GOFFMAN´S THEORY AS A FRAMEWORK FOR ANALYSIS OF SELF PRESENTATION ON ONLINE SOCIAL NETWORKS[*]

by

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To investigate how people form their identity on social networks and control the impressions they invoke in their audiences, we analyzed personal profiles of 50 university student Facebook users using Erving Gofmann´s dramaturgical theory. We identified five basic forms through which users create and present their identities: The Public diary, The Influencer, The Entertainer, Job and education and Hobby, as well as the appropriate secondary roles performed by users who interact with them.

These findings are corroborated by 8 semi-structured interviews with respondents, which enable a more in-depth exploration of the way they use Facebook, the social interactions they participate in, their motivation for posting contributions, and how they engage in impression management, perceive privacy and resolve issues caused by multiple audiences.

A better understanding of how privacy is conceived and what motivates users to share their personal information online is essential for public authorities' cooperation on shaping company privacy policies and creation of appropriate legal regulations.

The key results confirm the presence of conscious effort to make a desired impression and prove Goffman's theory of face-to-face interactions to be relevant in the context of online social networks.

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1. INTRODUCTION

The theatre and poetry of masks, their deceit and the reality that they help depict and the roles that they allow us to play have fascinated many great writers from *Shakespeare*, through *Pascal* to *Wilde*.

It was *William Shakespeare* who, four hundred years ago, likened life to the theatre, and *Erving Goffman* (1922–1982), a Canadian sociologist, drew inspiration from his words, being the first academic to use the theatre metaphor to describe and analyse a method of human self-representation in everyday social interactions occurring face-to-face.

In his book *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life*, published in 1959, he perceives the individual and his behaviour in social situations as an actor performing his role on stage to the public. At the moment when the performance (interaction) ends, he may return behind the scenes where he shakes off his role, relaxes and potentially prepares for the next performance.

Over the last few years, a new stage where social interactions take place and where people play their roles has come into being in the form of online social networks.

The largest worldwide online social network is *Facebook*, founded in 2004, achieving 2.27 billion monthly active users in October 2018.[1] According to *Facebook* statistics, this network has 4.7 million users in the Czech Republic.[2]

Facebook users create personal user profiles where they publish any type of content and also consume and react to the content published by other users, make friends and chat with their friends from both the real and virtual world. Three-quarters of *Facebook* users log in daily, 91 %

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[1]   Facebook. (2018) *Facebook Reports Third Quarter 2018 Results*. [online] MENLO PARK, California: Facebook. Available from: https://investor.fb.com/investor-news/press-release-details/2018/Facebook-Reports-Third-Quarter-2018-Results/default.aspx [Accessed 11 December 2018].

[2]   Dočekal, D. (2016) *TIP#650: Kolik má v Česku Facebook uživatelů? Jak je to s věkem? Proč jsou ta čísla tak podivná?* [blog entry] 6 November. Prague: *365tipu*. Available from: https://365tipu.wordpress.com/2016/11/06/tip650-kolik-ma-v-cesku-facebook-uzivatelu-jak-je-to-s-vekem-proc-jsou-ta-cisla-tak-podivna/ [Accessed 20 January 2019].

of teenagers at least sometimes using a mobile phone. The same percentage of teenagers goes online every day, which is an indication of the importance of cyberspace in their lives.[3]

The amount of data uploaded every day is immeasurable, bringing new opportunities for *Facebook* to monetize it and new challenges for users to protect their privacy. Although the collection and use of personal information are usually included in the terms of service, it might not be in accordance with users' expectations or even legal rights to privacy. Understanding how privacy is conceived among users and refining its definitions in the context of online social networks is necessary for policymaking and choosing the right legal approach to tackle privacy threats.

It is *Goffman's* theory of self-representation and social interaction that many academics follow up on in their studies of social networks. For instance, during research of identity creation, self-representation and content curation,[4] privacy,[5] during analysis of social interactions on the social networks and work with the audience[6] or when examining the technological limitations and affordances that computer-mediated communication involves.[7] The correlation between method of *Facebook* use

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[3]   Greenwood, S., Perrin, A. and Duggan, M. (2016) *Social Media Update*. [online] Washington: Pew Internet & American Life Project. Available from: http://www.pewinternet.org/2016/11/11/social-media-update-2016/ [Accessed 17 April 2018]; Lenhart, A. (2015) *Teens, Social Media & Technology Overview 2015*. [online] Washington: Pew Internet & American Life Project. Available from: http://www.pewinternet.org/2015/04/09/teens-social-media-technology-2015/ [Accessed 8 June 2017].

[4]   Zhao, S. (2005) The Digital Self: Through the Looking Glass of Telecopresent Others. *Symbolic Interaction*, 28 (3), pp. 387–405. [online] Available from: http://doi.wiley.com/10.1525/si.2005.28.3.387 [Accessed 27 October 2018]; Hogan, B. (2010) The Presentation of Self in the Age of Social Media: Distinguishing Performances and Exhibitions Online. *Bulletin of Science, Technology & Society*, 30 (6), pp. 377–386. [online] Available from: http://bst.sagepub.com/cgi/doi/10.1177/0270467610385893 [Accessed 11 October 2017]; Zhao, X. et al. (2013) The many faces of facebook. In: *Proceedings of the SIGCHI Conference on Human Factors in Computing Systems – CHI '13*, Paris, 27 April – 2 May. New York, USA: ACM Press, pp. 1–10. [online] Available from: http://dl.acm.org/citation.cfm?doid=2470654.2470656 [Accessed 18 January 2018]; Pospíšilová, M. (2016) *Facebooková (ne)závislost: identita, interakce a uživatelská kariéra na Facebooku*. Praha: Univerzita Karlova, nakladatelství Karolinum.

[5]   Hewitt, A. and Forte, A. (2006) Crossing boundaries: Identity management and student/faculty relationships on the Facebook. In: *Proc 2006 CSCW*, Canada, 4–8 November. [online] Available from: http://andreaforte.net/HewittForteCSCWPoster2006.pdf [Accessed 7 March 2018]; Lewis, K. et al. (2008) The Taste for Privacy: An Analysis of College Student Privacy Settings in an Online Social Network. *Journal of Computer-Mediated Communication*, 14 (1), pp. 79–100. [online] Available from: http://doi.wiley.com/10.1111/j.1083-6101.2008.01432.x [Accessed 26 April 2018].

[6]   boyd, d. (2007) Why Youth (Heart) Social Network Sites: The Role of Networked Public in Teenage Social Life. In: David Buckingham (ed.). *MacArthur Foundation Series on Digital Learning – Youth, Identity, and Digital Media Volume*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

and the user's personality is reflected for instance by *Gosling et al.*[8] or *Michikyan et al.*[9], and the effect of the use of *Facebook* on psychological well-being by *Lin*[10] and *Chou*[11].

