researchers say it is? The first, and most exciting point of the current research is to clarify that it is as ubiquitous as the researchers suggest, though potentially more complex than they first supposed. In the current study, of 1,010 participants that range from 18 to 71 years of age, 87% have heard of Facebook stalking. 85.5% of those respondents felt that they knew the term well enough to provide their own definition, and 52.5% of the respondents admitted engaging in the behavior despite the fact that, of the positive thematic words identified in a limited analysis of their open-ended definitions, users only described it with positive terminology 24 times out of 864 definitions (see Table 4).

RQ₁ Open-Ended Facebook Stalking Definitions and FAIS Validity

Though the current study conceptualizes Facebook stalking with the acronym FAIS-CSNV, and its accompanying definition, previous research was qualitative with relatively small *N*-sizes. Thus, large numbers of Facebook users have never been polled in order to collect a large group of open-ended definitions to analyze. The current study collected 864 open-ended definitions were from the 1,010 research participants. The data produced are helpful in evaluating the validity of the current study's conceptual and operational definitions, the researcher chose to perform a simple quantitative analysis of text themes, and then to utilize the Yoshikoder word count software in conjunction with Microsoft Word in order to create a qualitative picture of the most common descriptors used by the participants in the study to define Facebook stalking.

The word analysis (Table 4) lends validity to the operational definition offered in the conceptualization of FAIS and FAIS-CSNV in several different ways. First, users describe the behavior in terms of information seeking. The most frequent word used to describe the behavior was "look" or "looking," which were used 422 times by users. After looking, the words "find," "finding," "finding out" and "information" appeared 347 times in the definitions. "Comment" was also a word that appeared throughout participant definitions. Upon a quick viewing of the context of each appearance of the term comment, the researcher noted that most users were referring to "not commenting," or "avoiding commenting." A very small number of participants did suggest that Facebook stalking included repeatedly commenting on another user's profile and sending private messages. The researcher would classify this as cyber-stalking rather than Facebook stalking. The

participants' usage of the term commenting offers some validity to the inclusion of anonymity in the definition of Facebook stalking, which will be further validated in the discussion about relationship terms. Other words that were used to describe Facebook stalking behavior were "check," "follow," "learn," "keep tabs," "track," "watch," "monitor" and "search" (Table 4). All of these terms either directly describe, or are related to information seeking, lending validity to the information seeking portion of the FAIS and FAIS-CSNV definitions.

The second theme that emerged from the definitions was the tendency for definitions to mention relationships and relational terms. The most common relationship term listed, "know(ing)," was used by participants as both a description of the relationship between the stalker and the target of the stalking, and a description of the condition of anonymity. One participant's definition, for example, is, "constant, in-depth analysis of the profile of another whom you generally don't know, or only met a few times, to see how they live and their interests." The second way "know" is predominantly used throughout the definitions is as a term to describe anonymity. For example, one participant defines Facebook stalking as, "Looking through all the information, photos, etc. on another person's profile without them really knowing." In this way, the term "know" describes the necessary condition of anonymity between the stalker and his or her target.

Beyond the term "know," users often referred to the status of a person as a friend or non-friend in their definition. The participants had different opinions on who the target of the behavior could be, much like the participants in the studies that originally presented

the concept. The current research suggests that the behavior can occur with anyone from a close friend to a complete stranger. Given these definitions, however, and those in the literature, it seems relationship type is important. Social norms are influenced by relationship type. For example, telling your mother an embarrassing private detail does not violate norms the way posting the embarrassing private detail on the Wall of a coworker you aren't very close with might. Participants in the study were sensitive to these differences between relationship types. For example, one offers the following definition, "Scouring through someone's Facebook to find info about them. Looking through someone's Facebook you don't have a relationship with (i.e., I don't think you can creep on your best friend)." Another participant demonstrated the inconsistency in definitions that address relationship as a conditional part of Facebook stalking: "Someone who browses through a Facebook friend's profile and content without them being aware; knowing a lot about the person without them being aware." Another definition that provides a different perspective is, "spending excessive time on facebook looking at other people's profiles, photos, friends, notes, wall posts etc." It is clear that the relationship between the stalker and the target is important, and this should be addressed in a future study which examines relationship types and social norms within the context of Facebook stalking.

Another popular trend in definitions was to talk about romantic relationships, specifically ex-partner relationships. Forty-one of the definitions mentioned "ex," "exes" or "ex gf or bf" (girlfriend or boyfriend), and another four mentioned "opposite sex." In addition to relationship type being mentioned in general, the relationship between a

person and an ex-partner, or a potential partner appears in a number of the descriptions of Facebook stalking. One participant says, “going through someone’s profile that you are interested in- crush, ex. Usually you would be embarrassed if they found out.” One particularly long and comprehensive definition stresses the importance of these romantic relationships as well:

I think everyone "creeps" and "facebook stalks" to a certain extent. I think it is socially acceptable to look at other people's profiles, but the frequency and who you are looking at is what defines creeping or stalking. If you are frequently looking at one particular person's profile, then it is creeping (such as weekly or daily checking to see if there is any new content from the last time you looked). Or, if you are looking at an ex-romantic partner's profile, at any frequency, then it is creeping (because socially, you are expected to no longer be interested in their lives). Also, if you are obsessively checking the profile of someone you are currently romantically interested in or involved with, then it is also considered creeping or facebook stalking. It is also to creep or stalk the current or past significant other's to those you have been involved with (for example, my friend looks at the profile page of her current boyfriend's ex-girlfriend, or also checks the profile of her ex-boyfriend's current girlfriend).

This definition touches on many of the aspects of the definition adopted by the current research including the ubiquity and harmlessness of Facebook stalking, and the idea that social expectations, or social norms are a key part of the definition. The researcher decided to include “interact” as a relationship term. It was used 23 times to describe the lack of communication or interaction between the stalker and the target. As it is used in these definitions, it is another indication of the condition of anonymity. If a user does not interact with another user, they maintain their anonymity. Another term that appeared frequently was “personal,” describing the relationship between stalker and target and the information perused.

Two related themes in the definitions were the groups of words that were used to

describe the scope of viewing and the amount of time spent viewing. The most common words used to describe scope of viewing were “profile” and “page,” which were used 566 times, predominantly to describe the target of the viewing behaviors. The frequency and scope of viewing were considered for the original definition of FAIS and FAIS-CSNV by the researcher, but were rejected because of their subjective nature. What is excessive for one user is not for another, and the terms did not prove to be useful in offering a definition that could be easily applied. These terms including “life,” which referred to observing a person’s entire life, as in “looking at all the details of a person’s whole life,” and “every” and “everything,” which referred to the amount of information consumed on a person’s profile. In addition, “excessive,” “degree,” “in-depth,” “past/old” and “detail” were all used to describe the amount of content consumed by Facebook stalkers. Similarly, the words that referenced time spent including “time,” “constant,” “frequent,” “[large] amount of time,” “always,” “multiple” and “consistent,” were all used to describe the amount of time spent on a profile, the frequency with which a profile was visited, or the frequency with which the stalker engaged in the information seeking behaviors. These two themes lend support and validity to the definition of Facebook stalking that appeared in the questionnaire (see Appendix A, Q. 114), and several of the items used to measure both FAIS-CSNV, and FAIS. These terms all point towards social norm violations. There is some normative social standard, though not easily defined, for how much, how frequently and how in-depth a user can browse the profile of another user, and the references to these terms in the Facebook stalking definitions described users who were breaching those norms.

