BEHAVIOR OF SELF-CENSORSHIP AMONG THAI FACEBOOK USERS

Miss Apichaya Nithimethachoke

A Thesis Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements

for the Degree of Master of Arts (Communication Arts) Program in Strategic

Communication Management

Faculty of Communication Arts

Chulalongkorn University

Academic Year 2015

พฤติกรรมการเซ็นเซอร์ตนเองของผู้ใช้เฟซบุ๊กคนไทย

นางสาวอภิชญา นิธิเมธาโชค

วิทยานิพนธ์นี้เป็นส่วนหนึ่งของการศึกษาตามหลักสูตรปริญญานิเทศศาสตรมหาบัณฑิต
สาขาวิชาการจัดการการสื่อสารเชิงกลยุทธ์
คณะนิเทศศาสตร์ จุฬาลงกรณ์มหาวิทยาลัย
ปีการศึกษา 2558
ลิขสิทธิ์ของจุฬาลงกรณ์มหาวิทยาลัย

Thesis Title	BEHAVIOR OF SELF-CENSORSHIP AMONG THAI FACEBOOK USERS
By	Miss Apichaya Nithimethachoke
Field of Study	Strategic Communication Management
Thesis Advisor	Assistant Professor Duang-kamol Chartprasert, Ph.D.

Accepted by the Faculty of Communication Arts, Chulalongkorn University in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Master's Degree

....Dean of the Faculty of Communication Arts

(Assistant Professor Duang-kamol Chartprasert, Ph.D.)

THESIS COMMITTEE

....Chairman

(Jirayudh Sinthuphan, Ph.D.)

....Thesis Advisor

(Assistant Professor Duang-kamol Chartprasert, Ph.D.)

....Examiner

(Papassara Chaiwong, Ph.D.)

....External Examiner

(Assistant Professor Waraporn Chatratichart, Ph.D.)

อภิชญา นิธิเมธาโชค : พฤติกรรมการเซ็นเซอร์ตนเองของผู้ใช้เฟซบุ๊กคนไทย (BEHAVIOR OF SELF-CENSORSHIP AMONG THAI FACEBOOK USERS) อ.ที่ปรึกษาวิทยานิพนธ์หลัก: ผศ. ดร. ดวงกมล ชาติประเสริฐ, 186 หน้า.

การวิจัยนี้มีวัตถุประสงค์เพื่อศึกษาแรงจูงใจของผู้ใช้เฟซบุ๊กคนไทยในการเซ็นเซอร์ตนเอง และประเภทของเนื้อหาที่คนไทยเซ็นเซอร์ด้วยตนเองในเฟซบุ๊ก โดยใช้แบบสอบถามจำนวน 452 ชุด และการสัมภาษณ์เชิงลึกผู้ใช้เฟซบุ๊กคนไทยจำนวน 10 คน ที่ใช้เฟซบุ๊กอย่างน้อยหนึ่งวันละหนึ่งครั้ง และมีอายุ 18 ปีขึ้นไป ผลการวิจัยพบว่าความต้องการแบ่งเขตระหว่างความเป็นส่วนตัวและสาธารณะเป็นแรงจูงใจที่สำคัญที่สุดในการเซ็นเซอร์ตนเองของผู้ใช้เฟซบุ๊กคนไทย ตามด้วยความกลัวต่อโทษทางกฎหมายและอันตรายทางกายภาพ ความกลัวต่อเสียงวิพากษ์วิจารณ์และเสียงตอบรับในเชิงลบ และความกลัวต่อการถูกโดดเดี่ยวจากสังคม (ทฤษฎีวงเกลียวแห่งความเงียบ) ตามลำดับ นอกจากนี้ผลการวิจัยยังพบว่าประเภทของเนื้อหาที่คนไทยเซ็นเซอร์ด้วยตนเองมากที่สุดในเฟซบุ๊กคือเนื้อหาที่เกี่ยวข้องกับตนเอง ได้แก่ ความรู้สึกด้านลบ ข้อมูลอัพเดตเกี่ยวกับตนเอง และความคิดเห็นด้านลบที่มีต่อคนที่เป็นเพื่อนในเฟซบุ๊ก ตามลำดับ

สาขาวิชา	การจัดการการสื่อสารเชิงกลยุทธ์	ลายมือชื่อนิสิต ....
ปีการศึกษา	2558	ลายมือชื่อ อ.ที่ปรึกษาหลัก ....

5785019028 : MAJOR STRATEGIC COMMUNICATION MANAGEMENT
KEYWORDS: SELF-CENSORSHIP / FACEBOOK / SOCIAL MEDIA / SELF-PRESENTATION / PRIVACY

APICHAYA NITHIMETHACHOKE: BEHAVIOR OF SELF-CENSORSHIP AMONG THAI FACEBOOK USERS. ADVISOR: ASST. PROF. DUANG-KAMOL CHARTPRASERT, Ph.D., 186 pp.

The present study aimed to investigate 1.) Thai users' motivations to self-censor on Facebook and 2.) types of content Thai users self-censor on Facebook. Based on mix methods approaches, a total of 452 responses were collected through surveys; and 10 in-depth interviews were conducted to collect data from Thai Facebook users who visited the website at least once a day and aged at least 18 years old. The results showed that need for boundary regulation was the most significant motivation for self-censorship behavior on Facebook, followed by fear of legal and physical threats, fear of criticism and negative feedback and fear of social isolation (spiral of silence theory), respectively. In addition, the most self-censored content on Facebook was personal-related content, namely negative feelings, personal updates and negative opinions towards Friend on Facebook.

Field of Study: Strategic Communication   Student's Signature ....
                 Management   Advisor's Signature ....
Academic Year: 2015

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Writing this thesis has been an important journey that took me across a variety of boundaries including disciplines, knowledge as well as my own limitations. I have been fortunate to have talented people accompany and guide me on the way. First and foremost, I would like to express my gratitude to my advisor, Assistant Professor Dr. Duangkamol Chartprasert for her supportive and sound advice throughout the process of this thesis. Her questions and perceptive opinions helped me navigate and tackle the challenges this process has presented. Also, I would like to put on record my gratitude to my thesis committee: Dr. Jirayudh Sinthuphan, Dr. Papassara Chaiwong and Assistant Professor Dr. Waraporn Chatratichart for their thorough and encouraging review of this work. Their insightful suggestions did not only helped me improve this work, but also inspired me to continue working on this process.

I am grateful to great professors and lecturers who gave me valuable knowledge and insightful experiences throughout my Master studies at the Faculty of Communication Arts, Chulalongkorn University. I am also thankful to my classmates for bringing energy and fresh ideas, making every night of Master studying became fun and irreplaceable experiences. In addition, I would like to thank all the staffs at the Faculty of Communication Arts, Chulalongkorn University who kindly assisted me with administrative processes throughout the period of my Master studies.

My deepest gratitude goes to all people who took part into my survey and in-depth interviews, especially, people who lent their hand in survey distribution. I sincerely and profoundly appreciate your support, without your help, my research cannot be accomplished.

Last, but certainly not least, I thank my parents for their unwavering love and support, and my brother, Tanasap for his endless kindness and encouragement. I would like to dedicate this work to my extraordinary sister, Athitaya without whom I would have been lost, many times over.

CONTENTS

LIST OF TABLES

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background and Significance of the Problem

In the past decade, social media had become a real and significant phenomenon. With the advent of social media technology, social network sites (SNSs) such as Facebook, Twitter had enabled people with many novel opportunities to express themselves and connect with others regardless time and space (Alice E. Marwick & boyd, 2011). As the sharing of information was increasingly effortless, opinions and ideas could rapidly reach large number of audiences and carried into actions. For example, during the Arab Spring, the political uprising in Middle East and Northern Africa, social network sites such as Facebook and Twitter had played an important role as a means to facilitate communication and interaction between political protests and participants (Roesler, 2014). Similarly, the Maidan protest in Ukraine was inspired by a Facebook post. Apart from being used as a key channel to reach half of protesters, Facebook was also relied on as a trustworthy source as people felt that the news from traditional media was unreliable (Elgot, 2015). Furthermore, when Tsunami hit Japan in 2011, social media was used to search for missing people and to update real-time situation (Roesler, 2014). Being used to support people in political movement, disaster management, social media had proved to be the powerful tool that could make changes, save lives and shape the world (Roesler, 2014).

Today, with more than 2.2 billion users around the world (Regan, 2015), social media had integrated into people's life and become an essential part of everyday communication. Despite its impact on a global scale, the true power of social media appeared to be lying in the way it transformed the way people give and receive information. Every day, billions of people logged onto SNSs to interact with friends; to consume news; to share information; and to buy or sell products. It was undeniable that availability of SNS functions had enabled people to communicate conveniently at their fingertips; however, as much as it helped the world to become more connected than ever, the nature of SNSs had confounded many types of traditional boundary and brought many challenges to online self-presentation and privacy landscape.

According to Goffman (1959), in everyday life, people tried to provide a positive presentation of themselves to impress others. To make people perceived them in ways they want to be perceived, people strategically tailored their self-presentation based on their audiences and situations (Goffman, 1959). Nowadays, with the availability of technology in SNSs like Facebook, compared to face-to-face interactions, such impression was easier to manage online (Tufekci, 2008). Since SNSs enabled people to use nonverbal cues (i.e. links, pictures, videos) to present themselves and allow them to communicate in asynchronous manners, users were provided with opportunities and possibilities of selecting and editing one's information (i.e. self-description, pictures etc.) to create an ideal image of self to build a personal network that connected him or her to other users (d. m. boyd & Ellison, 2007). Nonetheless, referred to Nicole B. Ellison and boyd (2013), as most of 'Friends' on SNSs were people who had relationships with the user in an offline world, it was difficult for SNS users to drastically alternate their self-presentation. Therefore, SNS users tended to use subtle

technique to improve one's impression on SNSs such as showing positive side of one's self, spending more time to craft their message before posting (N. Ellison, Heino, & Gibbs, 2006).

However, even though it was easier for people to *'be seen by people they want to be seen, in ways they wish to be seen'* (Tufecki, 2008), self-presentation on SNSs could create 'wrong' impression if they were seen by some unintended audience (Wang et al., 2011). Previous studies found that the 'wrong' impression on SNSs could lead to tension, regrets or tangible negative consequences in one's personal or professional life (Sleeper, Balebako, et al., 2013; Wang et al., 2011). For example, a teacher was fired after she posted 'drunk picture' on her Facebook; a man was arrested after he filmed himself driving exceed speed limit and posted it on YouTube (Tynan, n.d.); a girl was condemned and humiliated to the level that she had to dropped out from the university when pictures and videos of her refusing to remove her dog's excrement in South Korea's underground went viral globally (Solove, 2007). Moreover, people could be rejected from school or company they applied for if the recruiter searched about them on the Internet and found their self-presentation unpleasant (Solove, 2007).

While SNSs allowed large amount of information to be flown freely without the limitation of time and space (Solove, 2007, p.2), people, on the other hand, were becoming more and more *'less free'* (Solove, 2007, p.2). Since online information was built out of digital structure that can be easily recorded, copied, distributed and accessed by anybody regardless time and space (d. boyd, 2008), one's information about themselves would be permanently imprinted online and could affect one's life in one way or another (Solove, 2007). Therefore, to prevent problematic situations in SNS

landscape where information travelled faster and the range of audiences was wider than ever before; instead of posting everything one wished to share online, SNS users would sometimes choose to self-censor or share nothing at all (Das & Kramer, 2013; Sleeper, Balebako, et al., 2013; Wang et al., 2011).

According to prior research, self-censorship was found to be an important strategy for managing self-presentation and regulating interpersonal boundary (Das & Kramer, 2013; Sleeper, Balebako, et al., 2013). Though it was found to be a common practice among SNS users, existing research focused on self-censorship behavior on SNSs was still very limited (Das & Kramer, 2013). Moreover, despite the cultural diversity of SNS users, previous studies only investigated self-censorship behavior on SNSs in the U.S. and some English speaking countries (Das & Kramer, 2013). Thus, to gain further insight regarding SNS user self-censorship behavior in non-Western countries and add on existing literature in online user behavior, this study aims to investigate self-censorship behavior of SNS users in Thailand, where people are from non-western cultural contexts and are highly active on SNSs.

Facebook, Thai Users and Self-Censorship

Over the past ten years, a large number of SNSs with different features were created to serve various communication purposes. However, the major player among a plenty of the world's most notable SNSs was always referred to Facebook (Elgot, 2015).

On August, 2015, Mark Zuckerberg, CEO of Facebook, announced that 1 in 7 people on earth was now using Facebook to connect with their friends and family (Mangalindan, 2015). Since founded in 2004 by Zuckerberg in his dorm room at

Harvard University (Mangalindan, 2015), Facebook had gained massive popularity and grown rapidly over the past decade. With daily 1.45 billion active users, 8 billion video views, ½ million new users (Hutchinson, 2015; Regan, 2015), Facebook was currently the world's largest social network site and the most popular social network site where people spent most of their time on.

Facebook was the most popular social network sites (SNSs) in Thailand. With 37 million monthly active Facebook users, Thailand ranked as the world's ninth-largest Facebook population (Leesa-nguansuk, 2015). 24 million Thai people spent more than 2.5 hours on Facebook every day which was 1.5 times higher than watching TV (Skatar, 2015). As noted by a Bangkok-based social media watcher, Byron Perry, Facebook in Thailand was not viewed as a new trend, but a utility that people are using to do everything in the Internet (Purnell, 2012). Since it could be easily accessed via mobile phone, Thai people always interacted with their friends and acquaintances, sought entertainment (Sueroj, 2013), searched for information about products and services via Facebook (Leesa-nguansuk, 2015). Furthermore, Thai users were found addicted to social media, especially Facebook. A survey found that Thai people always checked updates in Facebook almost all the time from after waking up to before going to bed ("Thais addict to social network," 2014). Statistics also showed that Thai Facebook users posted 3 times more than global average on Facebook (Skatar, 2015).

Nevertheless, even though Facebook had received immense popularity in Thailand, it had never been directly studied why Thai people were greatly attracted to Facebook. However, a quantitative study by Sombutpibool (2011) suggested that the five key characteristics of Thai culture (Collectivism, Femininity, Power Distance, Uncertainty

Avoidance, and Short Term Orientation) had strong impact on users' motivation to use SNSs. He suggested that when the social context experience within the SNS environment was compatible with the normal experiences and behaviors of members of the society, people would feel comfortable engaging in the virtual environment, and thus adopted the usage of SNS (Sombutpibool, 2011).

Additionally, to investigate whether there were Thai characteristics in virtual communities in which Thai people were active members, Buriyameathagul (2013) conducted a survey with 432 users of Thai professional virtual communities. He found that the key five characteristics of Thai cultures were also evident in the virtual communities. Thus, the characteristics of Thai virtual communities was not significantly different from Thai society in general. For this reason, a study by Buriyameathagul (2013) provided the support for previous research indicating that online behavior in virtual communities was affected by cultural characteristics of the nation from which users originate (Kim & Papacharissi, 2003).

Based on previous research, the role of culture in online behavior was often studied through the comparison between individualism and collectivism cultures (Kim & Papacharissi, 2003). As Thailand was a collectivist society, Thai people tended to place great importance social relationships and in-group identities harmony (G. Hofstede, 2011). To maintain group harmony, member of collectivist culture tended to follow norms, obligations, and duties in their social behaviors instead of their own personal needs (Triandis, 1989 as cited in S. Cho & Park, 2013). As noted by Hofstede (2001) (as cited in S. E. Cho, 2010), collectivism was regarded as a shame-oriented culture— rather than their own guilt, people were more concerned of what others judge and think

about their misbehavior. Thus, members of collectivist cultures tended to pay more attention to self-presentation as a strategy for 'face-saving' (Ting-Toomey, 1988 as cited in S. E. Cho, 2010) . However, as members of collectivistic cultures would adapt their behaviors to situation and relationships with others, they were not likely to only concern about saving their face, but also placed great importance to save others' face as well (Ting-Toomey, 1988 as cited in S. E. Cho, 2010).

According to Piyapan (2013), Thai social media users expressed concern for 'face-saving' in social media usage. Based on self-administered questionnaires collected from 547 samples, in-depth interview with 20 students who were regular users of online social media, and key informant interviews with 5 experts in the area of children and online social media usage, she found that Thai children and youth would refrain from posting, sharing or liking content that they thought inappropriate or would bring conflict. Based on the results, Thai children and youth (age 12-23 years old), though having similar values towards social media as their western counterparts, scored in self-obsession and online self-expression lower than international youth's digital value standard. As Thai collectivist culture was group-oriented, Thai people tend to place high importance on 'face' of themselves and others. Since the samples are raised within Thai cultural context, they tended to adopt Thai cultures in their online behavior. Being less obsess with themselves and more concerned of others' perception reflected the characteristics of collectivistic cultures, emphasizing the fact that Thai young social media users could not express themselves freely without considering about social norms or maintaining relationship with others.

However, despite being concerned with their online self-presentation, Thai social media users were found having preference to express negative feelings and share sensitive content in SNSs than in offline settings. Based on an informal interview with 65 Facebook users; in-depth interview and non-participant observation with 15 samples (age 11-25 years old), Sueroj (2013) found that apart from maintaining relationship with their friends, searching for information and entertainment, Thai teenagers also used Facebook to talk about sensitive topics that they found it difficult to talk in face-to-face interactions. For example, Thai teenagers posted about their sadness, frustration or sexual interest that was not allowed to express openly according to Thai culture on Facebook. Some also reported that they exchanged opinions towards public and society with their friends on topics that could not be said in real life.

As noted by previous research, members of collectivist cultures were not likely to express their feelings and opinions or display affection openly in public in order to prevent disagreement and maintain group harmony (Matthews, 2000 as cited in Ardi & Maison, 2014); they tended to feel more secure to express opinions anonymously for anonymity reduces the sense of individuality (S. E. Cho, 2010). Though users did not achieve complete anonymity on SNSs, especially Facebook because of its 'real name policy' (Hern, 2015) and as most of contact were friends from real world, the physically absence of audiences in SNS context might influence users to present themselves more aggressively (S. E. Cho, 2010). As noted by Ardi and Maison (2014), in offline settings, people's opinion expression were likely to be restricted by various rules such as social norms, seniority rules in collectivistic cultural contexts; whereas in SNS context, people were enabled with the ability to express their opinions freely regarding visual anonymity (Suler, 2004 as cited in Ardi & Maison, 2014). Thus, members of

collectivistic culture might feel encouraged to express themselves more freely in online settings where they were not restricted by social rules. Without their unanticipated audiences, they could freely express themselves and maintain and broaden their network (Ardi & Maison, 2014).

Nonetheless, as much as the visual anonymity enabled SNS users to present themselves more freely positively, it allowed users to communicate destructively without being responsible for what they said. According to a qualitative study by Chayawong (2012), there were a large number of destructive messages involving personal bias, conflicting opinions etc. in Thai virtual communities and SNS landscape. As people were becoming more familiar with SNS technology, they tended to express their opinions regardless consideration ("Tackle online hate speech," 2015). Thus, instead of creating good impression of themselves, people sometimes exposed themselves to damaged reputation (Solove, 2007), fail self-presentation and regrets (Christofides, Muise, & Desmarais, 2012b; Wang et al., 2011)

According to Wang et al. (2011), self-presentation on social media could lead to regrets. As people needed to disclose information about themselves to participate in SNSs (Palen & Dourish, 2003), they were exposed to the possibilities of privacy violation, fail self-presentation management (Lampinen, Lehtinen, Lehmuskallio, & Tamminen, 2011). Though individuals tried to present themselves in ways that match their audiences' expectations, they still had difficulty in maintaining consistency of self-presentation for multiple groups of audience that were co-exist at the same time (Lampinen et al., 2011). Consequently, their self-presentation that was appropriate for intended audience might be perceived as inappropriate by unintended audience (Wang

et al., 2011). To date, there are countless examples of people who were impacted by what they had posted in SNSs. For instance, on May 2015, a Thai man was fired from his job in the Philippines for insulting the locals on Facebook. ("Tackle online hate speech," 2015). Similarly, a Thai flight attendant was fired from her job because she posted on her Facebook that she wanted to throw coffee at the passenger, who was the daughter of the former Thai Prime Minister, Thaksin Shinawatra (Boehler, 2012). Moreover, a Miss Universe Thailand resigned after being harshly criticized over her political comment on Facebook ("Thai beauty queen resigns under social media fire," 2014).

For this reason, the ability to choose not to share or self-censorship was found to be an important strategy that helped SNS users manage online self-presentation and prevent undesirable consequences (Sleeper, Balebako, et al., 2013). As the first step of online self-disclosure was to choose to share or not share (Lampinen, Tamminen, & Oulasvirta, 2009); when SNS users found the content was not appropriate or could give some audiences wrong impressions about them, they would choose to self-censor or share nothing at all (Lampinen et al., 2009; Sleeper, Balebako, et al., 2013). Yet, despite the notion that members of collectivist cultures were likely to post sensitive content and disclose themselves more in SNSs might have higher chance to experience regrets, previous studies only investigated self-censorship behavior on SNSs in the U.S. and some English speaking countries.

Therefore, to fill in this gap, this study aims to understand how Thai users manage their self-presentation on Facebook, the most popular SNS in Thailand, regarding their self-censorship behavior. Also, this study aim to investigate how Facebook affect and

change the way they handle online privacy, maintain social relationship and communicate public opinions. Since Thai people are among the world's most active Facebook users, this study could help further insight about collectivistic cultural influence in SNSs and lead to an effective strategy that help them reduce risks and regrets on SNSs.

1.2 Objectives

1. To investigate Thai users' motivations for self-censorship on Facebook
2. To investigate types of content Thai users self-censor on Facebook

1.3 Research Question

1. Why do Thai users self-censor on Facebook?
2. What are types of content Thai users self-censor on Facebook?

1.4 Scope of the Study

The current study aimed to investigate Thai SNS users' self-censorship behavior on Facebook, the most popular SNS platform in Thailand. Incorporating both quantitative and qualitative research method, the data were collected through survey and in-depth interview conducting from April 15 to May 31, 2016.

1.5 Operational Definitions

Self-Censorship: the act of preventing oneself from posting on Facebook despite the intention of sharing

Post: any content generating behavior initiated by users including updating status, commenting or liking others' shared content, sharing pictures, video and links

Online Regrets: any post that users regret sharing on Facebook

Self-Presentation: the process by which people try to provide positive presentation of themselves in order to control impressions others form of them; used synonymously with impression management

Boundary Regulation: the process by which people regulate interpersonal boundary to achieve desired level of privacy

Motivations for Self-Censorship: reasons one has for preventing him/herself from posting on Facebook despite the intention of sharing

Types of Self-Censored Content: Groups of shared characteristics of content that one prevents him/herself from posting on Facebook despite the intention of sharing

Self-Censored Content: Content that one prevents him/herself from posting on Facebook despite the intention of sharing

1.6 Benefits of the Study

1. This study allowed individuals to gain further understanding of Thai Facebook users' perceptions and behaviors regarding content sharing on Facebook; to avoid making online regrets and be able to use Facebook as an effective communication platform.

2. This study could help the government or other stakeholders to gain further insight on Thai users' Facebook usage, sharing behavior, their online regret experiences to execute effective strategy that helps users avoid regrets and negative consequences from posting on Facebook.

3. This study could provide information for Facebook developer/ SNS platform creator about Thai Facebook users' problems from using their platforms and create tools that help them avoid those negative experiences.

CHAPTER II

LITERATURE REVIEW

This chapter discussed relevant literature on self-censorship and motivations for self-censorship in non SNS landscape as well as in SNS landscape. As self-censorship on social network sites (SNSs) had been scarcely studied in its own right, the review of literature on self-censorship behavior among SNS users was mainly developed on the existing literature of Internet privacy and online self-presentation. In addition, the theoretical frameworks of self-presentation and boundary regulation were also discussed and elaborated on how they were complicated by the characteristics of SNSs.

2.1 Overview on Self-censorship

2.1.1 Definition

Self-censorship, as defined by Cambridge Advanced Learner's Dictionary and Thesaurus, was the act of control of what you say or do in order to avoid annoying or offending others, but without being told officially that such control is necessary ("self-censorship," n.d.) Being extensively investigated across a variety of disciplines e.g. communication, social psychology and political science, self-censorship had been conceptualized and operationalized into a range of definitions which embodied the specific concerns of their own disciplines (Lambe, 2002). Nonetheless, regardless definition of any specifics, self-censorship could be considered as an act of suppressing one's expression consciously or unconsciously in response to psychological and social pressure (Cook & Heilmann, 2013; Yilmaz & Soylu, 2015). In addition, despite being

a performance on their own without being ordered, an individual's willingness to self-censor could be either according to or against their own attitudes (Cook & Heilmann, 2013).

2.1.2 Types

As the existing body of literature on self-censorship involved both governmental and non-governmental restrictions upon the freedom of expression, different types of self-censorship could be found in distinct censorship regimes (Cook & Heilmann, 2013). Distinguished by the presence or absence of public censorship, Cook and Heilmann (2013), suggested that self-censorship could be categorized into two types: public and private. In public self-censorship, individuals would internalize censorship regime constituted by public agents such as government, and then regulated self-censor. On the other hand, instead of public censorship, individuals would internalize either external set of values (i.e. the norms of association) or personal set of values (i.e. moral considerations) and then suppressed their behaviors in private self-censorship. Therefore, it could be understood that public self-censorship was a reaction against public censorship regime whereas private self-censorship was a reaction against one's own attitudes (Cook & Heilmann, 2013).

2.1.3 Significance: Two Sides of Self-Censorship

Based on prior research, there were two sides of self-censorship. Though the practice of suppressing oneself from communicating could be a threat to freedom of expression, at the same time, it could help protect one's rights, manage one's self-presentation and privacy. Therefore, self-censorship could be regarded as both harmful and helpful.

2.1.3.1 Self-Censorship as a Threat to Freedom of Expression

Self-censorship or the act of preventing oneself from expressing opinions had always been one of the controversial issue revolved around debates over freedom of expression. Since human had the natural desire to express themselves (O'Boyle, 2008), the freedom to communicate their thoughts, feelings to others was considered essential not only as a part of self-fulfillment as a human being, but also as a part of building shared understanding and moving the world of diversity forward (International Debate Education Association, n.d.)

Nonetheless, throughout the history, the freedom of expression was found with limitation (International Debate Education Association, n.d.) When the opinion was judged to be harmful to the right of others or threatened to safety of nation, the government might regulate the law to censor or suppress that information and punish people who were against it (Global Internet Liberty Campaign, n.d.) Though one of the motivation for censorship was to maintain social rules (Yilmaz & Soylu, 2015), censorship was often viewed as a threat for freedom of expression because it was used as a tool for the authority to suppress information people could or should access (International Debate Education Association, n.d.) Also, as it was difficult to justify the act of opinion suppression: what should be decided as offensive and to what extent an individual should be allowed to express their opinions (International Debate Education Association, n.d.), the practice of censorship was controversial for it made the voices from different perspective unheard and undermined the freedom of expression (Orges, 2013).

Moreover, the penalties for violating the law of censorship were often critical (Newth, 2010). While people could be arrested, banned, jailed and executed legally, they could also be punished unlawfully if their opinion was judged to be harmful to someone or some group's interest (Yesil, 2014). As there were increasing examples of people who faced with job loss, illegally confined, tortured, and even killed for expressing different opinions or speaking the truth (Newth, 2010), instead of speaking their mind, people increasingly chose to self-censor (Yilmaz & Soylu, 2015).

According to Yilmaz and Soylu (2015), self-censorship was the suppression of one's inner desire. When individuals were pressured by public censorship regimes (Cook & Heilmann, 2013), they let the authority's desire be dominant and limit expressions of their inner-self (Yilmaz & Soylu, 2015). Along the history of censorship, there were innumerable examples of people who had chosen to suppress their own voices to save themselves from both legally and illegally threatening punishment (Newth, 2010): During World War II, Japanese poets self-censored controversial verses; editors cut out the lines that were contradicted to the government's objectives (Morton, 2007). Even today, in many part of the world, in both democratic and less democratic societies, a lot of journalists self-censored opinions and truth that could bring themselves negative repercussions (Yesil, 2014); researchers refrained from studying on sensitive research topics that could jeopardize their career or personal life (Ho, 2008). Though people had right to express or suppress their opinions according to their own will (American Library Association, 2014), by keeping themselves within the frame created by the authorities and shunning themselves from speaking their true opinions could often do more harm than good ("A point of view: Why people shouldn't feel the need to censor themselves," 2015).

Based on prior research, self-censorship, as same as censorship, was regarded as a threat to freedom of expression (Ho, 2008; Yesil, 2014; Yilmaz & Soylu, 2015). According to Moon (2009), freedom of expression must be protected as an inalienable human right because of its contribution for three values: truth, democracy and individual autonomy. Since truth was valued as the recognition of human's reasoned judgment, it could be achieved through the exercise of reasoned judgment or the sharing of ideas and information among community members. The exchange of ideas or the public discussion could contribute to greater knowledge and individual's realization of truth about the community they were living in. Thus, with freedom of expression, people could develop true opinions and build the society where its members valued the seeking of truth (Moon, 2009). In addition, the ability to express opinions and participate freely in public discourse was critical to a democratic society. As freedom of expression constituted one of the essential foundations of a democratic society, citizen's responsibility to engage and participate in public processes and deliberation could not be neglected. Without being interfered by the authority, the exchange of ideas openly on public interest could lead to shared understanding that could move the society towards the shared goal. However, freedom of expression did not only necessary as it protected individual's right to communicate freely without the authority's interference, but also because it contributed to individual's realization of autonomy. As Moon (2009) noted, autonomy referred to the extent one was capable to think, reason and judge. It also included the ability to control one's life and participate in the direction of their community. Individuals could realize their autonomy through communicative interaction. As people communicated with each other, they could evaluate and gain greater insight about their identity and the world around them; they

could inspire and be aspired by many ideas; and most importantly, they could come to develop sense of control of their life and ability to participate in the direction of their community. On the contrary, by choosing to self-censor, the three values of freedom— truth, democracy and individual's autonomy (Moon, 2009)—were threatened. By muting their own voice, concealing away their own thought, people risked surrendering the right to access and know the truth; the right to build and live in a society where everyone regardless different opinions could share their point of view; and most importantly, the right to think and express freely as a human being.

According to some scholars, compared to censorship by the authority, self-censorship could be considered as even more harmful (Yesil, 2014). By suppressing one's opinion, there would be no opportunity for conversation. While the exchange of ideas based on reasoned argument or public discussion could initiate innovations and solutions, self-censorship in the place where opinion was needed turned down the opportunities for changes and possibilities (International Debate Education Association, n.d.) Though it would be impossible to prevent self-censorship, there could be a way to reduce threats that prevented people from expressing their opinions. Since ideas and information could inspire changes, people should not be threatened for expressing their voice. Instead, they should be able to access and obtain the right to freedom of expression as the ability to access information and express opinions freely without authority's suppression did not only provide opportunities for people to speak their true opinions and discover new ideas, but also led to the more democratic, dynamic and progressive society (International Debate Education Association, n.d.)

2.1.3.2 Self-Censorship as a Means for Protecting Human Rights

From another point of view, self-censorship was acceptable if it was used to protect people's right (Equality and Human Rights Commison, 2009). Referred to Article 19(3) of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR) (as cited in Equality and Human Rights Commison, 2009), while freedom of expression must be protected as an inalienable human right, it could be restricted if the expression was threatening or conflicting with other rights. As stated in the ICCPR, the limitations of freedom of expression must be *"(1) provided by law and (2) necessary for respect of the rights or reputations of others, for the protection of national security, public order, or public health or morals."*

Still, as it was controversial where to draw the line for the limitation of freedom of expression, it was critical that public authorities' restriction on freedom of expression should be done only when necessary in an appropriate manner for the circumstance (Equality and Human Rights Commison, 2009). Furthermore, as much as one treasured their own freedom of expression, individuals had duty to respect and treat other people's right to freedom of expression equally. Therefore, to refrain from attacking other people's rights, one could choose to hold or self-censor opinions that would discriminate or degrade others; harm other people's privacy or reputation (Equality and Human Rights Commison, 2009); incite violence or hatred; or encourage people to engage in illegal activities (Hawkins, 2012). .

It was known that the ability to express one's opinion freely was vital for individuals and society (Moon, 2000); by speaking one's mind, sharing one's ideas with each other, changes could be made (International Debate Education Association,

n.d.). Nonetheless, as much as an opinion could help people or society achieve anything, it could destroy anything as well. As Benjamin Franklin remarked, *"Remember not only to say the right thing in the right place, but far more difficult still, to leave unsaid the wrong thing at the tempting moment"* (Mayberry, 2015), apart from knowing when and what was right to say in a certain situation, knowing when and what 'not' to say was even more critical. Since words had power to *"build up"* or *"tear down"* (Mayberry, 2015), despite the freedom to communicate their thoughts, people should not express their opinions recklessly; instead, it was essential to always consider self-censorship—if they should say anything or nothing at all (Mayberry, 2015).