Goffman's theory of self-representation has become the basis for a wider understanding of user behaviour and motivation known as impression management. Resulting studies show that even in the course of user activity outside their personal profile, such as "liking" a certain page, users are aware that their activity is part of the image they build of themselves.[12]

Public self-presentation and a certain level of self-disclosure are necessary to create an online identity. The degree of self-disclosure and the content shared by users depend on their goals, motivations and their audience as well as on their privacy concerns, the perceived value of personal information and the value of the service they receive in return.

Privacy is considered to be a protected human right by the *United Nations General Assembly* and its protection is ensured by many international regulations or guidelines (e.g. OCDS's *Recommendation on Cross-border Co--operation in the Enforcement of Laws Protecting Privacy* and *General Data Protection Regulation*) or in countries' constitutions.

Most social networks provide the user with the option to limit who sees the published content, but most of the users keep the default privacy

7   Miller, H. (2016) *Investigating the Potential for Miscommunication Using Emoji*. [blog entry] 5 April. GroupLens. Available from: https://grouplens.org/blog/investigating-the-potential-for-miscommunication-using-emoji/ [Accessed 26 January 2019]; Walther, J. B. a D'addario, K. P. (2001) The Impacts of Emoticons on Message Interpretation in Computer-Mediated Communication. *Social Science Computer Review*, 19 (3), pp. 324–347. [online] Available from: http://ssc.sagepub.com/cgi/doi/10.1177/089443930101900307 [Accessed 21 May 2017]; Eisenlauer, V. (2014) Facebook as a third author – (Semi-)automated participation framework in Social Network Sites. *Journal of Pragmatics*, 72, pp. 73–85. [online] Available from: http://linkinghub.elsevier.com/retrieve/pii/S037821661400037X [Accessed 21 May 2017].

8   Gosling, S. D. et al. (2011) Manifestations of Personality in Online Social Networks: Self--Reported Facebook-Related Behaviors and Observable Profile Information. *Cyberpsychology, Behavior, and Social Networking*, 14 (9). [online] Available from: http://www.liebertonline.com/doi/abs/10.1089/cyber.2010.0087 [Accessed 21 May 2017].

9   Michikyan, M. et al. (2014) Can you tell who I am? Neuroticism, extraversion, and online self-presentation among young adults. *Computers in Human Behavior*, 33. [online] Available from: http://linkinghub.elsevier.com/retrieve/pii/S0747563214000156 [Accessed 21 May 2017].

10 Lin, R. and Utz, S. (2015) The emotional responses of browsing Facebook: Happiness, envy, and the role of tie strength. *Computers in Human Behavior*, 52. [online] Available from: http://linkinghub.elsevier.com/retrieve/pii/S074756321500360X [Accessed 21 May 2017].

11 Chou, H. G. and Edge, N. (2012) "They Are Happier and Having Better Lives than I Am": The Impact of Using Facebook on Perceptions of Others' Lives. *Cyberpsychology, Behavior, and Social Networking*, 15 (2). [online] Available from: http://online.liebertpub.com/doi/abs/10.1089/cyber.2011.0324 [Accessed 21 May 2017].

12 Wallace, E., Buil, I., de Chernatony, L. and Hogan, M. (2014) Who " likes" You… and why? A Typology of Facebook Fans from "Fan" –atics and Self Expressives to Utilitarians and Authentics". *Journal of Advertising Research*, 54 (1), pp. 92–109.

settings untouched.[13] On top of that, the results of a study done by *Suh and Hargittai*[14] showed that the actual audience of two-thirds of posts users publish on *Facebook* is different than initially intended. The posts are thus usually visible to either bigger of smaller audience than planned.

The users' inability or reluctance to manage complex privacy settings as well as SNS' architecture inducing self-disclosure leads to users' data being exposed to corporations, employers, law enforcement authorities or governments, without the users realizing the value of their data and the possible harmful consequences of not keeping it private. The information may also be used for various attacks, including cyber bullying, identity theft, phishing, etc.

With the understanding of users' perception of private and public on online social networks, the process of selecting content for sharing and the challenges of segregating an audiences, the public authorities can more easily pressure on modification of social norms concerning privacy protections, come up with effective regulations for data collection and enforce compliance with it, improve online privacy literacy or for instance insist on changing the user interface to make it more usable and understandable.

The aim of our qualitative research was to analyse and describe methods of self-representation and the dynamics of social interaction on *Facebook* from the perspective of *Goffman's* dramaturgical approach. Due to its appropriate methodology and relevant findings, we chose to reproduce the research of *Jamie R. Riccio* from *Syracuse University*, which she presented in her thesis *All The Web's a Stage: The Dramaturgy of Young Adult Social Media Use*.[15]

Reproduction of the research allowed us to verify whether preceding research findings still apply, to investigate what influence a research sample with different demographic characteristics has on the results of the study and to record any potential differences discovered.

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[13] Suh, J. J. and Hargittai, E. (2015) Privacy Management on Facebook: Do Device Type and Location of Posting Matter? *Social Media + Society*, 1 (2). [online] Available from: http://journals.sagepub.com/doi/10.1177/2056305115612783 [Accessed 21 May 2017].

[14] Ibid.

[15] Riccio, J. R. (2013) *All The Web's a Stage: The Dramaturgy of Young Adult Social Media Use*. Syracuse: Syracuse University, Theses – ALL. Paper 16. Magisterská práce (MA) Syracuse University. [online] Available from: http://surface.syr.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1007 &context=thesis [Accessed 5 May 2017].

Through content analysis of user posts, we determined several basic ways in which users create and present their online identity and in semi--structured interviews with selected respondents, we focused closely on conscious impression management, perception of the front and back regions on *Facebook* and how users work with their audience.

2. THE ROLE OF ONLINE SOCIAL NETWORKS IN THE SOCIAL LIFE OF YOUNG PEOPLE

Certain situations occur in the lives of young people which their parents' generation would see as petty considerations that bear very little relation to real life. A *Facebook* friend has unfriended them. Colleagues have posted photos from a party that a given person was not invited to. Someone made rude comments on someone's photo etc.

Cyberspace has become an alternative world where people create and administer their online identity, make friends and maintain relationships using text, visual and audiovisual elements. It is a place,

> "[…] *in which people still meet face-to-face, but under new definitions of both "meet" and "face"*."[16]

Unlike the older generations, interactions in the environment of non--anonymous online networks are an important part of the identity and social life of today´s children and young adults. Even to such an extent that limited access to the Internet can lead to social exclusion.[17]

The skills that individuals require in online space to correctly interpret situations, to create an acceptable online identity and to be able to control the impression that their behaviour makes are different from those that they need to achieve the same goals in the real world.[18] More than in the real world, people are dependent primarily on the ability to formulate their thoughts verbally and to decode meanings and connotations from the written word, despite the fact that communication technologies make allowance for non-verbal manifestations in mediated communication and

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[16] Stone, A. R. (1991) Will the Real Body Please Stand Up? Boundary Stories About Virtual Cultures. In: Michael Benedikt (ed.). *Cyberspace: First Steps*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, p. 85.

