# UC Davis UC Davis Electronic Theses and Dissertations

Title Context Collapse on Social Media and False Consensus

Permalink https://escholarship.org/uc/item/31m5b38n

**Author** Kim, Taeyoung

Publication Date 2023

Peer reviewed|Thesis/dissertation

## **Context Collapse on Social Media and False Consensus**

By

### TAEYOUNG KIM DISSERTATION

Submitted in partial satisfaction of the requirements for the degree of

#### DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

in

Communication

in the

## OFFICE OF GRADUATE STUDIES

of the

#### UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

DAVIS

Approved:

Wang Liao, Chair

Jaeho Cho

Bo Feng

Committee in Charge

#### Abstract

This dissertation aimed to address two important issues in the current research on context collapse on social media. The first issue pertains to the oversimplification of the concept, resulting from a primary focus on the structural aspects of context collapse. In order to provide a more comprehensive understanding, this dissertation adopts the perspective of technological affordances, emphasizing the need to consider both the structural and experiential aspects in the context collapse literature. The second issue involves the predominant emphasis on the effects of context collapse on individual-level factors, such as self-presentation, while neglecting its potential social and political implications. To tackle these issues, this dissertation presents two empirical studies. Study 1 focuses on the relatively less discussed experiential aspects of context collapse and is dedicated to the development and validation of a measurement, encompassing six dimensions of its experiential aspects. Through multiple iterations of confirmatory factor analyses, the measures were developed, refined, and validated in relation to a variety of theoretically relevant variables. In addition, three different datasets were utilized to test the measurement invariance, and a partial weak invariance for the measurement model was achieved.

Study 2 aims to shed light on the social implications of context collapse beyond the individual level by focusing on the psychological phenomenon of false consensus. False consensus refers to the widespread tendency of individuals to overestimate the commonness and appropriateness of their own beliefs, attitudes, or behaviors. This phenomenon is inherently relevant to the perceptions of public opinion and the biases individuals hold regarding them. In this study, the relationships between both the structural and experiential aspects of context collapse and false consensus were examined. Multiple regression analyses were conducted to

ii

investigate the associations between these variables. However, the results did not provide any significant evidence to suggest a significant relationship between the two. Although the study did not find a significant association between context collapse and false consensus, it contributes to our understanding by exploring the potential linkages between these constructs. Further research with refined methods can be used to detect the potential associations between context collapse and false consensus.

#### Acknowledgements

First, my dear advisor Dr. Wang Liao, thank you for your guidance and mentorship throughout the last years of my training at UC Davis. Were it not for your motivation and support all the way, this dissertation would not have been possible. It has always been a great pleasure working with you. I owe you so much, I will be forever grateful.

Thank you Dr. Jaeho Cho and Dr. Bo Feng for serving my dissertation committee and providing support all along. Besides serving as a great supportive committee, throughout all my years in Davis you have always been a special, safe space I can go talk to and rely on.

I am also thankful for all the faculties in the UC Davis communication department who helped me throughout this process, but especially, Stephanie Fallas, thank you for your existence in Kerr hall, and helping so many lost souls in the building. We all owe you huge thanks for your love and support. Please always be the mom of the Kerr Hall family. Dr. Cuihua Shen, thank you for all your advice and guidance throughout my first years in Davis. Working with you has taught me the art of perseverance and a new perspective for life. I can say that I have become a better person throughout the process. Thank you.

I have the dearest thanks to umma, appa and Seah, Throughout the past three decades, I realize that I have never truly expressed my heartfelt gratitude to you. Thank you, from the depths of my being, for unwaveringly believing in me and standing by my side through thick and thin, even amidst countless setbacks and challenges (which seemed all too frequent!). You have been my unwavering source of strength and stability, my rock and anchor, that keep me endure the most restless nights. Kim's family stays together. I love you forever.

I would thank my Davis friends and family for all the love and support throughout this journey. Yoojung Oh, thank you for being my best friend, a family, and the co-parent of Wandu.

iv

Know that I will be there for you, always. Irena Acic and Calvin Koon-Stack, you are always in a special place in my heart. Thank you for being huge shoulders to cry on. I will always remember all the pho and boba time I had with you. My lovely cohort in UC Davis Communication - CJ Calabrese, Michael Carter, Xudong Yu, Yuhan Zhou, Kamran Hedayat, we made a loving and supportive team and I am grateful that our paths crossed and we happened to share some of the best time in Davis. My Comm friends – Pablo Flores, Chelsea Kim, Seungsu Lee, Hannah Stevens, Beril Bulat, Skye Wingate, Qiankun Zhong, Grace Wolff, thank you for making this process more enjoyable and less painful. Alex Schmidt, Byron Schmitz, Martha Cavitt, spending time with you always made me feel loved. Thank you for being my Davis family. Nikki and Renee Smith, you are my Sacramento moms, thank you for having me over and getting my sad ass out for dinner to cheer me up. Myrissa Pinaula, thank you for being such a wonderful roommate and a sister in my early Davis years, Clare and Paul Pinaula, thank you for willingly letting me and Wandu in your space and helping us out.

Also, many thanks to my KU friends - Changhee Park, Jaemin Kim, Chae Yoo, Eun Soh, Junghyun Shim, Soojeong Choi, Eun Kim, Sieun Park, Goeun Kim, Jongin Lim, Jaekyung Ahn, Sooah Park, Sujin Kim, Trang Nguyen, Sunny Kim, Moonsun Ryu, I am deeply grateful for the cherished years of our friendship. Thank you for accompanying me through the exhilarating and tumultuous chapters of college and graduate school.

My Seoul family - Minkyung Kim, Jaekyung Cho, Miseup Shim, Jiann Woo, Soyoung Chong, Yewon Moon, Seungmin Hong, Jiyoung Youn, Daseul Kong, Hojeong Hyun, Esther Moon and Angelica Aparicio, I am immensely grateful for your presence in my life, providing the comfort and support of a family when I yearned for one away from home.

V

And Wandu, thank you for holding up your heart condition so well, handling various medications without any sign of complaint. Thank you for being an extraordinary canine companion.

To all of you not listed here but whose paths have happened to cross with mine, thank you for your existence. I am here today only because you are here. Thank you, thank you, thank you.

Now back-rolling into the sea of life, I know I will get lost, again and again, having absolutely no idea what to expect. But with an open heart I certainly will enjoy the here and now and my loved ones' company along the way. Perhaps that's what our oh-so-short life is about.

Dive on.

vi

# **Table of Contents**

Chapter 1. Introduction
History of the Concept "Context Collapse"
Precursor in the Era of Mass Media
Social Media "Context Collapse"
Context Collapse Through the Lens of Affordance
Current Empirical Research of Context Collapse and The Issues
The Focus on Structural Aspects of Context Collapse
The Focus on Social Media Self-Presentation11
Context Collapse, Public Opinion Perceptions, and False Consensus
Conclusion
Conclusion 16   Chapter 2. Multidimensional Context Collapse: A Conceptual Integration and an Enhanced 18   Measurement (Study 1) 18   What is Context Collapse? 21   A Multidimensional Conceptualization of Experiential Context Collapse 23   The First Axis: Audience Boundary Perceptions 23   The Second Axis: Imagined Audience Clarity 24
Conclusion 16   Chapter 2. Multidimensional Context Collapse: A Conceptual Integration and an Enhanced   Measurement (Study 1) 18   What is Context Collapse? 21   A Multidimensional Conceptualization of Experiential Context Collapse. 22   The First Axis: Audience Boundary Perceptions. 23   The Second Axis: Imagined Audience Clarity 24   The Third Axis: User Agency. 25

Construct Validity Assessment
Methods
Participants
Measurements
Analytical Procedures
Results
Item Selection
Measurement Invariance
Construct Validity Assessment
Discussion
Chapter 3. Context Collapse Towards Broader Implications: The False Consensus (Study 2) 44
Mechanisms of False Consensus and Context Collapse
Context Collapse and the False Consensus
Effects of the Structural Aspects of Contexts Collapse on False Consensus
Effects of Experiential Aspects of Context Collapse on False Consensus
Methods
Participants
Measurements
Results
Discussion

Chapter 4. Conclusion	60
Tables and Figures	
Appendices	
References	

# List of Tables and Figures

Гаble 1	. 65
Fable 2	. 67
Гable 3	. 73
Гable 4	. 75
Гаble 5	. 76
Гable 6	. 77
Гable 7	. 78
Гable 8	. 79
Гable 9	. 80
Γable 10	. 81
Γable 11	. 82
Fable 12	. 83
Figure 1	. 84

#### **Chapter 1. Introduction**

People use social media to connect, communicate, and build relationships with others (Sheldon, Abad & Hinsch, 2011; Whiting & Williams, 2013), including close relationships such as friends, families, romantic relationships (Ellison, Steinfield, & Lampe, 2007), less intimate or remote relationships (Hampton, Shin, & Lu, 2017; Hussain, 2012), and even those based on virtual communities (Akter & Nweke, 2016). However, there is a stark difference of how these groups exist as one's social media audience, in comparison to those in offline environments. In offline environments, a person can easily keep different groups of contacts separate and deliver messages independently to each group. On social media, however, groups that used to maintain relatively clearer boundaries in the real world become a single, homogeneous entity of the audience, flattened out in a single communication space (boyd, 2002, 2007; Marwick & boyd, 2011; Vitak, 2012; Wesch, 2009). This phenomenon is called *context collapse* (boyd, 2002).

Scholars have argued that individuals frequently experience context collapse on social media (Dennen & Burner, 2017; Duguay, 2016; Marwick & boyd, 2011; Vitak, 2012; Vitak, Blasiola, Patil & Litt, 2015). Context collapse on social media blurs the boundaries between different groups of contacts, so a message considered appropriate in one group may be deemed as inappropriate in another. This can lead to a variety of behavioral and social consequences such as intrapersonal (Darr & Doss, 2022) and interpersonal tensions (Binder, Howes & Sutcliffe, 2009), disrupted information sharing due to social surveillance and the experienced social control (Brandtzæg et al., 2010), political polarization (Lee, Choi, Kim, & Kim, 2014), group breakouts (Zhu & Skoric, 2021), and leaving social media altogether (Koltai et al., 2020). Users thus may be forced to post content that is deemed appropriate by all audience groups (Gil-Lopez et al., 2018; Hogan, 2010; Marwick & boyd, 2011) or to lurk and remain silent altogether (Davis

& Jurgenson, 2014; Wisniewski, Knijnenburg, & Lipford, 2014). As a result, context collapse ultimately affects the content and frequency of users' social media communication (Sleeper et al., 2013), diminishing the promises of social media, such as open political discourse and deliberation (Halpern & Gibbs, 2013), free self-expression (Seidman, 2014), and access to various social capital (Ellison, Steinfield, & Lampe, 2011). Although certain tactics may be employed to deal with context collapse (e.g., privacy settings, Baym & boyd, 2012; Litt, 2012; Vitak, 2012; multiple accounts, Triggs et al., 2019), they require extra efforts (Davis, 2010; Lim, Vadrevu, Chan, & Basnyat, 2012; Litt & Hargittai, 2014) and are not always available on a given platform.

Despite the prevalence and consequences of context collapse, there are two problems in the current research. First, most empirical research tends to focus on the structural aspects of one's social media environment (e.g., network size, heterogeneity, and modularity, Beam et al., 2018; Gil-Lopez et al., 2018; Vitak, 2012), citing definitions of context collapse as "flattening of multiple audiences into one" (Marwick & boyd, 2011, p.122) or "the lack of spatial, social, and temporal boundaries" (boyd, 2010, p.10). This is, however, an oversimplification of the concept. Context collapse is better conceived through the lens of social media *affordances* (boyd, 2008, 2010; Costa, 2018; Davis & Jurgenson, 2014; Duguay, 2016; Marvin, 2013). In general, technology affordance entails not only material technological features, but also the mutual, constructive relationship between users and the technology in use (Faraj & Azad, 2012; Treem & Leonardi, 2013; 2020). Scholars have suggested various experiential aspects of context collapse, such as the perceptions of group boundaries (boyd, 2008, 2010), the specificity of imagined audiences (Litt, 2012; Litt & Hargittai, 2016), and the intentionality of managing audiences (Davis & Jurgenson, 2014). It is thus necessary to pay attention to the experiential aspects of

context collapse in addition to the structural aspects. To achieve this, a conceptual elaboration is needed, along with a more comprehensive measurement.

Another problem is that the current research predominantly focuses on context collapse's effects on various aspects of self-presentation (e.g., linguistic style, Gil-Lopez et al., 2018; tailoring identity performances, Duguay, 2014; revealing political affiliation, Hayes, Smock & Carr, 2015, privacy management strategies, Kini, Shelat, & Jain, 2022; Triggs et al., 2021; Vitak, 2012; Vitak et al., 2012), and other important implications of context collapse are overlooked. Particularly, scholars have pointed out that context collapse on social media constitutes an important feature of contemporary public spheres (boyd, 2010). Public spheres are the realms in which people gather, exchange information about public affairs, and form public opinions (Habermas, 1991), and social media have become a primary means to access public opinion to date (Whiting & Williams, 2013; Neubaum & Krämer, 2017). As an important affordance of social media, context collapse may have broader implications on people's perceptions of public opinion, and the subsequent political opinion expressions (see Matthes et al., 2018 for review) and political behaviors (e.g., voting and donation to political candidates/parties, Scheufele & Eveland Jr, 2001). This points to an opportunity of expanding context collapse research into the realm of socio-political issues and related processes.