2.2 Motivations for Self-Censorship

While the need to express one's self was natural for human (O'Boyle, 2008), people could not simply express everything they thought for many reasons (Mayberry, 2015). Regardless concerns for each specific discipline, previous research on self-censorship indicated that people often self-censored or chose not to express their opinions when they thought that sharing that information could lead to negative repercussions in their or other person's life (Hayes, Scheufele, & Huge, 2006; Ho, 2008; Sleeper, Balebako, et al., 2013; Yesil, 2014). However, while prior studies often perceived self-censorship as a strategy to avoid both legal and illegal threats from acting against censorship (Yesil, 2014), self-censorship could also be regarded as a strategy for self-presentation as sometimes people chose not to speak to maintain positive impressions other have on them (Hayes et al., 2006).

2.2.1 Fear of Physical Threats and Legal Jeopardy

According to a number of research, people had been self-censored to avoid threats and punishment from both legal and illegal external agents such as government, authority regimes for centuries (e.g. Morton, 2007; Yesil, 2014). As previous studies especially those centered around freedom of expressions such as media freedoms, intellectual freedoms, recognize self-censorship as an integrated notion with censorship, they were rarely evaluated in separation (Yilmaz & Soylu, 2015).

Defined as the suppression of ideas and information that certain persons—individuals, groups, or government officials—find objectionable or dangerous (ALA, n.d.), censorship was employed based on the notion of protecting the society from immorality since the ancient time. In this sense, violating the law of censorship was considered a crime. Throughout the history, people who expressed their views differently from those who claimed themselves as protectors had been punished according to the law. For example, Socrates (469-399 BC) was banned and given a death sentence after giving different political point of view (Newth, 2010). Galileo (1564-1642) was persecuted by the Catholic Church as he opposed the Bible's interpretation by stating that the Earth moves around the Sun (Jenkins, n.d.) To date, the authorities' practice of censorship, still, was a controversial issue. In some countries, if media, journalists, writers or scholars published information or facts that could harm the interests of the groups such as state authorities, economic and social groups, and even illegal organization (Yesil, 2014), they would have to face legal actions or undesirable consequences such as job loss, beatings, confinement or even death (Yesil, 2014). For this reason, even though censorship was initially used as a tool

to function social rules, it was also seen as a tool used by authorities to interfere the flow of information to protect interests of one's group (Yesil, 2014).

Based on several studies, every year, there were people who are harassed, arrested or killed "*in the service of free expression*" (Yesil, 2014) by authorities both legally and illegally (Burkett, 2011; G., 2015; Rushdie, 2012). Having seen increasing examples of real threat and legal action for not censoring themselves, people's fear grew over expressing different opinions against the authorities and increasingly chose to self-censor: Journalists did not dare to report the truth (Yesil, 2014); editors cut out the information that is not in line with government's perspective (Morton, 2007); researchers chose not to study on sensitive topics that would bring himself harms (Ho, 2008). Even though the freedom of expression was claimed as one of a fundamental human rights ("Universal Declaration of Human Rights," 1948), such self-censorship practice indicated that it was still practically insufficient in many parts of the world. Therefore, in this line of research, self-censorship was considered as a threat for the society since people did not dare to express opinions against authorities and were limited from the truth about the society they were living in (Yesil, 2014).

2.2.2 Need for Self-Presentation

2.2.2.1 Theory of Self-Presentation

The theory of self-presentation was conceptualized by the sociologist Erving Goffman (1959) to explain why people behaved differently in different situation. As people engaged in the process of impression management when they presented their self to the audiences in each social situation (Goffman, 1959), the theory

of self-presentation was also synonymously known as the theory of impression management (Wu & Shang, 2012).

Through a dramaturgical perspective, Goffman (1959) proposed in his work, *the Presentation of Self in Every Day Life*, that people's actions in everyday life was a performance on stage. Like an actor who separated his performance in 'front stage' and 'backstage', individuals made a distinction between public and private realm. When people were in the 'front stage' or public arena, they would attentively aware of not giving the wrong impressions to the present audience; on the contrary, when in 'backstage' or private realm, people could become more relaxed and allowed informal behavior to appear. Goffman (1959) also noted that it was important to keep audiences from different realms separated since the performance was always meant for the intended audience; problems may arise if one saw the performance that is not meant for him.

According to Goffman (1959), self-presentation was a goal-directed process (Wu & Shang, 2012). As same as actors who performed to make certain impressions to their certain audiences, when in the presence of each other, individuals would consciously or unconsciously try to gain control over impressions other people formed about them; and at the same time, try to present themselves in a way that they wanted to be perceived by the others. When the impression given to the audiences was consistent with one's desired image, the objective of self-presentation is achieved (Wu & Shang, 2012).

In addition, since people depended on their audiences to strategically present themselves in the social situations, self-presentation was regarded as a

collaborative process (Alice E. Marwick & boyd, 2011). Using *"expression given"*—verbal cues and *"expression given off"*—non-verbal communication (Goffman, 1959, p.14), individuals needed to project their own definition of the situation to their audiences, and at the same time, interpret the definition projected by their audiences in social interactions. Through this process, they could achieve shared definition of the situation and be able to tailor the self-presentation that was appropriate for the situation (Goffman, 1959). Therefore, in the theory of self-presentation, the self could be regarded as a product of ongoing interaction between individuals and their audiences (Goffman, 1959).

Following Goffman (1959's) theory of self-presentation, previous research on self-censorship indicated that people chose not to express their opinions because they did not want to create wrong impression of themselves which could lead to social isolation (Hayes et al., 2006) and criticism (Williams, 2002).

2.2.2.2 Fear of Social Isolation (Spiral of Silence Theory)

According to Hayes et al. (2006), individuals tended to self-censor their opinion expression in the situation where there was a strong potential for conflict and disagreement. Based on previous research, when people participate in observable social act (i.e. public opinion expression), they tended to worry about the 'negative social costs' (Hayes et al., 2006) such as being isolated from others, diminishing career opportunities or disrupting social harmony (Hayes et al., 2006). Therefore, before expressing their opinion in public, individuals would evaluate perceived opinion climate to decide whether to let the public know their thought (Hayes et al., 2006).

The theory of spiral of silence by Noelle-Neumann (1974), explained the process of public opinion formation. Since public opinion was '*not what people think, but what the public is willing to publicly acknowledge they think*' (Harrison, 1940, as cited in Hayes et al., 2006), the theory suggested that the perception of the opinion climate affected individual's public opinion expression: The more individuals thought that their opinion was similar to the prevailing public opinion, the more they were likely to express it. On the contrary, the more individuals thought that their opinion was different from the majority's opinion, the more they were likely to self-censor.

As the spiral of silence theory claimed that people would not express their opinion if they perceived that they were lacking of social support because of a fear of social isolation (Noelle-Neumann, 1974), self-censorship, in this sense, could be regarded as a mean that one used to manage their self-presentation (Hayes et al., 2006). When perceiving a climate where people divided into groups because of different opinions; instead of letting other people know they thought and exposing themselves to critical observation, negative feedback, and even social alienation (Hayes et al., 2006), people would prevent themselves from having negative self-presentation by choosing to self-censor (Hayes et al., 2006).

In addition, as people needed to be perceived distinctively different from others and needed to be appreciated for their own uniqueness (Maslach, Stapp and Santee,1985 as cited in Hayes et al., 2006), an act of expressing one's opinions could be regarded as a means for self-presentation that differentiate themselves from others (Hayes et al., 2006). Therefore, it was also found that a person's willingness to speak their opinion in a situation where conflicting different opinions co-existed could be

affected by individual differences such as level of shyness or self-esteem (Noelle-Neumann, 1974).

2.2.2.3 Fear of Criticism (Self-Esteem Motive)

Another line of research in creativity had regarded self-esteem as an important motive for self-censorship. As people feared that their creative ideas would be criticized, they tended to consciously or unconsciously suppress them (Williams, 2002).

Referred to several creativity researchers, self-censorship was the result of a cognitive process of self-judgment (Osborn, 1953 as cited in Williams, 2002). If an individual judged his ideas negatively, he might intentionally choose to self-censor them. In contrast, if an individual's judgment is positive, he would be more comfortable and willing to share the ideas (Williams, 2002). Also, self-censorship can occur subconsciously (Meichenbaum, 1975 as cited in Williams, 2002). When an individual believed that his ideas would be criticized by others, he might unconsciously suppress his creativity (Williams, 2002).

Based on previous research, the drive that made a person avoid negative feedback and seek favorable comments was self-esteem (Pool et al., 1988 as cited in Williams, 2002). As creative ideas could be a reflection of themselves, people would expect positive feedback and prefer not to have negative evaluation or criticism due to the need to create or maintain positive self-presentation (Williams, 2002). Therefore, to avoid unfavorable evaluation, people would sometimes choose to self-censor (Williams, 2002).

Moreover, since a person's self-esteem could vary over time and across situations, their self-censorship behavior, therefore, could be affected differently. According to Deci and Ryan (1995, as cited in Williams, 2002), self-esteem could be categorized into contingent and true self-esteem. People who had contingent self-esteem were strongly driven by the self-esteem motive. As their self-esteem level was differed by the positivity or negativity of the feedback, they were found to be controlled by a drive for positive feedback, not their own self-determination (Deci & Ryan, 1995 as cited in Williams, 2002). Therefore, people with contingent self-esteem were likely to be hurt when their opinions are evaluated negatively, and thus consciously or unconsciously chose to self-censor (Williams, 2002). On the contrary, people with high true self-esteem were found having more stable self-esteem. Self-esteem instability reflected fragility in one's favorable self-evaluations and was associated with a heightened tendency to defend and promote favorable self-feelings. Therefore, people with high true self-esteem were confident in themselves: they did not only know what their strength is, but also their weaknesses (Greenier et al., 1995 as cited in Williams, 2002). As a result, they tended not to be affected by negative feedback and were not likely to withhold their ideas as much as people with contingent self-esteem (Williams, 2002).

2.3 Self-censorship in SNS Landscape

Today, with the emergence of social network sites (SNSs) and its pervasiveness in everyday life, people were enabled with novel opportunities and tools to express themselves and interact with each other. Through clicks and keystrokes, it was now easier for people to say what they wanted anywhere and anytime (Hawkins, 2012); to

be seen as they wished to be seen by people they wanted to be seen (Tufekci, 2008).

Prior research indicated that participating in SNSs could benefit users in managing their

identity and building social capital (Nicole B Ellison, Steinfield, & Lampe, 2007);

however, given the conveniences provided by social networked technologies, people

often carelessly expressed their opinions and information on SNSs (Edwards, 2014),

and ultimately caused themselves tension, regrets, or tangible negative consequences

in their or other person's life (Sleeper, Cranshaw, et al., 2013). Therefore, to prevent

negative impacts of words or expressions they shared online, people used self-

censorship or chose not to share as an important strategy to handle challenges arising

in the unique sphere of SNSs (Sleeper, Balebako, et al., 2013)

2.3.1   Social Network Sites (SNSs): Concepts and Definitions

Social network sites such as Facebook, Twitter, Instagram were a part of social

media (d. boyd, 2008).   Referred to d. boyd (2008), social media were forms of

electronic tools that allowed people to create, share or exchange information in online

communities and networks, enabling one-to-one, one-to-many, and many-to-many

communication. While the history of social media was twined together with the history

of the Internet, the history of SNSs was relatively new as they were developed based

on existing forms of social media (i.e. blogging, wikis, online dating sites) However,

according to Nicole B. Ellison and boyd (2013), social network sites (SNSs) were

different from other social media as they consisted of three characteristic features: First,

they allowed individuals to create a profile that was unique and identifiable. Profile

content could be generated by users themselves as well as by other users; in some cases,

profile content also came from system-generated data.   Second, they enabled

individuals to articulate their social connections to be viewed and traversed by other

users within the system. Third, they provided opportunity for individuals to consume, produce, and/or interact with streams of user-generated content provided by those whom they had social connections with on the site.

In addition, Nicole B. Ellison and boyd (2013) emphasized on using the term 'social network site' instead of 'social networking site' because when participated in these sites, users were required to articulate their existing 'social network' to be viewed online; but they were not required to practice 'networking' or initiating relationship with new people. Several research also found that though users can use social network sites (SNSs) to meet with new people online, their primary goal for using SNSs was to maintain relationship with existing groups of friends and acquaintances from their offline connections (d. m. boyd & Ellison, 2007). However, it should be noted that the term 'friend' on SNSs did not necessarily mean 'friendship' as in offline world. Though one's SNSs friends mostly came from existing offline relationships, the strength and importance of their relationships could be varied (d. m. boyd & Ellison, 2007).

The ability to publicly display social connections or list of friends played a crucial role in differentiating SNSs from other social media (Nicole B. Ellison & boyd, 2013). As the drive for using SNSs was to communicate with existing friends, the list of friends on SNSs that contained link to each friend's profile helped validating one's online identity and showing connections they had with each other (Nicole B. Ellison & boyd, 2013). It also enabled users to delineate who can access and see the content; and traverse through their profiles and friend list to discover shared contacts (Nicole B. Ellison & boyd, 2013).

As SNS technology evolved, users were able to interact with each other through a variety of SNS features. People were now able to traverse not only through friend list, but also through some SNS features such as 'hashtag' in Twitter, and 'clickable' content in Facebook (Nicole B. Ellison & boyd, 2013). Also, apart from their self-constructed content, in SNS landing page, users were enabled with 'steam of recently updated content' or 'social awareness steams' which referred to content that were generated by people whom they were 'Friend' with or 'Follow' (Naaman, Boase, and Lai (2010) as cited in Nicole B. Ellison & boyd, 2013). Furthermore, as sometimes Friend's actions would be automatically posted on the steam or sent in notification message, users could conveniently depart from other activities on the site and discover updated content without having to traverse through each other's profile (Nicole B. Ellison & boyd, 2013).

While today's SNSs could be considered as 'news aggregators' rather than 'profile-based context' (Nicole B. Ellison & boyd, 2013), the significance of profiles as spaces for expressing oneself and distributing content was still the key of SNSs. In spite of enhanced technology, people fundamentally use SNSs to share various types of content (i.e. photos, videos, textual updates, and links) and interact with other users.

2.3.2 Challenges on SNSs: Networked Publics

As social network sites (SNSs) brought together people and spaces for interaction and sharing information, they could be regarded as 'publics' (d. boyd, 2010). However, being affected by networked technologies, the flow of online information and people's social interaction on SNSs had been transformed, and thus, reconstructed the different notion of publics (d. boyd, 2010).

According to d. boyd (2010), publics on SNSs were 'networked publics'.

"*Networked publics are publics that are restructured by networked technologies. As such, they are simultaneously (1) the space constructed through networked technologies and (2) the imagined collective that emerges as a result of the intersection of people, technology, and practice* (d. boyd, 2010, p.39)"

Referred to McLuhan (1964 as cited in d. boyd, 2008), publics—a collection of people who shared collective interest (Livingstone, 2005 as cited in d. boyd, 2010) could be shaped by media. Since people were affected by information and social acts distributed, recorded and intensified by media, they would adjust their behavior and practices when they faced new properties introduced by media in their environment (McLuhan, 1964 as cited in d. boyd, 2008).

For SNSs, as a part of social media, their properties that enabled networked publics were distinctive. Though networked publics and other types of publics shared common functions such as being a space for people to interact with each other for social, cultural and civic purposes, and connecting them to wider audiences, the structure of networked publics made distinct by the properties of bit—the fundamental digital structure—had transformed the way information was organized; the way people negotiated with the publics; as well as the way people interacted and engaged in these digital environments (d. boyd, 2010).

2.3.2.1 The Affordances of Networked Publics

While physical structure was made out of atoms, digital structure were made out of bits. Compared to atoms, bits were easier to disseminate, store and search (d. boyd, 2010). Therefore, being built by a collection of bits, the affordances and structure of networked publics were significantly reshaped by the properties of bits (d. boyd, 2010).

According to d. boyd (2010), the properties of networked publics were contributed by the four features of bits properties: persistence, replicability, scalability and searchability.

- **Persistence**

Persistence referred to the ability of technology that could automatically record digital content and made it become persistent (d. boyd, 2010). Unlike spoken conversation which could not last, online expressions both text and non-text would be captured by default, and could be accessed regardless the limit of time and space (d. boyd, 2008). However, the persistence property of digital content could lead to misinterpretation or the loss of essence when the content was taken out of the context where it was originally created (d. boyd, 2008).

- **Replicability**

Replicability indicated the property of bits that could be duplicated (d. boyd, 2010). While the reproduction of content became easier through the introduction of printing, digital technology had made the duplication of content even more convenient (d. boyd, 2010). Being made of bits which could be easily replicated

and modified, the content in networked publics could be copied or re-created in ways that it was difficult or even impossible to judge which the original was (d. boyd, 2008).

- **Scalability**

Scalability specified the ability of technology that created possibility for online content to be visible and accessible by large number of people (d. boyd, 2008). Without physical, geographical boundary and limits of time, networked publics provided opportunities for much larger group of people to gather and interact both synchronously and asynchronously (d. boyd, 2008). Content shared online could easily be disseminated and reach wide audience, making the ability to communicate from one-to-many and from many-to-many faster and easier (d. boyd, 2008). Nonetheless, as noted by d. boyd (2008), the scalability or the possibility to be visible to mass audience in networked publics depended on mass attention and other factors more than the property of bits (d. boyd, 2008). In other words, though networked publics increased the possibilities for one to be visible online, it could not be guaranteed that he or she would achieve attention from large number of audiences (d. boyd, 2008).

- **Searchability**

Searchability marked that content in networked public was searchable (d. boyd, 2008). As content in networked publics inhabited the properties of persistence, replicability and scalability, a large amount of data was available online. Through search engines or services that allowed people to access information through search, information could be discovered quickly. Such ability contributed to many inventions such as GPS-enabled device, and at the same time, made the habit of

searching information through networked platforms increasingly common in our everyday life (d. boyd, 2010).

2.3.2.2 New Dynamics Resulting from Networked Publics

The properties of networked publics brought new dynamics that affect SNSs user interaction (d. boyd, 2008). Referred to Meyrowitz (1985), the properties of broadcast media reshaped social environment and influenced people's behavior. He indicated that broadcast media had made the presence of audiences become less salient, disrupted the distinct line between private and public and collapsed different social groups into single context. According to d. boyd (2008), networked media's affordances intensified many dynamics that were similar to those of broadcast media. However, as SNSs became increasingly prevalent, the new dynamics resulting from networked publics had impacted on people's everyday life more than ever. As d. boyd (2008) noted, the central dynamics that critically configured the networked publics were invisible audiences, collapsed context and the blurring between public and private.

- **Invisible Audiences**

In offline settings, individuals could determine how to behave appropriately because their audience was present in the situation (Goffman, 1959). However, in computer-mediated settings, it was more difficult to know one's audience because the properties of networked publics—persistence, replicability, scalability and searchabilty—allowed people to access the information without the limits of space and time, and thus, reduced the need for salient physical presence, (d. boyd, 2010). While knowing one's audience was essential to determine one's act in the given situation, the invisibility of audiences in networked publics made it difficult to locate one's action

(d. boyd, 2010). Therefore, to assess behavior suitable for the context, individuals would use their imagination to perceive their invisible audiences (Alice E. Marwick & boyd, 2011) .

- **Collapsed Contexts**

    While knowing one's audience could help individuals tailor their self-presentation, it was still difficult to present oneself to audiences that belonged to different social contexts at the same time (d. boyd, 2010). Without limits of space, social and time, networked public supported one-to-many communication by default (Vitak, 2012). While people needed to separate their audiences to maintain their self-presentation that was appropriate for each group, networked publics brought these distinct social groups together and collapsed them into single context (Vitak, 2012). Since collapsed contexts contained conflicting contexts and social norms, they could lead to problems such as regrets and negative repercussions in real life because the self-presentation that was appropriate for one social context might not appropriate for the others (Wang et al., 2011).

- **The Blurring of Public and Private**

    As individuals could not control their audiences and maintain the separation of distinct social context, the boundary between public and private in networked publics was increasingly complicated (d. boyd, 2010). With the properties of networked publics, many scholars claimed that it is impossible to achieve full control over one's privacy (d. boyd, 2010). Though people tried to find strategies that could help them separate the distinct line between public and private, the nature of networked technology still provided opportunities for the boundary to be violated (d. boyd, 2008).

In other words, the emergence of networked publics had made people's life become less private (d. boyd, 2010).

2.3.3 Self-Censorship on SNSs: Concepts and Practices among SNS users

As self-censorship had been regarded as an act of choosing to perform censorship on their own consciously or unconsciously (Yilmaz & Soylu, 2015), self-censorship on social network sites (SNSs) referred to an act of preventing oneself from sharing content in spite of intention to share (Das & Kramer, 2013).

Despite a limited body of literature, the practice of self-censorship was found to be common among SNS users (Das & Kramer, 2013). When conducting an in-depth interview and focus groups with 27 participants about managing privacy and public in SNSs, Lampinen et al. (2011) found that self-censorship was the most popular strategy for preventing problematic situations for themselves or others.

Also, Das and Kramer (2013), Facebook's researchers who conducted a direct study on Facebook users self-censor behavior, indicated that self-censorship was common among the majority of Facebook users. By conducting a 17-day diary study on 3.9 million Facebook users in English speaking country, Das and Kramer (2013) installed interface elements in Facebook website and investigated Facebook users self-censorship behavior. They regarded any content (at least five characters) that users began to write on Facebook but did not post within ten minutes as self-censorship behavior. Regarding privacy concerns, researchers did not record the actual content, but recorded only the presence or absence of text typed in Facebook comment or post box. The findings showed that the majority (71%) of the samples self-censored at least one post or comment over the 17 days of the study. Also, the researchers found that

there was a relationship between self-censorship behavior and individual differences: old users tended to self-censor comments more than posts; male users self-censored more than female users, they also tended to self-censor more posts when the majority of their friends were male; users who already adjusted privacy setting or restricted audience accessibility tended to self-censor less.

2.4 Motivation for Self-Censorship in SNS Landscape

While previous research indicated that self-censorship was a common practice among SNS users (Das & Kramer, 2013), motivations for self-censorship in SNSs had been scarcely directly studied. However, while motivations for self-censorship in non-SNS context often came from fear of physical threats and legal jeopardy (Morton, 2007; Yesil, 2014), fear of social isolation and criticism (Hayes et al., 2006; Williams, 2002), an existing literature of Internet privacy and online self-presentation suggested that self-censorship in SNS context could be regarded as a boundary regulation strategy or a strategy to regulate interpersonal boundary in order to maintain consistent self-presentation in SNS environment where audiences from different social context co-existed at the same time (Das & Kramer, 2013). For this reason, motivations for self-censorship in SNS context could be construed as need for interpersonal boundary regulation or privacy management and need for self-presentation (Das & Kramer, 2013; Lampinen et al., 2011; Sleeper, Balebako, et al., 2013).

2.4.1 Need for Interpersonal Boundary Regulation (Privacy Management)

2.4.1.1 The Theory of Boundary Regulation

Based on Altman (1975's)theory of boundary regulation, privacy could be regarded as the interpersonal boundary regulation process by which people drew lines how much they were open to others. It was a continual process that involved both inputs and outputs and changed over time (Altman, 1975). In other words, to achieve one's desired degree of privacy in any social situations, one had to negotiate the balance between restricting other people's accessibility to interact with themselves; and, at the same time, seeking to access interaction with others (Altman, 1975).

As noted by Altman (1975), boundary regulation was a core process of social interactions. It was important as people need to regulate interpersonal boundary to manage their identity and determine social interactions with each other. By dividing the boundary between themselves and others, people could give themselves a definition and come to understand their relations with one another. As a consequent, they could maintain appropriate levels of interaction; tailor appropriate self-presentation; and build or sustain the relations they had with themselves and with one another (Lampinen et al., 2011). Therefore, whenever people interacted with each other, the interpersonal boundary was always needed to be regulated (Altman, 1975).

2.4.1.2 Rethinking the Theory of Boundary Regulation in SNS Landscape

With the characteristics that disrupted central premises of interpersonal boundary regulation, social network sites (SNSs) that became increasingly prevalent in people's everyday life had brought novel challenges on the

Internet privacy issues. Expanded on Altman's theory of boundary regulation, Palen and Dourish (2003) distinguished three boundaries that were basis to privacy management in computer-mediated communication, namely disclosure, identity and temporality.

- **Disclosure Boundary**

Disclosure involved sharing information about oneself to others. As noted by Altman (1975), the boundary regulation or how individual controlled their privacy did not only involve restricting information, but also selective sharing of personal information (Altman, 1975). When people participated in SNSs or online activities, they were required to disclose personal information, and thus, were exposed to risks such as identity theft (Palen & Dourish, 2003). Moreover, with the availability of networked technologies, one's information could also be created or distributed by other people. Thus, the boundary of disclosure in SNSs was not limited within one's control (Palen & Dourish, 2003).

- **Identity Boundary**

The identity boundary attempted to separate oneself from others when one was perceived as a member or representative of a group. While people needed to create impressions they wanted to be perceived by others and presented themselves that was appropriate for their audiences (Goffman, 1959), networked technologies had confound the ways people managed their self-presentation (Lampinen et al., 2011). Unlike face-to-face situations, in SNS context, people could not simply tailor their self-presentation for distinct group of audiences as they had to handle multiple groups of audiences at the same time (Lampinen et al., 2009). As SNSs made

one's connection visible to others (d. boyd, 2008), it complicated the boundary between public and private that separated different facets of one's life, making it easy for private matters to go public (d. boyd, 2008)   Moreover, as people's identity could be constructed based on other persons' generated content (Palen & Dourish, 2003), and could be accessed by third parties, the control over one's self-presentation and identity represented by those information had become increasingly difficult (Lampinen et al., 2011).

- **Temporal Boundary**

The temporal boundary concerned the nature of online disclosure that occured as 'the outcome of a sequence of historical actions' (Palen & Dourish, 2003). While Altman (1975)'s view on boundary regulation in face-to-face interactions concerned 'desired access to self and others at any moment in time' (Tufekci, 2008), the lack of temporal boundary in SNSs allowed the content to be perceived by 'future audience' (Tufekci, 2008) and could be interpreted or used differently (Palen & Dourish, 2003). Thus, the online privacy management should not be planned for current circumstance, but also need to consider the future possibility (Palen & Dourish, 2003).

2.4.1.3 Managing Online Privacy: Self-Censorship as a Means for Interpersonal Boundary Regulation

As SNSs represented a unique social sphere, where large amounts of personal information were stored, online privacy had been increasingly received attention over the past decade (d. boyd, 2008). With the affordances of networked publics enabled by networked technologies: persistence—content were recordable;

searchability—content were searchable; replicability—content were duplicable; and scalability—content could be accessed by many people, it was undeniable that many types of privacy violation could be easily made in SNS context (boyd, 2008).

However, though people became more concerned over sharing information in SNSs, prior research indicated that SNS users' concern and practice of privacy management were often unmatched (Gross & Acquisti, 2005). According to Gross and Acquisti (2005) who analyzed Facebook profiles of 4,000 Carnegie Mellon University students and conducted the follow up survey on privacy concerns (Gross & Acquisti (2006) as cited in Tufekci, 2008), most Facebook users did not modify default privacy settings and tended to disclose large amount of information on the website regardless their concerns over privacy issues. Similarly, Tufekci (2008) found no significant relationship between information disclosure and privacy concerns and fear of unwanted audiences in Facebook and Myspace when conducted a survey with 704 undergraduate students. However, Tufekci (2008) indicated that the students tried to regulate the interpersonal boundary by allowing specific audiences to see their profile, but tended not to aware of the impact of persistent content that could stretch out to the future.

Following Altman's theory of boundary regulation (1975), privacy could be thought of as a strategy for controlling interpersonal boundary. It could be regarded as a continual process by which individuals could assert control over how much they allowed other people to interact with them and how much they sought to interact with the others (Lampinen et al., 2011). In other words, boundary regulation was not only about restricting themselves from giving out information, but also seeking

accepted amount of interactions given by the others to achieve one's desired degree of privacy (Lampinen et al., 2011). According to Altman (1975), interpersonal boundary regulation was important as it helped people to come to terms with who they were and how they related with one another so that they could maintain appropriate levels of interaction and build or sustain the relations they had with others and with themselves. However, unlike face-to-face interactions where an individual could easily separate the boundary between public and private according to social context and their intentions (Altman, 1975), it was more difficult to draw the distinct line between privacy and public in SNS context as there was no spatial and temporal boundaries (Palen & Dourish, 2003), making it more complicated to control the access of audiences (Palen & Dourish, 2003). Furthermore, with the properties of digital content that could be easily be recorded, forwarded, replicated, and taken out of its original context, the violations of interpersonal boundary could be done in many ways (d. boyd, 2008).

Moreover, since it was recognized that individuals often wanted to separate certain groups of friends from the others (Sleeper, Balebako, et al., 2013), SNSs had disrupted the privacy barrier that people use to maintain certain aspects of their life by allowing one's connections to be viewed by other users (d. boyd, 2008). Also, as individuals needed to depend on their audiences to tailor their self presentation (Goffman, 1959), the multiplicity of audiences who belonged to both private and public realm that co-existed in SNS context had made it difficult for them to maintain distinct private and public persona (Alice E Marwick & boyd, 2014). Therefore, SNS users were often found with tensions to present consistent impression of self to audiences who came from different social contexts and different facets of their life (Lampinen et al., 2009).

For this reason, SNS users often sought ways to balance between sharing some content with the public and keeping some other content private. Though individuals could manage their own information disclosure, they often could not control content other people shared about them (Palen & Dourish, 2003). Therefore, Lampinen et al. (2011) highlighted in their study that the boundary regulation or privacy management in SNSs could not be achieved by one person, but by the co-operation with other people.

Suggesting that second parties both friends and strangers played important role in online privacy management, Lampinen et al. (2011) argued that boundary regulation was a co-operative process. Though individuals could employ interpersonal boundary regulation on their own, they often needed to rely on others' co-operation to be able to regulate the boundaries in a certain way. By conducting an in-depth interview and focus groups with 27 participants who were active Facebook users, Lampinen et al. (2011) found that the boundary regulation in SNSs could not be controlled individually. Referred to their previous research, they found that people used preventive strategy such as adjusting private settings, using alternative communication channels, and corrective strategy such as delete content that had been posted, untagging photos (Lampinen et al., 2009), Lampinen et al. (2011) added that there was another dimension for interpersonal boundary regulation in SNSs, namely individual and collaborative. Since the features and characteristics of SNSs provided opportunities for one's self-presentation to be constructed from their own and other's generated content, asking for co-operation from other users; and trusting each other to help one another create or protect one's desired image, play an important role in regulating interpersonal boundary in SNS context (Lampinen et al., 2011).

Nonetheless, before seeking supports from other people, individuals needed to regulate interpersonal boundary in SNSs by themselves. According to Lampinen et al. (2009) who observed 20 Facebook users' online behavior and conducted an in-depth interview with ten of them who were highly active users, SNS users employed both mental and behavioral to handle privacy and multiplicity of audiences in SNSs. Mental strategies referred to the way people relied on the trust they had for each other, believing other people would be considerate and responsible enough so they would not post problematic content that could affect their self-presentation. Behavioral strategies, on the other hand, referred to the way people handled the boundary regulation by themselves such as using other communication platforms to keep some content private, adjusting privacy settings, deleting content and unfriending. However, with the characteristics that can be copied, forwarded, accessed from anywhere or taken out to anywhere (d. boyd, 2008); if they judged that the content was likely to be problematic, SNS users would self-censor or choose not to share it in the first place (Lampinen et al., 2009).

Referred to the study by Sleeper, Balebako, et al. (2013), SNS users self-censored various types of content such as personal opinions, politic related content, entertainment related content etc. However, they would choose to share those unshared content if they were able to select specific audiences to see it. The desire to restrict audience's accessibility to their content indicated the need for interpersonal boundary regulation and, in part, reflected that the tools provided on SNSs were not effective enough to solve this problem (Das & Kramer, 2013; Sleeper, Balebako, et al., 2013). Since people depended on their audiences to regulate interpersonal boundary (Altman, 1975), it could be construed that self-censorship as a boundary regulation

strategy was also affected by SNS users' perception of their audiences (Sleeper, Balebako, et al., 2013).

2.4.2. Need for Self-Presentation

2.4.2.1   Rethinking the Theory of Self-Presentation in SNS Landscape

As the theory of boundary regulation involved how people maintain relationship with themselves and their audiences, it was placed in close relation with Goffman (1959's)theory of self-presentation.

According to (Goffman, 1959), in everyday life, people engaged in the performance of self-presentation to create certain impression to their audience in order to be treated in certain ways. Using both verbal and non-verbal cues, individuals would consciously or unconsciously try to gain control over impressions other people form about them; and at the same time, try to present themselves in a way that they want to be perceived by the others. Therefore, the self individuals presented in front of each other presentation could be regarded as a result of a co-operative process as people presented themselves based the ongoing interaction between themselves and audiences.

However, it should be noted that Goffman (1959's) were based on face-to-face encounters where people typically communicated with small number of audiences at a time, and relied more on what they could see and hear when they were in the presence of each other, making beginnings and endings of each interaction with others are clearly defined. Today, with the availability of SNS technologies and characteristics of SNS environment that blurred the boundary of public and private; collapsed the multiplicity of audiences into single context; and made the audience

presence become less salient, the way people used to manage self-presentation had become increasingly complicated as the composition of audiences became hard to define (Alice E. Marwick & boyd, 2011).