[17] Dijck, J. (2013) *The culture of connectivity: A critical history of social media*. New York: Oxford University Press, p. 51.

[18] boyd, d. (2007) Why Youth (Heart) Social Network Sites: The Role of Networked Public in Teenage Social Life.' In: David Buckingham (ed.). *MacArthur Foundation Series on Digital Learning – Youth, Identity, and Digital Media Volume*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, p. 12.

attempts partially to substitute it with audiovisual elements such as emoticons, emojis, photographs, gifs or videos.

One of the most notable differences from the real world is the existence of a diffuse audience composed of a broad variety of individuals and groups that not necessarily meet in time or space, and missing context which under normal circumstances provides meaning to words and events. Together with the absence of non-verbal manifestations and uncertainty in determining what is and what is not the intention, it is therefore more difficult to define a situation and the meaning of words, actions or manifestations and it is also more difficult to present one's identity in such a way as to be appropriate for all individuals who might become the audience of the user's performance.[19]

3. CENTRAL CONCEPTS OF ERVING GOFFMAN'S DRAMATURGICAL SOCIOLOGY

On the basis of extensive observation, in his book *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life* (1959) *Goffman* concludes that an individual entering an interaction with others always tries to control the image they draw in their mind about that individual and the impressions the individual makes upon them. Such an effort to maintain control manifests itself in conscious alteration of the *façade* that the author defines as

> *"[…] expressive equipment of a standard kind intentionally or unwittingly employed by the individual during his performance."*[20]

The *façade* (social front) comprises two parts – of the stage (setting) [e.g. furniture or decorations at home], which serve as the stage for all social interaction, and the personal *façade* (personal front) which may be divided into the individual's appearance –

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[19]   Aspling, F. (2011) *The Private and the Public in Online Presentations of the Self: A Critical Development of Goffman's Dramaturgical Perspective*. MA. Stockholm University; Marwick, A. E. and boyd, d. (2011) I tweet honestly, I tweet passionately: Twitter users, context collapse, and the imagined audience. *New Media & Society*, 13 (1), pp. 114–133. [online] Available from: http://journals.sagepub.com/doi/10.1177/1461444810365313 [Accessed 10 December 2018]; Abercrombie, N. and Longhurst, B. (1998) *Audiences: A sociological theory of performance and imagination*. Thousand Oaks, California: Sage.

[20]   Goffman, E. (1959) *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life*. Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, p. 13.

> *"[…] those stimuli which function at the time to tell us of the performer's social statuses"*[21] (e.g. clothes, make-up…),

and manner –

> *"[…] those stimuli which function at the time to warn us of the interaction role the performer will expect to play in the on-coming situation."*[22] (behaviour, method of speaking, gesticulations…).

Generally, users modify these elements so that they correspond to the expectations of the anticipated audience (provided the participant knows his audience), to the stage, the role and the goal that the participant wishes to achieve. The audience normatively expects the separate parts of the *façade* to be aligned.[23]

Despite the fact that *Goffman* originally related his theory only to situations where people meet face-to-face, in our opinion his theory is also applicable to the environment of the social networks, in spite of certain limitations. All of the above-mentioned elements appear in the online environment too – the stage on *Facebook* is represented by the user interface, which is usually the user's profile. The personal *façade* consists of a profile picture and the manner in which the user communicates and the content he or she shares.

To fulfill the expectations of the audience and the social norms to gain positive feedback, the participating individual tries to present their "idealised" self and present themselves in the best possible light. Therefore they exaggerate certain aspects of their personality while suppressing or completely hiding the negative ones. This way the participant presents him or herself in a certain role and controls the impression he or she makes, thereby also influencing the opinion of him or her formed in the minds of the audience. *Goffman* calls this strategy impression management.[24]

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[21] Goffman, E. (1959) Op. cit., p. 15.
[22] Ibid.
[23] Goffman, E. (1959) Op. cit., pp. 15–16.
[24] Goffman, E. (1959) Op. cit., pp. 23–44.

According to *Goffman*:

"The expressiveness of the individual (and therefore his capacity to give impressions) appears to involve two radically different kinds of sign activity: the expression that he gives, and the expression that he gives off."[25]

1. expressions given – verbal symbols that we use to transmit information and when trying to make a certain impression;
2. expressions given off – non-verbal involuntary features such as tone of voice, facial expression, gestures, proxemics...[26]

However, as *Goffman* also points out:

"The individual does intentionally convey misinformation by means of both of these types of communication, the first involving deceit, the second feigning."[27]

In *Goffman's* theory, performances by specific individuals (actors) take place invariably on a stage comprising two main regions – the front (frontstage) and the back (backstage). The front region is where the performance itself takes place. Here the individual plays a certain role (defined by appearance, the stage and the manner of performance) for the audience and strives to provoke a certain impression. The back region is the space where the individual may behave naturally and where he commonly switches over to more informal behaviour and speech, sometimes even contradicting their carefully delivered performance of just moments before.[28] It is therefore important for access to the back region to be restricted and for behind-the-scenes behaviour not to be seen by anybody else but by members of the team participating in the performance.

Regions may also be found in the environment of an online network. Some studies present online social networks where the user has control over access to the content he publishes, primarily as private space and therefore back region.[29] However, we believe that also on online social networks the user plays a role for his audience and therefore this space comprises

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[25] Goffman, E. (1959) Op. cit., p. 2.

[26] Ibid.

[27] Ibid.

[28] Goffman, E. (1959) Op. cit., pp. 66–86.

both the front and back region. Another of the aims of this study is also to establish whether the regions are fixed or they shift, and how much user behaviour differs according to the region and the perceived privacy.

4. HOW DO USERS CREATE AND PERFORM THEIR OWN IDENTITY?

4.1. ONLINE SOCIAL NETWORK SITES

Methods for creation and performance of identity are partially determined by the user interface and the functional elements of online social networks.