The results of this word analysis also support the researcher's assertion that those persons using entirely positive definitions of Facebook stalking are in the minority, and that the majority of definitions for Facebook stalking lean towards neutral or negative. The definitions highlight social norm violations, using terms for negative behaviors such as "obsessing," "snooping," and "spying," and describing the actions of Facebook stalkers as "inappropriate," "creepy," "unhealthy" and "private," as in, perusing private information. Only 33 of the 864 definitions include terms like "real stalking" (suggesting Facebook stalking is the same as real stalking) "hurt," "peeping tom," "sexual predator," and "harass," which are more related to cyber-stalking, a criminal stalking behavior. The majority of definitions that assign a negative term to the behavior describe what would be considered a mild to moderate social norm violation. Obsessing, however is interesting in that it is the most common negative behavior mentioned, and depending on the degree of obsession, could potentially present a dangerous link to cyber-stalking. Without surveying respondents for their definitions of obsessing and the severity of the obsession, it would be difficult to draw any conclusions. There were only 24 instances of terms being used to describe Facebook stalking in a positive light in the definitions. The words used include: "normal," "natural," "harmless" and "joking." Though harmless is used so sparingly in the definitions, the absence of danger in terminology used to describe the behavior still qualifies it as a harmless behavior. The lack of positive definitions, and the frequent mention of social norm violations whether of time spent, scope of viewing or actual norm violating behaviors, suggests that FAIS-CSNV has validity as a definition for Facebook stalking.

In setting out to understand the Facebook stalking phenomenon better, the current research created new terminology to describe it, including Facebook Anonymous Information Seeking with a perceived conscious social norm violation, or FAIS-CSNV. As an equivalent for Facebook stalking, FAIS-CSNV accounted for most, but not all of the definitions provided by participants throughout the literature. To rectify the contradictions in the extant definitions, the current study also suggested that FAIS-CSNV was part of a larger behavior to be known as FAIS, Facebook Anonymous Information Seeking. FAIS was conceptualized as a harmless information seeking behavior, wherein a Facebook user browses through the profiles, content or other information of any other Facebook user under the necessary condition of anonymity. If anonymity is not possible, the user will browse differently, cut back on the amount of browsing or discontinue the browsing altogether. Anonymity is a necessary condition because the user has either a subconscious perception that they are committing a social norm violation, a subconscious fear of potentially committing such a social norm violation (FAIS-SSNV), or a perception that they are consciously committing a social norm violation (FAIS-CSNV).

Taken in their entirety, the definitions offered by participants of this study help to validate the conceptual definitions for FAIS, and specifically for FAIS-CSNV. The definitions stress anonymity and the presence of various types of social norm violations. In addition, they describe a behavior that is harmless in that it is described as actual stalking, harassing, dangerous, malicious or criminal behavior by less than 4% of the participants. Though it is rare, there are people who have been cyber-stalked on Facebook, and that may explain some of the 4% of participants who describe Facebook stalking in

these non-harmless terms. In addition to validating the definitions used in the current research, the participant definitions also underscore and highlight the need for future research on the relationship between relationship type and FAIS/FAIS-CSNV.

FAIS and FAIS-CSNV

The relationship between FAIS and FAIS-CSNV, which was tested in the first hypothesis, could be compared, for example, to the relationship between gossip and malicious gossip. Gossip is conceptualized as producing, hearing or otherwise participating in evaluative comments about someone who is not present in the conversation (Foster, 2004). It is an overarching behavior that describes many situations where a third party is discussed. These situations can involve no social norm violation, such as telling one's spouse what happened at work with a coworker, or they can involve a significant social norm violation, like telling a best friend's deepest, darkest secret at the office party. Malicious gossip, on the other hand, is a derogatory conversation about a non-present third party (Wert & Salovey, 2004). Malicious gossip is a type of gossip and if measured would likely have a high correlation with gossip for that reason. Not all gossip is malicious, but all malicious gossip is gossip. Gossip operates on a continuum and there are likely more than two terms to describe types of gossip, but it is still an apropos example to use when drawing an analogy to FAIS and FAIS-CSNV. Similar to the way gossip as a construct has different typologies, such as malicious gossip, FAIS has different typologies including FAIS-CSNV and FAIS-SSNV.

FAIS-CSNV is FAIS behavior where the necessary condition of anonymity is created by the user's perception that they are consciously committing a social norm

violation. FAIS-SSNV is FAIS behavior where the necessary condition of anonymity, created by the user experiencing a subconscious norm violation or the subconscious fear that they will commit a social norm violation. FAIS-SSNV describes situations where people do not recognize the feelings of awkwardness, discomfort and guilt or shame that accompany a social norm violation in their conscious mind, but subconsciously, there is a recognition that they have committed a social norm violation or there is a fear that they may commit one if anonymity is breached. FAIS-SSNV may also have a relationship with denial and subconscious denial, which is a potential avenue for future research.

Because FAIS-CSNV is a type of FAIS behavior, the first hypothesis (H_1) proposes that the two concepts should have a large, positive relationship. The correlational analysis supported the hypothesis that there is a large $r = .70$ ($p < .01$) relationship between FAIS and FAIS-CSNV. While this is a positive result in that the hypothesis was supported, and potentially validating as a .70 correlation represents around 50% of the variance in one being explained by the other, it may be slightly larger than what is desired because it makes it difficult to differentiate between the concepts in analyses. The relationships between FAIS, FAIS-CSNV and the constructs gossip, Social Comparison Orientation, interpersonal curiosity and voyeuristic tendency were all significant correlations with moderate effect sizes. When examined using the test of the differences between independent correlation coefficients (Preacher, 2002), the correlation between FAIS and tendency to gossip was significantly different (and smaller) than the correlation between FAIS-CSNV and tendency to gossip at the ($p < .028$) level (1-tailed). The correlation between FAIS and Social Comparison Orientation was significantly different (and

smaller) than the correlation between FAIS-CSNV and Social Comparison Orientation at the ($p < .028$) level (1-tailed). The correlation between FAIS and interpersonal curiosity was significantly different (and smaller) than the correlation between FAIS-CSNV and interpersonal curiosity at the ($p < .014$) level (1-tailed). Only the two correlations between FAIS and FAIS-CSNV and tendency towards voyeuristic behavior were not significantly different.