This dissertation, then, has two objectives. The first objective is to clarify the conceptualization of context collapse and develop a more comprehensive measurement that considers both the structural and experiential aspects of context collapse. The second objective is to address the relationship between context collapse and public opinion perception, focusing on a well-known social psychological phenomenon: *false consensus* (i.e., a general tendency of overestimating the commonness and appropriateness of one's own beliefs, attitudes, or

behaviors; Ross et al., 1977). Accordingly, two empirical studies are reported: Chapter 2 develops and validates a novel measurement of context collapse in three different samples (N = 537 for student sample, N = 645 from mturk.com, and N = 708 from prolific.co), using a series of confirmatory factor analyses. Chapter 3 reports a survey study of college students' (N = 264) experience of context collapse and their false consensus tendency regarding various sociopolitical topics.

Before reporting the two studies, a systematic review of the related literature is needed. The rest of the current chapter thus first reviews the history of the concept of context collapse. Then, empirical research on context collapse is discussed with regard to the aforementioned two problems. Finally, the necessity to investigate context collapse's socio-political implication is addressed, especially in the context of public opinion perception.

#### History of the Concept "Context Collapse"

#### Precursor in the Era of Mass Media

The discussion of context collapse in the field of communication has flourished since the appearance of social media, but the idea was first discussed in relation to mass media. Meyrowitz (1985), for example, has pointed out that the boundaries between private and public are blurred as media environments become more electronic. For instance, television breaks the temporal, spatial, and situational constraints and allows all people to access the broadcast information, regardless of their physical locations or social status. He argues that television is a means where people, regardless of their wealth, age, literacy, sex, professions, classes, and religions, share the same or very similar information simultaneously. In this means of large-scale information sharing, "[t]he public and all-inclusive nature of television has a tendency to collapse formerly distinct situations into one...The differences between 'types' of people are muted" (Meyrowitz,

1985, p. 92). In his work, a preliminary concept of context collapse is discussed with regards to the equal and ubiquitous availability of broadcast information, leading to a blurring of the boundaries between spatial, temporal, and social contexts of individuals.

#### Social Media "Context Collapse"

Years later, the discussion of context collapse resurfaced in communication research after the rise of social media. danah boyd (2002) first coined the term *collapsed context*, and later conceptualized it as the "flattening" of multiple audience groups into one (boyd, 2008, 2010; Marwick & boyd, 2011, p.122) specifically in the social media context. This initial conceptualization was heavily inspired by Goffman (1972)'s work on how people navigate their self-presentation in different situations. According to Goffman (1972), people try to be situationally appropriate to "save faces" (p. 5), that is, to sustain a positive impression for others by maintaining socially approved attributes. Therefore, in order to save face on social media, people must constantly change their self-presentation based on their interpretations of social situations, or in boyd's (2002) term, *contexts* that help them determine what behaviors are socially acceptable and appropriate (boyd, 2002).

However, different contexts come together and are pushed into one on social media (boyd, 2008), so audiences from distinct contexts (e.g., family, school, work, neighbor, close and distant friends) gain the same access to the information shared by the communicator. Without spatial and temporal constraints, Meyrowitz's idea of boundary blurring is even more pronounced on social media. This creates a potentially uncomfortable or awkward situation where a piece of information considered acceptable in one context is considered inappropriate in another (boyd, 2010). To minimize potential conflict and discomfort, social media users deal with context collapse through self-censorship (Marwick & boyd, 2011; Vitak et al., 2015),

presenting a face that is safe of social sanction throughout all contexts (i.e., lowest common denominator, Hogan, 2010; Marwick & boyd, 2011), and whenever possible, separating their self-presentation into different facets (Bazarova, Choi, Sosik, Cosley, & Whitlock, 2015; Vitak, 2012). Otherwise, they may risk social consequences of appearing inappropriate that follow their online self-presentation (Beam et al., 2018).

#### Context Collapse Through the Lens of Affordance

Beyond the focus on self-presentation in the early conceptualization, the concept of context collapse expands in boyd (2008; 2010)'s discussion of *networked publics*. boyd argues that context collapse is a key to the dynamics of networked publics today (boyd, 2010). According to boyd, a public is a collection of people, who may not know each other but share "a common understanding of the world, a shared identity, a claim to inclusiveness, a consensus regarding the collective interest" (boyd, 2008, p. 125). Networked publics are plural, because technologies allow individuals within each public to be interconnected by networks and to traverse across different publics (boyd, 2010).

A key insight from the above discussion is that context collapse should be conceptualized through the lens of technological affordance. Affordance refers to the "action possibilities and opportunities that emerge from actors engaging with a focal technology" (Faraj & Azad, 2012, p. 238). Contrary to the earlier deterministic view of technology that mostly focused on material features of technology and their influence over human behaviors, the affordance perspective acknowledges human agency and the mutual relationship between humans and technology (Faraj & Azad, 2012). For example, boyd (2010) identifies four affordances of social media, including persistence (i.e., information is automatically recorded and archived), replicability (i.e., information), and

searchability (i.e., information in networked publics is readily accessible through search), which all contribute to the dynamics of networked publics. Other scholars (Treem & Leonardi, 2013) identified additional affordance of social media for collaboration and organizing, such as visibility (the ease of locating the target information), editability (the availability of crafting and recrafting a communicative act before or after others view it), and association (the connections between individuals, and between individuals and content). The affordance framework suggests that the potential of social media varies across the users, based on how they actively leverage these affordances to different extents to meet their communication goals and needs.

The affordance perspective reveals additional richness of the concept of context collapse. The original concept of context collapse suggests a varying level of boundary blurring of one's social circles (e.g., family, friends, social groups; boyd, 2010), which are often conceived as the objective and structural social environment surrounding a user on social media. Social media users, however, do not necessarily perceive and react to such a social environment in an objective way. For example, context collapse can also involve boundary blurring between public and private spheres (boyd, 2010) that is subjectively experienced by the user. The interpretation of what constitutes public or private depends on individuals' subjective construal of cultures, norms, values, and beliefs that are subjectively learned and experienced by each individual. As people constantly negotiate the definitions of private and public spheres, the boundaries between them change as well (Ravn, Barnwell, & Neves, 2020).

Even the aforementioned social circles, such as friends and social groups, are subject to social media users' subjective interpretations of their experiences. In fact, it is very difficult for people to obtain an accurate understanding of their social circles, or audience, on social media (boyd, 2010). As a result, social media users often have to guess the identity and characteristics

of people who will be viewing their messages and/or the reach of their messages, to the extent that they may have to rely on an *imagined audience* (e.g., Brake, 2012; Litt 2012; Litt & Hargittai, 2016; Marwick & boyd, 2011). Social media users' subjective interpretations of their audiences thus can complicate their overall experiences of context collapse, because the experiential aspects may not necessarily align with the context collapse as a structural reality.

Another experiential aspect of context collapse is social media users' intentionality. Context collapse can take place either unintentionally (i.e., context collision) or through an individual's deliberate actions (i.e., context collusion; Davis & Jurgenson, 2014). With intentionality involved, social media users can consciously set up their communication space and leverage context collapse to meet their communication and relationship goals. Users are allowed to intentionally navigate, manage, and optimize their social media outreach (Davis & Jurgenson, 2014) by designating who would gain access to their message as well as whose messages they want to be exposed to. For example, people can proactively design their social media space to be as big and diverse as possible, so they can gain social capital from diverse and loosely connected individuals (Putnam, 2000; Uusiautti & Määttä, 2014). On the contrary, one may also choose to fine-tune their social media space into an echo chamber where one's audience mostly consists of like-minded people. In such regard, intentionality therefore is an important aspect of subjectivity involved in context collapse.

In summary, there has been significant theoretical and conceptual development in the concept of context collapse. The technology affordance framework, the discussion of the imagined audience as well as the intentionality have all enriched the concept of context collapse, suggesting the necessity of putting human agency and experiential elements into consideration. Nonetheless, empirical research has yet to reflect the richness in the concept, as discussed below.

#### **Current Empirical Research of Context Collapse and The Issues**

Despite the recent conceptual developments of context collapse, empirical research appears to lag behind in at least two aspects. First, there has been a strong focus on the structural aspects of context collapse, missing the experiential ones that are at heart of context collapse as a social media affordance. Second, the research also tends to focus on context collapse's effects on self-presentation, although the conceptual connection of context collapse with networked publics suggests its broader socio-political implications.

#### The Focus on Structural Aspects of Context Collapse

Many empirical studies appear to have interpreted context collapse narrowly, overlooking the significance of the user's subjective experience and interpretation. Except for a few studies that investigated the imagined audience of social media users (e.g., Litt & Hargittai, 2016; Marwick & boyd, 2011), many studies operationalize context collapse as the structural characteristics of social media networks. For example, studies commonly use the number of contacts such as Facebook friends, as a partial measure of context collapse, assuming that the likelihood of experiencing context collapse increases with the number of contacts grows (e.g.,Gil-Lopez et al., 2018; Lőrincz et al., 2019; Rui & Stefanone, 2013; Vitak, 2012; Wang, Burke, & Kraut, 2016).

Researchers have also used more complex network characteristics to measure different structural aspects of context collapse. For instance, individuals with higher network density in their audience (e.g., the interconnectedness among the ties in one's social network) may perceive greater similarity among the audience, thus feel less inhibition in opinion expression, compared to those with lower density where the audience groups exist disconnected from one another (Wang, Burke, & Kraut, 2016). Greater network modularity (e.g., the degree of connection being

within rather than between distinct networks) indicates that within-group ties are strong while each group tends to be separated from each other, making one's audience network vulnerable to intergroup conflicts and leaving (Koltai et al.,2021). Studies have also investigated context collapse as network heterogeneity (e.g., the degree of one's network being fragmented, Gil-Lopez et al., 2018) or diversity (e.g., the number of social categories one has in their social media audience, Binder et al., 2009; Lee et al., 2014; Rui & Stefanone, 2013; Vitak, 2012; the degree of uneven distribution of one's network across different social categories, Beam et al., 2018). They found that fragmentation and heterogeneity in the audience is associated with heterogeneity in ideas, beliefs and norms across social groups, and may predict greater intergroup conflict.

However, these measures of network characteristics miss out on the users' subjective perceptions of the audience and of the relationship with his/her audience. These include how a user subjectively interprets the boundary blurring of their social circles and the public and private spheres, their imagined audience, and their intentionality of separating the boundaries between distinct groups. In addition, studies of the structural characteristics of one's social media networks have overlooked that social media users may pay greater attention to and be more significantly affected from those who are more salient in their social media space. For example, a social media contact is more salient to a user if the contact is more active and communicates more frequently with the user, holding greater social presence. Considering the conceptual significance of the audience in context collapse research, it is important to consider that more salient audience are likely to appear top of the users' mind when they imagine their audiences. Such salient audience, thus, may have greater impact on the user's determination of the identity

and the extent of his/her social media audience, influencing the subsequent communication behaviors.

In short, it is important for empirical research to consider both structural and experiential aspects of context collapse. It is also important to recognize that not all audience members may be salient enough to be perceived by the user or considered as a part of the user's imagined audience. So far, however, there has been a lack of comprehensive measurement that incorporates both structural and experiential aspects of context collapse.

#### The Focus on Social Media Self-Presentation

Another feature of the current context collapse research is its predominant focus on selfpresentation on social media. Such a focus may be traced back to the theoretical root of context collapse, that is, Goffman's study of facework (1972), which is essentially a theory of everyday self-presentation. Context collapse research has so far examined many aspects of selfpresentation on social media, including linguistic style (Gil-Lopez et al., 2018), self-disclosure (Gil-Lopez et al., 2018; Hayes, Smock, & Carr, 2015; Rui & Stefanone, 2013; Vitak, 2012), selfcensorship (Das & Kramer, 2013; Kwon & Moon, & Stephanone, 2015; Sleeper et al., 2013; Vitak et al., 2015), and privacy management (Rui & Stefanone, 2013).

For example, as social media audiences become larger and more diverse, individuals tend to take caution in self-presentation and manage it more frequently to preserve boundaries between different audience groups and avoid potential conflicts (Hayes et al., 2015, Rui & Stefanone, 2013). This is achieved through a variety of tactics such as controlling the extent of their exposure and tailoring the content. An increase in audience size and heterogeneity also leads to greater self-censorship and less self-presentation (e.g., avoidance of revealing political affiliation; Marder, 2018; leaving the network, Koltai et al., 2021; and "unfriending," Zhu &

Skoric, 2021). Qualitative research has also highlighted that individuals who hold minority identities, such as LGBTQ social media users, are especially mindful of their self-presentation specifically during the instances of context collapse, as they may be more vulnerable to social criticism and punishment for their identities (Duguay, 2016; Triggs et al., 2019). In general, research has indicated negative experiences caused by context collapse, including tension (Binder et al., 2009), social anxiety (Marder et al., 2012; Marder, 2018), and psychological discomfort (Hewitt & Forte, 2006), as the central mechanisms for the difference in self-presentation, particularly when the collapse is unintended. Such negative experiences then motivate individuals to exercise caution in their self-presentation.

