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The Rochester Institute of Technology

Department of Communication

College of Liberal Art

Mediated Voyeurism on Social Networking Sites: The Possible Social Needs and Potential
Motivations of the Voyeurs on Facebook

by

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Dedication

This thesis is dedicated to my loving parents, Chung Yuan Su and Ying Feng Lai, for their endless support and encouragement while completing my master degree.

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MEDIATED VOYEURISM ON SOCIAL NETWORKING SITES: THE POSSIBLE
SOCIAL NEEDS AND POTENTIAL MOTIVATIONS OF THE VOYEURS ON
FACEBOOK

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Abstract

Previous studies on social networking sites have failed to comprehensively address the mediated voyeurism in the Internet. The features of Facebook enable millions to follow their friends, which can contribute to mediated voyeurism online. The purpose of this study is to explain the voyeuristic tendencies of Facebook users. An online survey was used to obtain self-reported levels of voyeuristic tendencies and both the social needs (social comparison and social identity) and motivations (surveillance, uncertainty reduction, and uses and gratifications) of Facebook users. Findings suggest that the voyeuristic tendencies on Facebook were positively related to the aforementioned social needs and motivations.

Keywords: voyeurism, mediated voyeurism, voyeur, social media, networking

Mediated Voyeurism on Social Networking Sites: The Possible Social Needs and Potential Motivations of the Voyeurs on Facebook

Individuals are empowered today in the digital age. There is no longer a broadcast model of "many to one" for traditional broadcasts such as television, but "one to many" where an individual can reach an audience of millions through the Internet. The increased popularity of social networking sites has led to an excessive amount of mass media news coverage along with an increase in academic research. Facebook is one of the most popular social networking sites with increasing users. Millions of people use Facebook every day to keep up with friends, upload their photos, share links and videos, and learn more about the people they meet and care about by reading their posts on Facebook (Facebook.com, 2011).

Individuals are allowed and willing to present themselves on the online space. To view a Facebook user's full information, not simply his or her name and profile picture, is restricted for those outside of the member's network. In other words, people who are not the user's friends may not be able to view all the information on this user's Facebook page. However, we should notice that Facebook users can browse other users' information depending on others' privacy settings. The users have the right to decide to what degree their information is allowed to be viewed by others. The question now arises: Do the deficiencies of privacy and security awareness training of personal information disclosed within online social networks contribute to the phenomenon of "cyber-stalking?"

Cyber-stalking is defined as "a group of behaviors in which an individual, group of individuals or organization, uses information and communications technology to harass one or more individuals" (Dillard, 2011; Bocij, 2004, p.14). Stern and Taylor (2007) have further refined the definition of stalking as "unwanted (rather than threatening) communication from specific individuals" (p.17). People are paying more attention to privacy concerns on the Internet along with the given protective measures of our private information to prevent all kinds of cyber-stalking; however individuals can still learn about other's information by

Facebook connections. By simply typing in a person's name, an abundance of related information may show up and be accessed, ranging from a trivial piece of personal detail such as a favorite quote, to highly personal pieces of information such as pictures, birth dates, education, and even daily habits.

We update friends by choice on Facebook. It's normal and easy to browse a friend's photos, comment on a mutual friend's status, or pay attention to the changing of a relationship status. A "news feed" feature on Facebook shows what one's "friends" have been doing on the site. Moreover, Facebook allows users to "tag" individuals on statuses or photographs uploaded to the site, which means identifying the person in the status or photograph and thereby linking the individual's name or the picture to that person's profile, thus, creating a searchable digital trail of a person's social activities. Added to this, Facebook now has a new subscription feature that would allow users to receive alerts whenever a specific friend takes certain actions on the social network, which can help the users to follow their friends' movements. In addition, the "ticker" on the home page lets users keep up with the latest news of their friends as it happens. The ticker only displays information that the users are already able to see elsewhere on Facebook, such as status updates, friendships, photos, videos, links, likes and comments, but in real time (Facebook.com, 2011). However, some of these features may contribute to the common phenomena on Facebook: the users stalk one of their "Facebook friends," who they do not know well, or even an acquaintance, a stranger who is not their friend (or not their friend yet) on Facebook; or, they urgently, addictively follow a specific friend's every action on Facebook, and become his or her "Facebook stalker." Lipkins (as cited in Dubow, 2007) indicates this online peeping is tantamount to voyeurism. To extend the definition of stalking just mentioned, voyeur in this study is generally referred to as a Facebook user who tends to peep into specific individual's personal information, no matter if he/she knows that person or not. Moreover, his/her behavior might not be noticed by others through this process.

In the late twentieth-century, the phenomenon of the expansive category of acceptable voyeurism has developed, and it is now seen as “a common personal trait enjoyed by all ‘normal’ individuals to different degrees” (Metzl, 2004; Baruh, 2010, p.203). It is a behavior which is non-sexual, unaware, and personal in the world of multi-media. This has given rise to the term “mediated voyeurism” created by Calvert (2000), and this term gives us a glimpse at the behaviors as well as the vehicle for doing it.

The goal of this study is to examine the phenomenon of voyeurism on the social networking site (Facebook) as well as the possible social needs and potential motivations of the voyeurs on Facebook. Two social needs (social comparison and social identity) and three motivations (surveillance, uncertainty reduction, uses and gratifications) are examined in the study.

Rationale

Since the rapid adoption of social networking sites (SNS), an abundance of scholarly research has been generated. Many studies have shown that social information embedded in SNS influences the shaping of our attitudes, thoughts, and online as well as offline behaviors (Liu, 2007; Mazer, Murphy & Simonds, 2007; Lenhart & Madden, 2007; Benson, 2009). That is to say, social networking is already ingrained in our daily lives and has widely influenced us. Individual motivations to communicate via Facebook, and common phenomena on SNS such as self-disclosure (Ledbetter et al., 2011; Tufekci 2008; Nosko, 2011) and privacy concerns (Warfel, 2008; Turley, 2010) have been studied as well. However, to date there are very few empirical studies dedicated to understanding the psychological aspect of the SNS, such as a reasonable explanation for why and how people tend to stalk/peep on a friend, or a stranger, on the SNS, and even are addicted to doing so. As Harkin (2007) mentioned, “Time spent on Facebook, however, is not just idle chitchat between friends, because the architecture of the place lends itself so easily to voyeurism and exhibitionism” (para. 5). Little attention has been given to this point. In particular, Facebook

has become a complexly coded website, which enables millions to communicate or show their interest in others. A reasonable explanation is needed for a much-talked about, but relatively un-researched online phenomenon—voyeurism on the SNS. In this study, it generally refers to the behavior of people who engage in profile browsing while using the site. The viewing targets could be strangers or any of their friends on Facebook. Additionally, another problem for research relating voyeurism to the consumption of media stems from questions regarding the manner in which voyeurism has been measured. Moreover, it remains an unsettled question whether “mediated voyeurism” on SNS should still carry a negative connotation, particularly with the new information regarding the pervasive behavior. People therefore, should further raise their awareness when disclosing information on the Internet. This common behavior is worth being understood by the masses.