Unlike other forms of computer-mediated communication such as instant messaging that enabled one-to-one communication and provided relative clear information of an audience, SNSs supported one-to-many communication by default (d. boyd, 2010). According to d. boyd (2008), SNSs enabled networked publics or publics that had been transformed by networked technologies. Networked publics affordances allowed new social dynamics and challenges to emerge; people had to handle with the blurring between public and private, context collapsed and invisible audiences (d. boyd, 2008). Though d. boyd (2008) had noted that these dynamics were based on dynamics shaped by broadcast media, the massive popularity of SNSs had made their impacts on people's life stronger than ever before.

According to Alice E. Marwick and boyd (2011), while audiences in broadcast media were more likely a 'faceless mass' (Alice E. Marwick & boyd, 2011), the networked audiences were people who possibly had public or personal relations with individuals (Alice E. Marwick & boyd, 2011). Since SNSs brought audiences from different social circles (i.e. family, friends, co-worker) which were normally separated together and collapsed them into a single context, they made the presence of distinct audiences become less salient and at the same time intensified conflicting contexts and norms (d. boyd, 2008). In addition, with the properties of digital content that could be easily recorded, duplicated, distributed and can be accessed through search regardless space and time (d. boyd, 2008), it could be simply taken out

of its original context and shown to any audiences (d. boyd, 2008). Therefore, SNS users often found it difficult to define their audiences and maintain distinct self-presentation for different groups of audiences who were technically co-existing at the same space and time (Alice E. Marwick & boyd, 2011).

2.4.2.2 Handling Unintended Audiences and Regrets: Self-Censorship as a Means of Self-Presentation

Based on several research, to handle the less visible audiences and to be able to appropriately present themselves in SNS context, individuals would depend on their imagination and cues from social context to create their own audiences (Alice E. Marwick & boyd, 2011). Like in other mediated communication where the presence of audiences was less salient, people would present themselves based on the 'imagined audiences' (Alice E. Marwick & boyd, 2011). However, it should be noted that the imagined audience could be totally different from the actual audience (Alice E. Marwick & boyd, 2011); and in many cases, the actual audience could turn out to be an 'unintended' audience (Wang et al., 2011).

According to Wang et al. (2011), the unintended audience was a major cause for Facebook regrets. In their study, Wang et al. first conducted an online survey to explore users' attitude on Facebook privacy with 301 participants, then they conducted semi-structured interviews with 19 participants to ask in-depth questions about users' regrettable experiences on SNSs. After captured the most memorable regrettable experiences of the interviewees, to investigate further on how regrets might affect users' subsequent behavior on Facebook, they conducted a month-long diary study with 12 participants to collect data about users' daily activity on Facebook. The

diary asked what activities the user conducted, if the user had any regrets that day, and other questions about positive or negative experiences on Facebook. Finally, based on results from preceding online survey, interview and diary study, they conducted a survey to gain further insight on specific aspects of regret; only participants who have regrettable experiences from Facebook took the survey (492 participants). They found that Facebook users' regret sharing content involving sensitive topics such as alcohol and illegal drug use, sex, religions and politics, negative comments, lies, and secrets; when perceived by the unintended audience, these post often bring serious negative repercussions (Wang et al., 2011).

As prior research suggested, though people were trying to present themselves based on specific audiences, their self-presentation could still be judged negatively (Alice E. Marwick & boyd, 2011). Since SNSs like Facebook enabled networked publics that contained multiple audiences from different social circles and conflicting norms; the self-presentation that seemed to be appropriate for one audience might not be appropriate for another (Wang et al., 2011). Also, sometimes even only the intended audiences were allowed to see the content, the attempt to manage self-presentation could still fail because the audience might misinterpret or perceive it differently (Wang et al., 2011).

Moreover, since the fail self-presentation in SNSs could lead to serious and tangible repercussions such as breaking up relationships or job losses in real life (Sleeper, Balebako, et al., 2013), SNS users were found using several strategies to reduce its negative effects. According to Wang et al. (2011), before posting in Facebook, individuals employed proactive measures such as adjusting privacy setting

to prevent unintended audiences from viewing their content. They also used in-situ measures such as choosing not to share content while using Facebook. Even after the content was posted, individuals still used reactive measures such as deleting content to manage their self-presentation. However, as Wang et al. (2011) noted, managing content after it had been posted might not be an effective strategy to prevent negative consequences because some audiences might have already seen the content. Thus, instead of posting the content they thought about sharing, SNS users who experienced regrets on Facebook would choose to self-censor (Wang et al., 2011).

Similarly, Alice E. Marwick and boyd (2011) found that Twitter users self-censor content that was not appropriate for some audiences. By asking their followers in Twitter regarding their imagined audiences and appropriate sharing content, they received 226 responses from 181 users. Their findings showed that most of the users recognized Twitter as a public space and they tried to maintain self-presentation that was suitable for potential public audiences. Therefore, in order to avoid creating wrong impressions, Twitter users choose to self-censor content that involved controversial subjects such as sex, dating, relationships on Twitter or used the 'lowest common denominator' (Hogan, 2010) or shared only topics that were appropriate for all potential audiences (Alice E. Marwick & boyd, 2011).

In line with previous studies, Sleeper, Balebako, et al. (2013), found that SNS users self-censored various types of content such as personal opinions, politic related content, entertainment related content etc. By conducting a two-phased study consisted of a weeklong diary study and an in-lab interviews, Sleeper, Balebako, et al. (2013) asked 30 Facebook users to report all the self-censored content on

Facebook through SMS messaging and filled out nightly surveys to further describe unshared content and any shared content that they decided to post on Facebook. Then, they conducted an in-lab interview with 18 qualified participant to ask for more details about self-censored content and further insight for their decision to self-censor and the condition they were willing to share those unshared content. They found that individuals chose self-censor various types of content because of five reasons: 1.) to avoid conflicts; 2.) to avoid causing offense to others; 3.) to avoid making other people feel bored; 4.) to avoid inconsistent self-presentation; and 5.) obstructed by technological limitations. Nonetheless, they would share some of the self-censored content if they could choose specific persons or groups to see it.

From their findings, Sleeper, Balebako, et al. (2013's) suggested that the need for self-presentation appeared to be a major cause for self-censorship in SNS context. However, though reasons for choosing not to post such as avoiding to cause conflicts, offenses or boredom to others can be referred to spiral of silence theory and self-esteem motive, which resonated the motivation for self-censorship the need for self-presentation in non SNS context; the need for self-presentation in SNSs tend to be motivated by the desire to maintain consistency of one's self-presentation and balance between private and public in SNS environment where multiple groups of audiences were co-existing as SNS users would allow some audiences to see the self-censored content and would restrict it from the audiences who were not meant for that content (Das & Kramer, 2013; Lampinen et al., 2011; Sleeper, Balebako, et al., 2013).

Supported by empirical evidences, Das and Kramer (2013) who conducted a qualitative study on Facebook users' self-censorship behavior underlined

two principles that affect Facebook users' decision to self-censor: *"people censor more when their audience is harder to define, and people censor more when the relevance or topicality of a CMC space is narrower."* In other words, people self-censored 'posts' more than 'comments' as it was harder to conceptualize the "audience" compared to comments, because the posts (e.g., status updates) would be visible to all audiences in their friend list. Moreover, as people found it more difficult to create relevant content to specific audiences than to non-specific audiences, they tended to self-censor more when posting in groups or when they knew who they were directly talking to. Also, they found that even though users had used tools for privacy controls, they still tended to self-censor more if they had large number of friends. On the other hand, people who had smaller number of friends relatively self-censored less.

To date, there were increasing examples of people who faced with negative repercussions of SNS posts. As the nature of SNSs and the characteristics of digital content that could be easily recorded, duplicated, distributed, searched and taken out of context (d. boyd, 2008) had largely confounded the ways they used to manage their audiences and balance between private and public, SNS users were found with tensions in maintaining appropriate self-presentation to a wide range of audiences (Alice E. Marwick & boyd, 2011). As one could not have absolute control over their audiences and privacy in SNS context (Tufekci, 2008), it was essential for SNS users to be aware of content they are going to post in SNSs. Since fail impressions on SNSs could seriously affect one's life (Wang et al., 2011), the consideration for self-censoring content before posting on SNSs, therefore, was often found not only useful, but also necessary ("Think before you post," n.d.)

2.5 Conceptual Framework
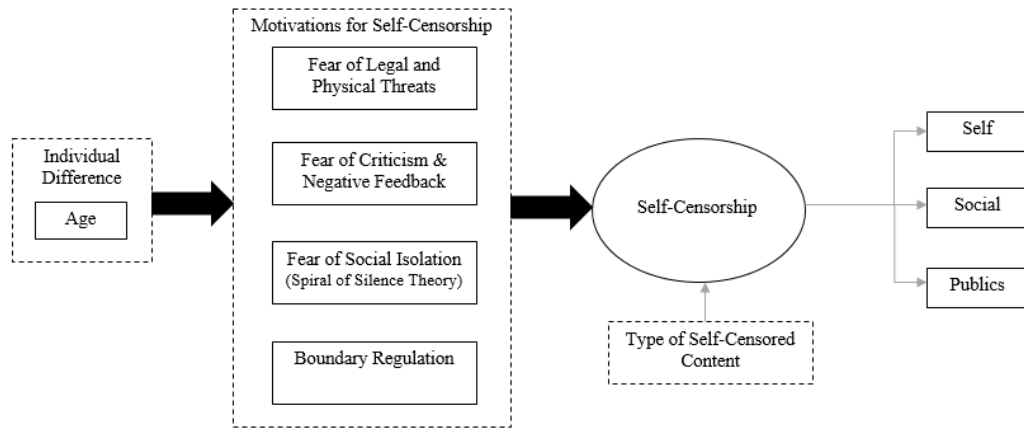
CHAPTER III

METHODOLOGY

Aiming to investigate self-censorship behavior among Thai Facebook users regarding why and what Thai users were currently not sharing on Facebook, despite the intention to share, the current study employed both quantitative and qualitative research methods, namely survey and in-depth interview to fulfill research objectives. The research design, population and sample, sampling method and data collection as well as the reliability and validity of the instrument were discussed in this chapter.

3.1 Research Design

The presenting study was designed based on a concurrent mixed method approach; thus, divided into two parts: survey and in-depth interview.

3.1.1 Survey

The survey was employed to gain an empirical evidence of Thai Facebook users' self-censorship behavior related experiences on Facebook. It also included several variables used to assess respondents' individual differences and their relationship with self-censorship behavior on Facebook.

3.1.2 In-depth Interview

In order to capture the essence of self-censorship behavior on Facebook from a phenomenological perspective, the in-depth interview was conducted to explore

individuals' practices, perception and experiences related to self-censorship behavior on Facebook. It also employed to investigate general attitudes towards Facebook and content that should be self-censored on Facebook.

3.2 Population and Sample

The target population for this study was Thai active Facebook users who visited Facebook more than once a day and aged at least 18 years old. The sample for survey and in-depth interview were determined and selected based on the following criteria:

3.2.1 Survey

The survey sample were Thai Facebook users who aged at least 18 years old and were active users of the site (visit the Facebook at least once a day). The sample size was determined at 400 as the number yielded a margin of error of $\pm$5% or lower at the 95% confidence level which has been *'established as a generally acceptable level of confidence in most behavioral sciences'* (Hill, 1998). Additionally, in order to compare self-censorship behavior among age range, the sample were divided into 4 subgroups: 1.) 18-24 years old 2.) 25-34 years old 3.) 35-49 and 4.) 50+ years old. The sample size for each subgroup was determined at 100.

3.2.2 In-depth Interview

The sample for in-depth interview were Thai Facebook users, aged at least 18 years old and have at least one year experience of using Facebook. As this study sought intimate understanding about Thai Facebook users' motivations, perception and experiences on self-censorship, a user with rich Facebook experiences was required. In addition, to acquire further insight of characteristics of self-censorship behavior among different age groups, the sample size for the in-depth interview was determined at 10,

and was divided into 2 subgroups based on the age of generation X and Y: 1.) 35-55 years old (5 people), 2.) 18-24 years old (5 people).

3.3 Sampling Method and Data Collection

Quota sampling method was employed for both quantitative and qualitative approach as it provided opportunities for further investigating on characteristics of sample from different age groups. Procedures for both quantitative and qualitative data collection were provided as followed:

3.3.1 Survey

The survey was developed and administered online via a web-based service (www.surveymonkey.com). The questions included multiple choices, multiple checkboxes and scale were originally developed in English and translated into Thai (Thai translation for the survey was provided in Appendix B). The data were distributed online via the researcher's personal network and was collected within a period of two week (April 29-May 11, 2016).

3.3.2 In-depth Interview

The qualitative research in the form of in-depth interviews was incorporated to capture the essence of self-censorship behavior in SNS landscape from phenomenological perspective. In total, 10 interviewees were recruited via the researcher's personal network. The interviews was conducted in during April and May, 2016 via a phone call or in face-to-face setting selected by each interviewee according to his or her preference. Each interview was conducted in Thai and lasted from 30 to 60 minutes.

3.4 Instruments

The presenting study employed different instruments for quantitative and qualitative approach as followed:

3.4.1 Survey

A survey in the form of structured questionnaires was designed on a web-based service (www.surveymonkey.com). The survey consisted of four part. The first part was demographic questions concerning age, gender, and education level. The second part featured participants' Facebook usage questions concerning their experiences with Facebook and frequency of Facebook usage as well as amount and diversity of Friends on Facebook. The third part was the measures on individual differences, namely, information control, self-disclosure, self-monitor, self-esteem and online regret experiences. The last part concerned self-censorship behavior regarding frequency, motivations and types of self-censored content.

- Measurements

Most of the measurements were drawn from existing literature to ensure reliability and validity of the scales. A complete copy of the survey is provided in Appendix A.

Basic demographic information. A self-administered scale was used to gather participants' information about their age, gender and education. Only participants who reported at least 18 years old are eligible to continue the survey.

Facebook usage. Participants' experiences with Facebook and frequency of Facebook usage was also asked through the following questions: (1) How long have you been using Facebook? (2) How often do you check your Facebook feed?

(3) How often do you post on your Facebook (i.e. updating status, posting or sharing pictures, video, links). Response categories were ranged from: 1=Rarely, 2=Once a month, 3=Less than once a week, but more than once a month, 4=Once a week, 5=Several times a week, 6=Once a day, 7=More than once a day. Only participants who reported visiting Facebook at least once a day are eligible to continue the survey.

Amount and diversity of Facebook Friends. Adapted from a study by Litt et al. (2014), participants were asked to select a choice of the amount and diversity of their Facebook Friends through following questions: (1) How many Facebook friends do you have? (2) Please check the following groups that are included in your Facebook friends**,** choices include: (a) Boyfriend/Girlfriend/Spouse, (b) Parents, (c) Child/ Children, (d) Siblings/ Relatives, (e) Friend, (f) Acquaintance, (g) People I recognize as friend of a friend, (h) Co-workers/Colleagues/Clients (Current or former), (i)   Teacher/ Professor/ Boss Current or former), (j) Students/ Subordinates, (k) Family members of a boyfriend/ girlfriend/ spouse, (l) People I recognize, but are not friend of a friend, (m) Stranger with Facebook mutual friend, (n) Stranger with no Facebook mutual friend, (o) Other.

Information control.   Participants' restriction over friend request acceptance and usage of privacy setting were assessed through a 5-point Likert scale. The scale was adapted from Christofides, Muise, and Desmarais (2012a)'s study, asking participants to indicate to what extent they tend to (1) reject friend request from people they do not know (2) reject friend request to control audience accessibility to their information and (3) adjust privacy setting.

Self-disclosure. The Revised Self-Disclosure Scale, modified from a study by Louis Leung (2002), was adopted to assess information participants communicate about themselves on Facebook. Focusing on two dimensions of self-disclosure, eight items were used to assess the breadth (amount) and depth (intimacy) of self-disclosure. The answers were reported on a 5-point Likert scale, ranging from 1=strongly disagree to 5=strongly agree.

Self-monitor. Participants' self-monitoring skill was measured using a Revised Self-monitoring Scale by Lennox and Wolfe (1984), which had been used in previous studies on social media (Litt et al., 2014). Using 5-point Likert scale, ten items were used to assess participants' ability to modify self-presentation and sensitivity to the expressive behavior of others. A Sample item from the Revised Self-Monitoring Scale was: "I have the ability to control the way I come across to people depending on the impression I wish to give them."

Self-esteem. The level of participants' self-esteem was measured using a five-item survey derived from Rosenberg (1989) (as cited in Nicole B Ellison et al., 2007). The items included five positive statements such as "on the whole, I am satisfied with myself." The answers were reported on a 5-point Likert scale, ranging from 1=strongly disagree to 5=strongly agree.

Online Regret Experiences. A self-administered scale adapted from Wang et al. (2011)'s study was used to assess participants' online regret experiences. Participants were asked to rate a 7-point Likert scale to indicate how often they (1) have been regretted posting something on Facebook; (2) have been affected by the post they

regretted sharing and (3) have been affected by Facebook post generated by others. Response options were ranged from 1=never, 7=always.

Self-censorship behavior.   To assess participants' self-censorship behavior, participants were asked to rate a 7-point Likert scale to indicate how often they feel like posting something on Facebook, but eventually decided not to share. Response options were ranged from 1=never to 7=always. Only participants who rated 2-7 are eligible to continue the survey.

Types of self-censored content.   Participants were provided with 19 choices of self-censored content, categorized based on a study by Sleeper et al. (2013) including (1) personal content, (2) external content (3) conversational content and (4) logistics. Participants were asked to select all the choices that apply to their self-censorship experience.

Motivations for self-censorship. Participants' motivations for self-censorship are measured through (a) self-presentation, (b) boundary regulation, and (c) physical threats and legal jeopardy. The answers were reported on a 5-point Likert scale, ranging from 1=strongly disagree to 5=strongly agree.

- Definition of Mean Score

The criteria for defining the mean score in this study were scored and presented in the class interval as followed:

1. 5-point Likert scale on level of agreement (1=strongly disagree, 5=strongly agree)

Score	Definition
4.21-5.00	Very High
3.41-4.20	High
2.81-3.40	Medium
1.81-2.80	Low
1.00-1.80	Very Low

2. 7-point Likert Scale on level of frequency (1=Never, 7=Always)

Score	Definition
6.21-7.00	Always (100% of all time)
5.41-6.20	Frequently (80-90% of all time)
4.21-5.00	Often (70% of all time)
3.41-4.20	Sometimes (50% of all time)
2.81-3.40	Occasionally (20%-30% of all time)
1.81-2.80	Rarely (10% of all time)
1.00-1.80	Never (0% of all time)

3.4.2 In-depth Interview

Questions for in-depth interview were guided by the measurements used in the survey. However, as it was semi-structured, changing question order and additional questions were employed to facilitate the flow of the interview and further insight on the interviewees' point of view.

3.5 Validity and Reliability

The validity and reliability of the instruments were necessary for credible research. Thus, to test validity and reliability of the instruments used in the current study, several methods were employed as followed:

3.5.1 Survey

To check the content validity, the survey was reviewed by the professors and scholars before collecting data from the actual sample. In addition, the survey was tested by 47 people as a group of the pilot testing before the actual survey in order to assure the clarification of the questions. The pre-survey was distributed through the researcher's personal network. The respondents were ask if they were clearly understand the question; several changes were made for spelling mistakes, errors, and ambiguous wordings afterwards.

Moreover, the current study employed Cronbach's alpha reliability coefficient to measure the internal consistency of the variables. The coefficient normally valued from 0 to 1. The closer the coefficient was to 1.0, the greater the internal consistency of the items in the scale (Gliem & Gliem, 2003). According to George and Mallery (2003) (as cited in Gliem & Gliem, 2003), the accepted rules of thumb for the Cronbach's alpha reliability coefficient were:

Cronbach's Alpha	Internal Consistency
$\alpha \geq 0.9$	Excellent
$0.9 \geq \alpha \geq 0.8$	Good
$0.8 \geq \alpha \geq 0.7$	Acceptable
$0.7 \geq \alpha \geq 0.6$	Questionable
$0.6 \geq \alpha \geq 0.5$	Poor
$0.5 \geq \alpha$	Unacceptable

Based on the pilot study conducted with 47 respondents, the reliability of overall survey scored up to 0.876 which was considered good. In addition, the scale for assessing individual differences including information control ($\alpha=0.772$), self-disclosure ($\alpha=0.855$), self-esteem ($\alpha =0.948$), self-monitor ($\alpha =0.884$) and online regret experiences (0.776) were scored higher than 0.7. Similarly, the scale for assessing motivations for self-censorship behavior on Facebook including self-presentation motive ($\alpha=0.710$), boundary regulation motive ($\alpha=0.801$) and fear of legal and physical threat motive ($\alpha=0.876$) were also scored higher than 0.7 which was the highest accepted value according to the rule of Cronbach's alpha reliability coefficient.

3.5.2 In-depth Interview

According to Lawrence Leung (2015), validity in qualitative research referred to the appropriateness of tools, processes and data; whereas reliability indicated the exact replicability of the process and outcome. To test the validity and reliability of the questions and process of the interview, a pilot study was conducted with several participants to check whether the questions were clear and valid for desired outcome. The results from the pilot study help providing the insight on trends of participants'

answer; and thus, contributing to the better quality of questions, follow-up questions as well as the ability to facilitate the flow of the interview.

3.6 Data Analysis

3.4.1 Survey

After collecting survey data, SPSS software was employed to processed and coded quantitative resilts. In addition, the one-way analysis of variance (ANOVA) was employed to determine whether there were any significant differences of self-censorship behavior between four different age groups (18-24, 25-34, 35-49, 50 or older).

3.4.2 In-depth Interview

The in-depth interviews were conducted in Thai. They were recorded, transcribed and then translated into English. The data was analyzed by dividing the open-ended questions into different themes according to the research questions.

CHAPTER IV

RESULTS & ANALYSIS

To fulfill research questions and objectives, an online survey and in-depth interviews were used for data collections and analysis. Thus, based on a concurrent mixed method approach, quantitative and qualitative data were assessed separately with statistical and thematic analysis, then combined. In this chapter, both empirical and qualitative findings were defined and presented as followed:

4.1 Participants' Basic Demographic Information

4.2 Facebook Usage and Amount and Diversity of Friends on Facebook

4.3 Self-Censorship Behavior and Research Questions

4.4 Individual Differences

4.5 Additional Findings

4.1 Participants' Basic Demographic Information

This part included survey and in-depth interview participants' basic demographic information on age, gender and level of education.

4.1.1 Survey Respondent's Basic Demographic Information

This study aimed to investigate self-censorship behavior among active Thai Facebook users, thus valid questionnaires were only obtained from participants who aged at least 18 years old and visited Facebook at least once a day. In total, 552 respondents completed the questionnaires, but only 452 responses satisfied the

conditions of age and frequency of Facebook usage. The empirical findings and analysis regarding respondent's basic demographic information were defined and discussed as followed:

- Age

Based on a quota sampling method, a sample size for each age groups was determined at 100. As a result, 452 valid responses were obtained from four different age groups, with 102 respondents being 18-24 years old (22.6%); 128 respondents being 25-34 years old (28.3%), 118 respondents being 35-49 years old (26.11%); and 104 respondents being 50 years old or older (23%).

Table 1 Respondent's age

Age (years old)	Frequency	Percent
18-24	102	22.6%
25-34	128	28.3%
35-49	118	26.1%
50 or above	104	23.0%
Total	**452**	**100**

- Gender

The statistical figures suggested that the majority of respondents were female (75.44%, N=341). Likewise, the majority of respondents within every age group were also female. The proportion of female in each age group, ranging from 18-24 years old, 25-34 years old, 35-49 years old and 50 years old or above, accounted for 72.55% (N=74), 76.56% (N=98), 72.03% (N=85) and 80.77% (N=84) respectively.

Table 2 Respondent's gender compared by age group

Gender	18-24		25-34		35-49		50 or above		Total	
	f	%	f	%	f	%	f	%	f	%
Male	28	27.45	30	23.44	33	27.97	20	19.23	111	24.56
Female	74	72.55	98	76.56	85	72.03	84	80.77	341	75.44
Total	102	100	128	100	118	100	104	100	452	100

- Education Level

According to the statistical figures, respondents who received Bachelor's degree or equivalent were the majority of the samples (60.40%, N=273), followed by respondents who received Master's degree or higher (22.57%, N=102) and respondents who graduated at High School level or lower (17.04%, N=77). When compared by age group, the statistical figures indicated that respondents who received Bachelor's degree were also the majority within every age group at 77.45% (N=79), 55.47% (N=71), 52.54% (N=62), and 58.65% (N=61) respectively. However, it was found that the second highest group within respondents who aged between 25-34 years old, 35-49 years old and 50 years old or above were those who received higher than Bachelor's degree at 32.03% (N=41), 29.66% (N=35) and 21.15% (N=22) respectively, followed by respondents who received lower than Bachelor's degree at 12.50% (N=16), 17.80% (N=21) and 20.19% (N=21) respectively. For respondents who were 18-24 years old, the second highest group was respondents who had not completed Bachelor's degree (18.63%, N=19), followed by a small proportion of respondents whose education level was higher than Bachelor's degree (3.92%, N=4).

Table 3 Respondents' education level compared by age group

Education Level	18-24		25-34		35-49		50 or above		Total	
	f	%	f	%	f	%	f	%	f	%
Lower than Bachelor's degree	19	18.63	16	12.50	21	17.80	21	20.19	77	17.04
Bachelor's degree or equivalent	79	77.45	71	55.47	62	52.54	61	58.65	273	60.40
Higher than Bachelor's degree	4	3.92	41	32.03	35	29.66	22	21.15	102	22.57
Total	102	100	128	100	118	100	104	100	452	100

4.1.2 In-depth Interview Participants' Basic Demographic Information

In total, participants for the in-depth interview were 3 Male and 7 Female. Participants aged ranging from 21-52 years olds and were divided into 2 subgroups based on the age of generation X—18-34 years old (N=5) and Y—35-55 years old (N=5). 4 out of 5 generation Y participants received Bachelor's Degree whereas 4 out of 5 generation X participants received higher than Bachelor's Degree. The summary of in-depth interview participants' basic demographic information was provided in part 4.2.2 In-depth Interview Participants' Facebook Usage and Amount and Diversity of Friends on Facebook.

4.2 Facebook Usage and Amount and Diversity of Friends on Facebook

This part included information on survey and in-depth interview participants' Facebook usage and amount and diversity of their Facebook Friends.

4.2.1 Survey Respondents' Facebook Usage and Amount and Diversity of Friends on Facebook

- Experience with Facebook

As the results suggested, most of the respondents had been using Facebook for at least 4 years. The statistical figures indicated that 196 respondents had

been using Facebook for 4-6 years (43.36%) whereas 188 respondents had been using

Facebook for more than 6 years (41.49%). Only a small proportion of respondents had

been using Facebook for 3 years or less (N=62, 13.72%) and only few respondents had

been using Facebook for less than 1 year (N=6, 1.33%). However, while most of the

respondents aged between 18-24 years old (54.9%, N=56), 25-34 years old (40.68%,

N=48), and 50 years old and above (43.27%, N=45) had been using Facebook for 4-6

years, the majority of respondents aged between 25-34 years old had been using

Facebook for more than 6 years (56.25%, N=72). In addition, while none of the

respondents aged between 18-24 years old and 25-34 years old had been using

Facebook for less than one year, it was found that there were few respondents who aged

between 35-49 years old (3.39%, N=4) and 50 years old or above (1.92%, N=2) who

had just started using Facebook for less than one year.

Table 4 Respondents' experience with Facebook compared by age group

Experience with Facebook	18-24		25-34		35-49		50 or above		Total	
	f	%	f	%	f	%	f	%	f	%
Less than 1 year	0	0.00	0	0.00	4	3.39	2	1.92	6	1.33
1-3 years	7	6.86	9	7.03	23	19.49	23	22.12	62	13.72
4-6 years	56	54.90	47	36.72	48	40.68	45	43.27	196	43.36
More than 6 years	39	38.24	72	56.25	43	36.44	34	32.69	188	41.59
Total	102	100	128	100	118	100	104	100	452	100

- Frequency of Facebook usage

As this study aimed to investigate self-censorship behavior among active Thai Facebook users, valid questionnaires were obtained from only participants who visited Facebook at least once a day. According to the results, most of the respondents, accounted for 87.17%, visited Facebook more than once a day (N=394); only a small proportion of respondents visited Facebook once a day (12.83%, N=58). Moreover, the statistical figures also suggested that the majority of respondents within every age group visited Facebook more than once daily. Especially, almost every respondents aged between 18-24 and 25-34 years old visited Facebook many times a day at 92.16% (N=94) and 94.53% (N=121) respectively. In contrast, while the majority of respondents aged between 35-39 and 50 years old also visited Facebook more than once a day at 84.75% (N=100) and 75.96% (N=79) respectively, there was a small proportion of respondents from these two older age groups who visited Facebook only once a day (N_{34-49}=18, 15,25%; N_{50+}=25, 24.04%).

Table 5 Respondents' frequency of Facebook usage compared by age group

Frequency of Facebook Usage	18-24		25-34		35-49		50 or above		Total	
	f	%	f	%	f	%	f	%	f	%
Once a day (6)	8	7.84	7	5.47	18	15.25	25	24.04	58	12.83
More than once a day (7)	94	92.16	121	94.53	100	84.75	79	75.96	394	87.17
Total	102	100	128	100	118	100	104	100	452	100

- Frequency of Facebook update

Based on the statistical figures, respondents who posted on their Facebook several times a week formed the majority of samples (28.54%, N=129),

followed by respondents who posted more than once a day (14.82%, N=67), and

respondents who posted once a month (14.38%, N=65) respectively. Similarly, the

statistical figures also indicated that the majority within each age group posted several

times a week (N_{18-24}=35, 34.31%; N_{25-34}=43, 33.59%; N_{35-49}=27, 22.88%; N_{50+}=24,

23.08%). However, when compared between age group, it was found that respondents

aged between 18-24 years old posted the most frequent on Facebook as 58.8% of them

posted at least several times a week (N=60); followed by respondents aged 50 years old

(N=52, 50%), respondents aged between 25-34 years old (N=63, 49.21%) and

respondents aged between 35-49 years old (N=50, 42.37%) respectively.

Table 6 Respondents' frequency of Facebook update compared by age group

Frequency of Facebook Update	18-24		25-34		35-49		50 or above		Total	
	f	%	f	%	f	%	f	%	f	%
Rarely (1)	10	9.80	10	7.81	13	11.02	18	17.31	51	11.28
Once a month (2)	10	9.80	17	13.28	23	19.49	15	14.42	65	14.38
Less than once a week, but more than once a month (3)	16	15.69	23	17.97	22	18.64	12	11.54	73	16.15
Once a week (4)	6	5.88	15	11.72	10	8.47	7	6.73	38	8.41
Several times a week (5)	35	34.31	43	33.59	27	22.88	24	23.08	129	28.54
Once a day (6)	8	7.84	3	2.34	8	6.78	10	9.62	29	6.42
More than once a day (7)	17	16.67	17	13.28	15	12.71	18	17.31	67	14.82
Total	102	100	128	100	118	100	104	100	452	100

- Amount of Friends on Facebook

While the overall results indicated that the respondents' amount of

Friends on Facebook was not large as there was a similar number of respondents who

had Friends on Facebook less than 200 (26.77%, N=121) and 201-400 (26.55%,

N=120); it should be noted that the amount of Facebook Friends between the two

youngest and the two oldest age groups were very different. For example, while the majority of respondents aged between 35-49 years old (46.61%, N=55) and 50 years old or above (45.19%, N=47) had less than 200 Friends on Facebook, the majority of respondents aged between 18-24 years old (38.24%, N=39) and 25-34 years old (25%, N=32) had more than 1000 Friends on Facebook. The statistical figures also suggested that most of respondents aged between 35-49 and 50 years old and above had 400 Friends on Facebook or less (N_{35-49}=97, 82.2%; N_{50+}=80, 76.92%) whereas most of respondents aged between 18-24 and 25-34 years old had more than 400 Friends on Facebook (N_{18-24}=85, 83.33%; N_{25-34}=81, 63.28%).