By looking at these uncontrolled correlations, we can see that FAIS-CSNV has significantly different, larger relationships with tendency to gossip, Social Comparison Orientation and interpersonal curiosity than does FAIS. This supports the assertion that the two concepts are related, but different. The multiple regressions also showed some differences in the way the four variables of interest contribute variance to FAIS and FAIS-CSNV. Despite the challenges caused by measuring a concept and a type of that concept, the highly correlated relationship between FAIS and FAIS-CSNV and the significant differences between their uncontrolled correlations with tendency to gossip, Social Comparison Orientation and interpersonal curiosity do support the likelihood that this study was measuring what it intended to: two distinct concepts that are highly correlated. It is also interesting to note that all of the correlations between FAIS-CSNV and the four constructs were higher than those with FAIS. As many of these constructs are related to behaviors like gossip, snooping, spying (subscales of the interpersonal curiosity scale) and downward social comparison, which are often associated with social norm violations, these relationships that become apparent when examining the uncontrolled correlations and the multiple regressions (Tables 8 and 10) lend further

support to the conceptual definition of FAIS-CSNV offered in this study.

FAIS, FAIS-CSNV and Age

Research Question 2 asks about the relationship between FAIS, FAIS-CSNV and age. Looking at the correlation matrix (Table 6), age stands out. Age has a significant negative correlation, not only with FAIS and FAIS-CSNV, but also with tendency to gossip, Social Comparison Orientation, interpersonal curiosity and tendency toward voyeuristic behavior. In seeking a reason for these negative relationships, Cialdini and Trost (1998) provide some clarity, and from their work on Social Influence, Social Norms, Conformity and Compliance, the following reasons for the potential negative relationship between age and FAIS/FAIS-CSNV emerge. Social norms are shared beliefs that do not exist if they are not shared with others (Cialdini & Trost, 1998). The transmission of these norms happens within groups of people who regularly associate, and people use actions of similar others as a standard for comparison when learning what behaviors are appropriate (Cialdini & Trost, 1998). Since Facebook began as a college-only network, and then expanded to include high school students, opening to the general public last, it stands to reason that many of the social norms that developed to govern interactions and behaviors on Facebook reside in the younger populations who first used the SNS. Since norms transmit most easily through similar others, adults who joined the site later may never have learned the normative standards for Facebook browsing that would allow them to recognize a conscious social norm violation in their browsing behavior. If older users are not aware of the norms, they may also not have a subconscious sensitivity to them either.

If social norms are transmitted via similar others, then early adopters of Facebook who were part of established networks like school networks should be savvy about social norms on Facebook. In order to determine whether or not lack of transmission accounts for some of the age differences in FAIS and FAIS-CSNV, the first step is to show that there is a significant negative relationship between age and number of years on Facebook. A post-hoc correlation analysis shows that there is a correlation of $r = -.447$ ($p < .01$) between age and the number of years the user has been on Facebook, suggesting that older users have not been on Facebook as long as younger users. This provides evidence that there may be a cohort effect occurring because social norms are not transmitting to older populations. Social norm transmission and age should be studied further. The number of years that a user has been on Facebook is not the most valid way to determine social norm transmission, but it demonstrates, at least in a small way, that social norms are important in understanding the link between age and FAIS/FAIS-CSNV. It is also important to note, however, that when entered into the multiple regression model (Table 8 and Table 11), age still had a large, significant beta, even when controlled for Facebook usage variables including number of years on Facebook.

In addition to social norms, another factor that may influence the relationship between age and FAIS/FAIS-CSNV, gossip, Social Comparison Orientation, interpersonal curiosity and voyeurism is Social Desirability. "SD-scales appear to correlate with age: in general, older respondents obtain higher scores," said Dijkstra, Smit and Comijs (2001, p. 108), in the opening to their study examining social desirability and its relationship with age. The results of this study show that social desirability does have

a positive correlation with age, and that older people do tend to score higher on social desirability measures. This relationship has been demonstrated in other studies including Kozma and Stones (1988) and a number of others cited in both studies. The tendency to paint oneself in a more positive light that is measured by social desirability scales (Dijkstra et al., 2001) increases with age.

This tendency may explain why the correlations between age and every other variable in the correlation matrix (Table 6) were negative. Each of the variables including tendency to gossip, Social Comparison Orientation, interpersonal curiosity and tendency toward voyeuristic behavior could be seen as negative behaviors by respondents. Gossip is often conceptualized in a negative light (Wert & Salovey, 2004). Gibbons and Buunk (1999) note that researchers have suggested the existence of normative sanctions against acknowledging or admitting social comparison. The Interpersonal Curiosity measure, developed by Litman and Pezzo (2005), includes three subscales, one of which is titled spying and prying and one of which is titled snooping. Spying, prying and snooping are all behaviors with negative connotations that violate social norm behavior. Finally voyeurism is perhaps the easiest to make a case for. Prior to the boom of reality television, voyeurism was characterized as a DSM-IV, sexually deviant behavior. Voyeurism carries many negative connotations that might lead respondents to answer with a social desirability bias. Future research should include social desirability measures and social norm measures, and further examine the relationship between age and FAIS/FAIS-CSNV.

Social Comparison Orientation and FAIS, FAIS-CSNV

Social Comparison Orientation had a moderate, significant correlation with both

FAIS and FAIS-CSNV, in support of Hypothesis 3a and 3b (Table 6). Social Comparison Orientation is a trait measure of a person's tendency to compare themselves with others for evaluative purposes (Gibbons & Buunk, 1999). Social Comparison Orientation was one of two variables that had a significantly different relationship with FAIS and FAIS-CSNV in the uncontrolled correlations, and had a significant β in both of the multiple regression (along with tendency to gossip). Social Comparison Orientation is more correlated with FAIS-CSNV than FAIS, offering further support that thought related, there are differences between the two concepts. When FAIS was the dependent variable, Social Comparison Orientation had a β of .141, uncontrolled for Facebook usage. With FAIS-CSNV as the dependent variable, Social Comparison Orientation has a significant β of .184, controlled for Facebook usage. Though not proven to be a significant difference, this pattern of size echoes the significantly different uncontrolled correlations between FAIS and Social Comparison Orientation and FAIS-CSNV and Social Comparison Orientation.

The difference in the total contribution of Social Comparison Orientation represented by the difference in the correlations with FAIS and FAIS-CSNV demonstrates that FAIS and FAIS-CSNV are distinct from one another. Social Comparison Orientation has been shown to be highly related to neuroticism in previous studies (Gibbons & Buunk, 1999; Van Der Zee et al., 1998). Neuroticism, according to Van Der Zee et al. (1998), is "characterized by a tendency to experience negative, distressing emotions and to possess associated behavioral and cognitive traits. Among the traits that define this dimension are fearfulness, irritability, low self-esteem, social

anxiety, poor inhibition of impulses, and helplessness” (p. 802). This relationship to neuroticism alone might explain why Social Comparison Orientation contributes more variance to FAIS-CSNV than to FAIS. A person that tends to experience negative emotions and social anxiety may be more likely to feel that they have violated a social norm, which could lead them to categorizing more of their behavior as FAIS-CSNV and to reporting more overt, conscious social norm violations.