Literature Review

Technology is a common tool for individuals to engage in social networking as well as connecting with other people for several purposes such as establishing and maintaining relationships. For example, Facebook on the Internet allows individuals to search for people according to some common characteristics, which attract users to explore and use SNS to create or maintain more relationships with others (Leow, 2009). Lampe et al (2006) found evidence in a survey of over 2000 students that the primary use of Facebook was for “social searching” – that is, people attempt to investigate those in their offline community. Facebook is becoming a popular tool for individuals to search friends and maintain relationships with others.

Dunbar (1993) showed evidence indicating that humans should live in social groups of approximately 150 individuals in order to maintain stable social relationships. These are relationships in which an individual knows who each person is, and how each person relates to every other person (Dunbar, 1993). This number can be applied to relationship on SNS. However, it is common for an individual to have hundreds or even thousands of friends on

Facebook, and some of them could be people who don't even know each other. Niedzviecki (2009) indicates that virtual friendship is friendship with low (or no) expectations. Moreover, social media creates distance in our society. It is easier to take part in community from in front of a screen, but harder to make an emotional connection and then live up to another person's expectations (Niedzviecki, 2009). On the Internet, we are building weak ties through the social networks (Jacob, 2010). We can easily connect with people on Facebook even though we do not know a lot about them or even who they are.

On the one hand, individuals today are willing to share their personal information online. Privacy has become a commodity and people are willing to trade the details of their private lives for relationship or potential fame on the prospering Internet (Edie, n.d.). On the other hand, people can freely browse others' personal information online. They often read others' posts online but do not themselves contribute to the group; they read this information remaining unknown to others and without being noticed by others (Hill, 2009). Furthermore, along with the advancement of technology, young Internet users can access more personal information on friends and acquaintances than past generations (Dubow, 2007).

Mediated Voyeurism

Voyeurism refers to the behavior of a person who has an exaggerated interest in viewing or observing unsuspecting people who are naked or who are engaged in sexual activities (American Psychiatric Association, 2000). However, scholars suggest that voyeurism does not necessarily involve sexuality (Calvert, 2000). What should be considered in the research involving the SNS, is non-sexual voyeurism. The present investigation examines voyeurism as a form of behavior, which is activated in an easy and safe way by using electronic media (Baruh, 2010; Calvert, 2000). Calvert (2000) created the term "mediated voyeurism" to describe this phenomenon. He describes it as "the consumption of revealing images of and information about other's apparently real and unguarded lives, often yet not always for purposes of entertainment but frequently at the expense of privacy and disclosure, through the

mass media and Internet” (p.2). There is another similar term, scopophilia, which essentially means to derive pleasure from looking and ultimately objectifying others with a controlling and curious gaze (Blazer, 2006). These voyeuristic pleasures can be related to various forms of media, specifically in social media that have cultivated not only the obsession with looking but also being watched on the Internet (Wang, 2010).

Niedzviecki (2009) claims that our society has gone from Pop culture to Peep culture, from watching celebrities, artists or performers to watching ourselves, our neighbors or complete strangers in search of entertainment, attention, or any connection. We are living in a society under others’ gaze and where it is easy to gaze on others. People may feel the cathartic release of confession, the allure and danger of gossip, and the timeless comfort of ritual in the process of peeping (Niedzviecki, 2009). Hill (2009) states that we could carelessly fall into a state of voyeurism, and this desire to watch others is a “disturbing anxiety, an unhealthy and inauthentic relationship with others” (para.5). However, the individual has no cost for peeping on others on the Internet, and “there is no reciprocal responsibility placed on the voyeur’s in the watching process” (Calvert, 2000, p.69). Moreover, many Facebook users leave their privacy settings relatively open to others, enabling other users who are not currently linked as friends to view the personal aspects of their profiles. With a much more common practice of over sharing on the SNS, voyeuristic behavior has become endemic in the Internet as well.

Mediated voyeurism can be categorized in two different operations based on the previous studies. The first one is the “personal variable” (Blazer, 2006). According to Blazer (2006), voyeurism may derive from our natural curiosities and it is an inescapable component of our society. Even though people mostly see “voyeurism” as a negative term, there might be reasonable excuses to explain the voyeuristic behaviors. He concludes that we must recognize when “reality” is simply an entertainment and when it might be worth further surveillance (Blazer, 2006). The second operation of mediated voyeurism is the “message and content

variable” (Calvert, 2000). Calvert (2000) emphasizes the consumption of programming and images, which come from the content of media that expose apparently authentic scenes for the purpose of entertainment or information that comes at the expense of others’ privacy. This current study examined the two conceptualizations of voyeurism in SNS. The researcher explored the possible relations between personal variables of Facebook users and their motivations, which result in the voyeuristic behaviors on SNS.

Thanks to computer technology, people do not have to rely on the media or any hidden camera for gaining other’s information; we can simply use search engines on the Internet. Everyone could be a mediated voyeur *and* the target of the gaze of others at the same time (Calvert, 2000). Voyeurism used in media can be traced back to reality television (or voyeurism TV). These profitable peep programs illustrate how the lives of regular people now could be the top stories for entertainment instead of those who have been in the public eye before. Reality television is so popular because the audiences are getting a ringside view of other people's ostensibly private lives (Jasmine, 2010). Moreover, prior to the popularity of SNS, there was another form similar to social network – blogs, which became available as hosted services saw sharply rising numbers after 1999 (de Laat, 2008). Same as SNS, articles about any subject or uploaded pictures can be presented to the world in blogs; comments on the articles by other viewers are also allowed. They may have a list of friends shown on their blogs, which can be linked similar to a friend list on Facebook. Moreover, bloggers are given technological options to manage their privacy such as managing incoming comments (de Laat, 2008). Different from reality TV, de Laat (2008) argues that on the Internet individuals try to express themselves directly in an authentic life form but not in a commercial way.

de Laat (2008) claims that “mediated voyeurism needs mediated exhibitionism: people – at least some of them – must be willing to put themselves on show” (p.63). It is obvious that an individual can learn about others’ lives via SNS that stems from users tending to post their personal information online. Self-disclosure is an important social networking

communication behavior (Ledbetter et al., 2011), which is identified as the fundamental motivation that fosters online interpersonal communication (Ledbetter, 2009b).