Interestingly, research also revealed contradictory findings such that context collapse can actually benefit the communicator in his/her self-presentation. For example, it has been observed that individuals with a larger number of social media friends tend to disclose more personal information (Vitak, 2012) and make status updates more frequently (Gil-Lopez et al., 2018). Moreover, audience heterogeneity was also found to reduce self-censorship (Das & Kramer, 2013) while increasing the number of text updates posted (Gil-Lopez et al., 2018). Greater network density in social media audiences has also been found to be associated with increased self-disclosure (Wang et al., 2016). Despite such an inconsistency, there is a lack of explanation for why and how certain aspects of context collapse lead to such divergent findings.

Such contradictory findings may be attributable to researchers' predominant focus on structural aspects of context collapse while overlooking the experiential aspects. Particularly, the experiential aspects of context collapse may interact with one another in a way that encourages or discourages self-presentation. As the idea of context collusion suggests, people intentionally manage the boundaries between social groups within their audience as they carefully choose the

audience they intend to communicate to as well as the reach of the message (Davis & Jurgenson, 2014). As observed in the previous studies, intentional management of audience boundaries also likely includes strategic self-presentation, which leads to the increase or decrease in the amount of self-presentation. The idea of the imagined audience and the users' subjective perception of the audience may also enhance self-presentation, such that individuals with a more specific idea of their audience's identity and characteristics are likely to have clearer communication intentions and greater capacity to control the reach of the message. This increases the users' efficacy of social media communication, thus should be associated with more frequent and purposeful self-presentation.

Despite the rich discoveries of context collapses' implications on self-presentation, the current literature might have missed out opportunities to study other important implications of context collapse. As discussed below, the theoretical links between context collapse and networked publics (boyd, 2008; 2010) suggest potential socio-political implications of context collapse, particularly in terms of public opinion perceptions, but such discussion has not been incorporated yet in empirical research.

#### **Context Collapse, Public Opinion Perceptions, and False Consensus**

boyd (2008; 2010) connects context collapse with her idea of networked publics, which has its roots in Habermas' (1991) discussion of the public sphere. According to Habermas (1991), the subject of publicity is meaningful only when individuals function as a critical judge and the public carries the public opinion. A public sphere is thus "a discursive space in which individuals and groups associate to discuss matters of mutual interest and, where possible, to reach a common judgment about them" (Hauser, 1999, p. 61). Social media as a form of networked publics serves the function of the public sphere that facilitate social, cultural, and

civic connections beyond one's immediate social circles (boyd, 2010), thus allowing people to gather and exchange opinions, and ultimately form public opinions in contemporary societies. Then, context collapse, as a crucial affordance of social media, may hold important implications related to the public sphere. However, as mentioned before, it remains largely unexplored if and how context collapse can be relevant to socio-political issues and the related processes of public opinion formation.

One particular socio-political implication of context collapse is its potential effect on public opinion perception. Both structural and experiential aspects of context collapse can influence public opinion perception. Many structural characteristics of social media networks can influence a person's public opinion perception, because these characteristics affect the likelihood of exposure to a variety of cross-cutting information. For example, larger, more heterogeneous and diverse networks result in a greater likelihood of exposure to more diverse and novel information. The exposure to opinions that are against one's own motivates the person to gain a balanced and accurate viewpoint about the issue, thus decreasing the bias in public opinion estimation (Dvir-Gvirsman, 2014). In addition, network modularity and network density may affect public opinion perception, increasing and decreasing the likelihood of cross-cutting exposure. An audience network with high modularity indicates that distinct social groups in one's audience are preserved separated from one another, and there should be less similarity across groups, increasing the chances of cross-cutting exposure. In contrast, a dense audience network means tighter interconnections between audience members, suggesting the possibility for a greater similarity shared. Increased similarity between audience can subsequently drop the chances for encountering cross-cutting information.

Experiential aspects of context collapse, such as the perception of boundary perceptions, the imagined audience, and the intentionality of managing the audience, can also influence public opinion perception. One's perception of boundary-blurring between social groups can lead to the recognition of the existence of multiple groups of people likely to be divergent in characteristics and ideas. The perceptions of the diversity of opinions can subsequently potentially mitigate individuals' bias in public opinion perception. The imagined audience and intentionality involved in context collapse can also play a role in exacerbating or mitigating bias in public opinion perception. Particularly, people who imagine their audience to have greater specificity are likely to have clearer communication goals on social media. With clearer goals present, they will be more attentive and vigilant to public opinion, especially because they are cognizant of the risk of social sanction (e.g., fear of isolation, Neubaum & Kramer, 2002). This could lead to motivations for a more accurate public opinion perception. Likewise, individuals who have greater intentionality in managing their social media audience are likely to use social media to meet their specific purposes and needs, and this could promote accurate public opinion perception. Accuracy goals in public opinion perception increases individuals' ability for reasoning opposite positions and decreases bias in evaluating public opinion (Nir, 2011).

Despite the above speculations about context collapse's influences on public opinion perceptions, the psychological mechanisms are not always clear. However, one potential mechanism that deserves attention is false consensus. False consensus refers to individuals' tendency of overestimating the level of public support for their own beliefs and actions (Ross et al., 1977). When individuals estimate and evaluate public opinion, false consensus is always at play, inhibiting the development of a balanced view of public's support for their opinion (Schulz, Wirth, & Müller, 2020). Thus, false consensus is one important aspect of biases in public opinion

perception. Meanwhile, false consensus can be influenced by various situational factors, such as exposure to differing viewpoints (Wojcieszak & Price, 2009). Structural and experiential aspects of context collapse can affect such situational factors through increased exposure to cross-cutting viewpoints and motivation for accurate estimation of public opinion driven by communication goals.

Investigating false consensus can also promote our understanding of the implication of context collapse beyond individual level. According to the Spiral of Silence theory (Noelle-Neumann, 1993) individuals are more likely to express their opinions publicly when they believe that their views align with the majority opinion. This suggests individuals with greater false consensus may feel less inhibition in publicly expressing their own political opinion (Scheufele & Eveland Jr., 2001), whereas those with low false consensus who perceive that they are an opinion minority will keep silent. When such individual processes accumulate, it can lead to an over-representation of the majority opinions and silencing of minority ones (Wojcieszak, 2009; 2011; Wojcieszak & Price, 2009). Furthermore, false consensus and perceived opinion climate has been found to be associated with a greater engagement in political behaviors (e.g., voting and contributing money to a candidate and/or a political party, Scheufele & Eveland Jr., 2001), as well as actions related to social issues (see Bauman & Geher, 2002 for review). Thus, exploring whether context collapse and false consensus lead to a greater engagement in topic-relevant behaviors could yield valuable insights on the social significance of context collapse.

#### Conclusion

Research on context collapse has thrived along with the rise of social media, providing valuable insights into its effects on individuals' social media behavior. However, two significant limitations have emerged in the empirical research. The first limitation concerns the lack of

conceptual integration, which may have limited the understanding of the phenomenon.

Specifically, despite the recent emphasis on the experiential aspects of context collapse, most research has focused on the impact of structural network characteristics on individuals' social media use. The second limitation is a narrow focus on self-presentation as the individual-level consequences of context collapse. Although scholars have argued for the connection between context collapse and contemporary public spheres on social media (boyd, 2010), little attention has been paid to the empirical research of the socio-political implications of context collapse.

To overcome these limitations, the following chapters report two studies. Chapter 2 integrates the conceptual discussions related to context collapse and develops a more comprehensive measurement of context collapse. Chapter 3 investigates the relationship between context collapse and public opinion perception through false consensus. Based on the findings, Chapter 4 concludes with a further discussion of the theoretical and practical implications, and future directions are offered towards a more thorough understanding of context collapse and its impact on both individuals and society.

# Chapter 2. Multidimensional Context Collapse: A Conceptual Integration and an Enhanced Measurement (Study 1)

One's social media audience, commonly referred to as "friends," can encompass a diverse range of individuals, including close friends and family, romantic partners, acquaintances, and even virtual communities and strangers (Akter & Nweke, 2016; Bastos, 2021; Hampton et al., 2017; Hussain, 2012). As social media removes the spatial and temporal constraints in communication, various groups of people that used to be separated in time and space are flattened into a single entity of audience. For example, when a user makes a status update on social media, every audience who is connected to the user gains an equal access to the shared update without the constraints of time and space (boyd, 2010; Marwick & boyd, 2011). This phenomenon is called *context collapse* (boyd, 2002; 2008; 2010, Marwick & boyd, 2011). Since the content and manner of a social media message may be considered appropriate in one group, but not in another (boyd, 2010), context collapse can create psychological tensions within the communicator (Marder, 2018) and social tensions among the communicators and members of his/her audience (Binder et al., 2009; Zhu & Skoric, 2021). As a result, context collapse often incurs difficulties in self-presentation (boyd, 2010; Marwick & boyd, 2011) and discouragement of content generation, discourse, and networking on social media.

Despite the increasing scholarly interest in context collapse, the empirical research has heavily focused on context collapse as if it is solely a structural feature of one's social media environments (e.g., network characteristics, such as size, heterogeneity, density, and diversity). This tendency neglects the fact that context collapse is at heart a unique set of social media affordance (boyd, 2010). Affordance entails not only the materiality that allows people certain behaviors but also human agency and practice that makes the technology meaningful to the individual users (Faraj & Azad, 2012; Treem & Leonardi, 2013). Conceptually, it is thus important for empirical research to pay attention to not only the structural aspects of context collapse, but also the experiential ones, such as personal experiences and interpretations.

In fact, neglecting context collapse's experiential aspects might have also contributed to contradictory empirical findings regarding the effects of context collapse. For instance, while some studies found that context collapse, measured as various structural aspects, can cause intraand interpersonal tension and inhibits self-presentation on social media (e.g., Beam et al., 2018; Binder et al., 2009; Lee et al., 2014; Rui & Stefanone, 2013; Vitak, 2012), others showed the opposite (e.g., Gil-Lopez et al., 2018; Vitak, 2012; Wang, Burke, & Kraut, 2016). These contradictory findings may be due to the mismatch between the structural aspects of context collapse and a person's experiences. For example, individuals' intentions for context collapse as well as the subjective interpretations of their audience would differently shape their experience of context collapse than the objective reality regarding their audience, and this could subsequently affect the increase or decrease in self-presentation., through a different mechanism than the structural aspects.

So far, conceptual discussion of the experiential aspects of context collapse are scattered across authors, and there has yet been enough attempt to integrate the literature. For example, boyd's original conceptualization has acknowledged that a person's social media audience may not be visible (i.e., invisible audience, boyd, 2010) and later research discussed that people thus need to form an imaginary conceptualization of their audience when communicating on social media (i.e., imaged audience, Litt, 2012; Litt & Hargittai, 2016). However, such conceptually important discussions have not been fully integrated in the context collapse literature. In addition, conceptual developments that recognize the importance of intentionality in context

collapse appeared only recently, thus further research that solidifies its relevance is necessary to enrich the newly developed concept. This necessitates conceptual integration of different experiential aspects of context collapse and the development of a comprehensive measurement.

Based on the existent conceptual discussions, we argue that the experiential aspects of context collapse can be conceptualized as six dimensions in three axes. As illustrated in Figure 1, the three groups are (a) audience boundary perceptions, that is the perceptions of the audience's identities and compositions, which involves perceived audience diversity, perceived audience multiplicity, and perceived audience conflict, (b) *imagined audience clarity* which refers to the clarity of imagination of the audience's identity and composition in specifying one's social media audience, and (c) user agency, that is, a user's subjective control of leveraging context collapse, which includes the users' intentionality of context collapse and efficacy in managing social media audiences. In addition, the salience of the actual audience must be taken into consideration when measuring the structural aspects of context collapse. The measurements of structural aspects of context collapse have so far assumed that every audience member holds equal significance in one's experience of context collapse, and context collapse has been measured as characteristics of one's entire audience network. However, this misses out the fact that some audience members may have greater or weaker social presence, depending on how frequently they appear in a focal user's social media timeline.

The following sections of this chapter will first briefly overview the history of conceptual development of context collapse. A more comprehensive conceptualization is then attempted by elaborating on the experiential aspects of context collapse. Next, an empirical study is reported to develop a measurement of experiential aspects of context collapse and an improved measurement of structural aspects of context collapse. Three different datasets are used from a student pool (*N* 

= 537), mturk.com (N = 645), and prolific.co (N = 708), and iterations of confirmatory factor analysis (CFA) are reported. Lastly, implications and limitations of this study are discussed.