Table 7 Respondents' audience size compared by age group

Audience Size	18-24		25-34		35-49		50 or above		Total	
	f	%	f	%	f	%	f	%	f	%
Less than 200 (1)	3	2.94	16	12.50	55	46.61	47	45.19	121	26.77
201-400 (2)	14	13.73	31	24.22	42	35.59	33	31.73	120	26.55
401-600 (3)	17	16.67	27	21.09	9	7.63	14	13.46	67	14.82
601-800 (4)	13	12.75	12	9.38	4	3.39	4	3.85	33	7.30
801-1000 (5)	16	15.69	10	7.81	0	0.00	3	2.88	29	6.42
More than 1000 (6)	39	38.24	32	25.00	8	6.78	3	2.88	82	18.14
Total	102	100	128	100	118	100	104	100	452	100

- Diversity of Friends on Facebook

Based on the statistical figures, the majority of respondents' Facebook Friends comprised of friends (93.10%, N=421), followed by siblings and/or relatives (78.80%, N=356) and acquaintances (74.60%, N=337). Other types of Facebook Friends included people who shared same interest, people I met when travelling, people

who sent me a friend request to play games on Facebook (1.30%, N=6). The statistical figures also suggested that the majority of Facebook Friends within the two oldest groups were the same as the overall results, which was Friends ($N_{35\text{-}49}$=107, 90.68%; N_{50+}=91, 87.50%), followed by siblings and/or relatives ($N_{35\text{-}49}$=85, 72.03%; N_{50+}=78, 75%), and acquaintances ($N_{35\text{-}49}$=67, 56.78%; N_{50+}=65, 62.50%) respectively. However, though the majority of Facebook Friends of respondents aged between 25-34 years old also comprised of friends (N=124, 96.88%), the amount of acquaintances (N=113, 88.28%) and siblings and/or relatives (N=112, 87.50%) on Facebook were not much different. On the other hand, the majority of Facebook Friends of respondents aged between 18-24 years old comprised of friends (N=99, 97.06%), followed by acquaintances (N=92, 90.20%), and equal numbers of friends of a friend (N=83, 81.37%) and teacher and/or professor and/or boss (N=83, 81.37%). In addition, respondents aged between 18-24 years old had the highest proportion of strangers with no mutual Friends on Facebook (N=26, 25.49%), followed by respondents aged between 25-34, 35-49 and 50 years old or above respectively ($N_{24\text{-}35}$=28, 21.88%; $N_{35\text{-}49}$=17, 14.41%; N_{50+}=9, 8.65%).

Table 8 Respondents' audience diversity compared by age group

Types of Friends on Facebook	18-24		25-34		35-49		50 or above		Total	
	f	%	f	%	f	%	f	%	f	%
Boyfriend/ Girlfriend/ Spouse	38	37.25	65	50.78	39	33.05	48	46.15	190	42.00
Parents	65	63.73	60	46.88	15	12.71	6	5.77	146	32.30
Child/ Children	3	2.94	3	2.34	21	17.80	62	59.62	89	19.70
Siblings/ Relatives	81	79.41	112	87.50	85	72.03	78	75.00	356	78.80
Friend	99	97.06	124	96.88	107	90.68	91	87.50	421	93.10
Acquaintance	92	90.20	113	88.28	67	56.78	65	62.50	337	74.60
People I recognize as friend of a friend	83	81.37	79	61.72	51	43.22	44	42.31	257	56.90
Co-workers/ Colleagues /Clients (Current or Former)	22	21.57	42	32.81	35	29.66	34	32.69	133	29.40
Teacher/ Professor/ Boss (Current or Former)	83	81.37	83	64.84	35	29.66	37	35.58	238	52.70
Students/ Subordinates	18	17.65	34	26.56	40	33.90	38	36.54	130	28.80
Family members of a boyfriend/ girlfriend/ spouse	19	18.63	41	32.03	33	27.97	42	40.38	135	29.90
People I recognize, but are not friend of a friend	65	63.73	63	49.22	20	16.95	18	17.31	166	36.70
Strangers with Facebook mutual friend	48	47.06	43	33.59	27	22.88	27	25.96	145	32.10
Strangers with no Facebook mutual friend	26	25.49	28	21.88	17	14.41	9	8.65	80	17.70
Other	2	1.96	2	1.56	2	1.69	0	0.00	6	1.30

4.2.2 In-depth Interview Participants' Facebook Usage and Amount and Diversity of Friends on Facebook

Based on the interview results, all of the interview participants indicated that they had using Facebook for more than four years. Most of them stated that they started using Facebook as it was the most popular social media among friends. In addition, all of the interviewees mentioned that they usually visited Facebook more than once a day. Some of the interviewees expressed that they always logged into Facebook whenever they have free time. Most of the interviewees mentioned that they use Facebook to update news and information as well as to stay connect and reconnect with friends; however, they did not post on Facebook as intensely as their frequency of logging into Facebook. In comparison, the generation X interviewees did not post on Facebook as often as generation Y interviewees do. Out of 5 generation Y interviewees, only 1 interviewee posted on Facebook less than once a month whereas the others posted several times a week. On the contrary, only 2 out of 5 generation X posted several times a week while the others posted less than once a month. Most of the generation Y interviewees had more than 600 friends on Facebook, only 1 interviewee had about 300 Friends on Facebook. In contrast, most of the generation X interviewees had less than 400 Facebook Friends, only 1 interviewee had more than 600 Friends on Facebook. All of the interviewees were Friends with their friends, family and acquaintances on Facebook. Both generation X and Y interviewees expressed that they would accept strangers with mutual friends on Facebook, but would rarely accept strangers without mutual friends. However, 9 out of 10 interviewees indicated that they had few strangers without mutual friends in their Facebook. In addition, to summarize the information

on in-depth interview participants' Facebook usage and amount of Facebook Friends,

the summarized table was provided as below:

Table 9 Summary of in-depth interview participants' demographic information,
Facebook usage and amount of Friends on Facebook

	Pseudonym	Gender	Age	Education Level	Experience with Facebook	Visit Facebook	Post on Facebook	Amount of Facebook Friends
Generation Y	Tan	M	21	Bachelor's degree	4-6 years	More than once a day	Several times a week	600-800
	Kong	M	21	Bachelor's degree	4-6 years	More than once a day	Several times a week	600-800
	Ada	F	23	Bachelor's degree	4-6 years	More than once a day	Several times a week	More than 1000
	Nara	F	25	Bachelor's degree	More than 6 years	More than once a day	Less than once a month	200-400
	Min	F	28	Higher than Bachelor's degree	More than 6 years	More than once a day	Several times a week	600-800
Generation X	Lin	F	35	Higher than Bachelor's degree	More than 6 years	More than once a day	Several times a month	600-800
	Rata	F	36	Bachelor's degree	4-6 years	More than once a day	Less than once a month	200-400
	Ed	M	40	Higher than Bachelor's degree	4-6 years	More than once a day	Less than once a month	200-400
	Jan	F	51	Higher than Bachelor's degree	4-6 years	More than once a day	Less than once a month	Less than 200
	Mon	F	52	Higher than Bachelor's degree	4-6 years	More than once a day	Several times a week	Less than 200

4.3 Self-Censorship Behavior and Research Questions

This part included questions about frequency of self-censorship behavior on Facebook and research questions regarding motivations and types of censored content. Both findings from online survey and in-depth interviews were presented here as followed.

4.3.1 Frequency of Self-Censorship Behavior on Facebook

Before accessing the questions concerning motivations for self-censorship and types of self-censored content on Facebook, survey respondents were asked about frequency of their self-censorship behavior on Facebook. The results showed that out of 452 respondents, 85.62% had self-censored on Facebook (N=387); only 14.38% reported that they never changed their mind when they wanted to post something on Facebook (N=65).

In addition, based on the statistical figures, the frequency of self-censorship behavior among respondents from different age groups was different: the majority of respondents aged between 18-24 years old *often* self-censored (N=24, 23.53%); the majority of respondents aged between 25-34 years old *sometimes* self-censored (N=27, 21.09%); the majority of respondents aged between 35-49 years old *rarely* self-censored (N=30, 25.42%); and the majority of respondents aged 50 years old or above *never* self-censored (N=35, 33.65%).

Similarly, respondents aged 50 years old or above were found to be the majority of respondents who never self-censored on Facebook (N=35, 33.65%, N=35), followed by respondents aged 35-49 years old (N=21, 32.3%), respondents aged between 25-34 years (N=7, 10.8%), and respondents aged between 18-24 years old (N=2, 3.1%) respectively.

Table 10 Percentage of participants' frequency of self-censorship behavior compared by age group

Frequency	18-24		25-34		35-49		50 or above		Total	
	f	%	f	%	f	%	f	%	f	%
Never (1)	2	1.96	7	5.47	21	17.80	35	33.65	65	14.38
Rarely (2)	7	6.86	19	14.84	30	25.42	29	27.88	85	18.81
Occasionally (3)	8	7.84	20	15.63	22	18.64	16	15.38	66	14.60
Sometimes (4)	23	22.55	27	21.09	19	16.10	9	8.65	78	17.26
Often (5)	24	23.53	22	17.19	10	8.47	5	4.81	61	13.50
Frequently (6)	20	19.61	18	14.06	6	5.08	3	2.88	47	10.40
Always (7)	18	17.65	15	11.72	10	8.47	7	6.73	50	11.06
Total	**102**	**100**	**128**	**100**	**118**	**100**	**104**	**100**	452	100

Furthermore, when analyzed with ANOVA test, the results suggested that there was a significant difference on self-censorship behavior at the $p<.05$ level between different age groups [$F_{(3, 448)} = 37.177$, $p < .05$]. Post hoc comparisons using the Scheffe test indicated that the mean score for the frequency of self-censorship behavior of respondents aged between 18-24 years was the highest among four different age groups ($M = 4.88$, $SD = 1.543$), followed by respondents who aged between 25-34 years old ($M = 4.19$, $SD = 1.738$), respondents who aged between 35-49 years old ($M=3.21$, $SD=1.806$) and respondents who aged 50 years old or above ($M=2.59$, 1.760) respectively. All in all, the results suggested that Thai Facebook users at different age tend to have self-censorship behavior at different frequency on Facebook. Young Facebook users who aged between 18-24 years old were likely to self-censor the most frequent on Facebook, followed by users who aged between 25-34 years old. On the contrary, older Facebook users who aged between 35-49 years old were not likely to self-censor on Facebook; however, users who aged 50 years old or above were found to be the least likely to self-censor on Facebook.

Table 11 Results of ANOVA and Post hoc test on respondents' frequency of self-censorship behavior on Facebook

Age	Mean	SD	Definition of Mean Score	F	p	Post Hoc Test
18-24 (a)	4.88	1.54	Often (70% of all time)	37.177	.000*	a>b>c>d
25-34 (b)	4.19	1.73	Sometimes (50% of all time)			
35-49 (c)	3.21	1.80	Occasionally (20-30% of all time)			
50 or above (d)	2.59	1.76	Rarely (10% of all time)			
Total	3.72	1.916	Sometimes (50% of all time)			

*$p<.05$

In line with the empirical findings, most of the in-depth interview participants expressed that they had self-censored on Facebook and people from different age group tend to have self-censorship behavior at different frequency on Facebook. In particular, the interviewees aged 18-34 years old (generation Y) indicated that they often self-censor what they wanted to post on Facebook, despite having proofread or reviewed the content they were going to post for many times.

"When I want to post something in Facebook, I don't just type and post it right away. I'd type and read it before I post again and again. Often, I've decided not to post it and delete what I've typed."

Nara, 25, Y

"I've often wanted to post something on Facebook, but decided not to post. Even though sometimes I spend a lot of time thinking about the caption, there were many times that I've eventually decided not to post."

Kong, 21, Y

"I've many things that I've wanted to post on Facebook, but I often decided not to post about it."

Min, 28, Y

On the contrary, most of the generation X interviewees indicated that they rarely or occasionally self-censored what they were going to post on Facebook. Some of the generation X interviewees also mentioned that they did not often self-censor as they did not often post on Facebook; and when they wanted to post something on Facebook, they would consider to post about good things only.

"I seldom post on Facebook, so when I want to post something, I always get to post it (laugh). I rarely change my mind about what I'm going to post."

Rata, 36, X

"I've wanted to post something on Facebook, but decided not to. However, it doesn't happen often since I don't usually post much on Facebook. I think I rarely changed my mind when I wanted to post something on Facebook because what I wanted to post was something general. I never wanted to post something that would harm myself or others. "

Jan, 51, X

Also, aligned with the empirical findings suggesting that users aged 50 years old or above were found to be the least likely to self-censor on Facebook, one of the generation X interviewees indicated that she had never self-censored on Facebook. Having decided what should be posted or not to be posted on Facebook, the interviewee mentioned that she was confident of posts she was going to share on her own Facebook.

"I never want to post something on Facebook and then change my mind. If I want to post something on my Facebook, I would post it anyway as I have thought about it and I'm sure that it's a good thing to post. If I've considered something bad, I'd never want to post it in the first place."

Mon, 52, X

In general, when asked about their opinions about differences in self-censorship behavior between younger and older Facebook users, most of the interviewees expressed that younger Facebook users would self-censor more than older Facebook users since younger users preferred Facebook communication, had higher impulsivity and higher need for self-expression. On the contrary, they suggested that older users might self-censor less than younger users since they would not consider to post something against their own criteria.

"I think young people interact with Facebook a lot. When they feel something, they want to share it on Facebook. But at the same time, they may change their mind not to post it if they think that their friends will not like it. I think older people have thought before they post, so they don't often change their mind about what they're going to post. They don't feel like posting everything on Facebook like younger people do."

Jan, 51, X

"I think it goes according to human nature. Young people are more impulsive than old ones, so they might have wanted to post something on Facebook and changed their mind more often than old users do. Older users think before they post, but that doesn't mean they don't post inappropriate things. I've seen that they do (laugh), but compared to the young ones, they probably less often change their mind about things they want to post on Facebook."

Ed, 40, X

"I think older Facebook users, like my dad, had already decided what can and cannot be posted on Facebook. They wouldn't type something in the status update box and change their mind not to post it anymore. That's what happens to me, most of the time (laugh)."

Min, 28, Y

In addition, some generation Y interviewees also commented that older users self-censor less than younger users because they did not concern about their image on Facebook as much as younger users.

"I don't think that older Facebook users often change their mind about what they want to post on Facebook. They just post what they want. They don't really thinking much about their image, getting 'Like' or stuffs like that."

Ada, 23, Y

"Compared between young and old Facebook users, I think young users definitely want to post something and then change their mind more often than old users do. I think old Facebook users do not think much when they post, they just post what they want…don't really care if they look good or not. In contrast, young people do really care about how they look on Facebook and how other people think about them."

Kong, 21, Y

4.3.2 Research Questions

Based on 387 respondents who had self-censored on Facebook (85.62%), the empirical findings regarding motivations for self-censorship and types of self-censored content on Facebook were provided as followed:

1. Motivations for self-censorship on Facebook

RQ1: Why Thai users self-censor on Facebook?

According to the statistical figures, the need for boundary regulation was found to be the most significant motivation for respondents' self-censorship behavior (M=3.55, SD=0.74). The second most significant motivations was fear of legal and physical threats (M=3.48, SD=1.02). On the other hand, the self-presentation motive

regarding fear of criticism and negative feedback (M=3.38, SD=0.66) and fear of social isolation (M=2.92, SD=0.85) was found to be the least significant motivation for respondents' self-censorship behavior on Facebook respectively.

In addition, the results from one-way ANOVA test indicated there were no statistically significant between group means for boundary regulation motive [F(2,383) = .377, p = .679]; self-presentation motive, namely fear of criticism and negative feedback [F(2,383) = .206, p = .892] and fear of social isolation [F(2,383) = 1.133, p = .335]. In contrast, a statistically significant between group means were found for fear of legal and physical threat motive as determined by one-way ANOVA at p<0.05 level, [F(2,383) = 2.722, p = .044]. However, post hoc comparison using Scheffe test did not find the difference of group means between any pairs of data.

Table 12 Mean, ANOVA and post hoc test results on motivations for self-censorship behavior on Facebook

Motivations for Self-Censorship on Facebook	Overall Results					
	Mean	SD	Definition of Mean Score	F	p	Different between Age Group
Boundary Regulation	3.55	0.74	High	.377	.679	-
Fear of Legal & Physical Threats	3.48	1.02	High	2.722	.044*	Scheffe test did not find the difference in pairwise comparison
Fear of Criticism and Negative Feedback (Self-Esteem Motive)	3.38	0.66	Medium	.206	.892	-
Fear of Social Isolation (Spiral of Silence Motive)	2.92	0.85	Medium	1.133	.335	-

*p<.05

- Need for Boundary Regulation

Based on the statistical figures, need for boundary regulation scored the highest (M=3.55) among the motivations for self-censorship on Facebook. As the results suggested, respondents expressed high concerns over asserting control over interpersonal boundary not only for themselves, but also for others. However, the statistical figures suggested that boundary regulation motive concerning one's own privacy (M=3.67) scored higher than boundary regulation motive concerning others (M=3.49). In addition, though the statistical differences between group means were found in some items used to assess boundary regulation as the motivations for self-censorship on Facebook, the significant statistical difference between each age groups were not found in the overall results [F(2,383) = .377, p = .679].

Table 13 Results of ANOVA and Post hoc test on each items of boundary regulation motives concerning one's own privacy

	18-24		25-34		35-49		50 or above (d)		Overall Average		Definition of Mean Score	F	p	Post Hoc Test
	(a)		(b)		(c)									
	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD				
I don't want to make private go public.	4	0.93	4	0.95	3.7	1.05	4.09	0.63	**3.94**	**0.89**	High	3.029	0.029*	**
I want to talk about that topic with relevant people only.	3.56	1.05	3.6	1.07	3.43	1.12	3.45	0.89	**3.52**	**1.03**	High	0.622	0.601	-
I don't want to let the unanticipated audiences see it	3.48	1.05	3.65	1.08	3.6	1.08	3.36	0.95	**3.54**	**0.49**	High	1.315	0.269	-
Total	3.68	1.01	3.75	1.03	3.58	1.08	3.63	0.82	3.67	0.80	High			

*p<0.05
** Scheffe test did not find the difference in pairwise comparison

Table 14 Results of ANOVA and Post hoc test on each items of boundary regulation motives concerning others

	18-24 (a)		25-34 (b)		35-49 (c)		50 or above (d)		Overall Average		Definition of Mean Score	F	p	Post Hoc Test
	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD				
I don't want to annoy people who are irrelevant to the post.	3.46	1.08	3.31	1.03	3.58	1.03	3.35	1.02	**3.42**	**1.04**	High	1.298	.275	-
I don't want people who are not mentioned in the post feel bad i.e upset, jealous etc.	3.4	1	3.18	1.06	3.36	1.09	3.17	0.98	**3.28**	**1.03**	Medium	1.231	0.298	-
I don't want people who are relevant to the post to get caught in trouble or face negative repercussions.	3.52	1.05	3.3	1.17	3.71	1.05	3.83	0.85	**3.55**	**1.03**	High	4.583	0.004*	c,d>b
I don't want to make people who are relevant to the post feel bad and/or get into a fight with them.	3.56	0.97	3.65	0.98	3.68	1.04	3.78	0.85	**3.66**	**0.96**	High	0.729	0.535	-
I don't want to make people who are relevant to the post look bad.	3.58	0.95	3.3	1.03	3.55	1.1	3.57	0.88	**3.53**	**0.99**	High	4.422	0.005*	d>b
Total	3.50	1.01	3.35	1.05	3.58	1.06	3.54	0.92	3.49	1.01	High			

*$p<0.05$

Likewise, the results from the in-depth interviews also indicated that the need to regulate interpersonal boundary was regarded as an important motivation for self-censorship behavior on Facebook. Both generation X and Y interviewees showed a similar concern over attempts to regulate interpersonal boundary between them and their Facebook Friends as well as to prevent themselves and their friends from problematic situations.

- I don't want some people to know about this

Both generation X and Y interviewees expressed that they sometimes had trouble posting some content on Facebook because multiple groups of audiences from different social circles were co-existing at the same time. Therefore, to avoid negative repercussion caused from unanticipated audience, they would choose to self-censor.

"I decided not to post about my thought on the play of our faculty because I know that there aren't only my friends in Facebook, but also seniors and

juniors. If I discuss about what I don't like about the play on Facebook, people who involved with the play would surely see it and might be angry."

<div align="right">Ada, 23, Y</div>

"I wanted to complain about my work, but I decided not to post it on Facebook because my boss was there too (laugh)."

<div align="right">Min, 28, Y</div>

"I follow AF fan page, but I never click 'Like' on their photos because I'd feel a bit embarrassed if this action is shown to my friends (laugh). But I think most of them don't really know about AF (laugh). If I go to AF concert, I wouldn't post on my Facebook either (laugh). I don't want to look like an obsessive fangirl or something like that."

<div align="right">Jan, 51, X</div>

"I think Facebook is a place where many groups of people are gathered. Since we interact with each group of people differently, it's kind of difficult posting on Facebook or act for each different group properly. For me, I'd custom audience if there's something I don't want some people to know (laugh). But, sometimes I just decided to post nothing at all because I know that what I post on Facebook might be seen by anybody I wasn't anticipating."

<div align="right">Rata, 36, X</div>

- I don't want people who are relevant to the post to get caught in trouble or face negative repercussions.

In addition, some interviewees mentioned that even though they wanted to post some content on their Facebook, they would self-censor if the post was going to cause troubles for their friends.

"When I went on a trip with friends, I wanted to post some pictures, but I didn't because my friend didn't want the others to know that she was on a trip that

day. Since she told everyone at the office that she was sick, she'd be in trouble if the others found out."

Jan, 51, X

"My friend asked me and other friends in our group not to post pictures on Facebook every time we went out at night. We stayed at dorm then, so it was quite free for us to go out at night. We didn't go to club or anything like that; however, my friend's parents were very strict. They wouldn't be happy if they found out about this and my friend would get caught in trouble. Therefore, no matter how much we wanted to post pictures on our Facebook, we had never posted it."

Nara, 25, Y

"When I want to make joke with friends on Facebook, I'd also consider of Friends of my friends too. If they're Friend with parents or professors, I'd refrain from posting something too extreme. I don't want my friend to get humiliated or embarrassed from what I post."

Kong, 21, Y

- I don't want to annoy people who are irrelevant to the post/ or find the post irrelevant to themselves

Furthermore, some of the interviewees, especially generation Y, indicated that even though they perceived that the content could not seriously affect themselves or their friends, they would still feel uncomfortable to post if they think that their post could annoy some of their Facebook Friends.

"I decided not to promote my online shop on my personal Facebook because I'm afraid that they'd find my post annoying."

Nara, 25, Y

"I post about my feelings a lot on Facebook. I think that some people would get annoyed from what I post, so sometimes I just decided not to post about it."

Tan, 21, Y

Nonetheless, most of generation X interviewees did not mentioned that they had self-censored because they were afraid that the post would annoy other people. In general, the generation X interviewees indicated that they did not think that their Friends on Facebook would find their posts troublesome.

"I don't think that my post would annoy anyone since I think before I post. When I post something on my Facebook, I never think that 'I can't let somebody see this'; I only think that 'I want everybody to see this' (laugh)."

Ed, 40, X

"I never change my mind not to post because I'm afraid that people would find my post annoying. I only post about general stuffs; I never post anything that can really disturb someone. So, I don't think my friends would find my post annoying."

Rata, 36, X

- Fear of Legal and Physical Threats

According to the empirical results, fear of legal and physical threats was the second most significant motivation for self-censorship on Facebook (M=3.48). Also, the results showed that respondents did not only concern over their own safety, but also had high concern over others'. Based on the statistical figures, respondents reported had slightly higher concern for their own safety (M=3.61) than for others (M=3.53). They also highly aware of illegal content (M=3.33); thus, decided to self-censor. While a statistically significant differences between group means were found in the overall results for fear of legal and physical threats as motivation for self-censorship behavior on Facebook, a pairwise difference was not found when examined with post hoc test.

Table 15 Results of ANOVA and Post hoc test on each of fear of legal and physical threat items as motivations for self-censorship behavior on Facebook

	18-24		25-34		35-49		50 or above		Overall Average		Definition of Mean Score	F	p	Post Hoc Test
	Mean	SD	Mean	SD	Mean	SD	Mean	SD	Mean	SD				
I think it can affect the safety of people who are relevant to the post.	3.47	0.99	3.29	1.11	3.67	1.16	3.83	0.82	**3.53**	**1.02**	High	4.601	0.004*	d>b
I think it can affect my own safety	3.65	1.06	3.53	1.14	3.67	1.16	3.61	0.89	**3.61**	**1.06**	High	0.367	0.777	
I know it's illegal.	3.34	1.36	3.07	1.48	3.7	1.3	3.23	1.46	**3.33**	**1.4**	Medium	3.768	0.011*	c>b

*p<0.05

However, when analyzed each items with ANOVA test, a statistically significant difference between group means for questions assessing fear of legal and physical threats for others was found at p<0.05 level [F(3,383) = 4.601, p<.05]. Post hoc comparison using Scheffe test indicated that the mean score of respondents aged 50 years old or above (M=3.83, SD=0.82) was significantly higher than the mean score of respondents aged 25-34 years old (M=3.29, SD=1.11). Similarly, a statistically significant difference was found for items assessing fear of legal jeopardy [F(3,383)=3.768, p<.05], suggesting that group means of respondents aged 35-49 years old was higher than respondents aged between 25-34 years old. Nonetheless, as mentioned above, the pairwise difference was not found in the overall results.

While the empirical findings suggested that fear of legal and physical threats was the significant motivation for self-censorship behavior on Facebook, most of the interview participants expressed that they generally did not post content that could bring legal or physical harm to themselves or others. However, some interviewees mentioned that sharing too much information of oneself could threaten one's safety in real life; thus, they would consider very carefully when they wanted to post about personal information; sometimes they would choose to self-censor.

"I think people reveal too much information about themselves on Facebook. Though people don't directly post their address in Facebook, many people like to check-in at their house. That's kind of showing everyone a map to your house and it's actually dangerous. I never check-in at my house; I don't check-in every location I go either. I used to change my mind about posting where I am, I think it's not safe to let others know where you are all the time."

<div align="right">Nara, 25, Y</div>

"When my friend asked for my phone number on my Facebook, I decided not to type it right there, but send it to him/ her via private message. At first, I almost posted it right there because I think there're only my friends on Facebook and it could bring no harm; but then again, you really shouldn't post something like phone number on Facebook, it might be seen from someone you didn't expect. So, better be sure than sorry, I didn't post it on my Facebook."

<div align="right">Ada, 23, Y</div>

In addition, though most of the interviewees agreed that they would not post anything that could bring harms to other people, none of them had direct experience on self-censoring to protect others' safety. However, one of the interviewee mentioned her friend as an example.

"My friend's daughter is very cute and she's very proud (laugh). She likes to share her daughter's pictures on Facebook; however, she never share location where her daughter's studying or check-in at their house. I think she does it right because it's dangerous to share too much information on Facebook, especially kid-related. I've seen in the news that there're some criminals who exploited Facebook's technology to kidnap children."

<div align="right">Rata, 36, X</div>

Also, apart from avoiding harm from revealing too much information about oneself, one of the interviewee indicated that she had self-censored to avoid legal

jeopardy. She also addressed the necessary of self-censorship due to the limited of freedom of expression.

"Sometimes I want to criticize the government, saying that I disagree with something, many things or everything, on Facebook, but I decided not to. Since I work for governmental organization, I think it doesn't look good if I criticize the government myself. Though Facebook is kind of public space, it's still my space so I think I should have freedom to say anything on it. However, in this country, you know that you can't just say anything you want. I think it's flawed that our system doesn't allow people to say what they really think. I used to post about my political opinions on my Facebook once, and my mother asked me to remove it. She worried because I work for the government, she feared that something bad might happen. So, even though I have to lie to myself a little, sometimes I think it'd be better not to say it."

Lin, 35, X

Nevertheless, in general, most of the interviewees stated that they would never want to post content that was illegal or could bring themselves harm in the first place.

"I never consider posting any illegal things on my Facebook. I also don't post much about my personal information because I don't think it's necessary to post it on Facebook. I think it can be dangerous to post too much information about yourself in social media."

Kong, 21, Y

"I never consider to post anything illegal myself; but I've seen in the news…do you know 'Joke IScream'? He made a fake lottery ticket and posted in his page, pretending he won the 1st prize. I think he did it just for fun; but he's almost faced legal jeopardy because faking a lottery ticket is actually illegal."

Ada, 23, Y

"For me, if I know what can bring harm to myself, I wouldn't want to post it in the first place."

Jan, 51, X

"I never want to post anything that are against the law on my Facebook. I don't think that my political opinions are extreme to the point that it's illegal. When I change my mind not to post it, it mostly because I know some people wouldn't like it, not because it's illegal."

Rata, 36, X

- Need for Self-presentation Management

Based on the empirical findings, self-presentation motive, namely fear of criticism and negative feedback (M=3.38) and fear of social isolation (M=2.92) was the least significant motivation for self-censorship behavior on Facebook respectively.

- Fear of Criticism and Negative Feedback (Self-esteem motive)

As the statistical figures suggested, the survey respondents also self-censored on Facebook because of fear of criticism and negative feedback (M=3.38), though it was not scored as high as boundary regulation motive (M=3.55) and fear of legal and physical threats (M=3.48). Nonetheless, when considered each items used to assess fear of criticism and negative feedback, it was found that respondents had high concern over criticism and negative feedback (M_1=3.74) and giving good impressions of themselves to others; thus decided to self-censor (M_2=3.59, M_4=3.60). However, in general, they did not self-censor on Facebook because they found the content did not fit with their image (M_3=3.37) or afraid that it would be inappropriate for some audiences (M6=3.34) as the two items only scored 'medium'. Lastly, respondents showed low concern for 'Like' (M_5=2.65); however, the results determined by post hoc

comparison using Scheffe test indicated that respondents aged between 18-24 years old tend to self-censor over the concern for 'Like' more than respondents aged 50 years old or above. Nevertheless, despite a pairwise difference in one item, a statistically significant between group means were not found in the overall results at p<0.05 level [F(2,383) = .206, p = .892].

Table 16 Results of ANOVA and Post hoc test on each of self-esteem motive items as motivations for self-censorship behavior on Facebook

	18-24 (a)	25-34 (b)	35-49 (c)	50 or above (d)	Overall Mean Score	Definition of Mean Score	F	Sig.	Post Hoc Test
	Mean	Mean	Mean	Mean					
1. I'm afraid of criticism/ negative feedback	3.57	3.73	3.85	3.86	3.74	High	2.007	0.113	-
2. I think the content isn't good enough (i.e. the picture isn't beautiful enough, can't think of good caption)	3.62	3.61	3.55	3.58	3.59	High	0.13	0.942	-
3. I think the content doesn't fit with my image.	3.33	3.43	3.32	3.42	3.37	Medium	0.321	0.81	-
4. I think the content can make me look bad.	3.72	3.64	3.57	3.42	3.60	High	1.291	0.277	-
5. I think the content would not get 'Like' from my Facebook Friends.	2.97	2.68	2.54	2.28	2.65	Low	5.312	0.001*	a>d
6. I think that some audiences would find it inappropriate	3.31	3.25	3.35	3.54	3.34	Medium	1.222	0.301	-

*p<0.05

In accordance with the empirical findings, the results from the in-depth interviews also emphasized the use of self-censorship to avoid criticism and negative feedback as well as to create good impressions of themselves to others. As most of the interviewees mentioned, Facebook was the place where people should exhibit their 'good' self-presentation; thus, they would refrain from posting content that could lead to bad or wrong impressions of themselves. Furthermore, while both generation X and Y interviewees noted that they had self-censored because of their own negative

judgment on their content; fear of bad self-presentation; and fear of criticism and negative feedback; most of generation Y interviewees expressed that they were concern for 'Like' whereas most of generation X interviewees did not seek 'Like' when they posted something on Facebook.

- I think it isn't beautiful/ creative/ interesting enough

Based on the interviewees, one could presented one's self as one wanted on his/her Facebook. Thus, people often used Facebook to give others good impressions of themselves. As selecting content was the first step of sharing content in Facebook, most of the interviewees indicated that they would decide to self-censor if they judged their content to be not interesting, not creative, or not beautiful enough.

"I don't accept tag on photos that I don't look good in it. I think Facebook is where we should put good photos on it (laugh). It doesn't have to be beautiful, but must be acceptable for me. I'm quite selective for photos I'm going to post on my Facebook because I have to make sure they all look good (laugh). I spend some time to edit my pictures. I also try to think of interesting caption too (laugh). However, if I still think it isn't beautiful enough, I'd eventually decide not to post it."

Min, 28, Y

"I don't want something bad to be on my Facebook's wall. I think t's like a house…a doll house that you can decorate it whatever you like. [what's something bad?] Things I don't like or unbeautiful pictures. I have a strange habit of posting on Facebook (laugh). Even though I want to post something on Facebook, I'd eventually decide not to post it if I think it isn't beautiful or unique enough."

Ada, 23, Y

"Sometimes I decide not to post because I think that my photos aren't beautiful enough. I don't post often because I don't have anything interesting to

post. The other day I wanted to post a picture of myself at the swimming pool, but I decided not to (laugh). It's not the picture of me wearing a swimming suit (laugh), just my face and the view, but I think the view isn't beautiful enough."

Jan, 52, X

"When I change my mind about posting something on Facebook, it's mostly because I think the words or the pictures aren't beautiful or interesting enough."

Ed, 40, X

- I don't want people to get wrong ideas about me

In like manner, it was found that other's people negative judgment of one's self also played an important role on self-censorship behavior on Facebook. Therefore, to avoid leaving other people bad impressions of themselves, most of the interviewees indicated that they would decide to self-censor if the content could give other people the wrong ideas about them.