One of the most cited definitions of an online social network comes from an article by *boyd and Ellison* and says that social network sites are

> *"web-based services that allow individuals to (1) construct a public or semi--public profile within a bounded system, (2) articulate a list of other users with whom they share a connection, and (3) view and traverse their list of connections and those made by others within the system."*[30]

In her further works, *dannah boyd* presents four more properties that differentiate the environment of an online social network and interactions and communication taking place online from the real world. These properties are:

1. *persistence* – unlike unmediated communication, network communication is archived for long periods;
2. *searchability* – thanks to the fact that both the content and identity of individuals is recorded in text, individual people can be searched in online social networks;
3. *replicability* – posts and any data may be copied from one place and used in another so that you cannot tell the copy apart from the original;

[29] boyd, d. (2006) Friends, friendster and MySpace top 8: Writing community into being on social network sites. *First Monday*, 11 (12). [online] Available from: http://firstmonday. org/issues/issue11_12/boyd/index.html [Accessed 20 January 2019]; Lewis, K., Kaufman, J. and Christakis, N. (2008) The taste for privacy: An analysis of college student privacy settings in an online social network. *Journal of Computer-Mediated Communication*, 14 (1), pp. 79–100. [online] Available from: https://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/pdf/10.1111/j.1083-6101.200801432.x [Accessed 12 March 2017].

[30] boyd, d., and Ellison, N.B. (2007) Social network sites: Definition, history, and scholarship. *Journal of Computer-Mediated Communication*, 13 (1), p. 211. [online] Available from: http://jcmc.indiana.edu/vol13/issue1/boyd.ellison.html [Accessed 7 March 2017].

4. *invisible audiences* – due to the three characteristics above, it is impossible to determine exactly who may come into contact with communication or content created on online social networks.[31]

4.1.1. DESCRIPTION OF BASIC ELEMENTS AND FUNCTIONS OF FACEBOOK

The mainstay of the *Facebook* are personal, non-anonymous profiles – partially personalisable pages presenting the user via name, profile photo and basic information concerning age, sex and typically a space for a narrative that the user may use to describe himself.

User profiles serve as a type of notice board where the user publishes his content – statuses, photos, videos or where they can share other users' content. These data are then visible for other users via their news feed (main page on *Facebook* where new posts are ordered either chronologically or according to relevance) or they can view them on the user profile in question.

Separate user profiles are connected by two-way bonds that manifest themselves in the form of users' "friends" or by a one-way bond when a user follows another user, typically a celebrity or influencer.

The fundamental, static presentation element which, if we use *Goffman's* term, serves partially as a stage and partially as a *façade* is, therefore, the user profile. Here the user creates his own identity by means of:

1. a profile photo which accompanies all and any of his activities on the social network;
2. a cover photo that the user may use to add context to his identity;
3. the "About" tab – the textual part of the profile where the user completes information about himself, such as date of birth, education, employment, etc.;
4. a list of friends – in other words, a public illustration of social links;
5. a list of favourite films, books, videos, music, etc. which demonstrates his tastes and interests;

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[31] boyd, d. (2007) Why Youth (Heart) Social Network Sites: The Role of Networked Public in Teenage Social Life.' In: David Buckingham (ed.). *MacArthur Foundation Series on Digital Learning – Youth, Identity, and Digital Media Volume*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

6. a list of pages that the user has "Liked", by which he shows either his interest in their content or this serves to present the user's tastes and opinions;

7. a list of groups of which he is a member – this shows his interests, activities, etc.

In addition to these static elements of the profile, which are more presentational than interactive in nature, the user creates his identity and performs primarily by publishing and sharing text, visual or audiovisual content on his profile. As well as the participant, his *Facebook* friends participate in this activity too, reacting to his published content with Likes and comments.

5. RESEARCH

5.1. RESEARCH QUESTIONS

The aim of the research is to describe user behaviour on *Facebook* from a perspective of *Goffman's* dramaturgical theory. In order to define our topics of interest more precisely, we set several research questions:

1. What methods do *Facebook* users employ to create and present their identity?;

2. Do *Facebook* users proceed with an awareness of what impression they leave on their audience?;

3. Where in the users' opinion do the front and back region lie on *Facebook*, and does user behaviour differ in the separate regions?

5.2. METHOD AND PROCEDURE

The methodology for our research is based on research by *Jamie R. Riccio* conducted as part of her thesis entitled *All the Web´s a Stage – The Dramaturgy of Young Adult Social Media Use*[32], which we have partially modified to make it more suitable for the needs of our research. The method for acquiring respondents and also their demographic characteristics are both different and we have also decided not to focus on *Twitter*, but investigate *Facebook* primarily, as the most used social network in the Czech

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[32] Riccio, J. R. (2013) *All The Web's a Stage: The Dramaturgy of Young Adult Social Media Use*. Syracuse: Syracuse University, Theses – ALL. Paper 16. Magisterská práce (MA) Syracuse University. [online] Available from: http://surface.syr.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1007 &context=thesis [Accessed 5 May 2017].

Republic. The second part of the study is composed of semi-structured interviews.

Our research builds on the grounded theory method and comprises two parts. The first part is a qualitative content analysis of *Facebook* posts which provides data on the methods used by users to perform their own identity and what role they play.

After initial contact and gaining their consent, the posts of 50 respondents published on their personal *Facebook* profiles over the course of one month were subjected to qualitative analysis. By scrutinising the content and both apparent and underlying meaning of the posts it was possible to determine several predominant themes and methods of identity presentation. A total of 733 posts were gathered and coded. *Goffman's* terminology was used for analysis of the secondary roles played by those commenting on the posts.

The second part of the study are semi-structured interviews with eight selected respondents which reflect the findings from the first part and allow for a more detailed examination of the functioning of the fundamental elements of *Goffman's* theory on the social networks, such as impression management and the regions.

5.3. PARTICIPANTS

50 respondents were selected for the purposes of this study, 25 women, 25 men, between 23–29 years of age, university graduates or current university students. The respondents were chosen from among the researchers' *Facebook* friends, which facilitated better analysis of the real meaning of posts due to knowledge of the context. All respondents are of European origin and live in the Czech Republic, predominantly living in Prague.

The main difference to the research being reproduced is the selection of respondents of higher age and education (*Jamie R. Riccio* focused especially on young adults between 18–22 years of age) and of course European as opposed to American origin.

5.4. RESULTS

The respondents' published *Facebook* posts were first written down in the form of a table with a description of the content and format, as well as the number and form of reactions. The thematic category of the method

of identity presentation was determined and the topic of the post described in more detail on the basis of the content.