#### What is Context Collapse?

Context collapse is a phenomenon where different groups of people with distinct social context are collapsed into the same communication space (boyd, 2010; Marwick & boyd, 2011). The phenomenon is commonly found in real life (e.g., introducing a friend to parents) and in mass communication context (e.g., mass media communication allows for equal access to information and thus removes boundaries; Meyrowitz, 1985). However, communication researchers started to extensively study it since boyd (2010) coined the term 'collapsed context' specifically in social media context. boyd (2002; 2008; 2010) originally developed the concept in relation to self-presentation based on Goffman (1972)'s study of face-work. Goffman's central argument is, people manage their self-presentation because they have a desire to present themselves in socially appropriate ways to blend in the society while avoiding sanctions.

Later, boyd (2010) recognized the significance of technological affordance in comprehending context collapse. Technological affordance refers to the "action possibilities and opportunities that emerge from actors engaging with a focal technology" (Faraj & Azad, 2012, p. 238). The affordance perspective emphasizes human agency in technology use, highlighting what people do with the affordances available (Faraj & Azad, 2012; Treem & Leonardi, 2013). Recognizing the importance of subjectivity in context collapse, several researchers have noted a few subjective and experiential aspects of context collapse. For example, as the invisibility of the audience (boyd, 2010) makes it difficult for communicators to determine who their audience is, social media users may have to maintain an actively yet subjective mental conceptualization of the audience (Litt, 2012; Litt & Hargittai, 2016). In addition, context collapse innately entails the

social media users' intentionality (Davis & Jurgenson, 2014). Whether context collapse was intended (i.e., context collusion) or unintended (i.e., context collision) may determine one's experience of and the effects of context collapse.

The theoretical discussion of context collapse has triggered much empirical research, mostly focusing on how context collapse affects individuals' self-presentation on social media. Findings indicate that context collapse increases the diversity in beliefs and opinions within the audience network, making individuals become concerned about potential conflicts and accordingly manage or inhibit their self-presentation. This can be seen in how individuals manage their linguistic style (Gil-Lopez et al., 2018), amount of self-disclosure (Gil-Lopez et al., 2018; Hayes, Smock, & Carr, 2015; Vitak, 2012), self-censorship (Das & Kramer, 2013; Kwon et al., 2015; Sleeper et al., 2013; Vitak et al., 2015), and privacy management (Rui & Stefanone, 2013).

An issue of the majority of such studies is that they predominantly focus on structural characteristics of one's social media networks. These include metrics based on social network analysis, such as size (i.e., the number of individuals within one's ego-network, Gil-Lopez et al., 2018; Vitak, 2012), heterogeneity (i.e., the degree of one's network being fragmented, Gil-Lopez et al., 2018), density (i.e., the interconnectedness among the ties in one's social network, Wang et al., 2016), and modularity (i.e., the degree of connection being within rather than between distinct networks, Koltai et al., 2021). In addition, researchers also relied on measures based on self-reported information about one's social circles, such as the number of social categories one has in their social media audience (Binder et al., 2009; Lee et al., 2014; Rui & Stefanone, 2013; Vitak, 2012), and the degree of uneven distribution of social groups (e.g., family, close friends, classmates, co-workers, members of religious organizations, and et cetera; Beam et al., 2018).

Given that the aforementioned conceptualization of context collapse (boyd, 2010; Litt, 2012; Davis & Jurgenson, 2014) have already addressed both its structural and experiential aspects, the predominant focus on the structural aspects has limited the empirical investigation of this concept. The lack of attention to the experiential aspects of context collapse might have also resulted in the inconsistent empirical findings, as mentioned before.

So far, a major hurdle of studying the experiential aspects of context collapse is the lack of a comprehensive measure that integrates the concepts that are scattered across different authors. The next section integrates the existing literature and suggests a comprehensive conceptual framework of the experiential aspects of context collapse.

#### A Multidimensional Conceptualization of Experiential Context Collapse

I propose context collapse involves at least six experiential aspects, which can be grouped into three axes as depicted in the three-dimension illustration in Figure 1. The three axes are *audience boundary perceptions, imagined audience clarity*, and *user agency*.

#### <Figure 1>

#### The First Axis: Audience Boundary Perceptions

As mentioned before, empirical research has investigated a variety of structural aspects of context collapse (e.g., size, density, heterogeneity, modularity, and the self-reported measures about one's social circles). These aspects apparently tap into how a person's social media audiences are bounded. The affordance perspective suggests these boundaries are not only objective social structures but also are subjectively imagined and interpreted. boyd (2010)'s discussion of the invisible audience and the concept of the imagined audience (Litt, 2012) have argued that people must come up with a perception of their audience when communicating on social media. Among various audience perceptions, the perceptions of the boundaries between

audiences are at the heart of the definitions of context collapse (e.g., "blurring public and private", boyd, 2010, p. 10). Specifically, the idea of context collapse stipulates that users tend to assess the appropriateness of their communication by evaluating their audience, including their identity, the interplay between different audience segments, and the potential for these groups to collide in ideas and beliefs (boyd, 2010; Marwick & boyd, 2011).

There are three specific dimensions of audience boundary perceptions: perceived audience diversity, perceived audience multiplicity, and perceived audience conflict. *Perceived audience diversity* refers to the perception of dissimilarity between audience groups in their ideas, interests, opinions, and backgrounds. *Perceived audience multiplicity* relates to the perception of the largeness in the number of distinct social groups within his/her audience. Research has regarded the diversity and multiplicity of one's social media audience as indicators of context collapse (Beam et al., 2018; Binder et al., 2009; Gil-Lopez et al., 2018; Lee et al., 2014; Rui & Stefanone, 2013; Vitak, 2012;). However, the structural network characteristics may not accurately reflect the people's perception and interpretation of their audience. For example, even if the structural measures of context collapse indicate a high degree structural audience diversity, the user may not think that the audience has much diversity, especially when the audience is like-minded and shares much similarity. These aspects cannot be captured with the structural measures, thus it is necessary to investigate the users' subjective perception of the diversity and multiplicity of their audience independent from the structural measures.

In addition, the conflict between audience groups has been discussed as a potential consequence of context collapse. A user can have a perception of potential conflict between different audience groups, and this again cannot be considered only through the structural measures. *Perceived audience conflict* refers to the degree to which one perceives the likelihood

of potential conflict within the audience. Context collapse research has shown that a greater discretion of the communicator is required to avoid potential conflicts among the audience (e.g., Duguay, 2016; Marder et al., 2012; Triggs et al., 2021).

#### The Second Axis: Imagined Audience Clarity

While the first axis addresses the perceptions of the audience and the boundaries between them, the second axis relates to the clarity of the perception. When communicating in social media, every person forms an imagined audience (Litt, 2012). The level of clarity or specificity of such an imagination, however, may vary, spanning from a specific individual such as romantic partner to a broader group of individuals they commonly interact with, or even to a very vague encompassing of the general public. *Imagined audience clarity* thus refers to the level of clarity in one's mental concept of the audience. When one's audience perception is very clear and specific, the person is likely to be more cognizant of the relationships between different audience groups as well as of how likely it is for them to cause intergroup conflicts if he/she shared a content. Therefore, when one can come up with a specific idea of their audience, they are more capable of expecting and controlling the consequences of their communicative behavior, and this may affect his/her subsequent communication behavior.

#### The Third Axis: User Agency

Along with the perceptions of the audience and the clarity of such perceptions, whether individuals know and are willing to actively leverage context collapse is also important. The third axis of experiential aspects of context collapse is *user agency*. This axis relates to the users' control over their behavioral decisions in their experience of context collapse. More specifically, there are two dimensions related to user agency: *intentionality of context collapse* and *boundarykeeping efficacy*. With regards to intentionality, context collapse can be purposeful and
intentional, especially when the user actively brings together various contexts and the related networks to meet certain communication needs (Davis & Jurgenson, 2014).

At the same time, the users' *efficacy* of keeping boundaries between audiences separate (e.g., Gil-Lopez et al., 2018; Schwartz-Chassidim et al., 2020) has been discussed as an important aspect of one's experience of context collapse. Users' attempt to separate the audience boundaries can only succeed when social media platforms provide certain technical features that can be utilized, and when the users perceive they are capable enough to achieve it (Marder et al., 2012; Wisniewski et al., 2014). The concept of efficacy as a mechanism for human agency (Bandura, 1982), suggests that people conduct self-appraisals of their capabilities for successfully executing it before carrying out a behavior. Self-efficacy motivates people to take more efforts in the action, and this subsequently influences the performance as well. Therefore, one's perceived efficacy of keeping distinct audience groups separate should affect their engagement with boundary-keeping behaviors. With greater efficacy perceived in keeping audience boundaries, one may not feel as compelled to appear appropriate to all audience members, which may lessen tension and perceived conflict, affecting one's experience of context collapse and social media communication.

# Enhancing the Structural Aspects of Context Collapse Measurement

In addition to the six experiential aspects of context collapse, the structural aspects of context collapse can also be improved by taking into account the salience of the audience. Current context collapse research has focused on network features of the entire list of audiences, but this approach has overlooked the fact that certain members of the audience may hold a greater presence in a user's social media space, thus influencing one's experience of context collapse in a different way than the audience group as a whole. In fact, people generally think of

the contacts that they interact the most on social media as their imagined audience (Strater & Lipford, 2008). This means the audience with greater salience can be on top of the users' mind when they imagine their audience. Thus, the issue of audience salience must be considered. In doing so, the measurement of context collapse can be specifically conducted with a focus on a more salient group of audience, in addition to the existing measurements that targets the entire audience.

## Construct Validity Assessment

Construct validity needs to be assessed to verify if the newly developed measure of context collapse is indeed correlated with established measures of theoretically relevant concepts (Campbell & Fiske, 1959). Previous research has identified several concepts that are theoretically and conceptually relevant to the structural aspects of context collapse. These concepts can be grouped into two domains: self-presentation and social capital/tension.

Research has identified that context collapse influences one's social media selfpresentation, despite the inconsistency in findings. When greater context collapse was observed in one's social media audience network, individuals tended to limit the variability of linguistic style (Gil-Lopez et al., 2018), decrease (Das & Kramer, 2013; Kwonet al., 2015; Sleeper et al., 2013; Vitak et al., 2015) or at times increase (Gil-Lopez et al., 2018; Hayes et al., 2015; Rui & Stefanone, 2013; Vitak, 2012), self-presentation (e.g., social media status updates). Two types of self-disclosure have been studied, which are the amount of *self-disclosure* (e.g., Gil-Lopez et al., 2018) and the *intended self-disclosure* (e.g., Vitak, 2012). The latter pertains to the level of awareness and purposefulness with which individuals engage in self-disclosure on social media. Context collapse also increases *privacy concern* (Dennen & Burner, 2017; Rui & Stefanone, 2013; Vitak, 2012), which specifically relates to the individuals' apprehension related to sharing information through social media (Vitak, 2012).

Context collapse has been found to increase *bridging social capital* (Ellison et al., 2007; Vitak, 2012), which is the loose connections between individuals and the benefits that come with them (Granovetter, 1982; Putnam, 2000; Williams, 2006). At the same time, individuals with greater degree of context collapse may experience *online tension* (Binder et al., 2009; Vitak et al., 2015), as more diverse groups with potentially conflicting ideas and beliefs gain equal access to the content the user is sharing. Online tension in this light relates to the conflicts such as expression of criticism, social blunders, damaging gossip, and breaches of trust, that arise due to the increased visibility of communication caused by context collapse.

## Methods

This study aimed to develop a comprehensive and reliable measurement of the experiential aspects of context collapse (ECC). In achieving this objective, a survey study was conducted with three different data sources. There are three main parts in this study. First, measurement items of the six dimensions of ECC were developed and item reliability was examined to simplify the measurement model. Second, with the retained items, confirmatory factor analysis and the measurement invariance test were conducted to ensure that the measurement model of the six dimensions of ECC is generalizable across different datasets. Third, construct validity of the developed measurement model was investigated, using the constructs that have previously been found as correlated with context collapse (typically, the structural aspects). In addition, the issue of audience salience was considered for the measurement of the structural aspects of context collapse.

# **Participants**

Prior to the main survey, two pilot studies were conducted on university students. This allowed for revisions in the initially developed ECC items by examining and comparing Cronbach's alpha. Data for the first pilot study data (N = 269) were collected between March 8, 2022, and March 17, 2022, and data for the second pilot study (N = 97) were collected from March 31, 2022 to April 11, 2022.

Participants for the main survey were recruited via SONA, mturk.com and prolific.co. SONA is a study participation management tool, where students at a west coast university in the United States were recruited in exchange for extra course credits. Both mturk and prolific are crowdsourcing platforms, in which participants were given \$5 if they fully and genuinely completed the survey. The eligibility criteria for participation for all three datasets were (1) being 18 years or older, (2) residing in the United States, (3) identifying themselves as social media users and (4) using social media at least once a week. University student data was collected via SONA between April 11, 2022, and May 20, 2022, and 537 out of 545 complete responses were retained. Then, 1133 participants completed the survey on mturk.com between May 16, 2022, and June 17, 2022, and 645 were retained. Finally, 708 out of 771 complete responses were retained from data collected on prolific.co, between March 3, 2023, and March 17, 2023. Demographics of the three samples are described in Table 1.