Another interesting possibility is raised by the idea that comparisons are directional, and downward comparisons are more common in high Social Comparison Orientation individuals, due to their tendency towards neuroticism (Van Der Zee et al., 1998). Upward social comparison occurs when a person wants to aspire to improve the self, whereas downward social comparison occurs when a person wants to feel better about themselves (Wert & Salovey, 2004). People who are higher in neuroticism tend to have a preference for negative stories and downward comparison information, because it helps them self-enhance and feel better (Van Der Zee et al., 1998). Wert and Salovey (2004) discuss how downward comparisons lead to emotions that often lead to negative gossip, a social norm violating behavior. Buunk & Gibbons (2007) point out that discomfort and guilt are associated with the downward comparison process, which may be seen by others or perceived by the self as gloating or joy from another person’s pain. As conscious social norm violations are the distinction between FAIS and FAIS-CSNV, and as guilt is what participants describe as their reaction to their own conscious social norm violation (Lewis and West, 2009), it makes sense that Social Comparison Orientation, which has a high relationship with neuroticism, is a better predictor of FAIS-CSNV than

FAIS. This difference in Social Comparison Orientation's ability to predict FAIS and FAIS-CSNV provides evidence that, though the two are highly correlated because FAIS-CSNV is a type of FAIS, they are distinctly different concepts.

Gossip, Voyeurism and FAIS, FAIS-CSNV

Gossip, measured as the trait tendency to gossip, and voyeurism, measured as tendency towards voyeuristic behavior, both had moderate, significant correlations with both FAIS and FAIS-CSNV, offering support for Hypotheses 2_{a-b} and 5_{a-b}. In addition, these two variables contributed similar amounts of variance to one another in the regression models, and to themselves across both multiple regressions. Because FAIS-CSNV is a type of FAIS, and because of the strong relationship between the two concepts, it is no surprise that the relationship between these traits and amount of FAIS/FAIS-CSNV are similar. It is important to note, however, that gossip, like Social Comparison Orientation, had a significantly different uncontrolled correlation with FAIS and FAIS-CSNV, and a significant β in the multiple regression. Thus, gossip can serve as a differentiation between FAIS and FAIS-CSNV. Gossip is more highly correlated with FAIS-CSNV than with FAIS, lending some credence to the idea that FAIS-CSNV is a potential replacement for gossip behavior, as discussed in the literature review.

Gossip and voyeurism are both behaviors that can involve some degree of social norm violation. They also are both information-gathering behaviors. In gossip, the gossiper is primarily concerned with acquiring and exchanging social information (Dunbar, 2004). In voyeurism, the voyeur is seeking private information because they derive pleasure from access to private details (Baruh, 2009). It is no surprise that these

two highly related concepts have a large, significant correlation with one another as measured in the study $r = .459$ ($p < .01$). It is also, then, no surprise that they contribute a similar amount of variance to FAIS and FAIS-CSNV in the multiple regression analysis as both behaviors that depend on some level of social norm violation.

Interpersonal Curiosity and FAIS, FAIS-CSNV

Hypotheses 4_{a-b}, which stated that a person's interpersonal curiosity score would have a positive relationship with the amount of FAIS (H_{4a}) and FAIS-CSNV (H_{4b}) in which they engage, was supported. In addition, interpersonal curiosity had significantly different correlations with FAIS and FAIS-CSNV. It was more highly correlated with FAIS-CSNV, serving to differentiate the two new concepts and perhaps suggesting that interpersonal curiosity may be a motivator for FAIS-CSNV behavior. Interpersonal curiosity as a variable, however, did not perform as expected in the multiple regression analyses (Table 8 & Table 10). Interpersonal curiosity was not a significant contributor to the variance in either FAIS or FAIS-CSNV. Curiosity, specifically curiosity about the personal information of others is a motivation cited by many of the participants in the qualitative studies that describe Facebook stalking (Kennedy, 2009; Lewis & West, 2009; Urista et al., 2009; Westlake, 2008), which suggests that curiosity should contribute to the variance in FAIS and or FAIS-CSNV in the linear combination with tendency to gossip, social comparison and tendency towards voyeuristic behavior. While curiosity did have a significant correlation with FAIS/FAIS-CSNV in the correlational analysis, the variance disappeared during the multiple regression analysis, suggesting that the measurement for interpersonal curiosity may have been too similar to

the measurement for the other constructs.

While curiosity is a motivation cited by the definitions that initiated the current research, curiosity is a difficult concept. Interpersonal curiosity is defined as an intrinsic motive to seek information about people (Litman and Pezzo, 2007). So, the question that this leaves the researcher with is: are the motives behind the curiosity that survey respondents mentioned really intrinsic? Curiosity is often not intrinsic, but instead motivated by another need or desire. For example, when asked why they peek inside their neighbor's windows, a person might answer, "I'm just curious." Though they identify the feeling as curiosity, it might be that instead of fulfilling an intrinsic curiosity, they are fulfilling a need for private information in order to feel pleasure (based on the tendency towards voyeuristic behavior scale (Baruh, 2009)). Likewise, a person claiming curiosity on Facebook might not be referring to an intrinsic desire for information, but instead a desire for information that is motivated, for example, by their need to compare themselves to others (social comparison). Thus, the argument can be made that what participants were describing as curiosity was not an intrinsic need for information, but was driven by gossip motives, social comparison motives, voyeurism motives or other motives. This also explains the high correlations between interpersonal curiosity and tendency to gossip $r = .662$ ($p < .01$), interpersonal curiosity and Social Comparison Orientation $r = .532$ ($p < .01$), and interpersonal curiosity and tendency toward voyeuristic behavior $r = .506$ ($p < .01$). The variance explained by interpersonal curiosity may be the same variance explained by the other three key variables, thus it is not a significant predictor in any of the multiple regression models for FAIS or FAIS-CSNV.

Conclusion

As an increasingly ubiquitous communication medium, Facebook has become the largest, most utilized social network site (SNS) thus far in the history of the internet (Facebook.com statistics, 2011). It is staggering to think that twenty years ago, if a grade school friend moved across the country or you lost touch with a first love how small the probability of meeting that person again by chance would be. Today, anyone around the country who has a long lost friend, lover or crush can simply type their name into the search on Facebook.com and have at least a reasonable expectation that the face they are looking for will pop up. For the first time in history, human beings are able to search a sea of users who make their profile photo and basic information public and searchable as opposed to calling the operator and calling every person with the name Sarah Jones that lives in the tri-state area hoping to hear a familiar voice on the other end of the line. Now, not only can those who have access to Facebook begin to articulate a picture of their lifetime of relationships, if they so choose, they can publish their own story one status update, photo and link at a time, providing a hub for the people in their life to connect to and peruse. Suddenly, volumes and volumes of social and interpersonal information that were only available through interpersonal communication via gossip and other interactions, are now readily available in one source. Though some might question the importance of studying Computer Mediated Communication (CMC), SNS and Facebook specifically, they are changing the way their users perceive and understand their social world in a profound way.

Limitations

One of the primary limitations to the preceding study is the type of sampling method used. A probability sample would have allowed the data collected to be more readily generalized to the large population of Facebook users. Even as a convenience sample, it has a large size, which improves the generalizability, but a probability sample would have been preferable.