Self-disclosure behavior is defined as “any message about the self that a person communicates to another” (Wheless & Grotz, 1976, p. 47), such as when a Facebook user posts personal information online. For some people, self-disclosure in computer-mediated communication is easier than in physically face-to-face communication. SNS provide a space to easily expose yourself to others while providing a chance for other users to know you and connect with you. However, the mediated voyeurism appearing in reality TV or blogs might be more acceptable, because they are more open to the public and naturally created to be watched and viewed by the audience in the society. Conversely, voyeurism on SNS is an active behavior, which can be done without permission.

As previously described, Calvert (2000) used the term of mediated voyeurism to refer to the consumption of programming and images utilizing scenarios that expose entertainment or information that comes from the expense of another’s privacy and that could be taken unknowingly or given up freely. When we gaze into others’ private moments, we are actually looking at ourselves (Sardar, 2000). The so-called “peep culture” has changed our notions of friendship and privacy through social networks, and it is part of the ongoing evolution of the digitizing of society. On SNS, especially on Facebook, it is a selective open space for the users to gaze, peep, observe or even stalk others. As such, the first question that this study addressed pertains to understanding the general level of voyeurism of the Facebook users.

RQ1: What is the self-reported level of voyeuristic tendencies of Facebook users?

Facebook provides a room for users to exhibit themselves while simultaneously providing a safe, legally sanctioned venue for the mediated voyeur to meet the exhibitors (Baruh, 2009). Perhaps, both voyeurs and exhibitionists are likely to use Facebook frequently to meet their needs, and especially the voyeurs may be satisfied through the process.

Therefore, it is expected that individual who shows potentially voyeuristic tendencies may be

voyeuristic on Facebook as well.

H1: There is a positive relationship between voyeuristic tendencies and voyeuristic tendencies on Facebook.

The Social Needs and Motivations of Facebook Voyeurs

Peoples' motivations and goals can influence their online behavior and online activity engagement (McKenna & Seidman, 2005). Individuals' motives may vary along with the potential differences among people in the social networks, such as gender, age or appearance (Tanis, 2007). The "voyeurs" on a social networking site may satisfy their desires by peeping and stalking others' Facebook pages. Gabler (2000) indicates that voyeurism is not only peeking but a form of privilege, enabling us to see what had been proscribed. Moreover, it is a subtle form of empowerment. Freud (as cited in Gabler, 2000) notes that "to watch unobserved is to appropriate lives and assert oneself over them: Those we observe become ours, hostages to our eyes" (para. 9). The voyeur is simultaneously the holder and the taker of the information (Gabler, 2000).

Individuals on social networks may be more curious about the other user when he or she has specific characteristics, such as attractive appearance, in the same school or at the same living place with the individual, and more often, each has at least one mutual friend on Facebook. Tufekci (2008) explores the rapid adoption of SNS by comparing SNS users with non-users; the results of the interviews show that a majority of the SNS users stated how much they enjoyed learning about their friends' and even strangers' lives. The heavy users claimed that their use of these sites was partially driven by their curiosity about how people from their pasts were doing or whether they had changed (Tufekci, 2008). Moreover, a close study on the factors that affect impression formation and the willingness to initiate virtual friendships (Wang et. al., 2010) revealed that both male and female subjects were more willing to initiate friendships with opposite-sex profile owners with attractive photos. From the studies above, it is obvious that these voyeuristic behaviors of peeping mostly stemmed

from natural curiosities about others. As such, we have to inquire, to some extent, into the question of where do these curiosities come from? There are five variables derived from previous literature related to online social networking or voyeurism, or both, which are the two possible social needs (social comparison and social identity) and the three possible motivations (surveillance, uncertainty reduction, and uses and gratifications). These are the most likely explanations for these curiosities and the voyeurism on Facebook synthesized by the researcher, which are discussed as follow. However, there is room for further investigation.

Social comparison and social identity. Mediated voyeurism, a viewing behavior, may be very similar to psychological drives, such as social curiosity-- a desire to learn about other people. One of the explanations, as Gibbons and Buunk (1999) suppose, is that some people who are more likely to be curious about others will engage in social comparison. According to Festinger (1954), it refers to a process of evaluating oneself and comparing with others. Further study refers to the fact that individuals often engage in upward comparison --people tend to compare themselves to others who are deemed socially better in some way (Buunk, Kuyper, & Van Der Zee, 2005). Through a careful observation and learning about others, the nature of the process of social comparison makes it similar to voyeurism (Baruh, 2010), and the same observation applies to the consumption of others' personal information from SNS. For instance, a Facebook user is comparing his social life to others by viewing the pictures of his friends' social lives on Facebook. This is about individuals' desire to seek information about others in order to evaluate themselves through social comparison. Social comparisons through mediated voyeurism may help people understand their own place in society and give us a sense of superiority to others (Calvert, 2000, p.71). Accordingly, it might be one of the natural social needs for Facebook users to voyeuristically "check-up" on others.

Another popular communication theory, social identity, predicts that people bolster their self-concept and sense of group belonging by seeking media content that features people who

look and behave as they do and who belong to the same social group (Tajfel, 1982; Barker, 2008). In 1997, the theory was studied as social identity gratifications due to the increased use of technology, and it provides a rationale for traditional media choice (Barker, 2008). For example, the diverse casts portrayed on reality TV may allow more viewers the opportunity to socially identify with cast members (King, n.d.). Audiences are more interested in the cast members on the TV shows who are similar to them in many ways such as age, personality, interest, or status, and they may further reflect or compare their experiences to those of the cast. They also like to find out how other people cope with their lives such as how a famous athlete handles his career and personal life. Papacharissi and Mendelson (2007) revealed that audiences with low levels of interpersonal interaction were more likely to watch reality TV to fulfill voyeuristic and companionship needs, further actively seek content to satisfy their voyeuristic needs (Baruh, 2008). As technology becomes more available, face-to-face communication is decreasing due to the increased use of the Internet. Individuals start to seek those potential opportunities to communicate with others on the Internet and to identify the groups they want to belong by observing others. In social network space, users can observe other users' lives, learn about others' experiences, and compare themselves with them through their updated profiles, statuses and uploaded pictures on SNS. Therefore, we may say that not only can the SNS user easily portray and create a position on the Internet to fulfill his or her sense of social identity, but the viewers may also bolster their social identity at the same time through seeking others' information.