"When I want to post something on Facebook, I spend a lot of time, sometimes for an hour, to think of caption (laugh).   I want it to be interesting, but not too lame, too cheesy, or something like that. When the caption I want to post sounds too cheesy, I'd refrain from posting. I don't want people to think that I'm that kind of person (laugh)."

Kong, 21, Y

"I wanted to post some jokes on my Facebook, but I changed my mind because I think it was quite indecent (laugh). If I posted it, I think there would be no feedback at all, but I'm sure that people would have some opinions about me (laugh). So, I didn't post it, I didn't want people to get the wrong idea about me."

Min, 28, Y

- I think people would criticize/ give me negative feedback for posting it

Also, some interviewees indicated that they would self-censor some content if they think that they would be scolded, criticized or receive negative feedback from the others.

"My friends always give me a lecture about what I should and should not post on Facebook (laugh). I know they have good intention; I know that sometimes I post without thinking too. There was a case in which my friends, A and B, were having a fight on Facebook. I wanted to protect A, so I commented on that post. However, it seemed that I hadn't been a help at all. The other friends told me, scolded me, actually, that I shouldn't have get involved in it because I'd only made things get worse. So, these days, I try to control myself not to get involved in other people's fight. I also try not to make negative posts involving other people because I know that my friends wouldn't like it."

Tan, 21, Y

"Sometimes I wanted to post about politics, but I changed my mind. I don't think my opinion is too extreme, it's just honest (laugh), but people who don't like it will still find it unpleasant.   Since I don't want to be criticized by those people who might think differently from me and get into a fight, I decided not to post."

Rata, 36, X

- I think it wouldn't get a lot of 'Like'

Apart from criticism, condemnation or attacks, some interviewees also indicated that 'not receiving attention' was one kind of negative feedback. Using the number of 'Like' to gauge the level of attention they received from other Friends on Facebook, many interviewees, especially generation Y, expressed that

they would refrain from posting if they think that the content would not receive 'Like' or attention from the others.

> *"It's not like that I desperately need 'Like', but I think that getting 'Like' is matter. I think getting a few of 'Like' is kind of look 'bad'; it looks like you receive no attention from others. If I post something on Facebook, a profile picture for example, I'd expect that I'd get a certain number of 'Like'. I have 300 Friends on my Facebook, but if I get less than 10 Like, I wouldn't have confidence to post my photo next time."*

Nara, 25, Y

> *"I'd post something that would get a lot of 'Like'. It's fun to see the number of 'Like' increasing, but I don't care about it that much though. I think we post something on Facebook because we want people to see it, so getting a lot of 'Like' is kind of having a lot of people seen your post. If the post don't get any or gets only few 'Like', I'd feel that I'm ignored or haven't received attention."*

Ada, 23, Y

> *"Like is important, but not that much (laugh). I never ask anyone to 'Like' my photos. I just think that people like my photos, so they give me a 'Like'. I wouldn't want to post something on my Facebook and not receive attention from anyone."*

Ed, 40, X

In line with the empirical findings, most of the generation X interviewees indicated that they did not concern for getting a lot of 'Like'. According to some of the interviewees, older users would not emphasize the importance of 'Like' as much as younger users do because as people grew older, they learned that they did not need acceptance from a lot of people to accept themselves. Therefore, older users tend not to post on Facebook to get 'Like' or seek attention or acceptance from others.

Some interviewees expressed that rather than the 'number' of 'Like', they concerned more about 'who' gave 'Like' to them.

>*"I don't care much about getting 'Like'. Some of young people might want to get a lot of 'Like' because they think that getting a lot of 'Like' means they're being accepted from their friends or receiving attention from others. For me, I don't post to get a lot of 'Like'; I just post what I want."*

<div align="right">Jan, 52, X</div>

>*"These days, when I post something on Facebook, I don't expect that I'd get a lot of like. For me, it's kind of indifferent. Since my friends work in different places, and we rarely have a chance to meet up; rather than showing that they like my photos, 'Like' is kind of showing acknowledgement: 'Oh, so this is how your life's going', something like that. I think people become more individualistic when they get older. No feedback? Fine. I'm still posting what I want. However, when I was younger, there were some of my friends who wanted to get a lot of Like. They'd asked the others to like their photos since the post would go up to the top of page again when someone 'Like' it and they'd get a chance to get a lot of 'Like' from having a lot of people seen it. Also, there were another strategies: when I was studying in England, I went on a trip with Friends. We took a photo and I wanted to post it on Facebook, but my friend told me to wait. It was 5 am in Thailand, if we posted it at that time, no one would see it, and it would get only few 'Like'. I think we post on Facebook because we want to be seen. I think getting Like can partly fulfill one's self-confidence. However, when you get older, you'd come to accept the fact that not everyone is free to give you 'Like' all the time. Some people might care for getting a lot of 'Like'; but for me, I no longer want 'Like' from 'anybody', not A B C D. I only want 'Like' from people who care about me and that's enough."*

<div align="right">Lin, 35, X</div>

- Fear of Social Isolation (Spiral of Silence Motive)

According to the statistical figures, fear of social isolation scored the lowest as the motivation for self-censorship behavior on Facebook (M=2.92). Though a statistically significant difference was found in some items used to assess fear of isolation as motivation for self-censorship behavior on Facebook, the results from one-way ANOVA test did not show a statistically significant between group means at p<0.05 level [F(2,383) = 1.133, p = .335] for the overall result.

Table 17 Results of ANOVA and Post hoc test on each of fear of social isolation (spiral of silence) motive items as motivations for self-censorship behavior on Facebook

	18-24 (a)	25-34 (b)	35-49 (c)	50 or above (d)	Definition of Mean Score	F	p	Post Hoc Test
	Mean	Mean	Mean	Mean				
I think other people wouldn't agree with my idea (even though I think I'm right)	3.11	2.91	2.94	3.09	Medium	1.04	0.375	-
I'm afraid that the content would make me become alienated from others	2.62	2.6	2.66	2.58	Low	0.092	0.964	-
I think that the majority of the community I live in would find the content unacceptable.	3	2.93	3.4	3.33	Medium	3.76	0.011*	c>b

*p<0.05

In addition, based on the qualitative findings, though none of the in-depth interview participants had clearly indicated that they had self-censor because of fear of being rejected or alienated from the majority of their Facebook Friends, some of the interviewees expressed that they were confident to post controversial content as they knew that they had support from others. The confidence to post when one perceived that he/she received support from the majority reflected the concept spiral of silence theory claiming that people would refrain from expressing opinions when they perceived that that they were lacking of social support or being isolated from others.

"On rare occasions, I used to vent about my frustration on Facebook. I posted that because I knew my friends wouldn't find it annoying, instead they'd be worrying because I didn't do that often. I'm a human so I can be angry or crazy sometimes (laugh)."

Nara, 25, Y

"I used to write quite a long post on my boss' Facebook wall. I didn't criticize anyone; I just 'asked' why this kind of decision had been made. I wrote that on Facebook because I wanted other people in the department to see it. I didn't receive any negative feedback; and some people even told me 'wow!' or 'wicked!' (laugh). Also, another case, last year I criticized one of my colleague on my Facebook, writing in a poem (laugh); and relevant people gave me a lot of 'Like' (laugh). Irrelevant people wouldn't know who I was talking about as I've written it in ways that it wouldn't directly affect anybody. Since 1/3 of my Facebook Friends are colleagues from the ER (Emergency Room), they'd know what or who I'm talking about; sometimes they'd even cheer for what I post."

Ed, 40, X

- **Others**

According to the in-depth interviews' results, it was found that there were motivations for self-censorship behavior on Facebook that were not related to self-presentation management, boundary regulation and fear of legal and physical threats. As the interviewees suggested, other motivations for self-censorship on Facebook were listed as below:

- It doesn't solve the problem

Some of the interviewees indicated that they decided not to post on Facebook, in spite of intention to share because they did not think that it could lead to the resolution of the problem.

"I used to post about my frustration on Facebook when I was younger. I still feel like posting something like that on Facebook sometimes, but when I consider it, I always choose not to post. I think nothing good can come out of it and it doesn't help me solve the problems. I know if I post it on Facebook, I'll only get annoyed when people ask me about my frustration."

Nara, 25, Y

"I think it's kind of uncool to criticize or put people down on Facebook. It doesn't solve a problem; it only causes hate. When I come across some passive aggressive posts on Facebook, I'd think 'why don't you go talk with her/him?' Wouldn't it be more effective to directly talk to people you're having problems with? Sure, I've lot of things I want to post about some people I don't like, but when I think about it, it doesn't seem right. It doesn't help solve the problem, so I decided not to post."

Lin, 35, X

- The Internet connection is bad

In addition, some interviewee indicated that they sometimes self-censor because of the technology restraint. Since there were problems with the Internet connection or malfunction devices, despite of the intention to share, some of the interviewees mentioned that they decided not to post.

"I feel really annoyed when the Internet connection at my dorm is bad. Even though I'd tried to post something on my Facebook for many times, it just didn't work. So, sometimes I had to give up and decided not to post."

Tan, 21, Y

"Sometimes I want to post my photos, but my phone is kind of error, so I decided not to post."

Min, 28, Y

"I wanted to post some photos, but the Internet connection was so bad that I couldn't do it. So, I have no choice, but decide not to post those photos. Actually, I'd intended to post them later when I got home; however, sometimes I just forgot."

Jan, 52, X

2. Types of self-censored content on Facebook

RQ2: What types of content Thai users self-censor on Facebook?

Based on 387 respondents who indicated that they had self-censored on Facebook, it was found that Thai Facebook users self-censor a variety of content namely personal-related content, external content, logistics, conversational content and others.

As the results suggest, the five most self-censored content were all personal-related content: 1.) negative feelings (65.6%, N=254); 2.) personal updates (61.8%, N=239); 3.) posts intended to directly or indirectly criticize/ satire/ express negative feelings or opinions towards other people who are Facebook Friend (34.9%, N=135); 4.) posts intended to amuse/ tease other people who are Facebook Friend (30.5%, N=118); 5.) posts intended to argue or express disagreement with other people who are Facebook Friend (26.9%, N=104); whereas criticism/ opinions towards politics ranked sixth for the overall most self-censored content (25.8%, N=100) and ranked first for the most self-censored external content.

On the contrary, the five least self-censored content were external content, conversational content and others: 1.) other content such as to-do list, advertising etc. (2.6%, N=10); 2.) conversational content, namely replies without additional content (7.2%, N=28); 3.) posts related to illegal content (8.5%, N=33); 4.)

Niceties i.e. New Year's greeting, birthday wishes (8.8%, N=34); 5.) posts related to sex or violence (9%, N=35).

Moreover, when compared by age group, it was found that the most self-censored by respondents who aged between 18-24 years old and 25-34 years old were similar to the content self-censored by the majority of respondents. Based on the statistical figures, out of 100 samples aged between 18-24 years old, 79% indicated that they self-censored content involved negative feeling the most (N=79), followed by personal updates (63%, N=63) and posts that concerned negative feelings and/or opinions towards people who were Friends on Facebook (44%, N=44). Similarly, the majority of respondents aged between 25-34 years old self-censored also content involved negative feeling the most (82.64%, N=100), followed by personal updates (67.77%, N=82) and posts that concerned negative feelings and/or opinions towards people who were Friends on Facebook (30.58%, N=37).

Interestingly, while respondents who aged between 35-49 years old and 50 years old or above had relatively lower frequency of self-censorship behavior on Facebook, the results suggested that these two groups' self-censored content tend to cover more variety. For one thing, out of 97 respondents aged between 35-49 years old who had self-censored, 53.61% self-censored personal content, namely personal updates (N=52) and negative feelings (53.61%, N=52) the most. 32.99% self-censored posts intended to tease or amuse others who are Friends on Facebook (N=32). Also, 30.93% indicated that they had self-censored posts about personal information such as address, phone number etc. (N=30) as well as criticisms and/or opinions towards politics (30.93%, N=30). However, the majority of respondents aged at least 50 years old self-censored content related to personal updates the most (60.83%, N=42),

followed by content involving negative feelings and/or opinions towards Friends on Facebook (37.68%, N=26) respectively. In addition, personal information (34.78%, N=24), posts intended to tease or amuse Friends on Facebook (34.78%, N=24) and information related to politics (34.78%, N=24) were also self-censored.

In accordance with the empirical findings, most of the interviewees expressed that they had self-censored content both related and non-related to themselves including facts, feelings and opinions. Especially, generation X interviewees self-censored external content related to politics more than generation Y interviewees. As the findings from in-depth interviews suggested, generation Y interviewees often posted about themselves whereas generation X interviewees often shared information non-related to themselves on Facebook. Thus, types of self-censored content of the two age group could be varied. Quoted the interviewee, the difference between content that generation X and Y posted and self-censored could be summarized as followed:

"I think what young and old people decided not to post on Facebook are different as I think young people and old people use Facebook very differently. Young people would feel that they're the center of the universe; they'd feel that what happen to them is 'huge'. However, when they get older, gain more experience; they'd understand that it's a normal thing. They'd pay attention to other things more than themselves; they'd know that other people don't mind what they do. So, they'll post on Facebook differently. As I've seen, older people like to share things on Facebook rather than presenting themselves. I think it's experience that makes people grow."

Rata, 36, X

Table 18 Types of self-censored content on Facebook

Self-censored Content		18-24		25-34		35-49		50 or above		Total	
		f	%	f	%	f	%	f	%	f	%
Personal Content	text/ photo/ video related to personal updates i.e. posts about what you are doing, where you are, picture of yourself	63	63.00	82	67.77	52	53.61	42	60.87	239	61.8
	personal information i.e. phone no., address	20	20.00	12	9.92	30	30.93	24	34.78	86	22.2
	text/ photo/ video related to negative feelings i.e. frustration, upset, loneliness etc.	79	79.00	100	82.64	52	53.61	23	33.33	254	65.6
	text/ photo/ video related to positive feelings i.e. happiness, content, proud etc.	22	22.00	33	27.27	19	19.59	12	17.39	86	22.2
	text/ photo/ video intended to amuse/ tease other people who are Facebook Friend	30	30.00	32	26.45	32	32.99	24	34.78	118	30.5
	text/ photo/ video intended to praise/ compliment/ express positive feelings or opinions towards other people who are Facebook Friend	16	16.00	9	7.44	10	10.31	9	13.04	44	11.4
	text/ photo/ video intended to directly or indirectly criticize/ satire/ express negative feelings or opinions towards other people who are Facebook Friend	44	44.00	37	30.58	28	28.87	26	37.68	135	34.9
	text/ photo/ video intended to argue or express disagreement with other people who are Facebook Friend	27	27.00	31	25.62	24	24.74	22	31.88	104	26.9
External content	text/ photo/ video intended to praise/ compliment/ express positive feelings or opinions towards other people who are not Facebook Friend (including both public figure and people in general i.e. taxi-driver, waiter etc.)	7	7.00	16	13.22	7	7.22	5	7.25	35	9.0
	* text/ photo/ video intended to directly or indirectly criticize/ satire/ express negative feelings or opinions towards other people who are are not Facebook Friend (including both public figure and people in general i.e. taxi-driver, waiter etc.)	20	20.00	22	18.18	22	22.68	20	28.99	84	21.7

	text/ photo/ video intended to argue or express disagreement with other people who are are not Facebook Friend (including both public figure and people in general i.e. taxi-driver, waiter etc.)	17	17.00	18	14.88	17	17.53	18	26.09	70	18.1
	text/ photo/ video related to entertainment i.e. funny videoclip, photo of an actor etc.	28	28.00	14	11.57	4	4.12	5	7.25	51	13.2
	text/ photo/ video related to sex or violence	13	13.00	7	5.79	10	10.31	5	7.25	35	9.0
	text/ photo/ video related to illegal content i.e. link for website that allows people to download unauthorized versions of copyrighted music	9	9.00	8	6.61	9	9.28	7	10.14	33	8.5
	text/ photo/ video related to politics	12	12.00	21	17.36	16	16.49	24	34.78	73	18.9
	criticism/ opinion towards politics	17	17.00	31	25.62	30	30.93	22	31.88	100	25.8
Logistics	Plans i.e. travel plan, party plan	14	14.00	10	8.26	8	8.25	7	10.14	39	10.1
Convesational Content	Niceties i.e. new year's greeting, birthday wishes	10	10.00	16	13.22	5	5.15	3	4.35	34	8.8
	Replies without additional content	12	12.00	7	5.79	4	4.12	5	7.25	28	7.2
	Other	4	4.00	4	3.31	1	1.03	1	1.45	10	2.6

Additionally, to give examples for each types of self-censored content, results from in-depth interviews were provided as followed:

Personal Content

- Facts

Most of the interviewees indicated that they had self-censored content that indicating facts about themselves such as pictures and personal information. As some

interviewees had mentioned, Facebook was a tool for an individual to present oneself, therefore content that was posted and self-censored were mostly personal related.

> *"There are many times I've decided not post my photos on Facebook."*
>
> Min, 28, Y

> *"I've often changed my mind when I want to post something personal about myself on Facebook."*
>
> Kong, 21, Y

> *"What I decided not to post often related to myself, not others."*
>
> Ed, 40, X

- Feelings

Some of the interviewees also indicated that they had self-censored posts about their feelings on Facebook. However, while all of generation X interviewees mentioned that they never posted about their feelings on Facebook, and thus never self-censored posts about feelings; some generation Y interviewees expressed that they often wanted to post about their feelings on Facebook, but eventually decided not to.

> *"In the past, I often posted about my feelings without thinking; 'what I'm feeling right now', I always posted it on Facebook. But, now, I try to control myself better. Even though I want to vent all my feelings on Facebook, I'd decide not to post it instead. Also, there are times when I post something on Facebook and then 20 minutes later I regret it. When I feel that I shouldn't post it on Facebook, I'd delete that post."*
>
> Tan, 21, Y

> *"Things that I want to post on Facebook, but eventually decide not to are mostly about my feelings. I want to post that I'm tired, bored or angry. However, I don't often*

feel that I need to post about it. I must be extremely tired, extremely bored or extremely angry to the point I want to post it on Facebook. I used to post that I'm tired a lot when I studied in the university; however, when I become older, I always choose not to post it."

<div align="right">Nara, 25, Y</div>

- Opinions

Apart from feelings, some of the interviewees expressed that they had wanted to post their opinions towards friends, colleagues or acquaintances, but eventually decide to self-censor.

"Sometimes I want to criticize some people such as my colleague on Facebook, but I decide not to because I think it's of uncool and doesn't help me solve any problems."

<div align="right">Lin, 35, X</div>

"I wanted to say something about my work: why I think that I'm being treated unfairly, but I decided not to."

<div align="right">Min, 28, Y</div>

"I wanted to criticize my friend on Facebook, but I decided not to. I think that it could affect group's work despite being a personal thing between two people."

<div align="right">Kong, 21, Y</div>

External Content

External content included information or opinion on subjects that were not related to the interviewees themselves. Sub categories for external content were categorized into entertainment, politics and others.

- **Entertainment**

Most of the interviewees indicated that they had self-censored entertainment related content such as songs, video clips, jokes etc.

"Sometime I feel like posting a song on my Facebook, but I decided not to."

Kong, 21, Y

"I like to share funny video clips or jokes on my Facebook, but sometimes I decided not to post it."

Min, 28, Y

"Sometimes I found interesting video in YouTube and I felt like sharing it on Facebook. However, there were many times I decided not to share it."

Rata, 36, X

"I came across a singer singing live at a department store, so I recorded a video. I wanted to post it on Facebook, but I changed my mind."

Jan, 51, X

- **Politics**

Most of interviewees who indicated that they had self-censored content related to politics were from generation X group. On the other hand, generation Y interviewees expressed that they never or rarely posted about politics on Facebook.

"I don't often express my political views on Facebook. However, when I saw other people expressed their opinions, I felt like saying something too. But, most of the time, I decided not to post it."

Rata, 36, X

"Sometimes I want to criticize the government, saying that I disagree with something, many things or everything, something like that on Facebook, but I decided not to."

Lin, 35, X

"I have a lot to say about Thai politics (laugh), but I don't think Facebook is a good place to say it. Most of the time, even though I want to, I'd decide not to post opinions towards politics on my Facebook."

Ed, 40, X

- **Others**

Some interviewees mentioned that they had self-censored external content that was not related to entertainment or politics such as sport, news, advertising etc.

"I wanted to post the result of the match my favorite football team won against my friend's favorite team on his timeline to tease him. But, eventually I decided not to post it."

Tan, 21, Y

"I wanted to promote my online shop on my personal Facebook. However, sometimes I decided not to post it."

Nara, 25, Y

4.4 Individual Difference

This part included information regarding respondents' individual difference, results of ANOVA and post hoc test on respondents' individual difference. The table summarizing the overall findings on individual differences was also provided at the end of the section.

4.4.1 Information Control

Based on the statistical figures, the overall mean score for the level of respondents' information control on Facebook was 3.98, suggesting that respondents of the survey had high level of information control on Facebook. However, a statistically

significant between group means was found when determined by one-way ANOVA at p<0.05 level, [F(2,448) = 13.980, p = .000]. According to the results from post hoc comparison using Scheffe test, it was found that the overall mean score of respondents aged 50 years old or above (M=3.56, SD=0.93) was significantly lower than the overall mean score of respondents aged between 18-24 years old (M=4.16, SD=0.68), respondents aged between 25-34 years old (M=4.18, SD=0.72), and respondents aged between 35-49 years old (M=3.98, SD=0.93). The results suggested that while Facebook users in general had high level of information control on Facebook, users aged 50 years or above were likely to have the least concern for regulating information control on Facebook users.

Table 19 Results of ANOVA and post hoc test on respondents' level of information control on Facebook

	Mean	SD	F	p	Post Hoc Test
18-24 (a)	4.16	.68	13.980	.000*	a, b, c>d
25-34 (b)	4.18	.72			
35-49 (c)	3.98	.84			
50 or above (d)	3.56	.93			
Total	3.98	.83			

*p<0.05

4.4.2   Self-Disclosure

According to the empirical findings, respondents of the survey had low level of self-disclosure on Facebook as the overall mean score for the level of respondents' self-disclosure on Facebook was indicated at 2.61. Also, as determined by one-way ANOVA, a statistically significant between group means were not found at p<0.05 level

[F(2,448) = 1.947, p = .121]. The results suggested that there were no differences in

the level of self-disclosure of respondents between each age groups.

Table 20 Results of ANOVA test on respondents' level of self-disclosure on
Facebook

	Mean	SD	F	p
18-24 (a)	2.63	.70	1.947	.121
25-34 (b)	2.73	.70		
35-49 (c)	2.61	.81		
50 or above (d)	2.50	.68		
Total	2.61	.73		

4.4.3   Self-Monitor

The statistical figures indicated 3.49 as the overall mean score for the level of

respondents' self-monitor, suggesting that respondents of the survey had high level of

self-monitor. In addition, the results suggested that there were no differences between

each age group in the level of self-monitor as the results determined by one-way

ANOVA did not show a statistically significant between group means at p<0.05 level

[F(2,448) = 0.937, p = 0.423].

Table 21 Results of ANOVA test on respondents' level of self-monitor

	Mean	SD	F	P
18-24 (a)	3.54	.57	.937	.423
25-34 (b)	3.52	.51		
35-49 (c)	3.51	.51		
50 or above (d)	3.42	.65		
Total	3.49	.56110		

4.4.4   Self-Esteem

As the statistical figures suggested, the overall mean score for the level of respondents' self-esteem was 3.96, suggesting that respondents of the survey had high level of self-esteem.   Also, as determined by one-way ANOVA, a statistically significant between group means were not found at $p<0.05$ level [$F(2,448) = 2.354$, $p = 0.071$].   Therefore, it could be implied that there were no differences in the level of self-esteem between different age group.

Table 22 Results of ANOVA test on respondents' level of self-esteem

	Mean	SD	F	P
18-24 (a)	3.87	.68	2.354	.071
25-34 (b)	3.96	.68		
35-49 (c)	4.09	.67		
50 or above (d)	3.88	.69		
Total	3.96	.68		

4.4.5   Online Regret Experiences

Based on the statistical figures, respondents of the survey rarely had online regret experiences as the overall mean score for the frequency of respondents' online regret experiences was indicated at 2.17.   However, a statistically significant between group means were found as determined by one-way ANOVA at $p<0.05$ level, [$F(2,448) = 24.670$, $p = .000$].   When analyzed with post hoc comparison using Scheffe test, the pairwise difference were found, indicating that the overall mean score of respondents aged 18-24 years old (M=2.7157, SD=1.12907) and 25-34 years old (M=2.4531, SD=1.09139) was significantly higher than the overall mean score of respondents aged between 35-49 years old (M=1.8785, SD=1.06722) and 50 years old or above

(M=1.6186, SD=0.90714).   According to the results, it could be suggested that while Facebook users in general rarely had online regret experiences, young Facebook users aged between 18-34 years old were likely to have more online regret experiences than Facebook users who aged 35 years old or older.

Table 23 Results of ANOVA and post hoc test on respondents' frequency of online regret experiences

	Mean	SD	F	p	Post Hoc Test
18-24 (a)	2.72	1.12907	24.670	.000*	a,b>c,d
25-34 (b)	2.45	1.09139			
35-49 (c)	1.88	1.06722			
50 or above (d)	1.62	.90714			
Total	2.17	1.13435			

*p<0.05

Table 24 Summary of findings on individual difference

Individual Difference	Overall Results			
	Mean	SD	Definition of Mean Score	Different between Age Group
Information Control	3.98	0.83	High	a, b, c>d
Self-Disclosure	2.61	0.73	Low	-
Self-Monitor	3.49	0.56	High	-
Self-Esteem	3.96	0.68	High	-
Online Regret Experiences	2.17	1.13	Rarely	a,b>c,d

5. Additional Findings

This part included additional findings on the in-depth interview participants' attitudes towards Facebook, self-presentation on Facebook and their concerns over content people posted on Facebook. It also covered the interviewees' online regret experiences and strategies for managing self-presentation and boundary regulation as alternatives to self-censorship on Facebook.

4.5.1 General Attitude towards Facebook

- Facebook as a virtual reality

In general, most of the interviewees agreed that Facebook was a place where people should exhibit 'good' presentation of themselves. Interestingly, most of the interview participants pointed out that they were aware that people only presented what they want the others to know about them on Facebook; however, they believed that one's self-presentation on Facebook, still, played an important role in influencing other people's perceptions towards them.

"I think Facebook is kind of a virtual reality. Especially, for those Friends we haven't met in a long time, we have no choice but to believe what they post on Facebook (laugh). Also, sometimes when I'm going to meet a friend I haven't met in a while, I'd look at their Facebook to find content that I can use to talk to them."

Lin, 35, X

"I think some people even work hard for the good self-presentation on Facebook (laugh). I think we post on Facebook because we want to be seen. Facebook allows ordinary people to have their own channel; to show what they want other people to know about them. It may be true or untrue, but that's what people want the world think they are."

Rata, 36, X

"I think it's like telling people that you're exist, without you having to tell them in person. When I want to know someone, often, I search for their Facebook. It's true that we can get a lot of information about other people just from looking at their Facebook, so what we've posted out there would be the representation of us. It's not surprised that most of us choose to post only good things about ourselves on Facebook."

Kong, 21, Y

"I think what we post on Facebook must be a good presentation of ourselves; I think it's a strategy for marketing and positioning yourself. If you complain a lot on Facebook, I wouldn't want to talk to you, right? It's because we all know that everybody only present good things about him/herself on Facebook, we can't put something bad up there. When I'm feeling down, I wouldn't look at Facebook. I think I'd get even more upset because everyone out there seems to be living a good and happy life."

Lin, 35, X

- Facebook as a public space

According to the interview participants, people use Facebook to present themselves to others in ways they want others to know about them. Though they were able to select content and post according to their own will, what they posted on Facebook would eventually become visible to the publics. Thus, as the interviewees mentioned, rather than private, Facebook could be regarded as a public space.

"I think it's a private public space since the space Facebook is yours, but what you post in it becomes public. So, I think Facebook is a place where you can get to know about other people: what they want people to know about them. I think Facebook is a small world (laugh), you just log into it and you can get to know everything."

Nara, 25, Y

"I think it's kind of inbetween. Semi-public, maybe? It's our space, but other people also see it."

Ada, 23, Y

"I think of Facebook as a public space because I think that Facebook is where people post about what they want the world to know, not really care if other people want to know it or not (laugh)."

Min, 28, Y

"Facebook is a public space because other people can see what we post on it."

Ed, 40, X

Also, as Facebook was regarded as a public space, some of the interviewees noted that people should be considerate about what to post on Facebook.

"I think Facebook is a public space and can be easily accessed, so we must be careful of what we're going to put out there. However, from another point of view, it's still a private space as people have right to post what they want. If we don't like it, we also have right to unfollow them. I think everyone have right to present themselves in whatever way they want people to perceive them."

Lin, 35, X

"I think Facebook is a public space. Even though we set it as private, other people can see it anyway. Some people might claim that Facebook is a private space, so they post what they want. However, I think Facebook is social media, meaning that we use it for social interaction. So, we can't just post what we want, but we should have limit to it."

Tan, 51, X

4.5.2 Annoying Post: What people shouldn't post on Facebook and how to handle it

Most of the interviewees expressed that they were bothered by some posts generated by Friends on Facebook.   They mentioned that though people had right to post what they wanted on Facebook, they should consider if their posts would affect the others or themselves as Facebook was, after all, a public space. Nevertheless, most of the interviewees chose to ignore posts they found inappropriate. Only some of the interviewees had unfriended or unfollowed people who shared posts they did not like; only one interviewees indicated that he would tell the Facebook owner to remove the post if it was against the professional ethic and could lead to negative repercussions.

- Posts included extreme or one-sided opinions

In general, the interviewees indicated that people could express their opinions in Facebook; however, they should not be too extreme or one-sided. Instead of just showing what they thought, they should listen to people who had different perspectives and provided the room for a reasonable discussion.

"I often see posts that I think people shouldn't post on Facebook, mostly are posts about personal feelings and opinions on talk-of-the-town topics. People can speak their opinions, but I think some opinions are too one-sided. It looks like that people who share these kinds of opinions just want to show off or to get attention from people as they only want people to agree with them. I really don't like these kind of posts; however, I haven't unfriend people who post them. When I come across these posts, I'd ignore them."

Nara, 25, Y

"I think people should not post opinions that are too extreme on Facebook. I don't like posts that are too one-sided. I think we should listen from many perspective as people have their own reason. So, I when I come across this kind of posts, I'd skip and not get involved with it."

Kong, 21, Y

"I have a Friend on Facebook who is very 'red shirt' and very extreme. He always criticize the government; always compare the political system of other country and Thailand. Honestly, I'm really disturbed by his posts. I really don't like the way he express his opinions; I think his posts are way too extreme and some of them are even against the law. However, I haven't unfriended him (laugh). I keep him on my Facebook to see his opinions, like how far he can go with that way of thinking (laugh). At first, there were people who dislike red shirt argued with him, but since he never changed, people just let him be."

Jan, 51, X

- Posts intended to attack others

Most of the interviewees disliked posts on Facebook that intended to offend or attack others. However, they had not confronted people who posted it; they would only ignore it and not get involved.

"I think people shouldn't criticize or incriminate others on Facebook because what you post on Facebook can be captured, kept as evidence and sent to anyone. There are not only your friends on Facebook, we don't know who is really nice to us. I used to unfriend people who like to criticize people on Facebook; I don't feel sorry because we're not that close and I was really disturbed by her posts."

Nara, 25, Y

"I don't like when people fight against each other or talk badly of someone on Facebook. If I come across something like that, I'll completely ignore it.

However, if it's my friends fighting, I might look at it to get some information. I'll only read it if it's necessary for me to know."

<div align="right">

Kong, 21, Y

</div>

"I don't post things I don't speak face-to-face on Facebook, but some of my friends do that. They vent their feelings; indirectly criticize or satire other people on Facebook. However, I never do that and never join in the conversation. I think it's their right to post what they want on their Facebook. Though I don't like the way that people incriminate each other on Facebook, I don't make any comments on them; I just ignore them and let them pass."

<div align="right">

Mon, 52, X

</div>

"I think there're a lot of dark side in Facebook. Sometimes only hear the name of the Page is distasteful enough. I don't like those kinds of Page and I don't like that people use Facebook as a tool to attack each other brutally and distastefully. However, if the post does not concern with me, I'd just let it pass. In the past, I'd have unfriended people who post stuffs like that."

<div align="right">

Rata, 36, X

</div>

- Posts included profanity

Most of the interviewees indicated that they felt uncomfortable when they saw posts that used extremely rude and offensive language. Some of them noted that profanity could lead to a negative repercussions if it was seen by an unanticipated audience.

"I don't like posts that include extremely offensive language. Some people vent all of their feeling on Facebook, using extremely rude words, I honestly don't like that. However, I never unfriend anyone; if I come across posts I don't like, I just let it pass. I don't unfriend them because I think that it's possible that they just broke up with their boyfriend/girlfriend; if they get through this period, they will eventually stop venting on Facebook (laugh)."

<div align="right">

Min, 28, Y

</div>

"I think people can write anything they want on their Facebook, however, they should not get other people involved. If they want to criticize other people, they should not use extremely rude words. When I come across these posts, I'd quickly skip it."