#	Format	Content	Coding	Topic	Likes	Shares	Com ments	Type of Comments	Number of Inter actions
post 1	status	cynically joking text status about non-functioning technologies (e-mail, internet, slack)	public diary	personal experience	2	0	2	joking	**4**
post 2	article	a broadcast from Chamber of Deputies regarding frauds of Czech prime minister	current events	politics	1	0	0	0	**1**
post 3	video	music video	culture	music	3	0	2	supporting	**5**
post 4	photo graphy	photography of old textbooks from high school	public diary	personal memory	9	0	6	joking	**15**
post 5	article	infographics concerning presidential candidates	current events	politics	1	0	3	expressing opinion	**4**
post 6	video	funny video	enter tainment	humor	0	0	0	0	**0**
post 7	article	an article with expert´s opinions of current marketing campaigns	job	marketing	0	0	3	criticizing	**3**

Table 1: Example of coding of content

Recurring themes soon appeared in the course of coding the posts. Ordered according to frequency, the themes were:

- Information and photos relating to the user – personal experiences, successes, feelings, opinions, photos from their travels, etc.;
- Entertaining content – humorous stories, observations or content such as comics, pictures, videos, etc.;
- (Pop)cultural content – music videos, film trailers, invitations to exhibitions, concerts, theatre reviews, etc.;
- Content concerning users' job or hobby;
- Content concerning current affairs – comments, articles, satire, etc.;
- Interesting content – various formats of posts presenting what the user is interested in and what they think is important or beneficial for others;
- Content concerning university study.

We have decided to name the categories of identity presentation and the primary roles of the participants resulting from the content analysis thus: *The Public diary*, *The Influencer*, *The Entertainer*, *Job and education* and *Hobby* (ordered according to user usage frequency). It should be emphasised again that user presentation is generally composed of various methods and more than one thematic category.

Topic of posts		Prevalent topics		Ways of creating and presenting personal identity	
Topic	Number of posts	Topic	Number of posts	Way of self--presentation	Number of posts
Current events	**47**	Public diary (A)	269	The Public diary (A)	269
Hobby	**39**	Entertainment (B)	147	The Influencer (C, F, G)	182
Hobby/Job	9	Culture (C)	93	The Entertainer (B)	147
Hobby/Public diary	5	Job (D)	73		
Culture	**93**	Hobby (E)	53	Job and education (D, H)	82
Job	71	Current events (F)	47		
Job/Public diary	2	Interesting stuff (G)	42	Hobby (E)	53
Public diary	**269**	Education (H)	9		
Education	9				
Entertainment	**147**			Total number of posts	733
Interesting stuff	**42**				

Table 2: Topic representation in the self-presentation on Facebook
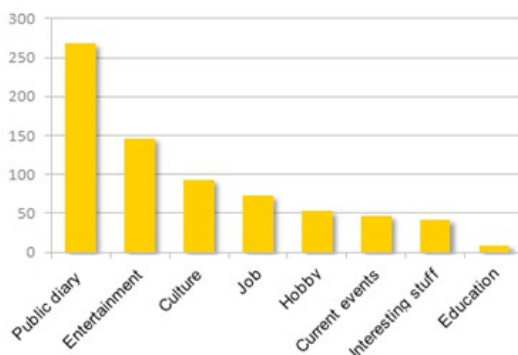

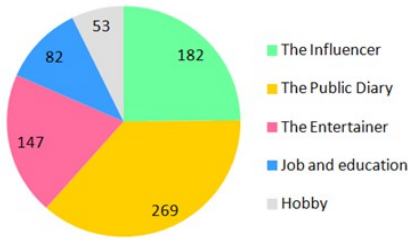Figure 1: Themes of posts analysed

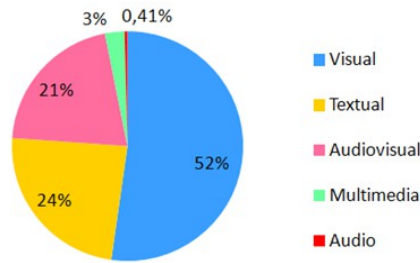Figure 2: Methods of identity creation and presentation

Figure 3: Formats of analyzed posts

5.4.1. DIFFERENCES IN FINDINGS

Jamie R. Riccio determined four methods of identity presentation and five roles that users play for their audience, thereby answering the question of how users present their identity on *Facebook* and which version of self they present there.

We decided to merge methods and roles into one category and to describe the methods used by the users to create and present their identity online. Certain findings of the reproduced research proved possible to confirm, while others did not feature in our findings.

Jamie R. Riccio's Findings		Our Findings
Methods for performing identity	**Primary performer roles**	**Ways of creating and performing identity**
~~Association with Influential Others~~	~~The Healthy Lifestyler~~	The Public diary
Emphasis on Career	The Local Celebrity	The Influencer
Highlighting a Hobby	The Pop Culture Maven	The Entertainer
The "Public Diary" Effect	~~The Sports Insider~~	Job and education
	~~The Girls' Girl (or Not)~~	Hobby

Table 3: The comparison of discovered patterns

According to *Riccio*, one of the main methods of identity presentation was linking oneself to public figures, celebrities, important members of the community, but also personal partners or brands, by means of Liking a relevant page or sharing its content. This method did not feature in our study sample, partially because the lists of Likes for pages, public figures, films, etc. are no longer such a visible component of the personal profile as they used to be and therefore do not function as a component to identity presentation. On the other hand we managed to confirm the enduring

existence of the methods *Emphasis on Career*, *Highlighting a Hobby* and *The "Public Diary" Effect.*

As for the roles that the users play, three of the five roles defined by *Riccio* did not appear in our respondent sample: *The Healthy Lifestyler*, *The Sports Insider* and *The Girls' Girl (or Not)*. The reason for this may be the existence of certain trends at certain times in certain places (healthy lifestyle in America) or the higher age and level of education of our respondents who might be less prone to succumb to mass trends and presentation by using them. The role *The Girls' Girl (or Not)*, which is characterised by

> *"messages of female friendship and sisterhood, but punctuated by public displays of relational aggression"*

is a phenomenon arising particularly amongst girls of adolescent age,[33] and therefore it is not surprising that it did not emerge amongst respondents of university graduate status.

We categorised the *Local Celebrity* role under *The Public Diary* because they differ from each other only in the higher frequency of publishing posts. The role of *The Pop Culture Maven* has become a component of the identity presentation method that we call *The Influencer*.

We subject the separate identity presentation methods to the more detailed analysis below.

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[33] Steinberg, L. (2008) *Adolescence*. 8th ed. New York: McGraw-Hill.

5.4.2. THE PUBLIC DIARY

Picture 1: The Public Diary

The most frequently used method of identity creation and performance was using *Facebook* as a public diary. This manifested itself in the user publishing posts about himself on his profile page – what he does and experiences, funny things that happened to him, what achievements he has made, his thoughts, observations and opinions, photos of himself with friends or his partner, photos from journeys abroad, pictures of pets etc.

Users obviously see *Facebook* as a self-representation platform, a place where they can attract the attention of others in them and in their lives. However, they do this in a well-thought-out form and attempt to create content in such a way as not to make it look like they are "seeking attention" (which for instance posting a daily selfie would look like), but rather to bring a certain value to other users too – either by the funniness, interestingness or importance of the content. Along with posts thematically relating to the user's job, "Public Diary" type posts would receive the most reactions (Likes and comments) from the user's friends.