People who are more likely to be curious about others will either engage in social comparison (Gibbson & Buunk, 1999) or seek for social identity to satisfy their voyeuristic and companionship needs (Papacharissi & Mendelson, 2007). In addition, Facebook may be a source of information for them. Therefore, it is possible that these two variables are the natural social needs that explain the voyeuristic behavior of Facebook users. It is therefore hypothesized that:

H2: There is a positive relationship between voyeuristic tendencies on Facebook and the use of Facebook for social comparison.

H3: There is a positive relationship between voyeuristic tendencies on Facebook and the use of Facebook for social identity.

Surveillance. Facebook allows individuals to spy on others by making what once was invisible visible to them. Lyon (2007) defines surveillance as any “focused attention to personal details for the purpose of influence, protection, management or control” (p.76). New technologies intensify surveillance practices and processes (Lyon, 2001), especially the Internet, which enables users to collect information unobtrusively. In social networks, it is even easier for individuals to keep others under surveillance, because we can be updated about others’ statuses momentarily. Further, it allows the monitoring behavior to occur anonymously. In a pre-study of the uses and gratification of Facebook, Foregger (2008) found that many subjects readily volunteer that they use Facebook to “check-up” on people they know and they don’t know. In fact, over 90% of the subjects report using Facebook to check-up on their friends, and half of the subjects report using Facebook to learn more about who their ex-boyfriend/girlfriend is dating (Foregger, 2008). Much of the time on Facebook is spent monitoring the activities of others and making incidental contact with others (Chaulk, & Jones, 2011). The key is that individuals can engage in these processes covertly. Surveillance, therefore, seems relevant to the concept of voyeurism. Hence, from the point of view of the users, the following is expected:

H4: There is a positive relationship between voyeuristic tendencies on Facebook and the use of Facebook for surveillance.

Uncertainty reduction (UR). On the SNS, users can scrutinize information that reveals others’ true selves before they physically meet. This can reduce the suspicion of others. Uncertainty Reduction Theory (URT) refers to the exchange and collection of information through verbal and nonverbal communication that allows communicators to predict the

attitude and behaviors of their communication partner, and the theory posits that reducing uncertainty by sharing social information is crucial to developing stable relationships (Berger & Calabrese, 1975). When applied to SNS, the ability to transmit nonverbal communication is an important consideration (Fichera, 2009). Individuals attempt to reduce uncertainty with others through several means on Facebook such as observing others' profiles that are more transparent and interlinked today (Stern & Taylor, 2007). Pollach (2006) indicates that high levels of uncertainty in a relationship lead to low levels of self-disclosure and prompt information seeking behavior. Stern and Taylor (2007) found that acquaintances, friends, and romantic partners alike use Facebook for uncertainty reduction purposes, such as checking others' wall posts and photos to see if their partners were faithful. These features are reminiscent of voyeurism on Facebook. It is therefore expected that:

H5: There is a positive relationship between voyeuristic tendencies on Facebook and the use of Facebook for reducing uncertainty toward others.

Uses & gratifications. The Uses and Gratifications (U&G) approach has long been used as a tool to explain individuals' media choices. Katz, Blumler and Gurevitch (1974) describe the approach as concerned with "the social and psychological origins of needs which generate expectations of the mass media or other sources which lead to differential patterns of media exposure (as engaging in other activities) resulting in need gratifications and other consequences, perhaps mostly unintended ones" (p.20). The theory emphasizes that individuals can meet their needs by seeking out and using specific media (Foregger, 2008). An early formulation of the approach divided gratifications into two categories: content gratifications and process gratifications (Stafford et al., 2004). The former category emphasized the content of the media, which is usually held to be related to the repeated use of a media, such as to gain information online frequently by a user. The latter gratification relates to the actual experience of using the media. However, different from the one-way transfer of information of the old media such as television or print media, the Internet

provides the functions of two-way communication and interaction. Stafford et al. (2004) hence addressed the third form—Internet social gratification—serving as an important component in models of Internet use, along with the specific content and process gratifications (Stafford et al., 2004). For the social purpose, individuals adopt SNS to maintain and extend their friendships.

Nyland (2007) utilized the U&G approach to understand the gratifications that are derived from the use of SNS. He found three major factors that identify general areas of motivation for use of SNS: Gratification Opportunities that allow individuals to obtain gratifications more easily than any other medium, Social Utility functions that allow individuals to express themselves through communication media, and Entertainment to pass time and entertain users (Nyland, 2007). Specifically, social networking was found to fulfill Entertainment gratifications, because “the additional personal content on SNS make it more of a diversionary medium, soliciting users to spend time on the sites ‘hanging out’”(Nyland, 2007, p.50). Foregger (2008) examined uses and gratifications of SNS; she also discovered that like previous U&G studies, entertainment is one of the motivations to use Facebook.

One of the assumptions in a contemporary view of U&G offered by Rubin (1994) is that communication behavior is goal-directed, purposive, and motivated. Ruggerio (2000) also claimed that the U&G approach becomes exceedingly valuable when audiences have a choice to use media for specific intended purposes. Two possibilities can be proposed for relating U&G and voyeurism. On the one hand, an individual’s choice of media such as SNS could be influenced by voyeurism as a personality trait. Voyeurism may play a role in predicting users’ preferences for using Facebook. On the other hand, social gratification and entertainment gratification may be satisfied through voyeuristic behaviors. For instance, a male is seeking information about an attractive female on Facebook to fulfill his gratifications. Blazer’s (2006) definition of voyeur is one “who seeks stimulation by visual means” (p.379), and this personality trait can be satisfied by the pleasure of looking at others’ lives, such as using SNS

to gain others' personal information to satisfy their gratifications. Therefore, the following is expected:

H6: There is a positive relationship between voyeuristic tendencies on Facebook and the use of Facebook for social and entertainment gratifications.