<div align="right">Nara, 25, Y</div>

"I really don't like posts that include extremely rude, offensive words. However, I don't do anything with them; I'd just let them pass. I might ask if the person who post it is my close friend, but most of my close friends never post anything like that. Last year, my colleague at ER (Emergency Room) got a warning for posting inappropriate thing on Facebook. She posted that she was very tired. It'd be alright if it's not an extremely rude version of expression saying that she was tired because she had checked up a lot of patients with a check-in location showing the hospital's name...Not only doctors, nurses also like to complain about their job on Facebook, using rude and offensive language. Especially, newly graduated nurses, aged less than 30, like to complain a lot and use rude words. I think it'd be inappropriate if the patients or their family see the post. "

<div align="right">Ed, 40, X</div>

- Posts included obscenity

Some of the interviewees indicated that people should not post content that included obscenity on Facebook since it might not appropriate for some audiences and could bring harm to oneself.

"Sometimes I've seen someone post obscene photo on Facebook and I'm quite unhappy about it. I think Facebook is kind of a public space, even children can use it. For example, my niece, she's not even 10 years old, but she can use Facebook really well. I'm worried that she would see something that is not appropriate for her age. So, when she's using Facebook and I'm around, I would observe or suggest what should do or not do on Facebook. I think people should consider that there are also

children on Facebook too. If I come across this content, I'd unfriend people who share this kind of things I consider inappropriate. I select people who I'd be friend on Facebook."

Mon, 52, X

"I don't like posts that contain obscene content. I've seen some from posts of my friends at the faculty. I think it isn't safe for girls to expose too much; it doesn't look good too. I wouldn't share this kind of content either."

Tan, 21, Y

- Posts against professional ethic

One of the interviewees indicated that the ability to self-censor was necessary for some professions because people could face serious repercussions for posting content that were against professional ethic.

"I'm a doctor, so I can't post and I don't post anything that related to the patient. However, some of my students and my colleagues do that. It's alright if you post about the symptoms, but it's forbidden to post anything that can identify the patient such as name, photo etc. Also, it's strictly forbidden to post or even reveal the information that can humiliate the patient, especially, patients who suffer from mental disorder. Recently, there's a case in which a resident had written a post about a patient. There was no name of the patient in it, but there was an X-Ray photo. The post was written very vividly, very comically, so people read it and found it funny. It had been shared by thousands of people and become so popular that the newspaper, Thairath, Daily News, Matichon, contacted the hospital. Of course, the medical council of Thailand also rang in, and then the hospital director called that resident in for the investigations. When I found out about this, the post had been removed. However, that resident almost had no chance to continue his studying. These days, there are increasing number of doctors and nurses who post inappropriate thing about patient and their work on Facebook, especially the young ones. So when I teach them, I'd need

talk about social media: what can be posted and what cannot. I find this issue really serious for doctors and nurses because it's against the professional ethic; you can be suspended, fired from work or even lose your license. So, if I come across the post that reveal patient's information, I'd send a message to the Facebook's owner to take it out."

<div align="right">Ed, 40, X</div>

- Posts included personal information and money-related content

Some interviewees indicated that it was people should not post about their personal information such as ID card no., address as well as money-related content such as detail of checks or credit cards because obviously it could bring harm to themselves.

"I think we shouldn't post content that shows how much money we have. One of my friend posted a picture of cash she received on Chinese New Year on her Facebook, other friends came to comment on her post that they got envious, of course, in an amusing way. However, I think it's not safe to post the photo of cash or checks on social media because we don't really know who's looking at us or what people are thinking of us. Though she didn't intend to show off her money, some people must think that she did."

<div align="right">Nara, 25, Y</div>

"I don't understand why some people could post a photo of their ID card or credit card without censoring any content. It's very reckless. It's really dangerous posting something like that on Facebook."

<div align="right">Rata, 36, X</div>

- Too much post

Some of the interviewees expressed that though the content was not harmful, people should refrain from posting too frequent on their Facebook because it could annoy their Friends on Facebook.

"I often annoyed by Facebook live. Some people broadcast themselves a lot, like every 15 minutes, they're not celebrities! (laugh) But I don't unfriend them, I just skip them. In contrast, I don't find people who vent their feeling on Facebook annoying; I think it's kind of fun to read (laugh). However, if it's something not interesting, I'd just skip it."

Ada, 23, Y

"I select people who I'd follow on Facebook. I've unfollowed people who post a lot, for example, people who post their selfies every hour. I think of it as a spam on my timeline; I don't want to know about them. So, I unfollow them. However, those people I've unfollowed are mostly someone I'm not a close friend with."

Kong, 21, Y

4.5.3 Online Regret Experiences and Alternatives to Self-Censorship on Facebook

Among the interview participants, there were both people who indicated that they had regretted posted something on Facebook and people who never had online regret experiences. Most of the interviewees who had online regret experiences mentioned that they had already deleted their content they regretted posting. However, none of them had experienced serious negative repercussions caused from their own regretted Facebook post. According to the interviewees, they had employed several strategies other than self-censorship to manage self-presentation and boundary regulation as well as to prevent online regrets.

- Adjust privacy setting and screening friend request

In line with the empirical findings, generation Y interviewees expressed high concern over information control on Facebook. They adjusted privacy setting and employed a strategy to control information accessibility of their audiences (i.e. asking friends about people who send them a friend request, re-open Facebook account for friends only). In contrast, most of generation X interviewees expressed less concern about information control on Facebook as they mentioned that they only post general information on Facebook not secret or something that could not be seen by other people.

"I have more than 1,000 Friends on Facebook, but I think there are about 200-300 people that I don't know. I used to accept strangers' friend request when I just started using Facebook, but I don't do that anymore. I also adjust privacy setting of my Facebook too. When strangers with mutual friends send me a friend request, I would ask my friends about them first. If my friends know them, I would accept their friend request. I wouldn't like to accept friend request from someone I don't know personally. Even though I recognize that they are people who study at the same faculty with me, I still wouldn't accept their friend request if I haven't interacted with them before."

<div align="right">Ada, 23, Y</div>

"I adjust privacy setting of my Facebook, only friends can see what I post. I have about 700-800 friends on Facebook. I'm confident that they're all people I know because I've opened the second Facebook account to accept only friend request from people I know."

<div align="right">Tan, 21, Y</div>

"I only accept friend request from people I know; most of the time, I don't accept friend request from strangers or people I barely know. But, sometimes I'd accept strangers with mutual friends such as my brother's friend whom I've met only once. I accepted his friend request because I'm afraid that he'll think I'm arrogant or

he'd feel bad if I rejected his friend request. So, I think that 90% of my Facebook Friends are people I know, only 10% are people whom I rarely talk or interact with."

<div align="right">Min, 28, Y</div>

"At first, I didn't adjust privacy setting. I also have some people I don't know on my Facebook (laugh). I don't really care much about privacy setting as I don't have anything to hide or secret on my Facebook. However, I no longer accept friend request from strangers (laugh). I only accept friend request from friends or people I know. Sometimes I don't feel like accepting a request from friends who I've lost contact with, so I just don't accept their friend request."

<div align="right">Jan, 51, X</div>

"I have about 300 Friends on Facebook, mostly are friends and colleagues. If strangers send me a friend request, I'd accept if they have mutual friends with me. I also accept friend request from my students. I haven't adjusted privacy setting. I think what I post in my Facebook is not that 'personal', just some general information or perspective. I don't post about my feelings on Facebook."

<div align="right">Ed, 40, X</div>

- Post in group

Some interviewees also mentioned that they would post in a group of specific audiences to directly communicate with them in order to get more effective communication results, avoid causing annoyance to irrelevant people and keep some matter private.

"I joined several groups on Facebook, but I only post in there when I'm looking for specific answer or help that are relevant to that particular group. I think posting in a specific group help me find my answer faster and, at the same time, I don't have to disturb people who aren't relevant to what I post."

<div align="right">Min, 28, Y</div>

"I post some content in a specific group on Facebook for I can directly talk to relevant people. Also, I think that it's not necessary for people who aren't relevant to the post to know about it. So, posting in a specific group can help keeping some matter private."

<div align="right">Lin, 35, X</div>

- Use more than one Facebook account

Some interviewees indicated that when they wanted to communicate with specific audiences, they would register for the new Facebook accounts as it was an easy way to keep different groups of audiences separated.

"I register for new Facebook account to accept friend requests from my friends only."

<div align="right">Tan, 21, Y</div>

"I have another Facebook for politic purpose, but I don't use it anymore."

<div align="right">Jan, 51, X</div>

"I have two Facebook. I open another account to interact with my students, mainly to tell them about the assignment. I think using Facebook is quite convenient because it records what I've posted, so I can use it as evidence. Also, rather than e-mail, students prefer to contact each other via social media. They all have Facebook, so I use Facebook to contact them. There are some students who searched for another account of mine and sent me a friend request; however, I'd not accept it. I only accept request from my friends and colleagues for that account. I think having two Facebook is easier to keep balance between my different roles in life. I'd post photos from my trip in Facebook for friends, but not in the one for students. Instead, I'd post something that related to them such as news on scholarship etc."

<div align="right">Lin, 35, X</div>

- Use other channels

In addition, instead of using Facebook, some interviewees indicated that they would use other communication channels that were more appropriate for the content they wanted to post.

"I also use twitter. I use it and post on it more than Facebook. I complain about my study and vent about my feelings on Twitter because I can't do it on Facebook (laugh). There're only my close friends in Twitter while there're many people on Facebook such as relatives, professors etc. I don't want them to see when what I post."

Kong, 21, Y

"When I want to complain about something, I'd use Line rather than Facebook. Using Line, I can choose people who I want to talk to; but you can't do that on Facebook unless you're using a private message. Some people posted on their Facebook that they were feeling bad; but when other people asked them what happened, they'd say 'Let's talk in Line.' I don't understand why they didn't use Line at the first place (laugh). I don't do that because I'd get annoyed if someone I don't want to talk about this matter with ask me what happen."

Nara, 25, Y

- Delete content

In general, to manage one's self-presentation, most of the interviewees indicated that they had deleted some content on Facebook that they think could give the others bad impressions about them.

"I regretted posting on Facebook when I was feeling down or angry with friends. I have deleted those posts and try not to post something like that again. However, I never have a fight with my friends over those posts; my friends only tell me that they don't like them."

Tan, 21, Y

"I don't like many posts that I made on Facebook in the past. It was a transition from Hi5 to Facebook and I was young (laugh). I posted so many nonsense things, and my pictures back then looked so…(laugh). I don't want them to be on my Facebook, so I had deleted all of them."

Ada, 23, Y

- Hide content

Also, some of the interviewees indicated that sometimes they would hide or set some content on their Facebook as private to prevent people who were not their Facebook Friends from seeing some content they considered private or bad for their self-presentation.

"Sometimes when I looked at my old posts, I'd think that 'what was I thinking?' 'Why did I post something like this?' (laugh) I used to be very upset when I broke up with my boyfriend, and I vent all of my feeling on Facebook (laugh). I regretted posting something like that, but I hadn't deleted it. I only adjusted the setting for only me can see it."

Min, 28, Y

"I never delete what I've posted, but I've untagged several photos because they're not pretty (laugh). However, I've changed some posts from 'public' to 'private' to make them invisible from people who aren't Friends with me on Facebook."

Rata, 36, X

"I've managed my timeline by making some photos private.
Sometimes people tagged me in their photos and I think it's too much. It's kind of bothering me, so I hide some of them."

Ed, 40, X

- Unfriend/ Unfollow

Furthermore, some interviewees chose to delete some Friends on Facebook in order to regulate the boundary between private and public as well as manage their Facebook feed.

"Lately, I've tried to manage my Facebook by deleting a lot of people I don't know, but are Friend with me on Facebook. Also, I've unfriended people I rarely interact with. They don't even Like my photos (laugh) and I don't interact with them. So, there's no point having them in my Facebook."

Nara, 25, Y

"I'd unfriend people who share this kind of things I consider inappropriate. I select people who I'd be friend on Facebook."

Mon, 52, X

- Think before post

Last but not least, most interviewees agreed that the best way to prevent bad self-presentation or online regrets was to carefully consider whether the content should be posted on Facebook. Many interviewees indicated that they never regretted posting anything because they did not post often and always think before post.

"I think the best way to prevent problematic situations from posting on Facebook is to think before post. I never regret posting anything on Facebook because I always think before I post."

Mon, 52, X

"I don't regret posting anything because I seldom post. If I want to post something, I'd always consider if it's a good thing to post."

Rata, 36, X

"I don't regret posting anything because I always think before I post. I'm very careful about posting on Facebook because there are a lot of relatives in my Facebook. Also, every time people tag me in their post, I'll check if I'd allow it on my Facebook."

Kong, 21, Y

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSION, DISCUSSION & RECOMMEDATIONS

Both quantitative and qualitative methods were employed in the current study in order to investigate why and what Thai users are not sharing on Facebook. A total 452 valid responses from online survey produce the empirical findings on Thai Facebook users' self-censorship behavior; whereas 10 in-depth interviews provide further insight on Thai Facebook users' motivation for self-censorship behavior and typed of self-censored content on Facebook from phenomenological perspective.

5.1 Conclusion

The conclusion for research questions was provided as followed:

RQ1: Why Thai users self-censor on Facebook?

Based on the empirical results, need for boundary regulation was found to be the most significant motivation for respondents' self-censorship behavior on Facebook. The second most significant motivation was fear of legal and physical threats; followed by fear of criticism and negative feedback (self-esteem motive). Fear of social isolation (spiral of silence motive) was found to be the least significant motivation for respondents' behavior on Facebook.

- Need for Boundary Regulation

According to the findings, participants self-censored to regulate interpersonal boundary. As the qualitative results suggested, interviewees sometimes

had trouble posting some content on Facebook because multiple groups of friends from different social circles were co-existing at the same time. Therefore, to avoid negative repercussion caused from the blurred boundary between each distinct social circle and having unanticipated audience seen their posts, they would choose to self-censor. Additionally, it is found that participants did not only concern for their own privacy, but also for others'; despite the intention to share, they would decide against sharing, if they perceived that the post could bring negative consequences to their friends.
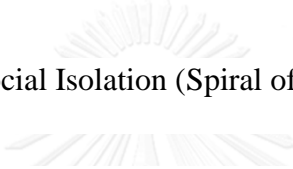
- Fear of Legal and Physical Threats

The results suggested that participants of the study self-censored to avoid legal and physical jeopardy. In general, most of the interviewees would refrain from posting personal information, despite the intention of sharing, to prevent harm or negative consequences that could occur to them or their friends. They also choose to not share some content that could be perceived as illegal. Nonetheless, based on the qualitative findings, while most of the interviewees agreed that self-censoring personal information was necessary for protecting one's safety; self-censoring one's opinions could be the result of limited of freedom of expression.

- Fear of Criticism and Negative Feedback (Self-Esteem Motive)

Fear of criticism and negative feedback appeared to be a less significant respondents' motivation for self-censorship behavior on Facebook than the need for boundary regulation and fear of legal and physical threats. However, it is found that participants would choose to self-censor if their posts were perceived to be judged negatively by their friends. They would also choose to self-censor if the posts could create bad impressions of themselves and give other people wrong perception about

them. Moreover, as the findings from in-depth interviews suggested that receiving no feedback was regarded as negative feedback, it was found that some interviewees, especially the young ones, would refrain from posting, despite the intention to share, if they perceived that their post were not going to receive 'Like' or attention from their Facebook Friends. On the contrary, older users did not emphasize the importance of 'Like' as they did not post to seek 'Like' or acceptance from others. They think that the quality of 'Like' depended on 'people' who gave them, not the quantity of 'Like'.

- Fear of Social Isolation (Spiral of Silence Motive)

As the empirical findings suggested, fear of social isolation or spiral of silence motive was the least significant motivation for self-censorship behavior on Facebook. Though it was found that some interviewees were confident to post that could be controversial on their Facebook when they perceived that they had social support; nonetheless, overall, it could be implied that most of participants did not self-censor because they were afraid of being isolated from others.

- Others

Based on the results from in-depth interviews, it was found that participants sometimes decide to self-censor because they did not think that what they were going to post on Facebook did not help them solve the problems. In addition, regardless the appropriateness or effectiveness of the content, some interviewees mentioned that they would eventually decide to self-censor if they faced technology

restraint. Since they were troubled with the Internet connection or malfunction devices, some of the interviewees would choose not to post in spite of the intention to share.

RQ2: What types of content Thai users self-censor on Facebook?

According to the results, it was found that Thai Facebook users self-censor a variety of content namely personal-related content, external content, logistics and conversational content. However, as the statistical figures suggested, the five most self-censored content were all personal-related content, namely negative feelings, personal updates, posts intended to directly or indirectly criticize/ satire/ express negative feelings or opinions towards other people who are Facebook Friend, posts intended to amuse/ tease other people who are Facebook Friend, and posts intended to argue or express disagreement with other people who are Facebook Friend.

In addition, apart from personal related content, criticism/ opinions towards politics was the most self-censored content. It ranked first for the most self-censored external content and ranked sixth for the overall most self-censored content.

On the other hand, the least self-censored content did not include personal-related content. The least self-censored content were other content such as to-do list, advertising etc., conversational content, namely replies without additional content. Also, posts related to illegal content, niceties i.e. New Year's greeting, birthday wishes and posts related to sex or violence were found to be one of the least self-censored content on Facebook.

Additionally, the empirical findings also showed that content most self-censored by respondents who aged between 18-24 years old and 25-34 years old were negative feeling, personal updates and negative feelings and/or opinions towards people who were Friends on Facebook. The results from in-depth interviews suggested that generation Y Facebook users (aged 18-34 years old) mostly posted about themselves on Facebook, thus they often self-censored personal related content, especially posts about feelings. As the generation Y interviewees mentioned, they often wanted to post about their feelings on Facebook; however, knowing posts about negative feelings could affect their self-presentation or relationship with others, they often decided to self-censor.

On the contrary, though respondents who aged between 35-49 years old and 50 years old or above self-censor on Facebook less frequent than generation Y users, they relatively self-censored more variety of content on Facebook. The empirical findings indicated that personal related content namely, personal updates and negative feelings ranked first in the content most self-censored by respondents aged between 35-49 years old, followed by posts intended to tease or amuse others who are Friends on Facebook, and posts about personal information which ranked equally with criticisms and/or opinions towards politics. For respondents aged at least 50 years old, the most self-censored content were personal updates; content involving negative feelings and/or opinions towards Friends on Facebook; followed by personal information, posts intended to tease or amuse Friends on Facebook, and information related to politics which were ranked equally as third place in content most self-censored by respondents aged over 50 years old. According to the qualitative findings, generation X interviewees (aged above 35 years old) self-censored external content related to politics

more than generation Y interviewees. As some interviewees suggested, unlike generation Y users, generation X users generally shared various types of content on Facebook; thus, they would have self-censored more variety of content on Facebook.

5.2 Discussion

While sharing content in social network sites (SNSs) can help individuals manage their identity, build social capital and improve social relationships (Nicole B Ellison et al., 2007), sharing some posts in SNSs could lead to tension, regrets, or tangible negative repercussions in one's personal or professional life (Wang et al., 2011). Since the first step of online disclosure is choosing to share or not to share, previous research have found that the practice of self-censorship or deciding not to share in spite of the intention of sharing in SNSs is an important strategy that helps people manage their online self-presentation; keep balance between public and private; and prevent problematic situations arising from SNS posts (Das & Kramer, 2013; Sleeper, Balebako, et al., 2013). As the current study investigates self-censorship behavior among Thai Facebook users, it does not only reaffirm existing literature, but also furthers insight into significance and motivations of self-censorship in SNS context. In light of understanding why and what Thai users are not sharing on Facebook, the current study have found several implications on how Facebook as a communication platform disrupts and changes the way Thai people handle online regrets and privacy; maintain social relationship; and express public opinions.

To Seek and Receive Feedback: Facebook as a Two-way Communication Platform

Based on the findings, the objective of Facebook post is never one-way, but two-way communication.

Being the most popular SNSs in Thailand, Facebook is increasingly becoming an important communication platform in Thai people's everyday life. According to the results, Facebook is regarded as a public space, and thus some content should not be posted on Facebook. As research participants mentioned, they were aware that what they post on Facebook can be seen by anyone ranging from friends to strangers. Therefore, in spite of the intention to share, they would choose to self-censor content that could be inappropriate for some audiences and thus lead to negative feedback or problematic consequences.

Based on the results, research participants emphasized on showing the 'good' presentation of self on Facebook; they would not post if they think it was not good enough in spite of the intention to share. Interestingly, it was found that many Facebook users agreed that they should not post bad self-presentation on Facebook, not only because it could lead to unfavorable evaluation or negative repercussions, but also because all other people only posted good image of themselves on Facebook. According to Chou and Edge (2012), frequent Facebook users tended to recall good self-presentation of other Friends on Facebook because people were motivated to present good impression of themselves to others; thus, they were likely to post only positive information and image of themselves on Facebook. In addition, as people usually saw only good image of others on Facebook, the perceptions they formed on others through self-presentation on Facebook were often distorted (Chou & Edge,

2012). However, as the participants mentioned, they were aware that what was posted on Facebook was often preselected and crafted; still, their perceptions towards others were generally impacted by their self-presentation on Facebook. As a result, they became selective about what they were going to post about themselves on Facebook, and would refrain from posting if it could affect their image and gave others wrong ideas about them.

Moreover, while it is undesirable to receive criticism, get humiliated, lose job or get involved with other negative repercussions from Facebook posts, receive no feedback for what they post on Facebook is also unpleasant. Regarding 'Like' as an acceptance and attention from their friends, some participants, especially those who aged under 35 years old would choose to self-censor if they perceived that what they were going to post would not receive 'Like' from their Facebook Friends. As previous research suggested, managing self-presentation was a goal-oriented process (Wu & Shang, 2012): SNS users adjusted their self-presentation to create socially desirable image and to give others good impressions of themselves (N. Ellison et al., 2006; Tufekci, 2008). Moreover, other than creating and maintaining positive image of oneself, people might manage their online self-presentation in order to seek other benefits such as popularity (Christofides, Muise, & Desmarais, 2009), social support (Wong, 2012) and social acceptance (Nadkarni & Hofmann, 2012). In other words, SNS users seeks some kind of positive responses from their Facebook Friends, and thus reflects the objective of Facebook post as two-way communication.

As the results suggested, as same as participants who self-censored when they perceived that their content would not get 'Like', some participants would also choose to self-

censor if they thought that what they were going to post on Facebook could not help them solve the problem. In this light, it can be implied that Facebook users will refrain from posting despite the intention to share when they perceive that they will not receive the expected responses.

Self-Censorship and Personal Privacy

Based on the findings, need for boundary regulation was the most significant motivations for self-censorship among Thai Facebook users, followed by, fear of legal and physical threats, fear of criticism and negative feedback (self-esteem motive) and fear of social isolation (spiral of silence) respectively.

Being greatly motivated by the need for boundary regulation to self-censor, research participants, thus, could be perceived as having high concern for privacy. As they rarely had online regret experiences and expressed high level of information control, such findings might not be unexpected as people who had high level of privacy concern were likely to implement high information control in SNSs (Christofides et al., 2012a), and thus had low chances to experience online regret.

As previous studies suggested, though SNSs such as Facebook provided functions that allowed its users to regulate boundary between public and private, the nature of SNSs and the characteristics of digital content that could be easily recorded, duplicated, distributed, searched and taken out of context, still, made it difficult for SNS users to regulate interpersonal boundary and keep balance between private and public (d. boyd, 2008; Lampinen, 2010; Tufekci, 2008). As a result, in order to maintain appropriate self-presentation to audiences from both public and private facets of life that were co-

existing at the same time; and to avoid negative repercussions resulting from SNS posts, SNS users would employ several strategies to regulate interpersonal boundary (Lampinen et al., 2011); or eventually decide to self-censor (Sleeper, Balebako, et al., 2013).

In line with previous research, since Facebook has increasingly integrated into Thai people's everyday life, Thai users are inevitably exposed to new challenges and risks from using Facebook; and thus, increasingly become aware of SNS characteristics that represents unique social sphere and disrupt privacy boundary. According to some participants, they were facing problems in their career as a result of the pervasiveness of Facebook in everyday life. Thus, it was important for them to regulate interpersonal boundary on Facebook. Based on the results, participants employed several strategies as alternatives to self-censorship. According to Wang et al. (2011), self-censorship was regarded as an in-situ measure as it occurred while users were making decision whether to post or not to post. Thus, alternatives to self-censorship on Facebook referred to measures employed before and after users making a decision to post, namely proactive and reactive measures. Based on the current study, proactive measures or measures that occurred before posting content included adjusting privacy setting, screening friend requests, customizing audience (post in group), using multiple Facebook account and using alternative communication channels. On the other hand, reactive measures or measures that occurred after users had posted something on Facebook included deleting or hiding content, untagged content, and unfriend or unfollow Friends on Facebook. In addition, while the above measures are regarded as behavioral strategies (Lampinen et al., 2011), some interviewees also suggested that mental strategies such as 'think before post' or to carefully consider whether the content should be posted on Facebook could

help contribute to an effective strategy for preventing undesirable consequences resulting from Facebook post.

In addition, based on the current study, while fear of legal and physical threats was the second most significant motivation for self-censorship behavior on Facebook, it, in part, also reflected participants' concern for privacy. As the findings suggested, participants thought that people should not post some content on Facebook as it was a public space. They mentioned that Facebook could be accessed and visible to a lot of audiences, which might include strangers or thieves. Thus, sharing too much information about oneself or posting about how much money one has on social media can bring harm and negative repercussion to oneself. As the findings suggest, to protect one's privacy in Facebook, the consideration for self-censorship is not only useful, but also necessary.

Self-Censorship and Social Relationship and Face-Saving Strategy

According to the results, it should be highlighted that participants' self-censorship behavior on Facebook reflected characteristics of Thai culture that had high collectivism and low masculinity (G. H. Hofstede & Hofstede, 2001).

As noted by G. Hofstede (2011), members of collectivist society tended to place great importance social relationships and in-group identities harmony. Since collectivism was regarded as a shame-oriented culture—rather than their own guilt, people were more concerned of what others judged and thought about their misbehavior. Thus, members of collectivist cultures tended to pay more attention to self-presentation as a strategy for 'face-saving' (Ting-Toomey, 1988 as cited in S. E. Cho, 2010). However, as members of collectivistic cultures would adapt their behaviors to situation and

relationships with others, they are not likely to only concern about saving their face, but also place great importance to save others' face as well (Ting-Toomey, 1988 as cited in S. E. Cho, 2010).

Based on the findings, apart from preserving one's privacy, research participants also regarded self-censorship on Facebook as an important strategy for preventing negative consequences that could damage their relationships with others. Despite the intention of sharing, participants would choose to self-censor if they perceived that what they were going to post could cause problems or create wrong impressions of their friends. Moreover, if their friends asked them not to post some content on their Facebook, they were likely to cooperate. By emphasizing on maintaining relationship with others and concerning over 'saving face' of themselves and others when posting on Facebook, participants' self-censorship behavior thus reflected the characteristics of Thai culture that was highly collectivist.

Furthermore, as Thailand was regarded as a low masculine society (G. H. Hofstede & Hofstede, 2001), Thai people tended to be less assertive and less competitive than people in high masculine countries. Instead, they tended to be more caring and supportive; they placed great importance on relationship and quality of life (G. H. Hofstede & Hofstede, 2001). As the findings suggested, participants' motivations for self-censorship were relationship-oriented. They tended to take their Facebook Friends and possible audiences into account when they wanted to post something on Facebook. It was found that most of participants had decided to self-censor their 'negative feelings', despite the intention to share because they were afraid that their post will annoy their Facebook Friends. They also decided to self-censor 'negative opinions

towards Facebook Friend' because they did not want to hurt their feelings or get into a fight with them. Some of them even felt uncomfortable and thus decided to self-censor when they perceived that their post would disturb people who were irrelevant to the post as well as people who found the post irrelevant to themselves.

However, interestingly, the results suggested that participants did not actually get annoyed by posts about negative feelings or negative opinions on Facebook as long as it was not too extreme, too rude or too much posted. Based on the findings, the participants thought that people should consider if their posts would affect others or themselves. They expressed that content included profanity and strong sentiment such as extreme or one-sided opinions should not be posted on Facebook as it disturbed other Friends on Facebook and could lead to negative repercussions if it made some Friends angry or was seen by unintended audiences. In addition, regardless the appropriateness of the content, the participants also thought that people should not post too frequent on Facebook as it could annoy other Facebook Friends. Nonetheless, when the participants came across inappropriate posts on Facebook, most of them chose to ignore instead of choosing to unfriend or unfollow people who posted that content. As participants choose to tolerate with content they find annoying, it might as well can be perceived as a maintaining relationship strategy because most of Friends on SNSs often come offline world (d. boyd, 2008); unfriending or unfollowing SNS Friends thus can damage offline relationship with them.

According to Komin (1990), one of the key value of Thai society was smooth interpersonal relationship orientation. Being a high collectivist and low masculine society, it is highlighted in this study that Thai people emphasize on maintaining

relationship and saving face of themselves and others even in SNS environment. Since the characteristics of SNSs enabled one-to-many communication and collapsed the multiplicity of audiences into one, it disrupted the ways people used to manage their audiences and maintain the appropriate self-presentation in SNSs (Alice E. Marwick & boyd, 2011). As a result, Thai Facebook users would choose to self-censor to avoid causing troubles for other people or destroying face of other people which can lead to broken relationship between themselves and others.

Self-Censorship and Limited Freedom of Expression

While both fear of legal and physical threats and fear of social isolation (spiral of silence motive) are the concepts related closely to politics and freedom of expression, the former is the significant motivation for self-censorship behavior whereas the latter is not. Nonetheless, it appears that the situation of freedom of expression in Thailand has reflected through the difference between the two motivations.

Based on the results, fear of social isolation or spiral of silence motive is the least motivation for self-censorship behavior on Facebook. According to the spiral of silence theory, individuals tend to self-censor when they perceive that their opinion is different from the majority's (Noelle-Neumann, 1974). Though previous research found that social media tend to encourage spiral of silence (Hampton & Rainie, 2014), the results show that participants tend not to self-censor even though their opinions are different from the majority. As previous research suggest, there are numerous examples of online destructive communication in which Thai people use SNSs to attack people who express different political views, despite the polarized climate (Chayawong, 2012).

However, while the findings suggest that participants' self-censorship behavior on Facebook is not likely to be affected by the perception of opinion climate. It is found that fear of legal and physical threats has greatly impacted their decision for self-censorship, despite the intention to share.

The possible explanation might be the strict liability of prosecution against online crime under the regime of National Council for Peace and Order (NCPO). Especially, the rigorously enforcement of Lese Majeste Law or Article 112 of the Criminal Code in recent years has sent 18 out of 21 convicts to prison, marking the highest number of lese majeste prisoners in Thai history ("Report on Lèse Majesté prisoners after 2014 coup," 2014). In addition, according to iLaw, the lese majeste cases that received the most severe penalty were related to Facebook communication ("Article 112 of the criminal code in online world," 2015). Therefore, it is not surprising that Facebook becomes a target that the NCPO choose to zero in on.

According to Facebook, Thai government has asked it to block 35 pages in 2014 due to "local law restriction" ("Facebook pressured following arrests ", 2016). Also, during 2013-15, Thai government also asked for data of 16 users, but did not receive it from Facebook ("Facebook pressured following arrests ", 2016). Recently, the NCPO has blocked several Facebook Pages and charged the Pages' administrators with lese majeste and computer crime. Together with the enactment of Thai Computer Crime Act B.E. 2550 (2007), it seems that freedom of expression in Thai SNS landscape has increasingly shrunk.

As the finding suggest, participants become highly aware of content they are going to post on Facebook as they are fear of legal and physical jeopardy. Especially, the law

on defamation might be one of the major reason that makes people carefully consider when want to criticize or express negative opinions towards others on Facebook. Based on the current study, negative opinions towards Friends on Facebook ranked second for the most self-censored content on Facebook whereas negative opinions towards people who are not Facebook Friends (i.e. public figures) ranked eight. Moreover, as there are increasing examples of people who are punished for violating the law, people increasingly choose to self-censor.

It is undeniable that the law can be an effective tool for preventing and decreasing online crime; however, in order to move the democratic society forward, people should not be suppressed for expressing their opinions despite the different perspective. Today, with a tool such as Facebook, opinions expression become easier, but with higher risks. Since the nature of SNSs increases risks of negative repercussions as the post can be seen by unintended audiences (Wang et al., 2011), one should not recklessly post on Facebook. As freedom of expression is not for people to say everything they want, it is for people to share opinions, make ideas possible and move the dynamic society forward. If people want to express their opinions, they should always consider whether it is a good choice to make.

Self-censorship: Risky Behavior and a Choice worth Making

According to previous studies, the decision to self-censor occurs after rationally weighing the advantages and disadvantages of sharing information, especially in SNS context where self-censorship is used to prevent negative repercussions resulting from SNS posts (Wang et al., 2011).