Another primary limitation of the study is the lack of available academic literature that discusses Facebook stalking. Because the definitions offered in the literature were qualitative, they were able to guide the current research, but because they came from such a limited *N*, and because they did not have a good internal consistency, the development of conceptual definitions, and specifically operational measures for FAIS and FAIS-CSNV. FAIS was measured by a 2-item scale, rather than a larger scale, and FAIS-CSNV and FAIS both had reliabilities in the .70 range, which could have been higher. Additionally, as Facebook stalking and social norm violating behaviors likely suffer from social desirability bias, the current study is limited because it did not include a social desirability scale.

Survey research as a methodology has several limitations including the lack of true control that is present experimental design and the resulting inability to establish causality. The current research can only support the existence of relationships, but cannot draw empirical conclusions as to why and how those relationships exist. Some of the limitations with the current survey include a relatively high rate of non-completion (18% of respondents did not complete the survey), likely due to fatigue because of the length of

the survey and the potential for order bias. Because the researcher did not want to introduce the concept of Facebook stalking first, due to the social desirability issues (Lewis and West, 2009), and because the researcher did not want voyeurism or gossip measures, also associated with social desirability issues (Wert and Salovey, 2004), to be early in the survey, the order was somewhat prescribed and a random ordering of questions to prevent order bias was impossible.

The final limitation is the lack of a measure of social normative standards for Facebook. Measuring the social norms on Facebook would have been especially useful in quantifying, understanding and validating the definitions of FAIS and FAIS-CSNV, which both have social norms as a key part of their conceptual definitions.

Directions for Future Research

Facebook stalking, and the new terms created by the current study, FAIS and FAIS-CSNV, are emerging concepts. These behaviors, which exist on the rapidly expanding SNS Facebook, warrant further research. Future research should concentrate on measuring social normative standards on Facebook to begin to understand what the norms are that govern behavior on the popular SNS. Once these norms have been identified and defined, future research can begin to determine whether or not age has a relationship with knowledge and adherence to social normative standards on Facebook. Additionally, proof that social norm violations are occurring and are related to Facebook stalking (FAIS-CSNV) behavior would help to validate the conceptual definitions offered in this research.

In addition to studying the normative standards that exist on Facebook, future

research should also examine how social desirability relates to FAIS and FAIS-CSNV, and whether or not it plays a role in how people answer questions related to anonymous information seeking behavior on Facebook. The relationship between social desirability and age should also be examined to determine if social desirability can explain some of the relationship between age and FAIS/FAIS-CSNV.

Not handled extensively in the current research, the relationship between the concept called Interpersonal Electronic Surveillance and FAIS/FAIS-CSNV should be examined. Interpersonal Electronic Surveillance and other types of social surveillance have a very similar conceptual definition to FAIS-CSNV/Facebook stalking, and it would be useful to see if measures can be adapted from surveillance studies to create additional measures of FAIS-CSNV or Facebook stalking.

Finally, another area ripe for studying is the second type of FAIS, FAIS-SSNV. Researchers might look at the difference between conscious and subconscious social norm violations and the difference between perceived social norm violation and fear of committing a social norm violation. The role of denial should also be examined. It is possible that users who do not report a social norm violation or do not feel the guilt associated with the social norm violation are simply denying those feelings.

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APPENDIX

APPENDIX A: SURVEY INSTRUMENT

Informed Consent Statement

Facebook Information Seeking Survey

[Exit this survey](#)

Informed Consent Statement

We are Dr. Paul Skalski, a faculty member researcher and Ms. Julie Cajigas, a graduate student researcher in Cleveland State University's School of Communication. We are asking you to participate in a study that will examine the way people are using Facebook. In order to do this, we are asking you to complete a survey that will include questions about your Facebook habits as well as various other questions that will help us understand the characteristics of Facebook users.

Participation is completely voluntary and you may withdraw at any time, without penalty. The study will take about 20-25 minutes to complete. Participants who finish the survey are eligible to enter into a drawing to win an Amazon Kindle. One month after this research has concluded, one participant will be selected at random to receive the Kindle. In addition, students whose professor has agreed to participate will receive a small amount of extra credit toward their course grade or research participation credit, where applicable. There is no consequence for not participating in this study, and the risks involved are minimal. The risks include the potential experience of mild discomfort when answering some personal questions. The risks are no greater than those of daily living, and all answers provided by participants are anonymous.

Your responses to the survey will be anonymous. Your name will not be collected or appear anywhere on the survey and complete privacy will be guaranteed. Names and contact information collected for extra credit or for the Kindle drawing will be collected and stored separately, maintaining your anonymity.

For further information regarding this research please contact Dr. Paul Skalski (216) 687-5042, email: p.skalski@csuohio.edu, or Julie Cajigas at (440) 309-0786, email: j.cajigas@csuohio.edu.

If you have any questions about your rights as a research participant you may contact the Cleveland State University Institutional Review Board at (216) 687-3630.

Clicking NEXT will constitute your informed consent to participate in the survey as outlined above.

I am 18 years or older and have read and understood this consent statement and agree to participate.

Next

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Q.1

Facebook Information Seeking Survey

[Exit this survey](#)

1. Do you currently use Facebook?

Yes

No

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Next

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Q. 2 – 6

Facebook Information Seeking Survey

[Exit this survey](#)

1. What is your age in years?

Age in years:

2. What is your biological sex?

- Female
- Male

3. What is your highest level of education?

- Some K-12 Education, did not graduate high school
- High school diploma/GED
- Some college, but no degree
- Associates degree
- Bachelor's degree
- Master's degree
- Professional degree (MD, JD, DVM, etc.)
- Doctoral degree (PhD)

4. What is your Race/Ethnicity?

- White - Not Hispanic or Latino
- White - Hispanic or Latino
- Black - Not Hispanic or Latino
- Black - Hispanic or Latino
- African American
- Native Hawaiian or Pacific Islander
- Native American or Alaskan Native
- Other

5. If you chose other for your race, and would like to describe it, please do so here:

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Q.7 – 8

Facebook Information Seeking Survey

[Exit this survey](#)

The following section will ask about the amount of time you spend on Facebook and different things you do while you are on Facebook. Please read instructions carefully where they appear.

1. Approximately how long have you used Facebook?

Years

Months

Days

2. How many "friends" do you have on Facebook? (Please open a new window and click on 'profile' in order to obtain your exact number of friends if you are not sure)

Number of friends

Prev

Next

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Q.9

Facebook Information Seeking Survey

[Exit this survey](#)

For the purposes of this study, we are providing descriptions of different types of Facebook friends. These "types" will be used throughout the survey. To answer the next question, please use the descriptions of each "Facebook friend-type" below.

1. Immediate Family members - any family members that you consider especially close, along with your significant other.
2. Extended Family members - family members that you consider less close.
3. Very Close Friends - people you are very close with, your best friends.
4. Friends - people you refer to as "friend," but who you would not consider a very close friend or a best friend.
5. Acquaintances - people you have interacted with at least once, but would not consider a friend.
6. Non-Acquaintances - Facebook friends with whom you have not had enough meaningful interactions to consider them an acquaintance.
7. Ex-Romantic partners - people you have previously dated or been involved with romantically, sexually or both.