Method

Survey Development and Procedures

In order to test the aforementioned research question and hypotheses, the study utilized a cross-sectional survey that measured the respondents' voyeuristic tendencies, voyeuristic tendencies on Facebook, and the possible social needs and potential motivations.

Participants

Participants were recruited from undergraduate and graduate courses at a large Northeastern university. Participants were sent emails inviting them to participate in a web-based survey (see Appendix B). A link to the survey was included in the email along with a letter to the participant (see Appendix A). In the beginning of the survey, participants were given an introduction explaining the purpose of the survey and asking for their agreement to participate in the research. An online survey is a better choice than a paper-based survey in this study, because the participants could answer the questions privately in their own space, and would not be interrupted by other students in class. In addition, the results might be more accurate in this way because the questions concerned some sensitive information, and some of the participants might be shy to answer those questions when surrounded by other people.

Measures

In addition to demographic measures (age, gender), the survey focused on eight sets of variables: Facebook use, voyeuristic tendencies, voyeuristic tendencies on Facebook, social identity, social comparison, surveillance, uncertainty reduction, and uses and gratifications consumption. The survey was developed after a detailed review of existing survey

instruments on media consumption and voyeurism.

Part one of the survey measured the frequency with which respondents used Facebook. Participants were asked “How much time do you spend on Facebook on an average day?” and, “How much time do you spend looking at other people’s profiles on Facebook?” In the second part, voyeuristic tendencies were measured by four items adopted from Baruh’s (2009) voyeurism scale and the remaining items were created by the researcher. The respondents were asked to answer how they would react if they accidentally came across opportunities to peek into others’ lives by using a scale 1 to 5 [immediately stop (1) to try to observe more (5)]. For example, questions such as, “If you were to read a message that was sent to somebody...” and “If you were to witness someone having an emotional breakdown and displaying extreme anger or sadness...” were examined. Next, voyeuristic tendencies on Facebook were measured by a scale of slightly revised items created by Nabi et al. (2006) and Baruh (2010). Several statements are listed to measure the respondents’ voyeuristic tendencies on Facebook, such as “I enjoy viewing Facebook because it helps me get a peek into other’s private moments” and “I like Facebook because people don’t know that I am accessing their information.” Responses for this scale ranged from 1 (Strongly Disagree) to 5 (Strongly Agree).

In order to measure the tendency to gather social information for social comparison and social identity, partial scales using three items revised from Gibbons and Buunk’s (1999) social comparison scale, and Luhtanen and Crocker’s (1992) collective self-esteem scale were used. The respondents were asked whether they agree with statements such as “I pay attention to how I do things compared to how others do things,” “I often compare myself with others with respect to what I have accomplished in life,” “The social groups I belong to are an important reflection of who I am,” and “In general, belonging to social groups is an important part of my self-image.” Responses for this scale ranged from 1 (Strongly Disagree) to 5 (Strongly Agree).

Surveillance in Facebook was measured by a five-item scale ranging from 1 (Strongly Disagree) to 5 (Strongly Agree) and included questions such as, “I use Facebook to check up on my friends,” and “I may use Facebook to monitor my romantic partner’s activities.” The use of Facebook for uncertainty reduction was measured using questions adapted and revised from Burgoon and Hale’s Relationship Development Scale (1987) and Sunnafrank’s Predicted Outcome Value scale (1988), measures that have been used in a wide range of experimental and survey research to measure relational message interpretations (Fichera, 2009), with other questions created by the researcher. For example, respondents were asked if they would agree with the statements: “I would feel comfortable initiating an online interaction with a person I don’t know or I don’t know much about through Facebook,” and “I may check my romantic partner’s Facebook page to reduce my suspicion of whether he or she is faithful to me.”

Twelve social and entertainment gratifications statements were asked which were obtained from Nyland’s (2007) study regarding the gratification derived from different communication methods, as well as a questionnaire designed by the researcher to determine additional gratifications for Facebook use. For instance, “I use Facebook to occupy my time,” “I use Facebook to entertain myself,” and “I use Facebook for the fun or pleasure of communicating.” The scale is ranged from 1 (Strongly Disagree) to 5 (Strongly Agree). The last part of the survey asked general demographic questions including age, sex, and major.

Results

There were 156 total respondents to the survey, and the respondents were all Facebook users. The majority of respondents were female (69.9%) and ages ranged from 16 to 52 years old with a mean age of 24. From the sample, 66% of the respondents indicated they spent more than thirty minutes on Facebook on an average day, and 57% of them reported spending more than four hours engaging in activities on Facebook in a typical week.

Prior to analyzing the research and hypotheses, confirmatory factor analysis was run to

confirm the reliability of the scales used.

The first research question examining the self-reported level of voyeuristic tendencies of Facebook users was investigated using reaction responses to six statements of situations for measuring the voyeuristic tendencies ($\alpha = 0.80$) of the Facebook users. Items were summed and averaged to form a composite score indicating lower levels of voyeurism ($M = 2.83$, $SD = 0.93$). The results revealed that a majority of respondents were light to moderate mediated voyeurs ($M = 2.83$). Twenty-one percent ($N = 33$) of the respondents indicated they would immediately stop when involved in voyeuristic situations, and only 10.9 % ($N = 17$) of them would try to observe more.

The first hypothesis suggests a positive relationship between voyeuristic tendencies and voyeuristic tendencies on Facebook. The aforementioned information regarding voyeurism was examined in relation to mediated voyeurism on Facebook, which was measured by seven items in the survey ($\alpha = 0.83$). A Pearson correlation test was computed to assess the relationship between the two variables. There was a significant correlation found between voyeurism tendencies ($M = 2.83$, $SD = 0.93$) and mediated voyeurism on Facebook ($M = 2.92$, $SD = 0.86$) ($r = 0.544$, $p = 0.000$).

The second hypothesis suggests a positive relationship between voyeuristic tendencies on Facebook and the use of Facebook for social comparison. The aforementioned information regarding voyeuristic tendencies on Facebook was examined in relation to the use of Facebook for social comparison, which was measured by three items in the survey ($\alpha = 0.77$). Results revealed a significant correlation between voyeuristic tendencies on Facebook and the use of Facebook for social comparison ($M = 3.5$, $SD = 0.84$) ($r = 0.419$, $p = 0.000$).