As the findings suggest, generation Y users often self-censor on Facebook after they has rationally evaluated risks and consequences of a certain post. However, though they are able to make a rational decision after outweighing the benefit of self-censorship, the high frequency of such decision-making implies that generation Y are likely to post content that can be problematic. In comparison, generation X users decide against sharing less than generation Y users as they are confident of their posts. Based on the findings, generation X users tend not to think about posting content that are against their own criteria; thus, they would never or rarely change their mind about what they are going to post on Facebook.

According to previous research, relatively older people tend to become more 'regulated decision makers' (Wolff, 2012); as they accumulate experiences, they tend to make an accurate evaluation of situations and make a better decision than younger people (Wolff, 2012). Based on the dual-process models of decision making, the decision making based on personal experiences is called intuitive process. Unlike the deliberative process which relies on the analytical thinking, the intuitive decision-making requires less cognitive effort, and thus, govern most part of decision making in our daily life (Klaczynski, 2005 as cited in Wolff, 2012). Built on the dual-process models, Reyna and Farley (2006)'s fuzzy trace theory also proposes that rather than verbatim representation—accurate recollection of past experiences, individuals rely on gist representation—imprecise recollection of memories including its feeling and meaning—to prevent oneself from doing risk behavior (Wolff, 2012). As people age, their intuitive system develops since they have complied judgment and decision heuristics through accumulating experiences. Thus, as people become older, they tend to rely automatically more on the gist or intuitive decision making to avoid undesirable

consequences; rather than making a rational choice between risks and benefits, older people will decide not to involve in such behavior that concerns the possibility of risks (Reyna & Farley, 2006).

While it can be implied that generation X users' self-censorship behavior is guided by the gist-based decision making, generation Y users' self-censorship, on the contrary, is subjected to verbatim representation (Reyna & Farley, 2006). As the fuzzy trace theory suggests, younger people, especially adolescents tend to focus on possible risks and rewards; as they think through all the possible outcome, they are likely to engage in risk behavior as the probability of perceived risks is relatively low (Reyna & Farley, 2006). Nonetheless, many studies indicate that adolescents' perceived risks are often distorted as they are likely to outweigh the benefits of the risk-taking actions (Reyna & Farley, 2006). As the results suggest, generation Y, despite often changing their mind about what they are going to post on Facebook, have relatively higher online regret experiences than generation X users. Following the fuzzy trace theory, it can be implied that higher frequency in self-censorship does not lead to lower online regret experiences; instead, it signifies higher risks of causing online regrets.

Still, it cannot be concluded that generation X users' decision about what they are going to post on Facebook is better than generation Y users' as their gist-based decision making may contain some biases and judgment that grow with time and experiences (Reyna & Farley, 2006). However, in general, it can be construed that generation Y users have higher chances to be exposed to online regrets than generation X users. Therefore, to reduce negative repercussions resulting from SNS posts, it is suggested that gist-based reasoning strategy should be employed to emphasize the importance and

use of self-censorship in SNS context. Since the negative consequences from online posts can be catastrophic, SNS users should be conscious of what they are going to post on SNSs. Often time, it is worth choosing not to share.

5.3 Limitations and Flaws of Study

While the current study provide further insights and implications for literature regarding self-censorship behavior in SNS context, several limitations should be noted.

5.5.1 Online Survey

The key limitation of this study refers to the use of online surveys distributed through nonprobability convenience and quota sampling. This sampling procedure only captured a specific part of the population meaning that the result of the study might not be generalizable. Moreover, as the study was conducted using self-reports, the results might not represent respondent's actual self-censorship behavior on Facebook. Lastly, the findings might not be applicable for other SNSs as different SNSs were used for different purposes; thus, self-censorship behavior on Facebook might be different from self-censorship behavior on Linkedin.

.5.2 In-depth Interview

As this study relied on a qualitative method and was limited to a small sample of Thai Facebook users, the finding might not be generalized to other countries due to cultural differences. Also, the findings might capture only a specific part of self-censorship behavior as most of the samples had similar background on education and Facebook usage behavior. In addition, as the study relied on self-report data, the findings might not match the actual behavior of the interviewees. It was possible that

the interview participants would not want to report sensitive or embarrassing content that they wanted to post but decided to self-censor.

5.4 Recommendations for Future Research

Self-censorship has been regarded as an important strategy that helps SNS users manage their self-presentation, balance between public and private and avoid online regret experiences; thus, to gain more insight regarding self-censorship behavior in SNS context, SNSs other than Facebook can be incorporated in future study. Additionally, to avoid errors occur from self-report data, future research can focus on actual self-censorship behavior of participants. Also, an approach without face-to-face interactions can also be considered to decrease participant's sensitivity or embarrassment. Finally, to capture various facets of self-censorship behavior in SNS context and further insight on motivations for self-censorship, future study can focus on samples with specific background such as people who have experienced serious online regrets or people in specific professions.

REFERENCES

Altman, I. (1975). *The environment and social behavior*. Monterey, CA: Brooks/Cole.

American Library Association. (2014). The universal right to free expression: An interpretation of the Library Bill of Rights.   Retrieved from http://www.ala.org/advocacy/intfreedom/librarybill/interpretations/universalri ght

Ardi, R., & Maison, D. (2014). How do Polish and Indonesian disclose in Facebook?: Differences in online self-disclosure, need for popularity, need to belong and self-esteem. *Journal of Information, Communication and Ethics in Society, 12*(3), 195-218. doi:10.1108/JICES-01-2014-0006

Article 112 of the criminal code in online world. (2015).   Retrieved from http://www.law.cmu.ac.th/ojs/index.php/CMUJLSS/article/view/106

Boehler, P. (2012). Thai flight attendant fired over threat to throw coffee on passenger.   Retrieved from http://newsfeed.time.com/2012/12/03/thai-flight-attendant-fired-after-threatening

boyd, d. (2008). *Taken out of context: American teen sociality in networked publics.* (Doctoral Dissertation), University of California at Berkeley. Retrieved from http://www.danah.org/papers/TakenOutOfContext.pdf

boyd, d. (2010). Social network sites as networked publics: Affordances, dynamics, and implications. In Z. Papacharissi (Ed.), *Networked self: Identity, community, and culture on social network sites* (pp. 39-58).

boyd, d. m., & Ellison, N. B. (2007). Social network sites: Definition, history, and scholarship. *Journal of Computer-Mediated Communication, 13*(1).

Buriyameathagul, K. (2013). Characteristics of culture in Thai society and virtual
communities. *Silpakorn University Journal of Social Sciences, Humanities,
and Arts, 13*(2), 207-270.

Burkett, M. (2011). 12 nobel laureates in literature who have been banned, censored,
or exiled in the past 20 years.   Retrieved from
http://www.sampsoniaway.org/blog/2011/11/01/12-nobel-laureates-in-
literature-who-have-been-banned-censored-or-exiled

Chayawong, K. (2012). *Destructive communication in online social media.* (Master's
thesis), Chulalongkorn University, Bangkok, Thailand.

Cho, S., & Park, H. (2013). A qualitative analysis of cross-cultural new media
research: SNS use in Asia and the West. *Quality & Quantity, 47*(4), 2319-
2330. doi:10.1007/s11135-011-9658-z

Cho, S. E. (2010). *Cross-cultural comparison of Korean and American social network
sites: Exploring cultural differences in social relationships and self-
presentation.* (Docteral Dissertation), Rutgers, the State University of New
Jersey. Retrieved from https://rucore.libraries.rutgers.edu/rutgers-lib/26520

Chou, H.-T. G., & 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), 117-121.

Christofides, E., Muise, A., & Desmarais, S. (2009). Information disclosure and
control on Facebook: are they two sides of the same coin or two different
processes? *CyberPsychology & Behavior, 12*(3), 341-345.

Christofides, E., Muise, A., & Desmarais, S. (2012a). Hey mom, what's on your
Facebook? Comparing Facebook disclosure and privacy in adolescents and

adults. *Social Psychological and Personality Science, 3*(1), 48-54. doi:10.1177/1948550611408619

Christofides, E., Muise, A., & Desmarais, S. (2012b). Risky disclosures on Facebook : The effect of having a bad experience on online behavior. *Journal of Adolescent Research, 27*(6), 714-731. doi:10.1177/0743558411432635

Cook, P., & Heilmann, C. (2013). Two types of self-censorship: Public and private. *Political Studies, 61*(1), 178-196. doi:10.1111/j.1467-9248.2012.00957.x

Das, S., & Kramer, A. (2013). *Self-censorship on Facebook.* Paper presented at the Seventh International AAAI Conference on Weblogs and Social Media.

Edwards, D. (2014). Social media vs. self-censorship: Where should we draw the line?   Retrieved from http://www.techvibes.com/blog/social-media-vs-self-censorship-2014-01-22

Elgot, J. (2015). From relationships to revolutions: seven ways Facebook has changed the world.   Retrieved from http://www.theguardian.com/technology/2015/aug/28/from-relationships-to-revolutions-seven-ways-facebook-has-changed-the-world

Ellison, N., Heino, R., & Gibbs, J. (2006). Managing impressions online: Self-presentation processes in the online dating environment. *Journal of Computer-Mediated Communication, 11*(2), 415-441.

Ellison, N. B., & boyd, d. (2013). Sociality through social network sites. In W. H. Dutton (Ed.), *The Oxford Handbook of Internet Studies* (pp. 151-172). Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Ellison, N. B., Steinfield, C., & Lampe, C. (2007). The benefits of Facebook "Friends:" Social capital and college students' use of online social network

sites. *Journal of Computer-Mediated Communication, 12*(4), 1143-1168. doi:10.1111/j.1083-6101.2007.00367.x

Equality and Human Rights Commison. (2009). Freedom of expression.   Retrieved from http://www.equalityhumanrights.com/your-rights/human-rights/what-are-human-rights%3F/the-human-rights-act/freedom-of-expression

Facebook pressured following arrests (2016).   Retrieved from http://www.bangkokpost.com/news/politics/962913/facebook-pressured-following-arrests

G., R. (2015). Ai Weiwei serves the people.   Retrieved from http://www.economist.com/blogs/prospero/2015/09/political-art

Gliem, R. R., & Gliem, J. A. (2003). *Calculating, interpreting, and reporting Cronbach's alpha reliability coefficient for Likert-type scales*.

Global Internet Liberty Campaign. (n.d.). What is censorship?   Retrieved from http://gilc.org/speech/osistudy/censorship

Goffman, E. (1959). *The presentation of self in everyday life*. New York: Anchor Books.

Gross, R., & Acquisti, A. (2005). *Information revelation and privacy in online social networks*. Paper presented at the Proceedings of the 2005 ACM workshop on Privacy in the electronic society, Alexandria, VA, USA.

Hampton, K. N., & Rainie, L. (2014). Social media and the 'spiral of silence'.

Hawkins, S. (2012). How free speech and social media fit together.   Retrieved from http://www.socialmediaexaminer.com/how-free-speech-and-social-media-fit-together/

Hayes, A. F., Scheufele, D. A., & Huge, M. E. (2006). Nonparticipation as self-censorship: Publicly observable political activity in a polarized opinion climate. *Political Behavior, 28*(3), 259-283.

Hern, A. (2015). Facebook relaxes 'real name' policy in face of protest.   Retrieved from http://www.theguardian.com/technology/2015/nov/02/facebook-real-name-policy-protest

Hill, R. (1998). What sample size is "enough" in internet survey research. *Interpersonal Computing and Technology: An electronic journal for the 21st century, 6*(3-4), 1-12.

Ho, E. L.-E. (2008). Embodying self-censorship: studying, writing and communicating. *Area, 40*(4), 491-499. doi:10.1111/j.1475-4762.2008.00821.x

Hofstede, G. (2011). Dimensionalizing cultures: The Hofstede model in context. *Online Readings in Psychology and Culture, 2*(1), 8.

Hofstede, G. H., & Hofstede, G. (2001). *Culture's consequences: Comparing values, behaviors, institutions and organizations across nations*: SAGE Publications.

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), 377-386. doi:10.1177/0270467610385893

Hutchinson, A. (2015). Facebook Q3 numbers: more than a billion users, and 8 billion video views, every day Retrieved from http://www.socialmediatoday.com/social-networks/facebook-q3-numbers-more-billion-users-and-8-billion-video-views-every-day

International Debate Education Association. (n.d.). Freedom of expression.

   Retrieved from http://digitalfreedoms.idebate.org/digitalfreedoms/freedom-of-

   expression

Jenkins, A. (n.d.). Why were Galileo's ideas censored?   Retrieved from

   https://www.quora.com/Why-were-Galileos-ideas-censored

Kim, H., & Papacharissi, Z. (2003). Cross-cultural differences in online self-

   presentation: A content analysis of personal Korean and US home pages.

   Asian Journal of Communication, 13(1), 100-119.

   doi:10.1080/01292980309364833

Komin, S. (1990). Culture and work-related values in Thai organizations.

   International Journal of Psychology, 25(3-6), 681-704.

Lambe, J. L. (2002). Dimensions of censorship: Reconceptualizing public willingness

   to censor. *Communication Law and Policy, 7*(2), 187-235.

   doi:10.1207/S15326926CLP0702_05

Lampinen, A. (2010). *Practices of balancing privacy and publicness in social network*

   services. Paper presented at the Proceedings of the 16th ACM international

   conference on Supporting group work, Sanibel Island, Florida, USA.

Lampinen, A., Lehtinen, V., Lehmuskallio, A., & Tamminen, S. (2011). *We're in it*

   together: interpersonal management of disclosure in social network services.

   Paper presented at the Proceedings of the SIGCHI Conference on Human

   Factors in Computing Systems, Vancouver, BC, Canada.

Lampinen, A., Tamminen, S., & Oulasvirta, A. (2009). *All my people right here, right*

   now: management of group co-presence on a social networking site. Paper

presented at the Proceedings of the ACM 2009 international conference on
Supporting group work, Sanibel Island, Florida, USA.

Leesa-nguansuk, S. (2015). Facebook likes new Thai office Retrieved from
http://www.bangkokpost.com/business/telecom/697868/facebook-likes-new-
thai-office

Lennox, R. D., & Wolfe, R. N. (1984). Revision of the self-monitoring scale.

Leung, L. (2002). Loneliness, self-disclosure, and ICQ (" I Seek You") use.
CyberPsychology & Behavior, 5(3), 241-251.

Leung, L. (2015). Validity, reliability, and generalizability in qualitative research.
Journal of Family Medicine and Primary Care, 4(3), 324-327.
doi:10.4103/2249-4863.161306

Litt, E., Spottswood, E., Birnholtz, J., Hancock, J. T., Smith, M. E., & Reynolds, L.
(2014). *Awkward encounters of an "other" kind: collective self-presentation
and face threat on facebook*. Paper presented at the Proceedings of the 17th
ACM conference on Computer supported cooperative work & social
computing, Baltimore, Maryland, USA.

Mangalindan, J. (2015). 1 billion people used Facebook in 24 hours.   Retrieved from
http://mashable.com/2015/08/27/facebook-1-billion-24-hours/#4l9LY8lwdPqJ

Marwick, A. E., & boyd, d. (2011). I tweet honestly, I tweet passionately: Twitter
users, context collapse, and the imagined audience. *New Media & Society,
13*(1), 114-133. doi:10.1177/1461444810365313

Marwick, A. E., & boyd, d. (2014). Networked privacy: How teenagers negotiate
context in social media. *New Media & Society*.
doi:10.1177/1461444814543995

Mayberry, M. (2015). Your words have impact, so think before you speak.   Retrieved from http://www.entrepreneur.com/article/251290

Meyrowitz, J. (1985). *No sense of place: The impact of electronic media on social behavior*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Moon, R. (2000). *The constitutional protection of freedom of expression* Retrieved from https://books.google.co.th/books?id=Rgu0ZEjU86AC&printsec=frontcover#v =onepage&q&f=false

Moon, R. (2009). The social character of freedom of expression. *Amsterdam Law Forum, 2*(1), 43-48.

Morton, L. (2007). Self-censorship: the case of wartime Japanese poetry. *Japan Forum, 19*(3), 391-409. doi:10.1080/09555800701580147

Nadkarni, A., & Hofmann, S. G. (2012). Why do people use Facebook? *Personality and individual differences, 52*(3), 243-249. doi:10.1016/j.paid.2011.11.007

Newth, M. (2010). The long history of censorship.   Retrieved from http://www.beaconforfreedom.org/liste.html?tid=415&art_id=475

Noelle-Neumann, E. (1974). The spiral of silence: A Theory of public opinion. *Journal of Communication, 24*(2), 43-51. doi:10.1111/j.1460-2466.1974.tb00367.x

O'Boyle, E. J. (2008). The need for work as such: Self-expression and belonging. In F. Ackerman, N. R. Goodwin, L. Dougherty, & K. Gallagher (Eds.), the changing nature of work: Island Press. Retrieved from https://books.google.co.th/books?id=4sUBjCXP37QC&pg=PA376&lpg=PA3 76&dq=self-

expression+human+nature&source=bl&ots=lGKtObaz9I&sig=imBJsRSN7Xf

RN4rAasG2oMZgG5Q&hl=en&sa=X&ved=0ahUKEwjl4YnC8cbKAhUIcI4

KHVFFAGIQ6AEIMDAD#v=onepage&q=self-

expression%20human%20nature&f=false.

Orges, S. (2013). 5 reasons censorship isn't black and white. Retrieved from

http://bekindrewrite.com/2013/09/20/5-reasons-censorship-isnt-black-and-

white/

Palen, L., & Dourish, P. (2003). *Unpacking privacy for a networked world.* Paper

presented at the Proceedings of the SIGCHI conference on Human factors in

computing systems.

Piyapan, D. (2013). *Digital values and online communication behavior of Thai

children and youth.* (Master's thesis), Chulalongkorn University, Bangkok,

Thailand.

A point of view: Why people shouldn't feel the need to censor themselves. (2015).

Retrieved from http://www.bbc.com/news/magazine-34744432

Purnell, N. (2012). Bangkok tops global Facebook city list. Retrieved from

http://blogs.wsj.com/indonesiarealtime/2012/05/23/bangkok-tops-global-

facebook-city-list/

Regan, K. (2015). 10 amazing social media growth stats from 2015. Retrieved from

http://www.socialmediatoday.com/social-networks/kadie-regan/2015-08-

10/10-amazing-social-media-growth-stats-2015

Report on Lèse Majesté prisoners after 2014 coup. (2014). Retrieved from

http://freedom.ilaw.or.th/en/blog/report-l%C3%A8se-majest%C3%A9-

prisoners-after-2014-coup

Reyna, V. F., & Farley, F. (2006). Risk and rationality in adolescent decision making implications for theory, practice, and public policy. *Psychological science in the public interest, 7*(1), 1-44.

Roesler, P. (2014). 6 ways social media changed the world.   Retrieved from http://www.inc.com/peter-roesler/6-ways-social-media-changed-the-world.html

Rushdie, S. (2012). On censorship.   Retrieved from http://www.newyorker.com/books/page-turner/on-censorship

self-censorship. (n.d.). *In Cambridge Advanced Learner's Dictionary & Thesaurus Online.* Retrieved from http://dictionary.cambridge.org/dictionary/english/self-censorship

Skatar, O. (2015). Facebook Thailand Infographic 2015.   Retrieved from http://www.oliverskatar.com/facebook-thailand-infographic-2015

Sleeper, M., Balebako, R., Das, S., McConahy, A. L., Wiese, J., & Cranor, L. F. (2013). *The post that wasn't: exploring self-censorship on facebook*. Paper presented at the Proceedings of the 2013 conference on Computer supported cooperative work, San Antonio, Texas, USA.

Sleeper, M., Cranshaw, J., Kelley, P. G., Ur, B., Acquisti, A., Cranor, L. F., & Sadeh, N. (2013). *I read my Twitter the next morning and was astonished: A conversational perspective on Twitter regrets*. Paper presented at the Proceedings of the SIGCHI Conference on Human Factors in Computing Systems, Paris, France.

Solove, D. J. (2007). *The future of reputation: Gossip, rumor, and privacy on the Internet* Retrieved from

http://scholarship.law.gwu.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=2081&context=faculty_publications

Sombutpibool, P. (2011). The adoption of social networks in Thailand. *Journal of Information Technology Impact, 11*(1), 1-34.

Tackle online hate speech. (2015). Retrieved from http://www.bangkokpost.com/lite/topstories/555911/tackle-online-hate-speech

Thai beauty queen resigns under social media fire. (2014). Retrieved from http://news.yahoo.com/thai-beauty-queen-resigns-under-social-media-fire-142300070.html

Thais addict to social network. (2014). Retrieved from http://www.it24hrs.com/2014/thai-social-network-day-in-a-life/

Think before you post. (n.d.). Retrieved from http://www.youthcentral.vic.gov.au/web-social-safety/think-before-you-post

Tufekci, Z. (2008). Can you see me now? Audience and disclosure regulation in online social network sites. *Bulletin of Science, Technology & Society, 28*(1), 20-36.

Tynan, D. (n.d.). Say Cheese: 12 Photos That Should Never Have Been Posted Online. Retrieved from http://www.pcworld.com/article/150920/embarrassing_web_photo.html

Universal Declaration of Human Rights. (1948). Retrieved from http://www.un.org/en/universal-declaration-human-rights/index.html

Vitak, J. (2012). The impact of context collapse and privacy on social network site disclosures. *Journal of Broadcasting & Electronic Media, 56*(4), 451-470. doi:10.1080/08838151.2012.732140

Wang, Y., Norcie, G., Komanduri, S., Acquisti, A., Leon, P. G., & Cranor, L. F. (2011). *"I regretted the minute I pressed share": a qualitative study of regrets on Facebook*. Paper presented at the Proceedings of the Seventh Symposium on Usable Privacy and Security, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania.

Williams, S. D. (2002). Self-esteem and the self-censorship of creative ideas. *Personnel Review, 31*(4), 495-503. doi:10.1108/00483480210430391

Wolff, J. M. (2012). *Adolescent decision making and risk behavior: A neurobiological approach.* (Docteral Dissertation), University of Nebraska-Lincoln. Retrieved from http://digitalcommons.unl.edu/psychdiss/41

Wong, W. K.-W. (2012). *Faces on Facebook: A study of self-presentation and social support on Facebook*: Run Run Shaw Library, City University of Hong Kong.

Wu, Y.-L., & Shang, S. S. (2012). Understanding the dynamics of impression management on social network service. *Journal of Service Science, 3*(2).

Yesil, M. M. (2014). The invisible threat for the future of journalism: Self-censorship and conflicting interests in an increasingly competitive media environment. *International Journal of Business and Social Science, 5*(3), 71-78.

Yilmaz, B., & Soylu, D. (2015). Self-censorship in social media: A case study of Hacettepe University. *Journal of Information & Knowledge Management, 14*(01). doi:10.1142/S0219649215500100

APPENDIX

Appendix A

Survey Question
Part 1   Basic Demographic Information
1. Age
  ☐ 17 or younger (end of question)
  ☐ 18-24
  ☐ 25-34
  ☐ 35-49
  ☐ 50+

2. Gender
  ☐ Male
  ☐ Female

3. Education
  ☐ Lower than Bachelor's Degree
  ☐ Bachelor's Degree or equivalent
  ☐ Higher than Bachelor's Degree

Part 2   Facebook Usage and Audience Size and Diversity
1. How long have you been using Facebook?
  ☐ Less than 1 year
  ☐ 1-3 years
  ☐ 4-6 years
  ☐ Above 6 years

2. How often do you check your Facebook feed?
  ☐ Rarely (end of question)
  ☐ Less than once a month (end of question)
  ☐ Less than once a week, but more than once a month (end of question)
  ☐ Once a week (end of question)
  ☐ Several times a week (end of question)
  ☐ Once a day
  ☐ More than once a day

3. How often do you post on your Facebook? (i.e. updating status, posting or sharing pictures, video, links, commenting on others' shared content)

☐ Rarely

☐ Less than once a month

☐ Less than once a week, but more than once a month

☐ Once a week

☐ Several times a week

☐ Once a day

☐ More than once a day

4. How many Facebook friends do you have?

☐ Less than 200

☐ 201-400

☐ 401-600

☐ 601-800

☐ 801-1000

☐ More than 1000

5. Who are your Facebook friends? Check ALL that apply

☐ Boyfriend/Girlfriend/Spouse

☐ Parents

☐ Siblings/ Relatives

☐ Friend

☐ Acquaintance

☐ People I recognized as friend of a friend

☐ Co-workers/Colleagues/Clients (Current or former)

☐ Teacher/ Professor/ Boss (Current or former)

☐ Students/ Subordinates

☐ Family members of a boyfriend/ girlfriend/ spouse

☐ People I recognized, but are not friend of a friend

☐ Stranger with mutual friend on Facebook

☐ Stranger with no mutual friend on Facebook

☐ Other

Part 3 Individual Differences

3.1 Information Control

(1-5 scale, 1=strongly disagree, 5=strongly agree)

I do not accept every friend request from people I don't know

□ strongly disagree   □ disagree   □ neutral   □ agree   □ strongly agree

I tend not to accept friend request to control who can access to my information

□ strongly disagree   □ disagree   □ neutral   □ agree   □ strongly agree

I adjust privacy setting

□ strongly disagree   □ disagree   □ neutral   □ agree   □ strongly agree

3.2 Self-Disclosure on Facebook

(1-5 scale, 1=strongly disagree, 5=strongly agree)

Amount of Self-Disclosure

I frequently talk about myself on Facebook.

□ strongly disagree   □ disagree   □ neutral   □ agree   □ strongly agree

I frequently express my feelings on Facebook

□ strongly disagree   □ disagree   □ neutral   □ agree   □ strongly agree

I frequently express my personal beliefs and opinions on Facebook.

□ strongly disagree   □ disagree   □ neutral   □ agree   □ strongly agree

I usually write about myself extensively on Facebook.

□ strongly disagree   □ disagree   □ neutral   □ agree   □ strongly agree

Intimacy of Self-Disclosure

I intimately disclose who I really am, openly and fully on my Facebook.

□ strongly disagree   □ disagree   □ neutral   □ agree   □ strongly agree

I often disclose intimate, personal things about myself without hesitation on Facebook.

□ strongly disagree   □ disagree   □ neutral   □ agree   □ strongly agree

I am confident that my expressions of my own feelings, emotions, and experiences on Facebook are true reflections of myself.

□ strongly disagree   □ disagree   □ neutral   □ agree   □ strongly agree

I feel that I sometimes do not control my self-disclosure of personal or intimate things I tell about myself on Facebook.

□ strongly disagree   □ disagree   □ neutral   □ agree   □ strongly agree

3.3 Self-Monitor
(1-5 scale, 1=strongly disagree, 5=strongly agree)

Ability to Modify Self-Presentation
In social situations, I have the ability to alter my behavior if I feel that something else is called for.

□ strongly disagree   □ disagree   □ neutral   □ agree   □ strongly agree

I have the ability to control the way I come across to people, depending on the impression I wish to give them.

□ strongly disagree   □ disagree   □ neutral   □ agree   □ strongly agree

When I feel that the image I portraying isn't working, I can readily change it to something that does.

□ strongly disagree   □ disagree   □ neutral   □ agree   □ strongly agree

Once I know what the situation calls for, it's easy for me to regulate my actions accordingly.

□ strongly disagree   □ disagree   □ neutral   □ agree   □ strongly agree

Sensitivity to the Expressive Behaviors of Others
I am often able to read people's true emotions correctly through their eyes.

□ strongly disagree   □ disagree   □ neutral   □ agree   □ strongly agree

In conversations, I am sensitive to even the slightest change in the facial expression of person I'm conversing with.

□ strongly disagree   □ disagree   □ neutral   □ agree   □ strongly agree

My powers of intuition are quite good when it comes to understanding others' emotions and motives.

☐ strongly disagree   ☐ disagree   ☐ neutral   ☐ agree   ☐ strongly agree

I can usually tell when others consider a joke to be in bad taste, even though they may laugh convincingly.

☐ strongly disagree   ☐ disagree   ☐ neutral   ☐ agree   ☐ strongly agree

I can usually tell when I've said something inappropriate by reading it in the listener's eyes.

☐ strongly disagree   ☐ disagree   ☐ neutral   ☐ agree   ☐ strongly agree

If someone is lying to me, I usually know it at once from that person's manner of expression.

☐ strongly disagree   ☐ disagree   ☐ neutral   ☐ agree   ☐ strongly agree

3.4 Self-Esteem

(1-5 scale, 1=strongly disagree, 5=strongly agree)

I feel that I'm a person of worth, at least on an equal plane with others

☐ strongly disagree   ☐ disagree   ☐ neutral   ☐ agree   ☐ strongly agree

I feel that I have a number of good qualities

☐ strongly disagree   ☐ disagree   ☐ neutral   ☐ agree   ☐ strongly agree

I am able to do things as well as most other people

☐ strongly disagree   ☐ disagree   ☐ neutral   ☐ agree   ☐ strongly agree

I take a positive attitude toward myself

☐ strongly disagree   ☐ disagree   ☐ neutral   ☐ agree   ☐ strongly agree

On the whole, I am satisfied with myself

☐ strongly disagree   ☐ disagree   ☐ neutral   ☐ agree   ☐ strongly agree

3.5 Online Regret Experiences
(1-7 Scale, 1=never, 7=always)

On 1-7 scale, please select the number that represents how often you have regretted posting something (i.e. status, comment, picture etc.) on your Facebook.

Never☐ 1   ☐ 2   ☐ 3   ☐ 4   ☐ 5   ☐ 6   ☐ 7 Always

On 1-7 scale, please select the number that represents how often you have been affected by your Facebook post.

 Never☐ 1   ☐ 2   ☐ 3   ☐ 4   ☐ 5   ☐ 6   ☐ 7 Always

On 1-7 scale, please select the number that represents how often you have been affected by Facebook post generated by others.

Never☐ 1   ☐ 2   ☐ 3   ☐ 4   ☐ 5   ☐ 6   ☐ 7 Always

Part 4 Self-Censorship on Facebook
4.1 Self-Censorship Behavior
(1-7 Scale, 1=never, 7=always)

On 1-7 scale, please select the number that represents how often you feel like posting something on Facebook, but eventually decided not to post? (1=Never, 7=Often)

 Never☐ 1   ☐ 2   ☐ 3   ☐ 4   ☐ 5   ☐ 6   ☐ 7 Always

4.2 Types of Self-Censored Content
What content that you have self-censored on Facebook? Check ALL that apply

Personal Content

☐ text/ photo/ video related to personal updates i.e. posts about what you are doing, where you are, picture of yourself

☐ personal information i.e. phone no., address

☐ text/ photo/ video related to negative feelings i.e. frustration, upset, loneliness etc.

☐ text/ photo/ video related to positive feelings i.e. happiness, content, proud etc.

☐ text/ photo/ video intended to amuse/ tease other people who are Facebook Friend

☐ text/ photo/ video intended to praise/ compliment/ express positive feelings or opinions towards other people who are Facebook Friend

☐ text/ photo/ video intended to directly or indirectly criticize/ satire/ express negative feelings or opinions towards other people who are Facebook Friend

☐ text/ photo/ video intended to argue or express disagreement with other people who are Facebook Friend

External Content

☐ text/ photo/ video intended to praise/ compliment/ express positive feelings or opinions towards other people who are **not** Facebook Friend (including both public figure and people in general i.e. taxi-driver, waiter etc.)

☐ text/ photo/ video intended to directly or indirectly criticize/ satire/ express negative feelings or opinions towards other people who are are **not** Facebook Friend (including both public figure and people in general i.e. taxi-driver, waiter etc.)

☐ text/ photo/ video intended to argue or express disagreement with other people who are are **not** Facebook Friend (including both public figure and people in general i.e. taxi-driver, waiter etc.)

☐ text/ photo/ video related to entertainment i.e. funny videoclip, photo of an actor etc.

☐ text/ photo/ video related to sex or violence

☐ text/ photo/ video related to illegal content i.e. link for website that allows people to download unauthorized versions of copyrighted music

☐ text/ photo/ video related to politics

☐ criticism/ opinion towards politics

Conversational Content

☐ Niceties i.e. new year's greeting, birthday wishes

☐ Replies without additional content

Logistics

☐ Plans i.e. travel plan, party plan

4.3 Motivations for Self-censorship

Why do you decide 'not to share' some content?

(1-5 scale, 1=strongly disagree, 5=strongly agree)

Self-presentation:

Fear of Criticism (Self-esteem Motive)

I'm afraid of criticism/ negative feedback

☐ strongly disagree   ☐ disagree   ☐ neutral   ☐ agree

☐ strongly agree

I think the content isn't good enough (i.e. boring, plain)

☐ strongly disagree   ☐ disagree   ☐ neutral   ☐ agree

☐ strongly agree

I think the content doesn't fit with my image.

☐ strongly disagree   ☐ disagree   ☐ neutral   ☐ agree

☐ strongly agree

I think the content can make me look bad.

☐ strongly disagree   ☐ disagree   ☐ neutral   ☐ agree

☐ strongly agree

I think the content would not get 'Like' from my Facebook Friends.