## <Table 1>

Participants from mturk.com and prolific.co had been given three attention check questions (see Table 3), which were used to filter out from the analysis those who did not pay enough attention during the participation. Responses were excluded from the analysis if the participants failed to choose the correct answer for any of the three attention check questions spread throughout the questionnaire.

## **Measurements**

The questionnaire was structured as follows: First, as participants agreed to take part in the survey, their social media use was asked. The questions include the number of days per week people use social media and the amount of time they spend on using social media every week. Next, the questions pertaining to the six experiential aspects of context collapse were given. Then, participants answered questions that related to the structural aspects of context collapse. Finally, variables for assessing the construct validity of the context collapse measures were measured, along with demographic information, such as sex, age, race and income.

**Experiential Aspects of Context Collapse.** For the social media account that was chosen to be the most frequently used, participants answered questions for the six dimensions of ECC on a 7-point Likert scale, ranging from "strongly disagree (1)" to "strongly agree (7)." For *perceived audience diversity*, participants were asked about their perception of the similarity or dissimilarity in ideas, beliefs, interests and background within their audience. *Perceived audience multiplicity* was measured by asking the participants about their perception of the numerousness of different social groups within their audience. In terms of *perceived audience conflict*, questions were about the participants' perception of the possibility for the conflict between groups to occur. *Imagined audience clarity* was measured as how clearly and specifically an individual imagines their audience. *Intentionality of context collapse* inquired participants the degree to which they intended the context collapse within their audience. *Boundary-keeping efficacy* measured the perceived ease and the individual's confidence in the respondents' ability to keep distinct audience groups separate from one another. In the initially

developed ECC measures, every dimension had 6 items. Table 2 lists the scale items that were used in the pilot studies and the main survey.

#### <Table 2>

**Structural Aspects of Context Collapse.** The measurement for structural aspects of context collapse was adopted from the Beam et al.'s (2018) survey-based diversity measure. To incorporate the salience of the audience, participants were randomly assigned to one of the two different measurements of structural aspects of context collapse: *overall audience diversity* and *salient audience diversity*. In measuring *overall audience diversity*, half of the participants were first asked to browse the entire list of audiences (i.e., the list of friends or subscriptions) in their most used social media account. Then, they were asked to estimate the percentage of different groups in their audiences. By default, they were given 12 different social categories: family, close friends, classmates, co-workers, members of religious organizations, professors/faculties, members of on-campus organizations, members of off-campus organizations, acquaintances, strangers/random people, old friends, and people who share the same interests/hobbies. The participants were allowed to proceed to the next question only when the sum of all estimated percentages was a 100.

In measuring *salient audience diversity*, the other half of the participants were asked to first sign into their most used social media account and list up to 30 audience members that they see in their feeds (i.e., the list of posts created by oneself and others that is frequently updated). They were asked to stop listing until they reached either 1) 30 different names, or 2) the post that was created more than 30 days ago. These individuals are assumed to have greater presence and exert greater influence in one's overall context collapse experience. Then, for the audience members listed, participants were asked to choose the individuals that belong to a given social

group. They were asked to carry out this task for 12 different social categories used in the audience diversity measures. For example, if participants listed 20 individuals, they were asked to choose all the individuals from the list of 20 people that belong to the category of family, close friends, classmates, and et cetera, one at a time.

For both measures, an index for diversity was created through calculating Simpson's D (Beam et al., 2018). It is calculated as

$$D = 1 - \Sigma p_i^2$$

where  $p_i$  is the proportion of friends within each context. The measure ranges from 0 with absolutely no diversity where all friends come from a single context, to 1, which is the greatest possible diversity. Greatest diversity indicates that the number of one's social media friends are evenly distributed throughout various contexts.

**Variables for Construct Validity Assessment.** To assess the construct validity of the ECC measurements, the following concepts were measured, including: the *amount of self-disclosure* (e.g., Gil-Lopez et al., 2018: Hayes et al., 2015; Kwon & Moon, 2014; Rui & Stefanone, 2013), *intended disclosure* (Vitak, 2012; Wheeless & Grotz, 1976), *privacy concerns* (Vitak, 2012), *bridging social capital* (Vitak, 2012), and *social media tension for self* and *tension among others* (Binder et al., 2009). Before answering the questions, participants were advised to think about their interactions on the social media they use the most (Ellison et al., 2011; Vitak, 2012). Table 3 lists the scale items of these measurements.

## <Table 3>

# Analytical Procedures

The analysis for this study consists of three parts. First, the two pilot studies were conducted to analyze the internal consistency of the initial measurement items, using Cronbach's alpha. Subscales with low alpha (< .7) in the first pilot study (N = 269) were revised, especially for the items that substantially worsen the alpha. The internal consistency of the changed subscales was then re-analyzed in the second pilot study (N = 97) to ensure they achieve satisfactory levels of Cronbach's alpha.

Second, multiple confirmatory factor analysis (CFA) models were estimated based on the three datasets of the main survey. The first model (CFA1) includes the 6 dimensions of ECC, with the scale items retained from the second pilot test. Based on the results of CFA1, items with low standardized factor loadings (<.5) were dropped. The second model (CFA2) assesses measurement invariance of the retained items from CFA1 across the three datasets (SONA, mturk, and prolific), that is, whether the measurement structures were identical across these datasets (Vandenberg & Lance, 2000). Specifically, configural invariance (i.e., the equivalence in underlying measurement structure) and metric invariance (i.e., the consistency of the measurement scales, that is, factor loadings, across different groups) were tested. The third model (CFA3) is built upon CFA2 and assesses the construct validity of the six ECC dimensions in relation to the variables that have previously been identified as correlated with context collapse. The analysis was conducted separately across the 3 datasets. The last model (CFA4), building upon the CFA3 model, adds two types of structural audience diversity measures: audience diversity and salient audience diversity. Since the participants answered to one of the two structural context collapse measures, multigroup confirmatory factor analysis was conducted on this iteration, grouped by the types of structural context collapse measured. The analysis was again conducted across the 3 datasets.

To estimate the CFA models, a maximum-likelihood robust estimator (MLR) implemented by the R package *lavaan* was used. This estimator is less sensitive to violations of

the multivariate normality assumption than other estimators (Li, 2016). The goodness-of-fit of the model was evaluated using the comparative fit index (CFI), the Tucker-Lewis index (TLI), the root mean square error of approximation (RMSEA), and the standardized root mean square residual (SRMR). Indices that are larger than .95 for CFI and TLI, and .05 or lower for RMSEA and SRMR were considered as indicating a good model fit (Kline, 2016).

## Results

# **Item Selection**

The first pilot study revealed that, out of the 6 initial subscales of ECC, only imagined audience clarity had adequate internal consistency. The other subscales had low internal consistency thus were revised (see Table 2) for the second pilot study. In the second pilot study, items in perceived audience diversity and perceived audience multiplicity needed further refinements. After additional refinements, subscales achieved adequate internal consistency, that is, Cronbach's alpha being greater than .70 for most constructs. These subscales also retained fair reliability across the three datasets of the main survey (see Table 2).

CFA1 was estimated for the retained items from the second pilot study, separately for each of the three datasets of the main study. Goodness-of-fit indices of CFA1 indicated that the model did not fit the three datasets (see Table 4). After a closer examination of the factor loadings, it was found that the reverse-coded items throughout the 6 dimensions of the experiential aspects of context collapse significantly lowered the reliability and harmed the model fit. Thus, these reverse-coded items were dropped, reducing the number of items in each subscale from 6 items to 3 items. CFA2 were estimated based on the retained items, and achieved satisfactory model fit across the three datasets (see Table 4).

<Table 4>

## Measurement Invariance

Measurement invariance tests were conducted using a multigroup CFA model incorporating the three datasets, based on CFA2. The configural invariance model was first estimated. The model chi-square statistic was significant ( $\chi^2(360) = 866.202, p < .001$ ), but the model generally fitted the data well, with a CFI of .968, a TLI of .959, RMSEA of .047 (90% CI .043,.051, and SRMR of .041. Next, the metric (weak) invariance model was estimated, where the factor loadings were constrained to be equal across three datasets. The metric model was compared with the configural model, and the model comparison indicated a statistically significant chi-square difference ( $\Delta \chi^2 = 73.482, df = 24, p < .001$ ), suggesting that metric invariance did not hold across the three datasets.

The lack of metric invariance does not mean every measurement item has a different scale (i.e., different factor loading) across the three datasets. A partial metric invariance assessment was attempted. The "lavTestScore" function in R shows which parameters in the model should be freely estimated across the datasets to improve the fit for the metric model. Parameters were freed, one at a time, and the new model with the freed parameter was compared against the configural model until partial modification indices were satisfied. The results suggested that freeing the loadings of a few scale items would significantly improve the fit of the metric model. The relevant scale items are: "My audience of this social media account is composed of multiple groups of people" for perceived audience multiplicity, "Groups in the audience(s) of this social media account do NOT get along with each other", and "A post considered appropriate in one of my audience groups of this social media account can be considered inappropriate by other groups of my audience(s)" for perceived audience conflict. The different factor loadings might be due to the participant characteristics: As revealed in Table 1, the SONA sample was much younger than the mturk and prolific samples. They may also differ in how they use social media, build and manage relationships and communicate on social media should be different than a relatively older generation. The comparison of the partially freed metric model and the configural model indicates that the chi-square difference test is not significant anymore;  $\Delta \chi^2 = 27.26$ , df = 18, p = 0.074. In addition, the model fit of the partially freed metric model was good, CFI = .967, TLI = .960, RMSEA = .047 (90% CI .043, .050), SRMR = .042. Therefore, partial metric invariance was confirmed with the three parameters allowed to vary. Table 5 reports the factor loadings of the partial metric invariance model across 3 datasets. Test statistics and fit indices of CFA2 and the invariance test are reported in Table 4.

<Table 5>

# **Construct Validity Assessment**

To assess the construct validity of the six ECC measures, CFA3 was estimated to examine whether the ECC measures are correlated to the constructs that are theoretically relevant. The model includes measurements for *amount of self-disclosure, intended disclosure, privacy concern, self-related social media tension* and *others-related social media tension*, and *bridging social capital*. Since responses to these constructs' original measurements worsened the model fit, only a subset of the original scale items was kept (see Table 3). After the refinement, the goodness-of-fit indices indicated that the model fits the data well, with CFI = .961, TLI = .954, RMSEA = .031 (90% CI .027, .034), and SRMR = .042 in the SONA dataset, CFI = .942, TLI = .931, RMSEA = .046 (90% CI .043, .049), and SRMR = .049 in the mturk dataset, and CFI = .961, TLI = .954, RMSEA = .037 (90% CI .034, .041), and SRMR = .036 in the prolific dataset.

Experiential Aspects of Context Collapse and Self-Presentation. To evaluate the construct validity, the correlation matrix (see Table 6) of the latent variables used in CFA3 was examined. Prior research has primarily examined the impact of context collapse on individuals' self-presentation behaviors on social media, and the amount of self-presentation and the intended self-presentation on social media were included in the model. Across all three datasets, a strong positive correlation was found between perceived audience multiplicity and both self-disclosure and intended disclosure. Furthermore, individuals who reported a greater intentionality in managing context collapse and perceived a higher efficacy of boundary-keeping were more likely to engage in self-disclosure. These findings suggest that individuals who have greater control over their communication to distinct audience groups are more likely to engage in self-presentation more actively to achieve their communication goals. Additionally, a positive correlation was observed between perceived audience conflict and intended disclosure, which is in line with the expectation that individuals who anticipate conflict among their audiences may be more intentional in managing context collapse to avoid aggravating their audiences.

#### <Table 6>

## Experiential Aspects of Context Collapse, Social Capital, and Social Media Tension.

Other variables that have been explored as the consequences of context collapse include bridging social capital, privacy concerns, and self- and others-related social media tension. The correlation matrix for the variables used in CFA3 reveals a positive association between perceived audience multiplicity and bridging social capital, consistent with the social capital literature that argues a larger number of distinct social groups within one's audience can facilitate connections between weaker ties and benefit the user. However, perceived audience multiplicity and bridging to be positively correlated with self-related social media tension.

media tension, indicating that individuals who perceive a greater number of distinct social groups within their audience may experience conflict on social media more frequently. A clear and specific understanding of one's audience may be essential for individuals to meet their communication needs, particularly when anticipating and managing potential conflicts that may arise. By developing a clearer idea of their audience, individuals can better navigate social media interactions and communicate their message effectively, particularly in situations where they are expected to be in socially uncomfortable situations, such as social blunders, damaging gossip, or breaching of trust.