1. Using the above definitions, please tell us approximately how many of your "Facebook friends" fall into each of the following categories.

	0-9	10 - 24	25 - 49	50 - 99	100 - 249	250 - 499	500 - 999	1,000+
Immediate Family	<input type="radio"/>							
Extended Family	<input type="radio"/>							
Very Close Friends	<input type="radio"/>							
Friends	<input type="radio"/>							
Acquaintances	<input type="radio"/>							
Non-Acquaintances	<input type="radio"/>							
Ex-Romantic Partners	<input type="radio"/>							

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Next

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Q. 10 – 12

Facebook Information Seeking Survey

[Exit this survey](#)

Where do you access your Facebook page? Please respond to the statements below.

1. I access Facebook from a computer that I own, either a home computer or a personal laptop.

0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10
Never Very Often

2. I access Facebook from my mobile device.

0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10
Never Very Often

3. I access Facebook from a computer or laptop I do not own, outside of my home, such as one at work, school or the library.

0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10
Never Very Often

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Q. 13

Facebook Information Seeking Survey

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1. On average, how often do you visit Facebook?

- Less than once per month
- At least once per month
- At least once per week
- At least once per day

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Q. 14 – 17 (see note)

Facebook Information Seeking Survey

[Exit this survey](#)

1. On average, how many times per day do you visit Facebook? Even if your visits are very brief, please count them.

For example, if you check Facebook using a mobile device briefly 10 times per day, and then spend two hours in the evening on Facebook, you would say 11 times per day.

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Note: If a participant answered once per week, once per month, or less than once per month, they would be taken to an alternate question that asked for their frequency of use in that period of time.

Q. 18

Facebook Information Seeking Survey

[Exit this survey](#)

1. Think of a "typical" day where you DO visit Facebook (even if you don't visit Facebook every day). How much time do you spend actively using the site that day? Please give your answers in hours and minutes.

hours

minutes

Prev

Next

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Q. 19 – 21

Facebook Information Seeking Survey

[Exit this survey](#)

When you use Facebook, you may spend time posting or browsing other people's profiles. Below are definitions for posting and browsing.

–Posting or creating content includes posting status updates, photographs, writing on other users' walls, sending messages, writing notes and posting videos.

–Browsing or looking at content includes reading your newsfeed, visiting other people's profiles, reading their updates or viewing their photos or videos.

1. Given the above definitions, what percent of the time do you spend posting, and what percent of the time do you spend browsing?

% of time spent posting

% of time spent browsing on Facebook

2. When browsing on Facebook, how often do you encounter a profile which you don't have permission to view (all or part of the profile)?

0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10
NEVER VERY OFTEN

3. When you do encounter a profile on Facebook that you don't have permission to view, how often do you feel frustrated or annoyed?

0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10
NEVER ALMOST ALWAYS

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Q. 22 – 24

Facebook Information Seeking Survey

[Exit this survey](#)

Please think about your primary Facebook profile (if you have multiple profiles, please think of the one you use most often).

Below are ways a person might use their primary profile. Please indicate how often you use your profile in each of these ways.

1. For Personal Use - To keep in touch with friends and family.

0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10
Never Very Often

2. For Business Use - to keep in touch with business contacts, or to market yourself or your business.

0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10
Never Very Often

3. For School Use - To keep in touch with classmates and teachers, for online group work, etc.

0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10
Never Very Often

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Q.25

Facebook Information Seeking Survey

[Exit this survey](#)

For the following questions, think only about the time you spend browsing or looking at other people's profiles, including their photographs, videos, notes, updates, walls and information pages.

1. When browsing on Facebook, do you ever feel like you shouldn't be looking at something on an *immediate family member's* profile? (Reminder, for the purposes of this study we defined immediate family as any family members that you consider especially close, along with your significant other.)

- Yes, sometimes I feel that way
- No, I never feel that way

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If the respondent answers yes, they are taken to the following question. If they answer no, they skip to the next question.

Q.26

1. How OFTEN do you feel like you shouldn't be looking at something on an *immediate family member's* profile, but continue to look anyway?

- 0 NEVER
- 1
- 2
- 3
- 4
- 5
- 6
- 7
- 8
- 9
- 10 ALMOST ALWAYS

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Q.27

1. When browsing on Facebook, do you ever feel like you shouldn't be looking at something on an *extended family member's* profile? (Reminder: For the purposes of this study, we defined extended family as family members that you consider less close.)

- Yes, sometimes I feel that way
- No, I never feel that way

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If the respondent answers yes, they are taken to the following question. If they answer no, they skip to the next question.

Q.28

1. How **OFTEN** do you feel like you shouldn't be looking at something on an *extended family member's* profile, but continue to look anyway?

- 0 NEVER
- 1
- 2
- 3
- 4
- 5
- 6
- 7
- 8
- 9
- 10 ALMOST ALWAYS

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Q.29

Facebook Information Seeking Survey

[Exit this survey](#)

1. When browsing on Facebook, do you ever feel like you shouldn't be looking at something on a *very close friend's* profile? (Reminder: For the purposes of this study, we defined a very close friend as people you are very close with, your best friends.)

- Yes, sometimes I feel that way
- No, I never feel that way

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If the respondent answers yes, they are taken to the following question. If they answer no, they skip to the next question.

Q.30

1. How **OFTEN** do you feel like you shouldn't be looking at something on a *very close friend's* profile, but continue to look anyway?

- 0 NEVER
- 1
- 2
- 3
- 4
- 5
- 6
- 7
- 8
- 9
- 10 ALMOST ALWAYS

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Q.31

1. When browsing on Facebook, do you ever feel like you shouldn't be looking at something on a *friend's* profile? (Reminder: For the purposes of this study, we defined friend as people you refer to as "friend," but who you would not consider a very close friend or a best friend.)

- Yes, sometimes I feel that way
- No, I never feel that way

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If the respondent answers yes, they are taken to the following question. If they answer no, they skip to the next question.

Q.32

1. How **OFTEN** do you feel like you shouldn't be looking at something on a *friend's* profile, but continue to look anyway?

- 0 NEVER
- 1
- 2
- 3
- 4
- 5
- 6
- 7
- 8
- 9
- 10 ALMOST ALWAYS

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Q.33

1. When browsing on Facebook, do you ever feel like you shouldn't be looking at something on an *acquaintance's* profile? (Reminder: For the purposes of this study, we defined an acquaintance as someone you have interacted with at least once, but do not know well enough to call a friend.)

- Yes, sometimes I feel that way
- No, I never feel that way

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If the respondent answers yes, they are taken to the following question. If they answer no, they skip to the next question.

Q.34

1. How **OFTEN** do you feel like you shouldn't be looking at something on an *acquaintance's* profile, but continue to look anyway?

- 0 NEVER
- 1
- 2
- 3
- 4
- 5
- 6
- 7
- 8
- 9
- 10 ALMOST ALWAYS

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Q.35

1. When browsing on Facebook, do you ever feel like you shouldn't be looking at something on a *non-acquaintance's* profile? (Reminder: For the purposes of this study, we defined a non-acquaintance as someone you are Facebook friends with, but have not had any meaningful interactions with. This would be someone you do not know, but friended anyway.)