☐ strongly disagree   ☐ disagree   ☐ neutral   ☐ agree

☐ strongly agree

I think that some audiences would find it inappropriate

☐ strongly disagree   ☐ disagree   ☐ neutral   ☐ agree

☐ strongly agree

Fear of Social Isolation (Spiral of Silence Motive)

I think other people wouldn't agree with my idea (even though I think I'm right)

☐ strongly disagree   ☐ disagree   ☐ neutral   ☐ agree

☐ strongly agree

I think the content would alienated me from others

☐ strongly disagree   ☐ disagree   ☐ neutral   ☐ agree

☐ strongly agree

I think the content could be viewed as contradictory to culture, social norms, belief of the community I live in.

☐ strongly disagree   ☐ disagree   ☐ neutral   ☐ agree

☐ strongly agree

Boundary Regulation

I don't want to make private go public.

☐ strongly disagree   ☐ disagree   ☐ neutral   ☐ agree
☐ strongly agree

I want to talk about that topic only with relevant people.

☐ strongly disagree   ☐ disagree   ☐ neutral   ☐ agree
☐ strongly agree

I don't want to let the unanticipated audiences see it

☐ strongly disagree   ☐ disagree   ☐ neutral   ☐ agree
☐ strongly agree

I don't want to annoy people who are irrelevant to the post.

☐ strongly disagree   ☐ disagree   ☐ neutral   ☐ agree
☐ strongly agree

I don't want people who are not mentioned in the post feel bad i.e upset, jealous etc.

☐ strongly disagree   ☐ disagree   ☐ neutral   ☐ agree
☐ strongly agree

I don't want people who are relevant to the post to get caught in trouble or face negative repercussions.

☐ strongly disagree   ☐ disagree   ☐ neutral   ☐ agree
☐ strongly agree

I don't want to make people who are relevant to the post feel bad and/or get into a fight with them.

☐ strongly disagree   ☐ disagree   ☐ neutral   ☐ agree
☐ strongly agree

Legal & Physical threats

I know it's illegal

☐ strongly disagree   ☐ disagree   ☐ neutral   ☐ agree
☐ strongly agree

I think it can affect my own safety

☐ strongly disagree ☐ disagree ☐ neutral ☐ agree
☐ strongly agree

I think it can affect the safety of people who are relevant to the post

☐ strongly disagree ☐ disagree ☐ neutral ☐ agree
☐ strongly agree

Appendix B

แบบสอบถาม

ตอนที่ 1   ข้อมูลทั่วไป

1. อายุ

     ☐ 17 หรือน้อยกว่า (จบการทำแบบสอบถาม)

     ☐ 18-24

     ☐ 25-34

     ☐ 35-49

     ☐ 50+ หรือมากกว่า

2. เพศ

     ☐ ชาย

     ☐ หญิง

3. ระดับการศึกษา

     ☐ ต่ำกว่าปริญญาตรี

     ☐ ปริญญาตรี หรือเทียบเท่า

     ☐ สูงกว่าปริญญาตรี

ตอนที่ 2 ข้อมูลการใช้เฟซบุ๊ก และเพื่อนบนเฟซบุ๊ก

1. คุณใช้เฟสบุ๊กมานานแค่ไหน

     ☐ น้อยกว่า 1 ปี

     ☐ 1-3 ปี

     ☐ 4-6 ปี

     ☐ มากกว่า 6 ปี

2. คุณเข้าเฟซบุ๊กบ่อยแค่ไหน

☐ แทบไม่เข้าไปเช็คเลย

☐ น้อยกว่าเดือนละหนึ่งครั้ง

☐ น้อยกว่าสัปดาห์ละครั้ง แต่มากกว่าเดือนละครั้ง (จบการทำแบบสอบถาม)

☐ สัปดาห์ละครั้ง (จบการทำแบบสอบถาม)

☐ สัปดาห์ละหลายครั้ง แต่ไม่ทุกวัน (จบการทำแบบสอบถาม)

☐ วันละครั้ง

☐ มากกว่าวันละหนึ่งครั้ง

3. คุณโพสท์บนเฟซบุ๊กของตัวเองบ่อยแค่ไหน (เช่น อัพเดทสเตตัส, โพสท์ หรือ แชร์วิดีโอ/รูปภาพ/ ลิ้งค์ ฯลฯ)

☐ แทบไม่เคยโพสท์เลย

☐ น้อยกว่าเดือนละหนึ่งครั้ง

☐ น้อยกว่าสัปดาห์ละครั้ง แต่มากกว่าเดือนละครั้ง

☐ สัปดาห์ละครั้ง

☐ สัปดาห์ละหลายครั้ง แต่ไม่ทุกวัน

☐ วันละครั้ง

☐ มากกว่าวันละหนึ่งครั้ง

4. คุณมีเพื่อน (Friend) บนเฟซบุ๊กเท่าไร

☐ น้อยกว่า 200

☐ 201-400

☐ 401-600

☐ 601-800

☐ 801-1000

☐ มากกว่า 1000

5. เพื่อน (Friend) ในเฟซบุ๊กของคุณมีใครบ้าง (เลือกได้มากกว่า 1 ข้อ)

☐ แฟน/ สามี/ ภรรยา

☐ พ่อแม่/ผู้ปกครอง

☐ ลูก

☐ พี่น้อง/ญาติ

☐ เพื่อน

☐ คนรู้จัก (คนที่เคยพบ/ พูดคุย/ ทำกิจกรรมบางอย่างร่วมกัน แต่ไม่สนิทถึงขั้นเป็นเพื่อน)

☐ เพื่อนของเพื่อน (รู้จักหน้า/ รู้ว่าเป็นใคร)

☐ ลูกค้า/คนที่ติดต่องานด้วย (ทั้งในอดีตและปัจจุบัน)

☐ ครูอาจารย์/เจ้านาย

☐ ลูกศิษย์/ลูกน้อง

☐ พ่อแม่ ญาติ พี่น้องของแฟน/สามี/ภรรยา

☐ คนที่ไม่รู้จักแต่เคยเห็นหน้า เช่น รุ่นน้องที่คณะ คนที่ทำงานที่เดียวกัน

☐ คนที่ไม่รู้จัก ไม่เคยเห็นหน้ามาก่อน แต่มี mutual friend

☐ คนแปลกหน้า

☐ อื่นๆ (กรุณาระบุ)

ตอนที่ 3 ข้อมูลความแตกต่างเฉพาะบุคคล

3.1 คุณเห็นด้วยหรือไม่ว่าข้อความต่อไปนี้ตรงกับการรับ Friend Request และการตั้งค่าความเป็นส่วนตัวของคุณ

(ระดับ 1-5, 1=ไม่เห็นด้วยอย่างยิ่ง, 5=เห็นด้วยอย่างยิ่ง)

1. ฉันไม่รับ Friend request ของคนที่ฉันไม่เคยรู้จักมาก่อน

☐ ไม่เห็นด้วยอย่างยิ่ง   ☐ไม่เห็นด้วย   ☐ เฉยๆ   ☐ เห็นด้วย   ☐ เห็นด้วยอย่างยิ่ง

2. ฉันไม่รับ Friend request ของบางคนเพราะไม่ต้องการให้คนๆนั้นเห็นหรือเข้าถึงข้อมูล

☐ ไม่เห็นด้วยอย่างยิ่ง   ☐ไม่เห็นด้วย   ☐ เฉยๆ   ☐ เห็นด้วย   ☐ เห็นด้วยอย่างยิ่ง

3. ฉันตั้งค่าความเป็นส่วนตัว (privacy setting) ในเฟสบุ๊ค

□ ไม่เห็นด้วยอย่างยิ่ง   □ ไม่เห็นด้วย   □ เฉยๆ   □ เห็นด้วย   □ เห็นด้วยอย่างยิ่ง

3.2   Self-Disclosure on Facebook

(ระดับ 1-5, 1=ไม่เห็นด้วยอย่างยิ่ง, 5=เห็นด้วยอย่างยิ่ง)

คุณเห็นด้วยหรือไม่ว่าข้อความต่อไปนี้ตรงกับการโพสท์บนเฟซบุ๊กของคุณ

1. ฉันตั้งสเตตัส, โพสท์ข้อความ/รูปภาพ/วิดีโอ เกี่ยวกับตัวเองบ่อยๆในเฟซบุ๊ค

□ ไม่เห็นด้วยอย่างยิ่ง   □ ไม่เห็นด้วย   □ เฉยๆ   □ เห็นด้วย   □ เห็นด้วยอย่างยิ่ง

2. ฉันเขียนระบายความอารมณ์ ความรู้สึกของตัวเองบนเฟซบุ๊กบ่อยๆ

□ ไม่เห็นด้วยอย่างยิ่ง   □ ไม่เห็นด้วย   □ เฉยๆ   □ เห็นด้วย   □ เห็นด้วยอย่างยิ่ง

3. ฉันเขียนแสดงความคิดเห็น ทัศนคติ ความเชื่อของตัวเองบนเฟซบุ๊กบ่อยๆ

□ ไม่เห็นด้วยอย่างยิ่ง   □ ไม่เห็นด้วย   □ เฉยๆ   □ เห็นด้วย   □ เห็นด้วยอย่างยิ่ง

4. ถ้าเป็นโพสท์ที่เกี่ยวกับตัวเอง ฉันมักจะเขียนยาวๆเสมอ

□ ไม่เห็นด้วยอย่างยิ่ง   □ ไม่เห็นด้วย   □ เฉยๆ   □ เห็นด้วย   □ เห็นด้วยอย่างยิ่ง

Intimacy of Self-Disclosure

5. ฉันโพสท์ข้อมูลที่แท้จริงเกี่ยวกับตัวเองในเฟซบุ๊คอย่างเปิดเผย โพสท์ได้ทุกเรื่องไม่มีปิดบัง

□ ไม่เห็นด้วยอย่างยิ่ง   □ ไม่เห็นด้วย   □ เฉยๆ   □ เห็นด้วย   □ เห็นด้วยอย่างยิ่ง

6. ฉันสามารถโพสท์ข้อมูลที่ค่อนข้างเป็นส่วนตัวของตัวเองได้ในเฟซบุ๊คโดยไม่ลังเล หรือ
ตะขิดตะขวงใจ

□ ไม่เห็นด้วยอย่างยิ่ง   □ ไม่เห็นด้วย   □ เฉยๆ   □ เห็นด้วย   □ เห็นด้วยอย่างยิ่ง

7. ฉันมั่นใจว่าความคิดเห็น ความรู้สึกหรือประสบการณ์ต่างๆที่ฉันโพสท์ในเฟซบุ๊คสะท้อนตัวตนที่
แท้จริงของฉัน

□ ไม่เห็นด้วยอย่างยิ่ง   □ ไม่เห็นด้วย   □ เฉยๆ   □ เห็นด้วย   □ เห็นด้วยอย่างยิ่ง

8. ฉันคิดว่าบางครั้งฉันโพสท์ข้อมูลที่ "ควรเป็นเรื่องส่วนตัว" ของตัวเองในเฟซบุ๊กมากเกินไป

☐ ไม่เห็นด้วยอย่างยิ่ง   ☐ ไม่เห็นด้วย   ☐ เฉยๆ   ☐ เห็นด้วย   ☐ เห็นด้วยอย่างยิ่ง

3.3 Self-Monitor

(ระดับ 1-5, 1=ไม่เห็นด้วยอย่างยิ่ง, 5=เห็นด้วยอย่างยิ่ง)

Ability to Modify Self-Presentation

1. ฉันสามารถปรับตัวให้เข้ากับสถานการณ์ต่างๆได้อย่างดี

☐ ไม่เห็นด้วยอย่างยิ่ง   ☐ ไม่เห็นด้วย   ☐ เฉยๆ   ☐ เห็นด้วย   ☐ เห็นด้วยอย่างยิ่ง

2. ฉันอยากให้คนอื่นคิดว่าฉันเป็นคนอย่างไร ฉันก็จะทำตัวอย่างนั้น

☐ ไม่เห็นด้วยอย่างยิ่ง   ☐ ไม่เห็นด้วย   ☐ เฉยๆ   ☐ เห็นด้วย   ☐ เห็นด้วยอย่างยิ่ง

3. หากฉันรู้สึกว่าบุคลิกที่ฉันกำลังแสดงออกอยู่นี้ไม่สามารถช่วยให้ฉันได้ในสิ่งที่ต้องการ ฉันก็จะ
แสดงออกแบบอื่น

☐ ไม่เห็นด้วยอย่างยิ่ง   ☐ ไม่เห็นด้วย   ☐ เฉยๆ   ☐ เห็นด้วย   ☐ เห็นด้วยอย่างยิ่ง

4. หากฉันรู้ว่าควรทำตัวอย่างไรในสถานการณ์นั้น ฉันก็สามารถปรับตัวให้เหมาะสมได้โดยไม่มีปัญหา

☐ ไม่เห็นด้วยอย่างยิ่ง   ☐ ไม่เห็นด้วย   ☐ เฉยๆ   ☐ เห็นด้วย   ☐ เห็นด้วยอย่างยิ่ง

Sensitivity to the Expressive Behaviors of Others

5. ฉันอ่านความรู้สึกที่คนอื่นแสดงออกผ่านดวงตาของพวกเขาได้เป็นอย่างดี

☐ ไม่เห็นด้วยอย่างยิ่ง   ☐ ไม่เห็นด้วย   ☐ เฉยๆ   ☐ เห็นด้วย   ☐ เห็นด้วยอย่างยิ่ง

6. เวลาพูดคุยกับคนอื่นๆ ฉันมักจะสังเกตเห็นความเปลี่ยนแปลงในสีหน้าของพวกเขา แม้จะเพียงแค่
เล็กน้อยก็ตาม

☐ ไม่เห็นด้วยอย่างยิ่ง   ☐ ไม่เห็นด้วย   ☐ เฉยๆ   ☐ เห็นด้วย   ☐ เห็นด้วยอย่างยิ่ง

7. ฉันมักจะเดาอารมณ์ ความรู้สึกและความคิดของคนอื่นถูก

☐ ไม่เห็นด้วยอย่างยิ่ง   ☐ ไม่เห็นด้วย   ☐ เฉยๆ   ☐ เห็นด้วย   ☐ เห็นด้วยอย่างยิ่ง

8. ถึงแม้คนๆหนึ่งจะหัวเราะเมื่อได้ยินเรื่องตลก แต่ฉันสามารถบอกได้ว่าคนๆนั้นรู้สึกตลกจริงหรือไม่

☐ ไม่เห็นด้วยอย่างยิ่ง   ☐ไม่เห็นด้วย   ☐ เฉยๆ   ☐ เห็นด้วย   ☐ เห็นด้วยอย่างยิ่ง

9. ฉันสามารถบอกได้ว่าคนที่กำลังฟังฉันพูดอยู่นั้นเห็นด้วยกับสิ่งที่ฉันพูดหรือไม่

☐ ไม่เห็นด้วยอย่างยิ่ง   ☐ไม่เห็นด้วย   ☐ เฉยๆ   ☐ เห็นด้วย   ☐ เห็นด้วยอย่างยิ่ง

10. แค่ดูสีหน้าท่าทางของคนอื่นๆ ฉันสามารถบอกได้ว่าพวกเขากำลังโกหกอยู่หรือไม่

☐ ไม่เห็นด้วยอย่างยิ่ง   ☐ไม่เห็นด้วย   ☐ เฉยๆ   ☐ เห็นด้วย   ☐ เห็นด้วยอย่างยิ่ง

3.4 Self-Esteem

(ระดับ 1-5, 1=ไม่เห็นด้วยอย่างยิ่ง, 5=เห็นด้วยอย่างยิ่ง)

1. ฉันรู้สึกว่าตัวเองมีคุณค่า

☐ ไม่เห็นด้วยอย่างยิ่ง   ☐ไม่เห็นด้วย   ☐ เฉยๆ   ☐ เห็นด้วย   ☐ เห็นด้วยอย่างยิ่ง

2. ฉันคิดว่าฉันมีข้อดีหลายอย่าง

☐ ไม่เห็นด้วยอย่างยิ่ง   ☐ไม่เห็นด้วย   ☐ เฉยๆ   ☐ เห็นด้วย   ☐ เห็นด้วยอย่างยิ่ง

3. ฉันมีความสามารถทำสิ่งต่างๆได้ไม่น้อยไปกว่าคนอื่น

☐ ไม่เห็นด้วยอย่างยิ่ง   ☐ไม่เห็นด้วย   ☐ เฉยๆ   ☐ เห็นด้วย   ☐ เห็นด้วยอย่างยิ่ง

4. ฉันรู้สึกดีกับตัวเอง

☐ ไม่เห็นด้วยอย่างยิ่ง   ☐ไม่เห็นด้วย   ☐ เฉยๆ   ☐ เห็นด้วย   ☐ เห็นด้วยอย่างยิ่ง

5. โดยรวมแล้ว ฉันพอใจกับตัวเองในแบบที่ตัวฉันเป็น

☐ ไม่เห็นด้วยอย่างยิ่ง   ☐ไม่เห็นด้วย   ☐ เฉยๆ   ☐ เห็นด้วย   ☐ เห็นด้วยอย่างยิ่ง

3.5 Online Regret Experiences

(ระดับ 1-7, 1=ไม่เคย, 7=เป็นประจำ)

1. คุณเคยโพสท์ข้อความ รูปภาพ ฯลฯ ลงในเฟซบุ๊กแล้วมาคิดทีหลังว่า "ไม่น่าโพสท์ลงไปเลย" บ่อยแค่ไหน (วัดเป็นระดับ 1-7, 1=ไม่เคย, 7=เป็นประจำ)

ไม่เคย☐ 1   ☐ 2   ☐ 3   ☐ 4   ☐ 5   ☐ 6   ☐ 7 เป็นประจำ

2. คุณเคยได้รับผลกระทบด้านลบจากสิ่งที่ตนเองโพสท์บนเฟซบุ๊ก เช่น ได้รับความอับอาย ถูกตำหนิ ทะเลาะกับคนอื่น ฯลฯ บ่อยแค่ไหน (วัดเป็นระดับ 1-7, 1=ไม่เคย, 7=เป็นประจำ)

ไม่เคย☐ 1   ☐ 2   ☐ 3   ☐ 4   ☐ 5   ☐ 6   ☐ 7 เป็นประจำ

3. คุณเคยได้รับผลกระทบด้านลบจากสิ่งที่คนอื่นโพสท์บนเฟซบุ๊ก เช่น ได้รับความอับอาย ถูกตำหนิ ทะเลาะกับคนอื่น ฯลฯ บ่อยแค่ไหน (วัดเป็นระดับ 1-7, 1=ไม่เคย, 7=เป็นประจำ)

ไม่เคย☐ 1   ☐ 2   ☐ 3   ☐ 4   ☐ 5   ☐ 6   ☐ 7 เป็นประจำ

ตอนที่ 4   พฤติกรรมการเซ็นเซอร์ตนเองในเฟสบุ๊ก

4.1   Self-Censorship Behavior

(ระดับ 1-7, 1=ไม่เคย, 7=เป็นประจำ)

คุณเคยอยากโพสท์บางอย่างลงในเฟซบุ๊ก แต่ในที่สุดกลับเปลี่ยนใจไม่โพสท์ บ่อยแค่ไหน (วัดเป็น ระดับ 1-7, 1=ไม่เคย, 7=เป็นประจำ)

ไม่เคย☐ 1   ☐ 2   ☐ 3   ☐ 4   ☐ 5   ☐ 6   ☐ 7 เป็นประจำ

4.2 Types of Self-Censored Content

เรื่องที่คุณเคยอยากโพสท์ แต่เปลี่ยนใจไม่โพสท์ลงในเฟซบุ๊กเกี่ยวข้องกับเรื่องอะไรบ้าง (เลือกได้ มากกว่า 1 ข้อ)

Personal Content

☐ ข้อความ/ รูปภาพ/ วิดีโอที่เกี่ยวข้องกับตัวเอง เช่น อัพเดทว่ากำลังทำอะไร อยู่ที่ไหน/ เล่าเรื่อง เกี่ยวกับตัวเอง/ โพสท์รูปของตัวเอง

☐ ข้อมูลส่วนตัว เช่น เบอร์โทรศัพท์ ที่อยู่ ฯลฯ

☐ ข้อความ/ รูปภาพ/ วิดีโอ บ่น ตัดพ้อ ระบายความรู้สึกไม่ดี เช่น โกรธ โมโห น้อยใจ เสียใจ ฯลฯ

☐ ข้อความ/ รูปภาพ/ วิดีโอ เรื่องที่ทำให้ตัวเองรู้สึกภูมิใจ ดีใจ มีความสุข ฯลฯ

☐ ข้อความ/ รูปภาพ/ วิดีโอที่มีเจตนา หยอกล้อ แซวคนอื่นที่เป็นเพื่อน (Friend) ในเฟซบุ๊ก

☐ ข้อความ/ รูปภาพ/ วิดีโอที่มีเจตนาชมเชย แสดงความประทับใจ หรือแสดงความเห็นด้านบวกที่มี
ต่อคนอื่นที่เป็นเพื่อน (Friend) ในเฟซบุ๊ก

☐ ข้อความ/ รูปภาพ/ วิดีโอที่มีเจตนาพาดพิง ตำหนิ วิพากษ์วิจารณ์ เสียดสี ประชดประชัน หรือ
แสดงความเห็นด้านลบที่มีต่อคนอื่นที่เป็นเพื่อน (Friend) ในเฟซบุ๊ก

☐ ข้อความ/ รูปภาพ/ วิดีโอที่มีเจตนาโต้เถียง หรือแสดงความไม่เห็นด้วยกับความคิดของคนอื่นที่
เป็นเพื่อน (Friend) ในเฟซบุ๊ก

External Content

☐ ข้อความ/ รูปภาพ/ วิดีโอที่มีเจตนาชมเชย แสดงความประทับใจ หรือความเห็นด้านบวกที่มีต่อคน
อื่นที่ไม่ได้เป็นเพื่อน (Friend) ในเฟซบุ๊ก (อาจเป็นคนมีชื่อเสียง เช่น ดารานักแสดง นักการเมือง
นักเขียน หรือคนทั่วไป เช่น พนักงานในร้านอาหาร คนขับรถแท็กซี่ ฯลฯ)

☐ ข้อความ/ รูปภาพ/ วิดีโอที่มีเจตนาพาดพิง ตำหนิ วิพากษ์วิจารณ์ เสียดสี ประชดประชัน หรือ
แสดงความเห็นด้านลบที่มีต่อคนอื่นที่ไม่ได้เป็นเพื่อน (Friend) ในเฟซบุ๊ก (อาจเป็นคนมีชื่อเสียง เช่น
ดารานักแสดง นักการเมือง นักเขียน หรือคนทั่วไป เช่น พนักงานในร้านอาหาร คนขับรถแท็กซี่ ฯลฯ)

☐ ข้อความ/ รูปภาพ/ วิดีโอที่มีเจตนาโต้เถียง หรือแสดงความไม่เห็นด้วยกับความคิดของคนอื่นที่
ไม่ได้เป็นเพื่อน (Friend) ในเฟซบุ๊ก (อาจเป็นคนมีชื่อเสียง เช่น ดารานักแสดง นักการเมือง นักเขียน
หรือคนทั่วไป เช่น พนักงานในร้านอาหาร คนขับรถแท็กซี่ ฯลฯ)

☐ ข้อความ/ รูปภาพ/ วิดีโอ ที่ให้ความบันเทิง เช่น คลิปเรื่องตลก บทความทายนิสัยจากราศี
รูปภาพดารา ผลการแข่งขันกีฬา แนะนำสถานที่ท่องเที่ยว ฯลฯ

☐ ข้อความ/ รูปภาพ/ วิดีโอ ที่มีเนื้อหาเรื่องเพศ หรือความรุนแรง

☐ ข้อความ/ รูปภาพ/ วิดีโอ ที่มีเนื้อหาขัดต่อกฎหมาย เช่น ลิ้งค์เว็บไซต์ดาวน์โหลดเพลงละเมิด
ลิขสิทธิ์ ฯลฯ

☐ ข้อความ/ รูปภาพ/ วิดีโอ เกี่ยวกับการเมือง เช่น ข่าวการเมือง บทความวิจารณ์การเมือง รูปภาพ
ล้อเลียนการเมือง ฯลฯ

☐ คำวิพากษ์วิจารณ์ ทัศนคติ ความคิดเห็นของตนเองเกี่ยวกับการเมือง

Conversational Content

☐ คำพูดทักทายตามกาลเทศะ เช่น สวัสดีปีใหม่ คำอวยพรวันเกิด ฯลฯ

☐ คำตอบรับตามมารยาท เช่น ขอบคุณเมื่อมีคนชม ฯลฯ

Logistics

☐ ข้อมูลเกี่ยวกับกิจกรรมที่ต้องวางแผน และเกี่ยวข้องกับคนหลายคน เช่น แผนการเดินทาง การนัด
หมายเพื่อนไปเที่ยวด้วยกัน ฯลฯ

4.3 Motivations for Self-censorship

คุณเห็นด้วยหรือไม่ว่าข้อความต่อไปนี้ตรงกับเหตุผลที่ทำให้คุณเปลี่ยนใจไม่โพสท์บนเฟซบุ๊ก

(ระดับ 1-5, 1=ไม่เห็นด้วยอย่างยิ่ง, 5=เห็นด้วยอย่างยิ่ง)

Self-presentation:

Self-esteem

1. ฉันตัดสินใจไม่โพสท์เพราะกลัวว่าจะมีเสียงวิพากษ์วิจารณ์ ถูกตำหนิ หรือได้รับผลตอบรับในเชิง
ลบ

☐ ไม่เห็นด้วยอย่างยิ่ง   ☐ ไม่เห็นด้วย   ☐ เฉยๆ   ☐ เห็นด้วย   ☐ เห็นด้วยอย่างยิ่ง

2. ฉันตัดสินใจไม่โพสท์เพราะสิ่งที่จะโพสท์ยังมีคุณภาพไม่ดีพอ เช่น รูปไม่สวย คิดแคปชั่น
(caption)/ คำพูดดีๆไม่ออก ข้อมูลที่จะโพสท์ธรรมดาเกินไป ฯลฯ

☐ ไม่เห็นด้วยอย่างยิ่ง   ☐ ไม่เห็นด้วย   ☐ เฉยๆ   ☐ เห็นด้วย   ☐ เห็นด้วยอย่างยิ่ง

3. ฉันตัดสินใจไม่โพสท์เพราะสิ่งที่จะโพสท์ขัดกับภาพลักษณ์ของฉัน

☐ ไม่เห็นด้วยอย่างยิ่ง   ☐ ไม่เห็นด้วย   ☐ เฉยๆ   ☐ เห็นด้วย   ☐ เห็นด้วยอย่างยิ่ง

4. ฉันตัดสินใจไม่โพสท์เพราะสิ่งที่จะโพสท์อาจทำให้ภาพลักษณ์ของฉันดูไม่ดี

☐ ไม่เห็นด้วยอย่างยิ่ง   ☐ ไม่เห็นด้วย   ☐ เฉยๆ   ☐ เห็นด้วย   ☐ เห็นด้วยอย่างยิ่ง

5. ฉันตัดสินใจไม่โพสท์เพราะสิ่งที่จะโพสท์น่าจะไม่ได้ Like จากคนอื่นๆ

☐ ไม่เห็นด้วยอย่างยิ่ง   ☐ ไม่เห็นด้วย   ☐ เฉยๆ   ☐ เห็นด้วย   ☐ เห็นด้วยอย่างยิ่ง

6. ฉันตัดสินใจไม่โพสท์เพราะคิดว่าคนอื่นคงไม่เห็นด้วยกับความคิดนั้นๆ

☐ ไม่เห็นด้วยอย่างยิ่ง ☐ ไม่เห็นด้วย ☐ เฉยๆ ☐ เห็นด้วย ☐ เห็นด้วยอย่างยิ่ง

Spiral of Silence

1. ฉันตัดสินใจไม่โพสท์เพราะคิดว่าคนอื่นคงไม่เห็นด้วยกับความคิดนั้นๆ

☐ ไม่เห็นด้วยอย่างยิ่ง ☐ ไม่เห็นด้วย ☐ เฉยๆ ☐ เห็นด้วย ☐ เห็นด้วยอย่างยิ่ง

2. ฉันตัดสินใจไม่โพสท์เพราะกลัวว่าจะแปลกแยกจากคนอื่นๆ

☐ ไม่เห็นด้วยอย่างยิ่ง ☐ ไม่เห็นด้วย ☐ เฉยๆ ☐ เห็นด้วย ☐ เห็นด้วยอย่างยิ่ง

3. ฉันตัดสินใจไม่โพสท์เพราะคิดว่าสิ่งที่จะโพสท์อาจถูกมองว่าขัดต่อศีลธรรม/ ขนบธรรมเนียม
ประเพณี/ วัฒนธรรมของสังคมไทย

☐ ไม่เห็นด้วยอย่างยิ่ง ☐ ไม่เห็นด้วย ☐ เฉยๆ ☐ เห็นด้วย ☐ เห็นด้วยอย่างยิ่ง

Boundary Regulation

1. ฉันตัดสินใจไม่โพสท์เพราะไม่อยากทำให้เรื่องส่วนตัวกลายเป็นเรื่องสาธารณะ

☐ ไม่เห็นด้วยอย่างยิ่ง ☐ ไม่เห็นด้วย ☐ เฉยๆ ☐ เห็นด้วย ☐ เห็นด้วยอย่างยิ่ง

2. ฉันตัดสินใจไม่โพสท์เพราะอยากพูดเรื่องนั้นต่อหน้าคนที่เกี่ยวข้องเท่านั้น

☐ ไม่เห็นด้วยอย่างยิ่ง ☐ ไม่เห็นด้วย ☐ เฉยๆ ☐ เห็นด้วย ☐ เห็นด้วยอย่างยิ่ง

3. ฉันตัดสินใจไม่โพสท์เพราะสิ่งที่โพสท์อาจถูกเห็นโดยคนที่ไม่อยากให้เห็น

☐ ไม่เห็นด้วยอย่างยิ่ง ☐ ไม่เห็นด้วย ☐ เฉยๆ ☐ เห็นด้วย ☐ เห็นด้วยอย่างยิ่ง

4. ฉันตัดสินใจไม่โพสท์เพราะสิ่งที่จะโพสท์อาจทำให้คนที่ไม่เกี่ยวข้องกับโพสท์นั้นรำคาญ

☐ ไม่เห็นด้วยอย่างยิ่ง ☐ ไม่เห็นด้วย ☐ เฉยๆ ☐ เห็นด้วย ☐ เห็นด้วยอย่างยิ่ง

5. ฉันตัดสินใจไม่โพสท์เพราะคนอื่นที่ไม่ได้ถูกพูดถึงในโพสท์นั้นอาจรู้สึกไม่ดี เช่น น้อยใจ

☐ ไม่เห็นด้วยอย่างยิ่ง ☐ ไม่เห็นด้วย ☐ เฉยๆ ☐ เห็นด้วย ☐ เห็นด้วยอย่างยิ่ง

6. ฉันตัดสินใจไม่โพสท์เพราะสิ่งที่จะโพสท์อาจทำให้คนที่เกี่ยวข้องกับโพสท์นั้นมีปัญหา/ ได้รับความเดือดร้อน

☐ ไม่เห็นด้วยอย่างยิ่ง   ☐ไม่เห็นด้วย   ☐ เฉยๆ   ☐ เห็นด้วย   ☐ เห็นด้วยอย่างยิ่ง

7. ฉันตัดสินใจไม่โพสท์เพราะไม่อยากทำร้ายความรู้สึก/ทะเลาะกับคนที่เกี่ยวข้องกับโพสท์นั้น

☐ ไม่เห็นด้วยอย่างยิ่ง   ☐ไม่เห็นด้วย   ☐ เฉยๆ   ☐ เห็นด้วย   ☐ เห็นด้วยอย่างยิ่ง

Legal & Physical threats

1. ฉันตัดสินใจไม่โพสท์เพราะเรื่องที่จะโพสท์เป็นเรื่องผิดกฎหมาย

☐ ไม่เห็นด้วยอย่างยิ่ง   ☐ไม่เห็นด้วย   ☐ เฉยๆ   ☐ เห็นด้วย   ☐ เห็นด้วยอย่างยิ่ง

2. ฉันตัดสินใจไม่โพสท์เพราะเรื่องที่โพสท์อาจส่งผลกระทบต่อความปลอดภัยของตัวเอง

☐ ไม่เห็นด้วยอย่างยิ่ง   ☐ไม่เห็นด้วย   ☐ เฉยๆ   ☐ เห็นด้วย   ☐ เห็นด้วยอย่างยิ่ง

3. ฉันตัดสินใจไม่โพสท์เพราะเรื่องที่โพสท์อาจส่งผลกระทบต่อความปลอดภัยของคนที่เกี่ยวข้องกับโพสท์นั้น

☐ ไม่เห็นด้วยอย่างยิ่ง   ☐ไม่เห็นด้วย   ☐ เฉยๆ ☐ เห็นด้วย   ☐ เห็นด้วยอย่างยิ่ง

VITA

Apichaya Nithimethachoke was born on May 19, 1989 in Bangkok, Thailand. She holds a Bachelor's Degree in Arts with a major in Chinese from the Faculty of Arts, Chulalongkorn University. After working in language and marketing communication field, she enrolled the Master program in strategic communication management at the Faculty of Communication Arts, Chulalongkorn University in 2014.