5.4.3. THE INFLUENCER

The second most frequent method of identity creation and presentation was the method we have called *the Influencer*. This typically means the sharing of others' posts, articles, photos, videos, etc. The poster, therefore, shares in creating the range of posts that appear in his friends' *News Feed*, but rather than attracting attention to himself, he shares content that he considers for whatever reason to be of value for other users, in most cases adding his own opinion to the post. In this way he presents his interests and opinion in an unforced manner.

In the case of the research respondents, this most often concerned cultural themes – music videos, movie trailers or humorous GIFs and memes containing pop-

Picture 2: The Influencer

-cultural references. In accordance with his desire to conform,[34] the user makes it clear to other users that he consumes the same cultural content as they do and therefore can engage in conversation and share his experiences, feelings and opinions on topics that interest them too.[35]

The second most frequent were posts concerning current affairs, especially domestic politics and foreign policy and social themes such as racism or the refugee crisis, primarily in the form of shared articles with the poster's comment. Posts falling in the category of "current affairs" and

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[34] Macek, J. (2013) More than a desire for text: Online participation and the social curation of content. *Convergence: The International Journal of Research into New Media Technologies*, 19 (3). [online] Available from: http://con.sagepub.com/cgi/doi/10.1177/1354856513486530 [Accessed 15 January 2019].

[35] Studýnková, N. (2010) *Konzumace pirátských kopií televizních seriálových naracích*. Bakalářská práce. Masarykova univerzita, Fakulta sociálních studií. Vedoucí práce Jakub Macek. Available from: http://con.sagepub.com/cgi/doi/10.1177/1354856513486530 [Accessed 28 December 2018].

"culture" generated the highest proportion of comments of all topics and categories.

5.4.4. THE ENTERTAINER
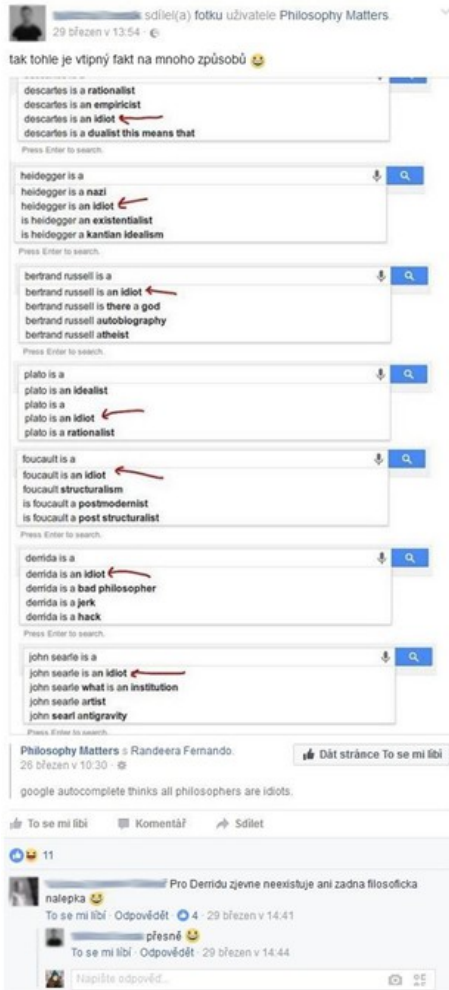
Picture 3: The Entertainer

The attempt to entertain was one of the major motivations in all of the categories mentioned. Regardless of whether this concerned personal posts, comments on political affairs or on users' own hobby, users tried to do it in an entertaining and humorous form and their reward was feedback in the form of Likes and comments.

For some, the aim to entertain was in the very first place, and so on their profiles they shared funny cartoons, satirical memes, funny videos, humorous observations on life, screenshots of entertaining or absurd things, the results of various *Facebook* quizzes, etc. The content of the shared posts was varied, but regularly included political topics, current affairs, pop--culture references, references to the user's hobby, field of employment or study, or pets. Funny posts were often also compounded by reactions of friends who continued joking in their comments.

5.4.5. JOB AND SCHOOL

Job or career was a fairly strong identity creation element, particularly in users with interesting or unusual jobs – television presenter, game designer, filmmaker, assistant to people with autism spectrum disorders, saxophonist or political party spokesperson.

Picture 4: Job and School

Users mainly shared photos from the work process or from after-work social activities with colleagues, shared their successes, experiences or observations and, in the case of musicians, invited their friends to concerts.

Conversely, users wrote about school only very exceptionally and mostly to boast about finishing their thesis, photos of the degree ceremony or a school event with schoolmates. Posts concerning success, for the most part, generated a large number of reactions in the form of Likes and also comments, where the users congratulated the author and expressed support.

5.4.6. THE HOBBY

Picture 5: The Hobby

If the users did not profile themselves via their jobs, they often did it via their hobbies, i.e. activities of personal interest or to which they regularly devote their free time. They did this by posting photos and statuses referring to a concrete activity.

Musicians usually invited people to their concerts and posted photos from rehearsals and foreign tours, users interested in cooking and baking shared photos of their creations sometimes even with recipes. In general, users highlighting their hobby tended to do so via their successes. It was interesting that sport appeared as a more or less regular hobby for only a very small section of the respondents.

5.5. IMPRESSION MANAGEMENT, AUDIENCE, AND PRIVACY

Published content on the user´s profile and his activity on *Facebook* is the most noticeable way of expressing one´s identity. In the first part of the research we determined categories for the content most frequently published by users, thereby confirming that *Facebook* is used by the users, not just for conduct of social interactions, but also serves as a podium for self-representation.

One of the central themes of *Goffman´s* theory is the concept of impression management, in other words the effort to control the impression that an individual's presentation makes in his audience. It is the confirmation or rejection of the existence of conscious control and

adaptation of self-presentation on *Facebook* which was one of the aims of the second part of the research, interviews with selected respondents.