- Yes, sometimes I feel that way
- No, I never feel that way

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If the respondent answers yes, they are taken to the following question. If they answer no, they skip to the next question.

Q.36

1. How OFTEN do you feel like you shouldn't be looking at something on an *non-acquaintance's* profile, but continue to look anyway?

- 0 NEVER
- 1
- 2
- 3
- 4
- 5
- 6
- 7
- 8
- 9
- 10 ALMOST ALWAYS

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Q.37

1. When browsing on Facebook, do you ever feel like you shouldn't be looking at something the profile of a Facebook user you are not currently friends with? (Reminder: These would include people you are not "Facebook friends" with, but who have some part of their profile set to public.)

- Yes, sometimes I feel that way
- No, I never feel that way

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If the respondent answers yes, they are taken to the following question. If they answer no, they skip to the next question.

Q.38

1. How OFTEN do you feel like you shouldn't be looking at something on the profile of a Facebook user you are not currently friends with , but continue to look anyway?

- 0 NEVER
- 1
- 2
- 3
- 4
- 5
- 6
- 7
- 8
- 9
- 10 ALMOST ALWAYS

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Q. 39

1. When browsing on Facebook, do you ever feel like you shouldn't be looking at something on an *ex-romantic partner's* profile? Please answer with every ex-romantic partner in mind, whether you are currently Facebook friends or not. (Reminder: For the purposes of this study, we defined ex-romantic partner as people you have previously dated or been involved with romantically, sexually or both.)

- Yes, sometimes I feel that way
- No, I never feel that way

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If the respondent answers yes, they are taken to the following question. If they answer no, they skip to the next question.

Q. 40

1. How **OFTEN** do you feel like you shouldn't be looking at something on an *ex-romantic partner's* profile, but continue to look anyway?

- 0 NEVER
- 1
- 2
- 3
- 4
- 5
- 6
- 7
- 8
- 9
- 10 ALMOST ALWAYS

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Q.41

1. When browsing on Facebook, have you **EVER** felt like you shouldn't be looking at something on **ANY other user's** profile?

- yes, I have felt that way at least once
- no, I have never felt that way

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If the respondent answers yes, they are taken to the following question. If they answer no, they skip to the next question.

Q.42

1. How **OFTEN**, overall, do you feel like you shouldn't be looking at something on **other user's** profiles, but continue to look anyway?

- 0 NEVER
- 1
- 2
- 3
- 4
- 5
- 6
- 7
- 8
- 9
- 10 ALMOST ALWAYS

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Q. 43

1. If you do sometimes get the feeling that you shouldn't look at certain content on another person's profile, what makes that content "off limits?"

Please consider all the times you experience that feeling, and list all of the reasons that you can think of for feeling that way in the box below.

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Q. 44 – 47

Facebook Information Seeking Survey

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For the next question, imagine that all Facebook users were given reports that showed:

1. Who was viewing his or her profile.
2. What content each individual user looked at while viewing.
3. How frequently each individual user viewed the profile/content.
4. How much time each individual user spent viewing their profile/content.

1. If these reports became a reality tomorrow, how much would you cut back on the amount of time you currently spend looking at other people's profiles?

0 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 - I would not cut back at all | 10 - I would cut back drastically

2. How OFTEN do you avoid commenting on parts of *any other Facebook user's* profile to keep that user, or other users from knowing that you were looking?

0 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 | NEVER | ALMOST ALWAYS

3. How OFTEN do you avoid mentioning something you learned while looking at a Facebook profile in order to avoid an uncomfortable, awkward feeling?

0 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 | NEVER | VERY OFTEN

4. Think about the times when you have purposefully avoided commenting on parts of a person's profile or sharing information you've learned from a person's profile to keep that person or others from knowing that you were looking.

Why do you avoid commenting or sharing this information? Please list all the reasons that you can think of below.

If you don't ever avoid commenting or sharing information, please indicate that in the box instead.



Q. 48 – 50

Facebook Information Seeking Survey

[Exit this survey](#)

Please consider the following statements and indicate the extent to which you agree or disagree:

1. The way my friends and family perceive my Facebook usage matters a great deal to me.

0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10
Strongly Disagree Strongly Agree

2. If my friends and family found out what I look at, how frequently I look or how long I look at certain things on Facebook, I would be embarrassed.

0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10
Strongly Disagree Strongly Agree

3. If I knew my friends and family were going to find out what I look at, how frequently I look, or how long I look on Facebook, I would cut back on looking at certain things.

0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10
Strongly Disagree Strongly Agree

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Q. 51 – 55

Facebook Information Seeking Survey

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Please consider the following statements and indicate the extent to which you agree or disagree:

1. I feel that, for the most part, my Facebook friends have equal access to my information as I have to their information.

0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10
Strongly Disagree Strongly Agree

2. When I feel like a Facebook friend looks at my profile the same way that I look at his or her profile, I feel more comfortable looking at his or her profile.

0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10
Strongly Disagree Strongly Agree

3. When I feel that a friend does not look at my profile as much as I look at his or her profile, I feel less comfortable looking at his or her profile.

0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10
Strongly Disagree Strongly Agree

4. Over time, things even out and I look at my friends' profiles as much as they look at my profile.

0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10
Strongly Disagree Strongly Agree

5. Over time, I think my friends look at my profile more than I look at theirs.

0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10
Strongly Disagree Strongly Agree

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Q. 56 – 65 (Tendency to Gossip Scale 1)

Facebook Information Seeking Survey

[Exit this survey](#)

This part of the survey concerns the tendency of people to talk about other people. It is a tendency which occurs almost every day, and studies show that most people do it. Read the statements below carefully, and try to estimate how well they characterize your own behavior.

1. I read gossip columns in newspapers

0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10
NEVER ALWAYS

2. I like talking to friends about other people's clothes

0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10
NEVER ALWAYS

3. I tend to talk with my friends about relationships between men and women

0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10
NEVER ALWAYS

4. I prefer listening to conversations about other people rather than taking part in them

0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10
NEVER ALWAYS

5. I tend to gossip with good friends about people who have left the country

0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10
NEVER ALWAYS

6. I like talking to friends about other people's grades and intellectual achievements

0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10
NEVER ALWAYS

7. I think that I can contribute interesting information to almost any conversation about people.

0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10
NEVER ALWAYS

8. I tend to talk to friends about the problems some of our friends have at work

0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10
NEVER ALWAYS

9. I like analyzing with a friend the compatibility of various couples

0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10
NEVER ALWAYS

10. I like talking with a friend about the personal appearance of other people

0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10
NEVER ALWAYS



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Q 66 – 75 (Tendency to Gossip Scale 2)

Facebook Information Seeking Survey

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1. I tend to talk with friends about the educational level of people we know in important positions

0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10
NEVER ALWAYS

2. I enjoy analyzing with my friends the motives and reasons for other people's behavior

0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10
NEVER ALWAYS

3. I like talking with a friend about the salaries of our mutual friends

0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10
NEVER ALWAYS

4. When I come back from a party or some other event, I tend to talk about my impressions of the personal appearance of the others who were there

0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10
NEVER ALWAYS

5. I tend to talk to friends about the success of certain people in their jobs

0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10
NEVER ALWAYS

6. Usually I feel I know what is going on, who is going out with whom, etc.

0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10
NEVER ALWAYS

7. I tend to talk with friends about the love affairs of people we know

0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10
NEVER ALWAYS

8. I like reading biographies of famous people

0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10
NEVER ALWAYS

9. I like to tell friends interesting details concerning other people

0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10
NEVER ALWAYS

10. I tend to gossip

0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10
NEVER ALWAYS

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Q. 76 – 84 (Interpersonal Curiosity Scale 1)

Facebook Information Seeking Survey

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1. I try to figure out what other people are feeling just by looking at them.