The third hypothesis predicted a positive relationship between voyeuristic tendencies on Facebook and the use of Facebook for social identity. The aforementioned information regarding voyeuristic tendencies on Facebook was examined in relation to the use of Facebook for social identity, which was measured by four items in the survey ($\alpha = 0.70$).

There was a significant correlation found between voyeuristic tendencies on Facebook and the use of Facebook for social identity ($M = 3.2$, $SD = 0.78$) ($r = 0.238$, $p = 0.004$).

The fourth hypothesis suggests a positive relationship between voyeuristic tendencies on Facebook and the use of Facebook for surveillance. The aforementioned information regarding voyeuristic tendencies on Facebook was examined in relation to the use of Facebook for surveillance, which was measured by six items in the survey ($\alpha = 0.80$). As predicted, there was a significant correlation found between voyeuristic tendencies on Facebook and the use of Facebook for surveillance ($M = 3.47$, $SD = 0.79$) ($r = 0.551$, $p = 0.000$).

The fifth hypothesis predicted a positive relationship between voyeuristic tendencies on Facebook and the use of Facebook for reducing uncertainty toward others. The aforementioned information regarding voyeuristic tendencies on Facebook was examined in relation to the use of Facebook for reducing uncertainty toward others, which was measured by six items in the survey ($\alpha = 0.75$). This hypothesis was also supported by the significant correlation between voyeuristic tendencies on Facebook and the use of Facebook for reducing uncertainty toward others ($M = 2.84$, $SD = 0.79$) ($r = 0.515$, $p = 0.000$).

Finally, the same test was conducted to examine the sixth hypothesis, which suggests a positive relationship between voyeuristic tendencies on Facebook and the use of Facebook for social and entertainment gratifications. The aforementioned information regarding voyeuristic tendencies on Facebook was examined in relation to the use of Facebook for social and entertainment gratifications, which was measured by twelve items in the survey ($\alpha = 0.80$). There was a significant correlation found between voyeuristic tendencies on Facebook and the use of Facebook for social and entertainment gratifications ($M = 3.69$, $SD = 0.58$) ($r = 0.381$, $p = 0.000$).

Discussion

The features of Facebook provide users the appeals to use it for many reasons. Calvert

(2000) argues that there is no reciprocal responsibility when peeping through others.

Therefore, voyeuristic behaviors are now prevalent in different forms of media, especially when SNS are becoming popular all at once. Such behaviors on Facebook can be explained by the results from the current study.

For the respondents who use Facebook more than forty minutes on an average day and more than six hours in a typical week, their voyeuristic tendencies ($M = 3.53$, $SD = 0.513$) and voyeuristic tendencies on Facebook ($M = 3.65$, $SD = 0.505$) were shown to be higher than others who spend less time on Facebook (see Appendix C). The results indicated that the more that the individuals use Facebook, the more they are likely to be voyeuristic.

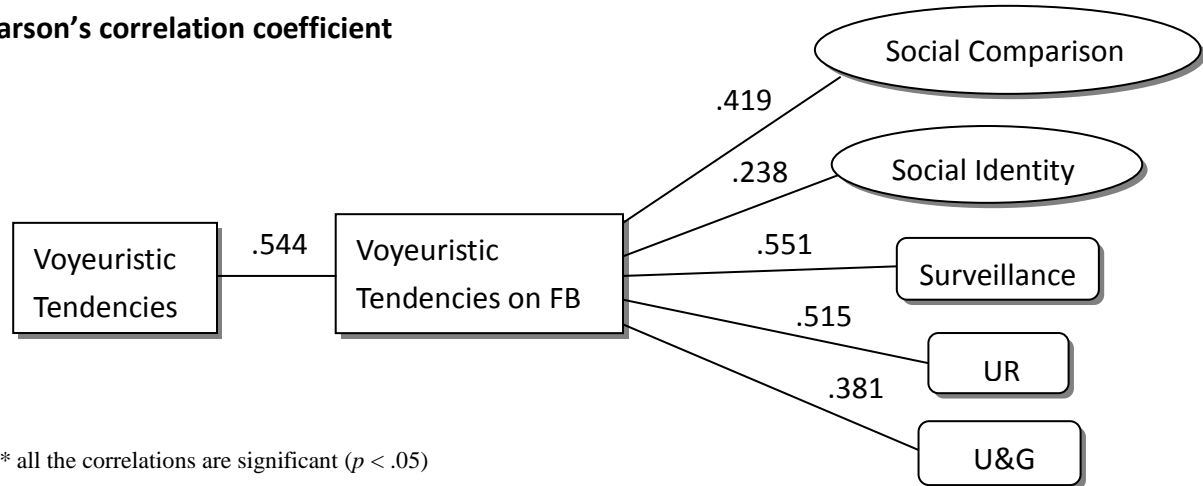
The results also indicated that there was a positively significant relationship between voyeuristic tendencies and voyeuristic tendencies on Facebook, which may account for the statement that voyeuristic pleasures can be specifically related to social media (Wang, 2010). Individuals who show higher voyeuristic tendencies will be voyeuristic on Facebook as well. The convenience of Facebook makes the users easily fall into the voyeuristic stage through the Internet, because it provides the users a reachable channel to look into other users' personal information or lives.

According to the results, the users who showed voyeuristic tendencies on Facebook also demonstrated a need for social comparison and social identity, as well as using Facebook for surveillance, uncertainty reduction, and social and entertainment gratifications (see Figure 1). Therefore, Facebook can be seen as a source of information for individuals who are more likely to be curious about others, and they will tend to engage in such natural social needs as social comparison or a search for social identity in order to satisfy their voyeuristic and companionship needs (Gibbson & Buunk, 1999; Papacharissi & Mendelson, 2007). However, social identity was found less significant ($r = 0.238$) than all the other variables, which means that it was relatively a less important social need for the Facebook voyeurs. Different from the audience of reality TV seeking social identity to satisfy their voyeuristic and

companionship needs (Papacharissi & Mendelson , 2007) through the media was less crucial to them.