None of the consequence variables exhibited a significant correlation with perceived audience diversity across all three datasets. While perceived audience diversity derived from the structural network diversity of an individual's audience, the results did not reveal any significant correlations between perceived audience diversity and the variables previously studied as consequences of context collapse. However, a consistent pattern emerged in both the Mturk and Prolific data, with perceived audience diversity positively correlated with bridging social capital, privacy concern, and self-related social media tension. It is worth noting that the SONA participants were notably younger than those in the Mturk and Prolific datasets, suggesting that younger generations may interpret and utilize social media in a distinct way compared to older individuals. For younger social media users, perceiving greater diversity in their audience may not necessarily correspond to a greater use of weak ties, privacy concerns, or self-related tension.

Taken together, the correlations between the newly developed ECC measurement and the outcome variables from prior research offer compelling evidence that several dimensions of the ECC are indeed relevant to the outcome variables, providing empirical support for the theoretical

discussions of the experiential aspects of context collapse. This underscores the importance of considering these experiential factors in the empirical study of context collapse.

**Incorporating the Audience Salience.** CFA4 added the audience salience factor to the CFA3 model. In measuring two types of audience salience, participants were randomly assigned to answer one of the two: *audience diversity* and *salient audience diversity*. A multigroup factor analyses were conducted for each of the three datasets, group factor being the type of audience diversity. The goodness-of-fit indices indicated that the model fit the data well in general, with CFI = .946, TLI = .935, RMSEA = .038 (90% CI .033, .043), and SRMR = .051 in the SONA dataset, CFI = .940, TLI = .928, RMSEA = .046 (90% CI .043, .05), and SRMR = .054 in the mturk dataset, and CFI = .954, TLI = .945, RMSEA = .040 (90% CI .036, .043), and SRMR = .042 in the prolific dataset.

The associations were examined between the two types of audience diversity and the six dimensions of ECC, as well as the variables that have been identified as consequences of context collapse. The datasets were divided into two groups based on the type of audience diversity (overall and salient), and a correlation matrix was created, as presented in Table 7. The findings indicate that overall audience diversity was consistently positively correlated with perceived audience multiplicity across all three datasets. This suggests that social media users perceive multiple distinct groups when they have greater diversity in their audience, in terms of the various types of social groups. When it comes to all three datasets, overall audience diversity did not consistently correlate with any other ECC dimensions or consequence variables. However, a pattern was found that mturk and prolific samples, who were much older than the SONA sample, indicated significantly positive correlations between overall audience diversity and boundary-keeping efficacy, as well as between overall audience diversity and the amount of self-

disclosure. In other words, adults in their 40s perceive greater control over separately communicating to the targeted audience and tend to self-disclose more when there is greater diversity in their audience, but this pattern is not found for younger adults. This may again indicate that people mostly in their 40s use social media in a different manner compared to younger adults.

Throughout the three datasets, no significant correlation was found between salient audience diversity and any of the ECC dimensions or consequence variables. However, in the Mturk and Prolific samples, a noteworthy trend was observed. As the salient audience diversity increased, individuals in Mturk and Prolific samples showed increase in intentionality of context collapse and boundary-keeping efficacy. As salient audience diversity increased, they tended to be more intentional in planning the composition of their audience and perceived greater control over separately communicating to the target audience. In contrast, SONA participants did not exhibit the same pattern. These findings suggest that diversity in salient audience may have motivated only the older participants from Mturk and Prolific to be more cognizant and deliberate in the composition of their audience, potentially resulting in greater efficacy in separating the audience. In contrast, salient audience diversity did not appear to hold as much importance for younger adults.

Moreover, it was found that only the Mturk and Prolific samples showed a significant negative correlation between salient audience diversity and intended disclosure. This implies that older adults, compared to the SONA participants, may be less forthcoming when they are communicating with a more diverse salient audience, especially when there was greater diversity in the recently interacted audience. This phenomenon could be due to older adults being more attuned to the potential social consequences of revealing certain information to friends on social

media, especially when those friends are individuals with whom they have recently and frequently interacted with. In contrast, younger adults may not be as influenced by the diversity in their salient audience as much, and are thus less likely to change their original communication intentions.

All in all, CFA4 results and the correlation matrix suggest that overall audience diversity and salient audience diversity are two different constructs. The two were related to the 6 dimensions of ECC and consequence variables in different manners.

# Discussion

This study integrated the discussions of both the structural and experiential aspects of context collapse and developed and validated the measurement of the experiential aspects of context collapse (ECC). This study made a theoretical contribution to context collapse research by arguing for a more comprehensive conceptualization that integrates the structural and experiential aspects of context collapse. By reviewing the literature, this chapter identified six different experiential aspects of context collapse and grouped them into three conceptual axes: audience boundary perceptions, audience clarity, and user agency.

In addition to the theoretical contribution, this study has practical implications as well. Measures of the experiential aspects of context collapse have been systematically developed and validated. The development of ECC measures involved multiple rigorous steps, including a literature review, item development and pilot studies, and multiple iterations of confirmatory factor analysis, in order to assess and ensure the internal and external validity of the developed measures. Based on the pilot study results, items were revised for internal validity, and a relatively satisfactory fit of the measurement model was obtained. Then, a partial metric (weak) invariance was achieved throughout the three datasets. Next, the validity of the ECC measures

was then confirmed by examining the associations between the ECC and a number of variables that had been identified as consequences of context collapse. The multi-step approach taken in this study allowed for the development of reliable ECC measures that comprehensively capture various experiential aspects of context collapse.

Another implication of this study is the recognition of audience salience as an important factor in the formation and experience of context collapse. CFA4 results and the correlation matrix for the variables used in CFA4 suggested that overall audience diversity and salient audience diversity are two different constructs, and correlate to the dimensions of ECC or consequence variables in different manners. With further studies with more rigorous tests for comparison, salient audience diversity potentially can be a measure that distinctively assesses the context collapse that derives from more impactful interaction with one's salient audience.

Utilizing three distinct datasets is another important strength of this study. Incorporating and investigating data from multiple sources enhanced the generalizability of the measurement model. Being investigated within multiple datasets, the ECC measurements can be considered as robust and dependable across diverse populations. The credibility of the study's findings, and validity and generalizability of the measurements could be achieved through the use of multiple data sources.

However, there are several limitations to consider in this study. First, the reverse-coded items within the six dimensions of ECC prominently lowered the reliability and model fit, despite the revisions made through the pilot studies. This pattern was consistently found across six ECC dimensions, as well as three datasets. Therefore, for the sake of improvement of the model fit, it was inevitable to exclude the reverse-coded items from the analysis. This may indicate that participants were having difficulty understanding the meaning of the reverse-coded

items because the reverse-coded items were not worded clearly. Alternatively, it may suggest that participants were not attentive to the survey, possibly due to its length. Despite the compensations, 30 minutes of taking the survey may have been tiring to the participants, especially if they noticed that they were shown similar statements repeatedly.

The second limitation is that both salient and overall audience diversity were not measured for the same participant. This was to reduce the fatigue of the participants, however, this caused the study not to be able to examine the differences between salient audience diversity and overall audience diversity within participants.

Lastly, this study administered a survey, thus the measurement of the structural aspects of context collapse had to rely on the participants' self-estimation of the proportion of each social group within their audience. As research has considered a wide variety of network characteristics, such as heterogeneity, modularity, and density, the estimated measure of audience diversity as an only measure may not accurately align with the actual social media audience network. Although the approach taken in this study was sufficient for developing and validating the ECC measurement and improving the existing audience diversity measure, future research could choose to combine several measurement approaches to compare self-report measures with the structural network measures.

# **Chapter 3. Context Collapse Towards Broader Implications: The False Consensus (Study 2**)

Social media has fundamentally transformed the way we communicate and interact with others and become an integral part of our daily lives. However, this new landscape has also brought challenging situations to social media users, one of which is context collapse. Context collapse occurs when different social contexts are merged into a single entity of audience (boyd, 2010; Marwick & boyd, 2011), blurring the boundaries between distinct social groups in information access and creating personal and social tensions.

Context collapse so far has been extensively studied in relation to individuals' selfpresentation on social media, as this concept was initially inspired (boyd, 2008; 2010) by Goffman (1972)'s theory of self-presentation and face-work. Research has found that context collapse can impact self-disclosure (Das & Kramer, 2013; Gil-Lopez et al., 2018; Hayes et al., 2015; Kwon & Moon, & Stefanone, 2015; Sleeper et al., 2013; Vitak, 2012; Vitak et al., 2015; Wang et al., 2016), privacy concern (Rui & Stefanone, 2013), creating social media tension (Binder et al., 2009; Vitak et al., 2015) and affecting users' social capital (Vitak, 2012).

Despite the valuable insights garnered from recent findings on context collapse's effects on self-presentation, it appears that its broader societal implications, which have been emphasized in the original conceptualization (boyd, 2010), still remain underexplored. Drawing reference from Habermas' (1991)'s idea of public sphere, boyd (2010) introduced social media as a form of networked publics and argued that social media also serves the traditional functions of publics, offering an open space for people to gather and exchange ideas through communication acts. Nowadays, people increasingly use social media as a primary source of information on public opinion (Whiting & Williams, 2013), and information they encounter on

social media is especially subject to who they are associated with on social media, which can shape their public opinion perception (Neubaum & Kramer, 2017). Context collapse, as a unique affordance of social media, may therefore play an important role in such a process of public opinion perception.

Public opinion perception refers to the individuals' subjective perceptions of the popularity and distribution of a specific opinion. Often referred to as perceptions of opinion climate, public opinion perceptions are important in the formation of public opinion. As the spiral of silence theory suggests, people who perceive their opinion to be of the minority are inclined to keep silence, while those who perceive their opinion as of the majority tend to speak out more (Noelle-Neumann, 1993). When this pattern continues, public opinion would disproportionately represent the opinion that has been spoken out more, which would be far from the actual opinion distribution.

At the level of individuals, a perceptual bias that is particularly relevant to public opinion perception is the *false consensus*, which refers to the individuals' tendency of overestimating the extent to which their attitudes, beliefs, or behaviors are shared and supported by others (Ross et al., 1977). False consensus has been extensively investigated for decades, confirming the ubiquitous existence of the human bias throughout a variety of contexts and situations (Marks & Miller, 1987). False consensus is important in public opinion perception because it biases people's judgments about what is considered as socially appropriate or deviant, popular or unpopular (Ross et al., 1977). These judgments can further bias the individuals' opinions towards important social issues (Moussaïd et al., 2013; Tsfati et al., 2014), leading to opinion expression (Dvir-Gvirsman et al., 2018; Matthes et al., 2018; Wojcieszak, 2008) and political behaviors

(Scheufele & Eveland Jr., 2001) that, when accumulated, can undermine the innate human rights and the functioning of civil societies (Bauman & Geher, 2002).

Focusing on the individual-level bias related to public opinion perceptions, this study aims to investigate whether and how different aspects of content collapse are related to the widespread overestimation bias, the false consensus. As discussed in Chapter 2, context collapse is multidimensional and incorporates both objective and subjective, structural and experiential aspects. These aspects may differently impact the false consensus. For example, when a person's social media environment exhibits a great extent of structural aspects of context collapse (i.e., audience diversity or heterogeneity), he/she would likely be exposed to a wider range of opinions regarding a variety of issues. Encountering disagreement encourages one to accurately estimate the public opinion distribution, compromising the false consensus effect (Wojcieszak & Price, 2009). Therefore, an increase in the structural aspects of context collapse may reduce false consensus.

Some experiential aspects of context collapse may also promote or hinder the accurate perceptions of one's social environment. For instance, as revealed in Chapter 2, one's perception of the diversity and multiplicity of, and the conflict between the audience may be associated with the structural diversity and the likelihood of encountering novel information and diverse viewpoints. As cross-cutting exposure promotes more accurate estimate of public opinion, increase in these perceptions can attenuate the false consensus effect. Other experiential aspects of context collapse, including imagined audience clarity, intentionality of context collapse, and the boundary-keeping efficacy, may also influence the false consensus effect. These experiential aspects relate to the sense of control in achieving communication goals and decrease one's

motivation to project their beliefs in public opinion estimation. Therefore, individuals who are high in these aspects may indicate decreased false consensus.

To investigate the association between context collapse and false consensus, three issues needed to be addressed. First, as discussed in Chapter 2, the experiential aspects of context collapse are important for a richer understanding, and their potential effects on false consensus should be investigated. Second, although false consensus can be, and has often been, studied as a generic psychological phenomenon by social psychologists (see Mullen et al., 1985 for a review), it is necessary to contextualize it in socially important topic domains in order to investigate the social implications of context collapse. Third, university students are chosen as the population of this study, because they are arguably one of the most politically active groups in civic engagement (O'Leary, 2014).

## Mechanisms of False Consensus and Context Collapse

In order to determine the relationship between context collapse on social media and the false consensus phenomenon, it is crucial to first understand what causes false consensus. Two primary explanations for false consensus have been proposed: the cognitive and motivational perspectives. The cognitive perspective focuses on how information sampling and selective exposure contribute to false consensus. Individuals who are not regularly exposed to dissenting ideas struggle to generate responses that do not align with their own beliefs, but they can easily recall information that corresponds to their own ideas or those they are frequently exposed to (Krueger, 1998; Zhang & Reid, 2013). Because of the limited cognitive resources, people tend to underestimate the prevalence of alternative viewpoints due to their limited cognitive capacity (Ross et al., 1977; Tversky & Kahneman, 1974). Therefore, from a cognitive perspective, false

consensus is more likely to occur when people are exposed to similar opinions that increase the chance of retrieval, and less likely to occur when they encounter dissenting opinions.