Conscious management of the creation of a good impression manifested itself for instance in a respondent who uses his *Facebook* profile for making professional contacts. In the course of the interview, respondent and musician, *Jan*, described in detail how he builds his image of a good saxophonist:

> *Jan*: *"I used to post a lot of jokey ones (posts) but now I almost only post things about saxophones. And it's always to let someone know where I am and it's always self-presentation of me as a saxophonist and a cool guy. On my Facebook I have professionals and then a band of fellow students and it all mingles on Facebook and everyone knows everything about each other and all chat away together and I post things to suit everybody. So that maybe the old musicians say, oh right, that must be somewhere in Prague and that's that person and everybody thinks that I'm a good saxophonist and so I don't post my recordings there so that the people who are under the illusion that I'm good don't start thinking otherwise. (laughter) I have to listen to all of my recordings three times before posting them so that when someone listens to it, it confirms what he already thinks. Even though it is partially a pose, of course. Or maybe I post something casual, like I take a photo of us sitting at the table and lying on the table there is some sheet music for something that's really difficult and that I play and I want the others to know that I can play […]."*

Other respondents emphasised mostly the authenticity of their activity; they did not want their presentation to seem different than in real life. In response to the question whether she has an image that she would like to present herself under on *Facebook*, *Anna* alone openly admitted that the image that she creates about herself on the social networks does not fully correspond with how she really spends her time:

> *Anna*: *"Well of cooourse… (laughter) As the beautiful, successful Anna who's awfully funny and has loads of friends. But the fact that I go home from work every day and open a bottle of beer in front of the TV... and I can't even be bothered to go out for a beer is another matter."*

The selection of topics published on *Facebook* is influenced by users' interests, the goal behind the content that they post on *Facebook*, but also of course by the audience at whom the post is targeted. Most of the respondents agreed that they aim at groups of people with similar interests and opinions, friends whom they see often or else they have a specific person in mind who they would like to see the post.

The trouble is that in social networks not only do we not know who, when and whether someone at all is following our presentation, but we do not even have any opportunity to monitor direct feedback from viewers in the form of non-verbal reactions. Additionally, we might encounter completely disparate groups of users in the unknown audience – parents, friends, colleagues, acquaintances or neighbours. These groups differ not only in the intensity of their links to the individual but also they expect different *façades* and disparate roles from the individual.

For this reason, as *Hogan* rightly points out, two groups of users are particularly important for the individual – those whom the user wishes to present his idealised self to and the group for whom his presentation might be potentially offensive.[36] According to *Hogan*, it is the people who are not the intended audience of the content, but have access to it who

"define the lowest common denominator of what is normatively acceptable".[37]

Although *Facebook* does provide a tool for segregating the audiences and allows the user to restrict the circle of users who can see every single artifact, most users leave the decision of who the audience will be to *Facebook* algorithms and set privacy settings to just for friends only, or friends of friends.[38]

It became clear from our interviews that users think about the audience of their post, and some actually adjust the visibility settings, but in most cases, they try to publish only generally inoffensive content. Despite the fact

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[36] Hogan, B. (2010) The Presentation of Self in the Age of Social Media: Distinguishing Performances and Exhibitions Online. *Bulletin of Science, Technology & Society*, 30 (6), p. 383. [online] Available from: http://bst.sagepub.com/cgi/doi/10.1177/0270467610385893 [Accessed 21 May 2017].

[37] Ibid.

[38] Suh, J. J. and Hargittai, E. (2015) Privacy Management on Facebook: Do Device Type and Location of Posting Matter? *Social Media + Society*, 1 (2). [online] Available from: http://journals.sagepub.com/doi/10.1177/2056305115612783 [Accessed 21 May 2017].

that usually the audience is primarily a group of friends, the *Facebook* space is treated as publicly accessible.

> *Ota*, 28 years of age: *"[...] today, for instance, I did it with a post which nobody from work can see, because I posted it during a meeting. (laughter) But of course, it´s not a big deal, I don't know why I hid it. Otherwise, now I mostly post things public really, apart from things like let´s meet at Náplavka today, but things like films and advertising are public because it doesn't matter who sees them."*

In the first part of the research, we mentioned the respondent's effort to post interesting, enlightening or humorous content. The criterion according to which they assess the success and quality of their and others' posts is, amongst other factors, the number of Likes and comments.

The feedback was understood amongst other things as an evaluation of the quality of a post and served as motivation to publish content on *Facebook*, as one of the respondents, *Karel*, mused:

> *"[…] otherwise you wouldn't post anything really, you could just go outside and shout something."*

A post that gets no feedback was perceived as unsuitable for *Facebook* and was often deleted by the users. The absence of feedback may be understood as a sign that the post is bad, boring or bothersome, but it might also secondarily imply that the user in question is not popular or nobody is interested in the content that he posts – and so might damage the image so carefully created by the user.

5.5.1. REGIONS

The term regions established by *Goffman* also relates to the issue of conscious impression management on online social networks. *Goffman* defines the back region (backstage) as

> *"[…] a place, relative to a given performance, where the impression fostered by the performance is knowingly contradicted as a matter of course."*[39]

The back region, therefore, relates to a specific performance, to a specific front region. This means that in real life every stage has its backstage.

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[39] Goffman, E. (1959) *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life*. Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, p. 69.

In the environment of the online social networks it is a little more complicated – an environment which in certain situations and in relation to the audience is the front region, in a different situation may be behind the scenes and vice-versa. For example a private group may serve as a front region and back region simultaneously, only the potential audience making the difference.

However, despite this variability of regions, the respondents themselves see their borders quite clearly – they consider their user profile to be the front region, and messages with a friend or group chats to be the back region. Both the content and form of communication adapt to the regions:

Magda: *"Well, the front region is certainly my wall where I put my posts... And the back one is probably chat where I can discuss what I can't perhaps write on my profile page; those negative things, what is bothering me, serious things and so on."*

Researcher: *"Do you think that your behaviour varies in the front and the back region?"*

Karel: *"Certainly, like when I communicate with all of those different people, it's like one minute you are talking in the pub with mates and the next you are talking on stage in front of 50 people."*

The way the respondents understand the back and front region corresponds to the duality of public and private life just as *Aspling* described in his work.[40] Behaviour in these two regions differs – users decide which information to post "publically" on their profile, thereby giving almost anybody the opportunity to read it, and which information they intend to share only with selected persons via private messages. Instead of bothering with difficult private settings the users rather treat their profiles like a public space, carefully choosing appropriate content for the wide possible audience. Instead of taking advantage of their privacy rights being protected by the law, they choose a self-regulating tactic to restrict what they share.

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[40] Aspling, F. (2011) *The Private and the Public in Online Presentations of the Self: A Critical Development of Goffman's Dramaturgical Perspective*. MA. Stockholm University.

5.6. LIMITATIONS

This research serves only as a pilot study – its findings cannot be applied universally, but rather should serve as a starting point for a more detailed and longer study of user behaviour.

The first limitation is the fact that the study was conducted on a relatively demographically homogenous sample of 50 respondents. In order to get more representative results, we would have to include respondents of various ages, education, locations, and activity level on the online social network.

For methodological reasons, we made our selection from fairly active users publishing at least one post a week, so to achieve more neutral results longitudinal research would be required, which would allow the inclusion of less active users too and also it would reduce the impact of various exceptional situations (holidays, presidential elections, floods, etc.) and cultural and social trends on the content and form of social interactions, and on the primary roles that users play on *Facebook*.