Figure 1

Pearson's correlation coefficient

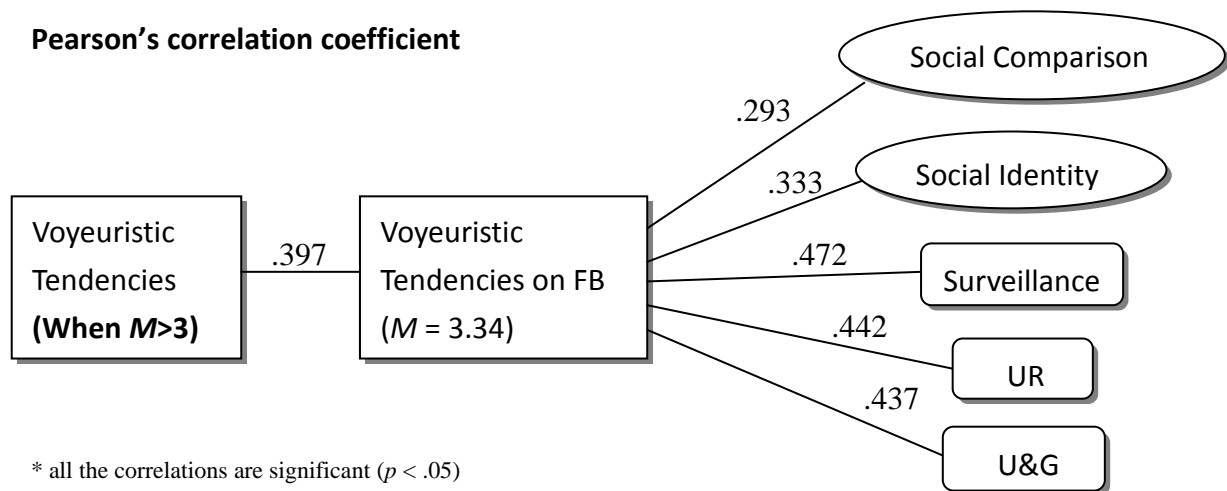


The use of Facebook for surveillance showed the highest correlation in the results ($r = 0.551$), which means that surveillance was the most important motivation for the users to engage in voyeuristic behaviors on Facebook. This result supports the previous study that individuals tend to spend much time on monitoring the activities of others (Chaulk, & Jones, 2011). SNS such as Facebook do intensify surveillance practices and processes. In addition, it is interesting to note that there was a significant, positive relationship between the Facebook use for surveillance and the Facebook use for uncertainty reduction ($r = 0.545$, $p = 0.000$). Therefore, there might be some relationships between these two variables, such as individuals tend to monitor the activities of others (surveillance) to reduce their uncertainties upon others on Facebook.

The results showed a light to moderate level of voyeuristic tendencies ($M = 2.83$) and the voyeuristic tendencies on Facebook ($M = 2.9$) of the respondents. However, the data indicated that those participants who responded with higher levels of voyeuristic tendencies ($N = 58$, $M > 3$), also had higher levels of voyeuristic tendencies on Facebook ($M = 3.34$). There were no great differences based on levels of the voyeuristic tendencies of the samples to the other variables in the hypotheses (see Figure 2). When the levels of the respondents'

voyeuristic tendencies were all moderate to high ($M > 3$), the results indicated that there were all significant correlations found between voyeuristic tendencies on Facebook and the use of Facebook for social comparison ($r = 0.293, p = 0.030$), social identity ($r = 0.333, p = 0.011$), surveillance ($r = 0.472, p = 0.000$), UR ($r = 0.442, p = 0.001$), and U&G ($r = 0.437, p = 0.001$). Therefore, the current study can be applied to different levels of voyeurs on Facebook. Surveillance remained the most significant relationship with voyeuristic tendencies on Facebook. This result indicated that surveillance is the most compelling reason of why people tend to be voyeuristic on Facebook.

Figure 2



The findings from this study provide the first detailed empirical analysis of the relationship of mediated voyeurism and the use of SNS. Moreover, the study helps identify the potential social needs and motivations that contribute to the appeals for individuals with a higher tendency to engage in mediated voyeurism on SNS.

Conclusion

Findings suggest that the two social needs (social comparison and social identity) and the three motivations (surveillance, uncertainty reduction, and uses and gratifications) were positively related to voyeuristic tendencies on Facebook. The mediated voyeurism on the SNS can be explicitly explained by the study. Therefore, voyeurism on SNS can be reasonably released from the originally negative and sexual meaning of “voyeurism” to

become an acceptable and common term along with the progression of the new communication innovation. The study helps to provide a rationale for the voyeurs' behaviors on Facebook as well as their needs and motivations for doing so, which may apply to other similar studies of SNS as well. These results also give support for the enhancement of the privacy and security awareness training of personal information being disclosed within online social networks. The privacy concerns should be raised at the same time to protect personal information in this new age.

Further investigations could examine the mediated voyeurs who peep on others who they already know or those they do not on Facebook. Moreover, future study can explore the questions about what content will be more attractive to the mediated voyeurs, and how does the content relate to the levels of voyeurism? For example, the content could be pictures of attractive women, or the discussion of private lives on SNS. Finally, technology has redefined voyeurism. There are multiple ways to peep into others' lives. Future studies should also look at mediated voyeurism on different types of media and formats such as paparazzi, gossip magazines or webcams.

After the study, a series of limitations are raised. First of all, the sample was mostly female; there may be different results if there are more males or only males in the sample. Further studies could examine the differences of the voyeuristic tendencies on SNS between males and females. Another limitation of this study might partially be caused by the social desirability of the respondents due to some of the sensitive questions in the survey. Some of them may have felt that they had to answer in a perceived socially acceptable manner rather than answer questions truthfully that really represent them well. Moreover, the participants are all college students in the study. These are the subjects we are limited to examining. The findings of this study cannot be considered representative of the entire population. A more diverse sample may improve future studies of mediated voyeurism on SNS.

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Appendix A

Email to participants

Subject: Facebook study

Dear Liberal Arts Student,

My name is Pin Ju Su and I am a graduate student in RIT's Communication and Media Technologies. You are invited to be in a research study asking about Facebook use. Please participate in this study only if you have experience using Facebook.

The purpose of this study is to help understand and explain behaviors related to Facebook use. This study will be most productive if you are accurate in your description of personal use of Facebook and the social behaviors during the course of the survey. Please answer the questions based on your first thought.

You can find the survey here: <https://clipboard.rit.edu/take.cfm?sid=7F0DE809>

Answering the questions on the survey is completely voluntary and you can stop taking the survey at any point in time. If you experience any discomfort as a result of taking this survey, contact the counseling center at 585-475-2261, second floor of the August Center (Bldg. 23A). If you have any questions now or later related to the integrity of the research, you are encouraged to contact me at pxs2761@rit.edu. I would be happy to answer them.