The motivational perspective explains that false consensus is rooted in individuals' innate need to maintain their self-esteem and appear socially appropriate (Goethals et al., 1979; Holtz & Miller, 1985; Marks, 1984). Studies have shown that people tend to overestimate the prevalence of their attitudes, particularly when they try to reduce the anxiety of their attitudes being perceived as uncommon or socially inappropriate (Marks, 1984; Sherman et al., 1984), look for social support for their opinions and a sense of belonging (Morrison & Matthes, 2011; Nir, 2011). Based on the motivation to protect their self-esteem, people take motivational reasoning when information seeking, and this often leads to the overestimation of support (Nir, 2011).

Context collapse on social media has the potential to influence both cognitive and motivational mechanisms of false consensus. With the collapse of multiple social contexts in one's social media audience, there is an increased likelihood of encountering diverse viewpoints. These encounters can increase the accessibility to more diverse opinions, thus the retrieval of those may become more feasible, compromising the false consensus effect. Empirical research has demonstrated that individuals who are exposed more frequently to dissenting opinions are likely to adopt a balanced perspective on social issues (Dvir-Gvirsman, 2014; Wojcieszak & Price, 2009). Thus, a greater extent of the structural aspects of context collapse in social media audiences has the potential to remedy false consensus.

The experiential aspects of context collapse can be related to both cognitive and motivational factors that contribute to false consensus. Perceived audience diversity and multiplicity, as well as perceived audience conflict, can be related to the cognitive mechanism of false consensus, influencing the accessibility of divergent information and potentially decreasing

the false consensus effect. In addition, factors such as imagined audience clarity, intentionality of context collapse, and boundary-keeping efficacy can be related to the motivational mechanism of false consensus. Individuals with a higher degree of these factors may possess clearer communication goals and are likely to be skilled at separately communicating only to their intended audience. This decreases the need to project their opinions onto others as a means of maintaining their self-esteem, thus decreasing the false consensus effect.

## **Context Collapse and the False Consensus**

To examine the social implications of context collapse, this study explores the relationship between context collapse and the false consensus. Cognitive perspective of false consensus is related to the cognitive limitation in and availability of cross-cutting information that exacerbates or diminishes false consensus, while motivational perspective addresses the individuals' internal motifs that facilitates the overestimation of public opinion. With the two mechanisms of false consensus, the following section discusses how structural and experiential aspects of context collapse can be related to false consensus.

#### Effects of the Structural Aspects of Contexts Collapse on False Consensus

The structural aspects of context collapse are related to the characteristics of one's audience network on social media, such as network heterogeneity, modularity, density, and diversity. These network features, as an environmental reality, reflect the people with whom the user is associated, and how likely it is for the network to consist of diverse social groups. Such structural aspects of context collapse can be related to the cognitive mechanism of false consensus. Particularly, when one has a perception of greater diversity within his/her social media audience, chances are they are likely to be exposed to a more diverse array of ideas and opinions. This in turn increases the feasibility of retrieving information that relates to the

diversity in opinions, which alleviates the false consensus effect (Wojcieszak & Price, 2009). Therefore, the following is hypothesized:

**Hypothesis 1**: Structural audience diversity will be negatively associated with the false consensus.

## Effects of Experiential Aspects of Context Collapse on False Consensus

Chapter 2 revealed the importance of the experiential aspects of context collapse and conceptualized that there are six dimensions of ECC divided by three different groups: audience boundary perceptions, imagined audience clarity, and user agency. Each group of the experiential aspects can impact false consensus, as elaborated below.

Audience Boundary Perceptions and the False Consensus. Audience boundary perceptions include perceived audience diversity, perceived audience multiplicity, and perceived audience conflict. *Perceived audience diversity* refers to the perception of dissimilarity between audience groups in their ideas, interests, opinions, and backgrounds. This can especially relate to the cognitive mechanism of false consensus, such that the increase in the perception of diversity promotes the idea regarding the existence of varying opinions, which can lessen the false consensus effect. Therefore, the following is proposed:

**Hypothesis 2**: Perceived audience diversity will be negatively associated with the false consensus.

*Perceived audience multiplicity* refers to an individual's perception of the number of distinct social groups within their social media audience. Similar to perceived audience diversity, this dimension of ECC may relate to the cognitive explanation of false consensus. The perception of a large number of different audience groups can promote the perception of divergent opinions, which facilitates the retrieval of information related to the diversity of

opinions. This, in turn, can reduce the false consensus effect. Therefore, the following is proposed:

**Hypothesis 3:** Perceived audience multiplicity will be negatively associated with the false consensus.

*Perceived audience conflict* refers to an individual's perception of the likelihood of potential conflict within their social media audience because of posting a content. When one perceives a greater potential for conflict, it is likely that the person perceives greater diversity in opinion among their audience, which increases the likelihood of offending or alienating certain audience groups. This perception of potential conflict may also promote thoughts related to the divergence of opinions, thereby lessening the false consensus effect.

**Hypothesis 4:** Perceived audience conflict will be negatively associated with the false consensus.

**Imagined Audience Clarity and the False Consensus.** The second dimension of ECC is *imagined audience clarity*, which refers to the level of clarity and specificity an individual has in their mental concept of their audience. Users on social media can differ in their level of imagined audience clarity, ranging from very specific, such as imagining a particular person as the audience, to very vague, such as not giving much thought to it. The motivational perspective of false consensus is relevant for the association between imagined audience clarity and the false consensus. Having a clearer mental picture of the audience means the user has a better understanding of various things, such as who their audience is, how the audience is composed, and what the relationships between them are. Therefore, audience clarity allows for individuals to better anticipate the consequences of their communication and adjust their behaviors on social media to appear socially appropriate. With increased control over social consequences, users

with higher imagined audience clarity are less likely to feel the need to protect their self-esteem in communicating on social media and experience negative emotions, such as fear of isolation (Neubaum & Krämer, 2017) that exacerbates false consensus. Therefore, individuals with higher imagined audience clarity are likely to indicate reduced false consensus compared to those with vaguer ideas about their audience.

**Hypothesis 5:** Imagined audience clarity will be negatively associated with the false consensus.

User Agency and the False Consensus. Finally, user agency encompasses the *intentionality of context collapse* and the *boundary-keeping efficacy*. *Intentionality of context collapse* refers to the level of purposefulness in collapsing different contexts, particularly when users intentionally create and manage their audience composition to serve specific communication needs. With greater intentionality, users may have more control over who they communicate with and what they communicate, leading to a reduced motivation to overestimate the popularity of their opinions and subsequently, a reduction in the false consensus effect.

**Hypothesis 6:** Intentionality of context collapse will be negatively associated with the false consensus.

The dimension of *boundary-keeping efficacy* pertains to the perceived control an individual has over maintaining separate boundaries between their different audiences on social media. This aspect of ECC can also have an impact on false consensus, similar to the mechanism discussed in relation to intentionality of context collapse. Those with higher boundary-keeping efficacy are likely utilizing the features of social media to selectively communicate with their intended audience while successfully keeping others from accessing their content. This level of

control can decrease the motivation to protect one's self-esteem and overestimate the popularity of their opinion, ultimately leading to a reduction in the false consensus effect.

**Hypothesis 7:** Efficacy will be negatively associated with the false consensus. **Methods** 

To investigate the relationship between various aspects of context collapse and false consensus, a two-parted survey study was conducted. False consensus measurement requires participants to indicate their own opinion and their estimates of fellow university students' opinion distribution for the identical 14 issues. Because of this, having participants answer these two questions on the same set of questionnaire was likely to influence participants' answers (common method bias, MacKenzie & Podsakoff, 2012). To prevent this, the survey was divided into two parts, where participants indicated their own opinions on the given issues in Part 1 and estimated the public opinion in Part 2, with at least 7 days in between.

## **Participants**

Participants were recruited through SONA, a platform where registered students from a west coast university in the United States were invited to participate in exchange for extra course credits. To be eligible for participation, individuals had to (1) be 18 years or older, (2) reside in the United States, (3) identify themselves as social media users, and (4) use social media at least once a week. After completing Part 1 of the survey, participants were granted access to Part 2 a week later and received 1 course credit upon completing both parts of the survey. A total of 272 participants fully completed both parts of the survey between May 2, 2022, and July 26, 2022. After assessing the quality of the data, it was found that 9 responses contained untruthful answers, as indicated by their lack of variability across items within and across constructs, despite the inclusion of reverse-coded items designed to assess participants' attention. As a result,

these responses were excluded from the analysis, resulting in a final sample of 263 observations for analysis. Demographic information for the participants is presented in Table 8.

<Table 8>

## **Measurements**

This study employed a two-part survey. The first part focused on social media use, the experiential aspects of context collapse (ECC), overall audience diversity, and participants' personal opinions on various issues. The second part included questions about salient audience diversity, estimation of public opinion, and demographic information. Overall and salient audience diversity questions were separated into the two parts of survey, to reduce participants' fatigue.

Experiential Aspects of Context Collapse. During the survey, participants were asked to rate their agreement with items related to the six dimensions of experiential aspects of context collapse (ECC) on a 7-point Likert scale, ranging from "strongly disagree (1)" to "strongly agree (7)". These ECC measures were adapted from the ones developed and validated in Study 1. *Perceived audience diversity* measures included items that assess the similarity or dissimilarity of ideas, beliefs, interests, and backgrounds within their social media audience. *Perceived audience multiplicity* measures asked participants about the number of different social groups they perceive within their audience. *Perceived audience conflict* measures aimed to evaluate participants' perception of the likelihood of conflict between groups within their audience. *Imagined audience clarity* assessed the participants' ability to clearly and specifically imagine their audience. *Intentions of context collapse* evaluated the extent to which the participants intended for context collapse within their audience. *Boundary-keeping efficacy* measured the perceived ease and level of confidence in keeping distinct audience groups separate. Each ECC

dimension contained three measurement items that were selected from Chapter 2 and are listed in Table 2.

The internal consistency of some ECC measures fell short of satisfactory levels, with alpha values lower than .7 in three ECC dimensions: perceived audience diversity ( $\alpha = .66$ ), perceived audience conflict ( $\alpha = .59$ ), and efficacy in boundary keeping ( $\alpha = .68$ ). Despite this, the measures were validated in Chapter 2, thus it was decided to proceed with the current measures.

**Structural Aspects of Context Collapse.** To measure structural aspects of context collapse, both overall audience diversity and salient audience diversity were examined using the same method as in Chapter 2. To assess *overall audience diversity*, participants were asked to spend one minute reviewing their most frequently used social media account and estimate the percentage of their audience that belongs to each of 12 social categories, such as family, friends, co-workers, and strangers. The chosen categories were based on previous research (Beam et al., 2018), but were expanded to account for potential additional social categories that participants might identify with. Participants were required to ensure that the sum of percentages equal 100 before proceeding to the next question.

Similarly, *salient audience diversity* was measured using the same method, but only for up to thirty people that participants had listed as individuals they recently interacted with. Nonhuman contacts, such as companies, news channels, and communities, were excluded, as they are less likely to have the same social relationship with the user as human contacts. Then, from the list of up to 30 individuals they had previously provided, participants were asked to select all individuals who belong to the given social category. Participants were asked to complete the same procedure for the 12 social categories previously used, one social category at a time.

To calculate both *overall* and *salient audience diversity*, Simpson's D (Beam et al., 2018) was utilized, following the same formula as in Chapter 2. This index ranges from 0 to 1, with 0 indicating no diversity within one's audience, where all friends come from a single social category, and 1 representing the greatest possible diversity, where one's social media friends are evenly distributed throughout contexts.

**False Consensus.** False consensus was measured as the correlation between one's own endorsement on a variety of social issues and the difference score of their estimation of public support and the factual consensus distributions (Krueger & Clement, 1997; Krueger & Zeiger, 1993). Survey Part 1 asked participants to provide their opinions on 14 social and political issues, with 7 related to attitudes and 7 to behaviors. Attitude-related issues pertain to social concerns in which individuals may form opinions but not necessarily act upon them, such as one's attitude about the importance of enforcing animal rights laws. Behavior-related issues refer to specific actions or conduct associated with social and political matters, such as getting an annual flu vaccine. Participants were asked to indicate their endorsement of each issue, and this information was used to create an actual consensus distribution for each topic.

In Survey Part 2, participants were asked to estimate the proportion of fellow university students who would agree with each statement on the 14 topics. The difference between the estimated proportion and the actual consensus distribution was then calculated, and a single TFCE value (Krueger & Zeiger, 1993) was created for all 14 issues for each participant, by examining the point-biserial correlation between participants' self-item endorsement (binary variable) and the difference score. Table 9 reports the selected issues and statements for recording false consensus, and descriptive statistics of false consensus.

<Table 9>

Table 10 and Table 11 reports the descriptive statistics and correlation matrix of all constructs used in this study.