A certain limit of the research may also be the subjectivity of the researchers, especially if the researcher knows the respondents personally. In that case, we would like to argue that personal acquaintance between the researchers and respondents may well be of benefit because it enables the researchers to better decipher the context of the message, its real meaning and therefore be able to code the posts more precisely.

The users themselves knowing that they are being observed and possibly changing their behaviour might also be a threat to the validity of the research. However, we tried to avoid this by notifying the users that even posts preceding recruitment of respondents would be analysed and in the end also analysing posts published about two months after our first contact with the respondents, by which time most of them had already forgotten about the research.

A special problem is the question as to how much is creation and confirmation of identity on *Facebook* influenced by *Facebook's* own algorithm for arranging posts into the so-called news feed.

The news feed itself does not contain all posts from friends, pages, etc., but only a selection. *Facebook* talks about it like this:

"The stories that show in your News Feed are influenced by your
connections and activity on Facebook. This helps you to see more stories that

interest you from friends you interact with the most. The number of comments and likes a post receives and what kind of story it is (e.g. photo, video, status update) can also make it more likely to appear in your News Feed."[41]

The procedure applied by *Facebook* for showing *Stories* (as they call posts in this context) is not publicly known, it is a commercial secret of *Facebook* and is being constantly developed. The content that *Facebook* offers in this way to its users is tailored to the interests of each user.

The emphasis on interconnection between users influencing what content we see in our news feed is linked fundamentally to a principle called *homophily*[42]. This may be simply described as the fact that the friends we have are primarily individuals with whom we share certain properties and values. This principle dominates both in real-life networks[43] and in online social networks, as much research has confirmed. This applies for example to age or nationality-related homophily[44] or racial homophily[45].

At the same time, this algorithm also makes it extremely unclear who of our friends see our posts and react to them. Reactions of friends to users' posts provoke reinforcement (confirmation) of the created identity. However, not knowing whether they ever saw a post may result in considerable distortion. In a way, we may be seeing a special variation of a phenomenon known as the echo chamber.

6. CONCLUSION

The aim of this study was to investigate how users form and present their identity on the online social networks from the perspective of *Erving Goffman's* dramaturgical sociology.

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[41] Facebook. (2019) *How News Feed Works. What kinds of posts will I see in News Feed?* [online] Available from: https://www.facebook.com/help/www/1155510281178725 [Accessed 24 January 2019].

[42] Wikipedia. (2019) *Homophily.* [online] Available from: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Homophily [Accessed 24 January 2019].

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[44] Ugander, J., Karrer. B., Backstrom, L., Marlow, C. (2011) The Anatomy of the Facebook Social Graph. *arXiv*, 1111.4503. [online] Available from: https://www.researchgate.net/publication/51956889_The_Anatomy_of_the_Facebook_Social_Graph [Accessed 24 January 2019].

[45] Wimmer, A. and Lewis K. (2010) Beyond and Below Racial Homophily: ERG Models of a Friendship Network Documented on Facebook. *American Journal of Sociology*, 116 (2), pp. 583–642; Bakshy, E., Messing S. and Adamic. L. (2015) Exposure to ideologically diverse news and opinion on Facebook. *Science*, 348 (6239), pp. 1130–1132.

The complexity of this issue comprising the themes of impression management, roles, communication, privacy and audience, demanded the conduct of a qualitative content analysis of *Facebook* posts and subsequent interviews with the respondents, which allowed us to understand and describe in detail how people perform on *Facebook*, whether they consciously influence the impression they make in their audience and whether their behaviour differs in the front and back region.

We were able to establish five methods of creation and presentation of identity that the users apply on their *Facebook* profiles. We have named these categories *The Public Diary*, *The Influencer*, *Job and Education*, *Hobby* and *The Entertainer*. On most user profiles we find posts in all five categories. The fact that the most frequent method of presentation on *Facebook* were *Public Diary* type posts drawing attention to the person and the personal life of that user proves that *Facebook* is a self-presentation platform.

Interviews with *Facebook* users, the second part of the research, allowed us to confirm that users consciously adapt the method of presenting themselves to suit the anticipated audience, the intended goal and the image the users want to present of themselves. Users consciously control the language they use and try to make their presentation match their real-life behaviour. They build their image using profile and cover photos, shared posts, their interests and also photos where they tag their friends. They post only the inoffensive and desirable ones on their profile. They delete content from their profile which for some reason they consider to be unsuitable, either for their audience or they do not want to be publicly connected with it.

The users themselves confirmed that both the form and the content of their presentation and interaction that take place in the front region (in the personal profile) and in the back region (during chat) differ, thereby confirming our hypothesis that *Facebook* is not just a back region, where the user enjoys his privacy, but also a front region where the user presents his carefully prepared identity. The line between private and public is blurred in the context of social media. Users perceive the front region almost as a public space and the published content is adapted for that space, while chat is perceived as being similar to a private get-together with friends and the form and topics of conversation correspond with this, being more relaxed and personal than in the front region. Although the users are

aware of their right to privacy, they willingly choose to disclose certain personal information online.

As *Sarikakis and Winter* note:

"The vast number of users and the publicness of "their" information pose new challenges to privacy and, thus, social media usage actively shapes and challenges notions of privacy. Even loss of privacy is renegotiated and reframed as transparency and connectedness, underpinning legal dilemmas regarding withholding privacy rights in the fight against terrorism."[46]

Even though the research was conducted on a fairly small sample of respondents, we believe that we have successfully proved that *Goffman's* dramaturgical theory is a suitable framework for researching presentation and social interaction on the online social networks and helped define the current situation with regard to administration of user profiles, user presentation and the advantages and also the pitfalls of building and maintaining relationships on *Facebook*.

In view of the small sample of respondents, the research serves more as a pilot study and should be followed up on by a longitudinal study conducted on a more representative sample of *Facebook* users. Future research could focus on the content of comments, the way in which *Facebook* interactions influence real interaction or the effect that "growing up" on online social networks has on the younger generation.

Future research regarding privacy could focus on evaluating the sensitivity of published content, exploring the level of legal consciousness and users' understanding of how personal data are used. It would also be useful to map the different privacy protection laws and regulations in various countries in relation to global online social networks.

The discussion about privacy is also a philosophical discussion about the freedom of expression, the nature of online space and its commercialization, the governments' duties and the technological and legal literacy, and future studies can help with addressing these issues.

From the social point of view, further research into users' perception of the public/private dichotomy in an online world, the commodification

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[46] Sarikakis, K. and Winter L. (2017) Social Media Users' Legal Consciousness About Privacy. *Social Media + Society*. [online] Available from: https://journals.sagepub.com/doi/full/10.1177 /2056305117695325#articleCitationDownloadContainer [Accessed 26 August 2019].

of privacy and the limits to which users are willing to go to gain access to an online social world, would be also beneficial.

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