0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10
ALMOST ALMOST
NEVER ALWAYS

2. People really like to open up to me about how they feel.

0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10
ALMOST ALMOST
NEVER ALWAYS

3. I wish I could turn invisible in order to spy on people.

0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10
ALMOST ALMOST
NEVER ALWAYS

4. I think to myself how cool it would be to be an investigative reporter.

0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10
ALMOST ALMOST
NEVER ALWAYS

5. I think about how great it would be to interview people as a career.

0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10
ALMOST ALMOST
NEVER ALWAYS

6. I feel comfortable asking people about their private lives.

0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10
ALMOST ALMOST
NEVER ALWAYS

7. I think I would make a good private detective.

0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10
ALMOST ALMOST
NEVER ALWAYS

8. If I found someone's diary, I would read it.

0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10
ALMOST ALMOST
NEVER ALWAYS

9. I think that people's private lives are fascinating.

0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10
ALMOST ALMOST
NEVER ALWAYS



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Q. 85 – 92 (Interpersonal Curiosity Scale 2)

Facebook Information Seeking Survey

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A number of statements that people use to describe themselves are given below. Read each statement and then mark the appropriate space on the answer sheet to indicate how you generally feel using the scale below. There are no right or wrong answers. Do not spend too much time on any one statement but give the answer that seems to describe how you generally feel.

1. I like to know what other people do.

0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10
ALMOST ALMOST
NEVER ALWAYS

2. I like to look at things in other people's rooms.

0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10
ALMOST ALMOST
NEVER ALWAYS

3. I love going into new people's houses just to see how they live.

0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10
ALMOST ALMOST
NEVER ALWAYS

4. I find myself shuffling through things just because I'm intrigued.

0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10
ALMOST ALMOST
NEVER ALWAYS

5. I wonder what other people's interests are.

0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10
ALMOST ALMOST
NEVER ALWAYS

6. I pay attention to people's facial expressions to figure out how they feel.

0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10
ALMOST ALMOST
NEVER ALWAYS

7. I try to understand people's feelings.

0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10
ALMOST ALMOST
NEVER ALWAYS

8. I pay attention to the non-verbal messages other people send.

0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10
ALMOST ALMOST
NEVER ALWAYS

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Q. 99 – 103 (Social Comparison Orientation 2)

7. If I want to find out how well I've done something, I compare what I have done with how others have done.

0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10
Strongly Disagree Strongly Agree

8. I often try to find out what others think who face similar problems as I face.

0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10
Strongly Disagree Strongly Agree

9. I often like to talk with others about mutual opinions and experiences.

0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10
Strongly Disagree Strongly Agree

10. I never consider my situation in life relative to that of other people.

0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10
Strongly Disagree Strongly Agree

11. I often compare how I am doing socially (e.g. , social skills, popularity) with other people.

0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10
Strongly Disagree Strongly Agree



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Q. 104 – 107 (Tendency to be Voyeuristic 1)

Facebook Information Seeking Survey

[Exit this survey](#)

Please read the statements below and indicate how you would react.

1. If you realized that you could see inside the bedroom of your neighbors because they forgot to close their curtains.

0 I would stop looking immediately 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 I would try to see as much as I could

2. If you were to overhear your next door neighbors discussing their sexual lives.

0 I would stop listening immediately 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 I would try to hear as much as I could

3. If you were to read a message that was sent to somebody else.

0 I would stop reading immediately 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 I would try to read as much as I could

4. If you were part of a conversation where your friends were gossiping about the sexual life of a person you're familiar with.

0 I would stop listening immediately 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 I would try to learn as much as I could

Q. 105 – 111 (Tendency to be Voyeuristic 2)

5. You realized that instead of giving you your own photograph prints, the photo lab gave you a set of photographs showing a couple skinny-dipping in a pool.

0 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 |

would stop looking immediately

would try to see as much as I could

6. While shopping in a clothing store, you see a gap through which you can see inside a dressing room.

0 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 |

would stop looking immediately

would try to see as much as I could

7. If you were to overhear a husband and wife discussing problems that they are having with their kids and/or other family members.

0 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 |

would stop listening immediately

would try to hear as much as I could

8. If you were to witness someone having an emotional breakdown and displaying extreme anger or sadness.

0 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 |

would stop looking immediately

would try to see as much as I could



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Q. 112

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1. Have you ever heard the terms "creeping" or "Facebook stalking" in reference to Facebook?

Yes

No



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If the respondent answers yes, they are taken to the following question. If they answer no, they skip to the next question.

Q. 113

Facebook Information Seeking Survey [Exit this survey](#)

1. Please define "creeping" or "Facebook Stalking" in your own words below:



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Q. 114 – 116

Facebook Information Seeking Survey

[Exit this survey](#)

For the purposes of this study, "creeping" or "Facebook stalking" is given the following definition. Please read this definition and use it to answer the final few questions.

"Creeping" or "Facebook stalking" is when a Facebook user views or browses another profile in such a way that they would not feel comfortable if the owner of that profile knew:

1. Who was viewing their profiles/content
2. What content they were viewing
3. How frequently each individual user viewed their profile/content AND/OR
4. How much time each individual spent looking at their profiles

Creeping or Facebook Stalking is NOT considered true stalking, which has been defined as threatening or malicious behavior by previous research. Instead, it is a harmless behavior, where an individual is accessing information on Facebook that they feel that, for one reason or another, they should not be accessing.

Facebook stalking/creeping is often an anonymous behavior, meaning that the person engaging in the behavior avoids posting comments or mentioning details they learn during their browsing sessions in person.

1. Given the above definition, do you ever engage in "creeping" or "Facebook stalking?"

- Yes
 No

2. How OFTEN do you engage in "creeping" or "Facebook stalking" when you are browsing on Facebook? (If you said no to the previous question, please select never).

- 0 NEVER 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 ALMOST ALWAYS

3. Think of all the time you spend looking at other people's profiles on Facebook. What percentage of that time do you spend engaging in "creeping" or "Facebook stalking?" (If you previously said that you do not creep or Facebook stalk, please enter 0 here.)

Percent of time spent
"creeping" or "Facebook
stalking":

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Completion Page

Facebook Information Seeking Survey

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Thank you again, so much, for your participation!



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APPENDIX B: IRB APPROVAL

(attached)