Thank you for your assistance.

Sincerely,

Pin Ju Su

Project Director

Appendix B
Rochester Institute of Technology
Department of Communication
Online Survey

The use of Facebook and the social behaviors

The popularity of Facebook has created a much-talked about, but relatively un-researched online subject: how and why people follow others on Facebook. The purpose of the study is to understand and explain the behaviors, such as why people look at other users' profiles, and why are they attempt to doing so repeatedly.

This survey is entirely anonymous and confidential, and will not take you more than 5-10 minutes to complete. You will be asked a short set of questions separated in four parts. These questions require no professional/technical knowledge on Facebook use, and your name will never appear in any results.

Participation in the survey is entirely voluntary, and you can stop participating at any point. This study will be most productive if you are accurate in your description of personal use of Facebook and the social behaviors during the course of the survey. Please answer the questions based on your first thought.

This study involves the following risks: Some people may feel low to moderate psychological discomfort after examining their personal behaviors. This is a completely confidential study. What you answer will not be reflected in any way associated with your name. Your answers will help further the understanding in the psychological aspect of the common use of social network site. Deciding not to participate or withdraw the survey will not result in any penalty or loss of benefits to which you are entitled, and it will not affect your current or future relations with the researcher, or RIT.

Should you experience any discomfort as a result of taking this survey, contact the RIT counseling center at 585-475-2261, located on the second floor of the August Center (Bldg. 23A). If you have any questions now, or later, you are encouraged to contact me anytime at pxs2761@rit.edu.

Thank you for your assistance.

Sincerely,

Pin Ju

1. Completion of the survey will be considered your consent to participate.

- ☐ I accept these terms
☐ I reject these terms

Part 1

2. On an average day, how much time do you spend on Facebook?

- ☐ less than 10 minutes
☐ 10-19 minutes
☐ 20-29 minutes
☐ 30-40 minutes
☐ more than 40 minutes

3. Can you estimate how much time you spend engaging in activities on Facebook in a typical week?

- ☐ 0-1 hours
- ☐ 2-3 hours
- ☐ 4-5 hours
- ☐ 6-7 hours
- ☐ more than 7 hours

4. On an average day, can you estimate how much time you spend looking at other people's profiles on Facebook?

- ☐ less than 10 minutes
- ☐ 10-19 minutes
- ☐ 20-29 minutes
- ☐ 30-40 minutes
- ☐ more than 40 minutes

Part 2

5.

Instructions: Please select one response from 1 to 5 [immediately stop (1) to try to observe more (5)] for each statement that best represents what you would do in each situation.

| | immediately stop | | | | try to observe more |
|---|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|---------------------------|
| (1) If you were to read a message that was sent to somebody else | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| (2) If you were to witness someone having an emotional breakdown and displaying extreme anger or sadness | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| (3) If you were to overhear a husband and wife discussing problems that they are having with their kids and/or other family members | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| (4) If you realized that you could see inside the bedroom of your neighbors because they forgot to close their curtains | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| (5) If you were to overhear your next door neighbors discussing their private lives | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| (6) If you were part of a conversation where your friends were gossiping about the sexual life of a person you're familiar with | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |

6.

Instructions: Please select one response ranged from 1 (Strongly Disagree) to 5 (Strongly Agree) that best represents your feelings.

| | Strongly Disagree | Disagree | Undecided | Agree | Strongly Agree |
|--|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|
| (1) I enjoy viewing Facebook because it helps me get a peek into other's private moments. | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| (2) I like that Facebook shows a side of people that I would not normally see. | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| (3) I like Facebook because it provides access to other people's information. | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| (4) I like Facebook because people don't know that I am accessing their information. | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| (5) I get satisfaction out of watching others when they are unaware on Facebook. | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| (6) I enjoy viewing others' photos on Facebook no matter if I know them or not. | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| (7) I tend to spend more time on others' personal information that interest me on Facebook than my own page. | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |

Part 3

7.

Instructions: Please select one response ranged from 1 (strongly disagree) to 5 (strongly agree) that best represents your behavior.

| | Strongly Disagree | Disagree | Undecided | Agree | Strongly Agree |
|---|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|
| (1) I pay attention to how I do things compared to how others do things. | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| (2) If I want to find out how well I have done something, I will find out and compare what I have done with how others have done. | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| (3) I often compare myself with others with respect to what I have accomplished in life. | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| (4) Overall, my group memberships have very little to do with how I feel about myself. | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| (5) The social groups I belong to are an important reflection of who I am. | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| (6) The social groups I belong to are unimportant to my sense of what kind of a person I am. | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| (7) In general, belonging to social groups is an important part of my self-image. | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |

Part 4

8.

Instructions: Please select one response ranged from 1 (strongly disagree) to 5 (strongly agree) that best represents your experiences.

| | Strongly Disagree | Disagree | Undecided | Agree | Strongly Agree |
|---|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|
| (1) I use Facebook to check up on my friends | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| (2) I use Facebook to learn about others who I care a lot about | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| (3) I may use Facebook to monitor my romantic partner's activities | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| (4) I may use Facebook to monitor my romantic partner's interactions with others | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| (5) I may use Facebook to check on my ex-boyfriend or ex-girlfriend's relationship status | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| (6) I use Facebook to check on whom my friends add as a friend | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |

9.

| | Strongly Disagree | Disagree | Undecided | Agree | Strongly Agree |
|--|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|
| (1) I would feel comfortable initiating an online interaction with a person I don't know or I don't know much about through Facebook. | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| (2) For a person I don't know or don't know much about initially, I get a sense for the person in the Facebook profile and feel like I know the person a bit. | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| (3) For a person I don't know or I don't know much about initially, I feel pretty confident that I could predict based on their Facebook profile their behavior in certain situations. | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| (4) For a person I don't know or I don't know much about initially, I feel like I can predict the type of relationship or friendship I would develop with this person based on the Facebook profile. | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| (5) I may check my romantic partner's Facebook page to reduce my suspicion of whether he or she is faithful to me. | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| (6) I check my Facebook friend's pages to see whether their behaviors shown on Facebook are compatible with those I have known in real life. | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |

11. What is your sex?

- ☐ Male
☐ Female
☐ Other

12. How old were you on your last birthday?

13. What is your major?

Appendix C

Charts