<Table 10>

<Table 11>

# Results

To test the hypotheses that context collapse predicts the false consensus, a multiple regression analysis was conducted. 6 experiential aspects of context collapse and 2 dimensions of audience diversity were entered into the regression equation as independent variables, while the truly false consensus effect (TFCE) score was entered as a dependent variable. The test revealed that there was no significant association between any of the ECC dimensions or 2 types of audience diversity and the false consensus  $R^2 = 0.013$ , F(8, 253) = 0.42, p = 0.910.

Hypothesis 1 predicted a negative association between audience diversity and false consensus, but the data did not support this hypothesis, neither for overall audience diversity  $\beta$  = -0.068, t (263) = -1.02, p = 0.309 nor salient audience diversity  $\beta$  = 0.064, t (263) = 0.992, p = 0.322. Perceived audience diversity was not a significant predictor of false consensus,  $\beta$  = -0.047, t (261) = -0.696, p = 0.487, thus data did not support Hypothesis 2. Perceived audience multiplicity did not significantly predict false consensus,  $\beta$  = -0.004. t (264) = -0.057, p = 0.955, thus Hypothesis 3 was not supported. Perceived audience conflict was not a significant predictor of false consensus, either  $\beta$  = -0.018, t (264) = -0.264, p = 0.792, thus the data did not support Hypothesis 4.

Hypothesis 5 predicted that imagined audience clarity would positively predict false consensus, but data did not support the hypothesis,  $\beta = 0.007$ . t (264) = 0.097, p = 0.923. Hypothesis 6 predicted that intentionality of context collapse would positively predict the false consensus, but the data did not support the hypothesis,  $\beta = 0.014$ , t (264) = 0.206, p = 0.837. Lastly, it was predicted that the efficacy of boundary-keeping would positively predict the false consensus, but the data was not consistent with the prediction,  $\beta = 0.016$ . t (264) = 0.244, p = 807. The multiple regression model coefficients are reported in Table 12.

$$<$$
Table 12 $>$ 

# Discussion

This study investigated the associations between the structural and experiential aspects of context collapse and the false consensus. The findings of multiple regression analysis did not show any significant association between the experiential or structural aspects of context collapse and false consensus. This may be due to the lack of specificity regarding the issues under investigation, and measures of context collapse and false consensus being not issuespecific, accordingly. With the current study design and measures, it is difficult to determine whether context collapse affected the amount of exposure to more diverse opinions regarding a specific issue, for which the false consensus was measured. To address this limitation, future research could focus on a particular social issue, which will enable researchers to track changes in both context collapse and false consensus regarding the issue. For instance, previous study has shown that participation in online discussions with ideologically homogeneous groups can increase false consensus on the topics particularly relevant to the ones they discussed online (Wojcieszak, 2008). Therefore, researchers must consider measuring the experiential and structural aspects of context collapse in a way that is tailored to a specific issue, while also assessing the diversity of opinions and ideas related to that issue within their social media audience. To accomplish this, researchers could focus on topics that provoke active participation from social media users, such as political events.

Although the present study did not find significant relationships between the hypothesized variables, further research can be conducted to establish the links between various dimensions of context collapse and cognitive or motivational mechanisms of false consensus. Future studies could adopt more rigorous designs and control for confounding variables to better understand the specific mechanisms at play. One possible approach is to focus on a specific issue and track changes in both context collapse and false consensus through an experiment. Utilizing longitudinal studies can also be effective in investigating these relationships.

Furthermore, when the study aimed to differentiate between overall and salient audience diversity, it was assumed that the most recently interacted audience would have a stronger impact on users' experience of context collapse. However, the patterns of association that the two types of audience diversity had with the consequence variables were not sufficient to conclude that the salient audience held greater personal significance in the formation of or changes in false consensus. To test whether overall and salient audience diversity have different effects, future research should focus on a specific issue and directly assess the opinion diversity of overall versus salient audience that specifically relate to that issue. Additionally, the study did not consider that the 30 most recently interacted audience members may not exactly equate to the audience with greater presence for the users, nor the list constantly changes over time. Instead of relying on temporal proximity of interaction, researchers could utilize alternative measures of salient audience that captures relational aspects. For example, researchers could ask participants to recall and list those who they think they often interact with on social media, or those they perceive greater personal importance in social media interactions.

# **Chapter 4. Conclusion**

This dissertation has pointed out two important problems regarding context collapse research. One is that most empirical research has predominantly focused on the structural social media environment. Such a focus is an oversimplification of the rich concept of context collapse and has significantly narrowed our understanding of the phenomenon. There has yet been a thorough integration of concepts that incorporates various aspects of context collapse. Another limitation is that the range of empirical studies has been mostly limited to investigating the effects of context collapse on different aspects of self-presentation, despite that context collapse can determine more various aspects of social media communication, especially with societal implications.

To address the problems with the current research, this dissertation had two main objectives. The first objective was to integrate the scattered theoretical and conceptual discussions of context collapse and develop a measurement that captures experiential aspects of context collapse and complement the existing structural aspects measures. To achieve a more nuanced understanding of context collapse, the lens of affordance perspective (Faraj & Azad, 2012) was applied to recognize human agency in social media communication. Reviewing the existing literature on context collapse, it was suggested that context collapse is a crucial affordance of social media that affects the users' communication experiences. The resulting measurement, reported in Chapter 2, includes not only the structural aspects of context collapse but also its experiential aspects that reflect users' experiences and interpretations. The study was conducted rigorously, with multiple pilot tests to assess internal consistency and revise problematic items. External validity was ensured by using three different datasets with ample participants, and the developed measurement was validated through confirmatory factor analysis

(CFA) with variables that have been identified as consequences of structural aspects of context collapse. Multiple iterations of CFA resulted in a validated measurement that achieved partial metric measurement invariance and allowed for examining the associations between the developed ECC constructs and existing outcome variables.

The second limitation in the current empirical research is the primary focus on selfpresentation as the consequence of context collapse. To address this issue, the second objective of this dissertation was to explore the relationship between context collapse and other concepts that have broader societal implications beyond individual self-presentation. Chapter 3 presented an empirical study that investigated the association between various aspects of context collapse, which were conceptually integrated and empirically validated in Chapter 2, and the pervasive bias of overestimating public opinion, known as the false consensus effect. Truly false consensus effect was regressed on six dimensions of ECC and two dimensions of structural audience diversity, but the results of the multiple regression did not reveal a significant relationship between context collapse and the false consensus. Despite this, the study has contributed to expanding the scope of context collapse research by examining its potential implications beyond individual level.

The two studies reported in this dissertation have limitations that should be acknowledged. In the first study, participants may have disengaged from the survey, which led to a measurement issue. While the issue was resolved by eliminating the items that harmed internal consistency, it could have been prevented by distributing a more concise survey. Furthermore, not measuring overall audience diversity and salient audience diversity for the same participants prevented a direct comparison between the two measures. Also, to enhance the measurement of structural aspects of context collapse, more diverse structural context collapse measures related
to the network characteristics could have been employed to identify the relationships between different types of context collapse. This could help enhance our understanding of how different dimensions of context collapse are related to each other.

The second study may have been impacted by a design issue that potentially influenced the nonsignificant findings. Specifically, the measurement of the truly false consensus effect (TFCE) involves aggregating false consensus across various issues, while context collapse was not measured related to that particular issue as well. As a result, it was difficult to determine whether context collapse related to a specific issue is linked to an individual's overestimation of public opinion on that particular issue. Therefore, it is critical for future research to assess the significance of issue-specificity when examining the social implications of context collapse. In addition, to measure the issue-specific false consensus, it is recommended to use the overestimation score instead of TFCE, by subtracting the actual consensus distribution from the participant's estimation of public opinion distribution.

To further the understanding of context collapse, future research could build on the conceptual integration achieved in this dissertation. The experiential aspects of context collapse (ECC) measures developed and validated in Study 1 can also serve as valuable tools for empirical research, as they comprehensively reflect the multidimensionality of context collapse. However, there are a few recommendations for future research. Firstly, Study 1 provided a crude and rudimentary understanding of the relationships between the experiential and structural context collapse. The correlation patterns were also somewhat disorganized. To gain a more precise comprehension of the relationships, particularly regarding how the experiential aspects of context collapse relate to the consequence variables associated with the structural aspects of

62

context collapse, it is necessary to systematically investigate the relationships between different dimensions of ECC and those outcome variables. The correlational observations obtained in Study 1 can guide future empirical research aimed at the causal investigation of the effects of ECC.

Another limitation is that both Study 1 and 2 examined context collapse for a single, frequently used social media platform. Although participants were asked to identify their primary social media platform, the qualitative distinctions between different types of social media were not taken into account. Depending on the types and features of social media platforms, the pattern of structural context collapse, as well as how people experience and subjectively interpret context collapse, may vary. For example, individuals may use certain social media platforms primarily for professional purposes, while use others primarily to share and consume entertaining content with strangers. These differences in the purpose of using social media, the type and range of content to which users are exposed, who they interact with, and the level of psychological discomfort encountered in the face of context collapse may all differ based on the types and characteristics of social media platforms in their studies or considering the key distinctions between social media platforms that may influence the pattern and experience of context collapse.

One interesting yet crucial question remains: will context collapse persist, and if so, how will it evolve, and what measures will people take to address the changes? Facebook, one of the earliest and most popular social media platforms, has been particularly prone to context collapse because people use it not only to connect with new individuals online but also to enhance or maintain their offline relationships. However, many people are migrating to newer social media,

63

thus context collapse can take different paths depending on how people use those and who they interact and build relationships with. In addition, when people adopted those newer social media platforms such as Instagram or TikTok, they may have been more discerning about whom they choose to connect with, at times even rejecting or ignoring requests from those whom they do not wish to engage with. This tendency can lead to the tendency of associating only with the likeminded individuals, and can possibly impede with context collapse, creating a so-called "echo chamber" of social media and discouraging exposure to diverse opinions and ideas. If such pattern of selective exposure persist, context collapse may become less prominent in the future, along with the advent of the newer social media, particularly because social media algorithms can selectively promote content that aligns with users' preferences and attitudes (Cinelli, Morales, Galeazzi, & Starnini, 2021) while muting others that does not. Researchers should thus remain vigilant about the possibilities and the future of context collapse. In doing so, investigating context collapse or comparing it across multiple platforms is crucial, because the qualitative differences in context collapse across different platforms can in turn affect the way people communicate and exchange influences.

# **Tables and Figures**

# Table 1

# Demographics of the Main Study Participants (Three Samples)

	So ( <i>N</i> =	Sona ( <i>N</i> = 537)		urk 645)	Pro: ( <i>N</i> =	lific 708)
-	М	SD	М	SD	М	SD
Ag	e					
	19.96	2.40	40.77	12.20	37.40	13.17
	Ν	%	Ν	%	Ν	%
Se	κ.					
Female	382	71.14	363	56.28	337	47.60
Male	142	26.44	278	43.10	353	49.86
Other	13	2.42	4	0.62	18	2.54
Race/Eth	nicity					
American Indian or Alaskan Native	0	0	9	1.40	7	0.99
Asian	277	51.58	36	5.58	42	5.93
Black or African American	4	0.74	29	4.50	70	9.89
Hispanic/Latino	92	17.13	18	2.79	65	9.18
White	103	19.18	503	77.98	506	71.47
Other	61	11.36	50	7.75	18	2.54
Educa	tion					
Education less than or equal to 11th grade	7	1.30	11	1.76	10	1.4
Graduated high school or equivalent	212	39.48	48	7.44	136	19.21
Some college, no degree	237	44.13	84	13.02	163	23.02
Associate's degree, occupational	7	1.30	28	4.34	33	4.66
Associate's degree, academic	34	6.33	29	4.50	41	5.79
Bachelor's degree	40	7.45	312	48.37	244	34.46
Master's degree	0	0.00	115	17.83	59	8.33
Professional degree	0	0.00	9	1.40	7	0.99
Doctoral degree	0	0.00	9	1.40	15	2.12

	So ( <i>N</i> =	na 537)	Mt ( <i>N</i> =	urk 645)	Protection (N = 1)	lific 708)
In	come					
Less than \$20,000	67	12.48	46	7.13	98	13.84
\$20,000 to \$39,999	62	11.55	124	19.22	139	19.63
\$40,000 to \$59,999	61	11.40	158	24.50	132	18.64
\$60,000 to \$79,999	46	8.57	128	19.84	119	16.81
\$80,000 to \$99,999	58	10.80	81	12.56	63	8.90
\$100,000 to \$119,999	60	11.17	49	7.60	43	6.07
\$120,000 to \$139,999	20	3.72	20	3.10	42	5.93
\$140,000 to \$159,999	35	6.52	19	2.95	29	4.10
\$160,000 to \$179,999	13	2.42	5	0.78	12	1.69
\$180,000 to \$199,999	20	3.72	4	0.62	6	0.85
\$200,000 to \$219,999	22	4.10	3	0.47	4	0.56
\$220,000 to \$239,999	11	2.05	3	0.47	1	0.14
\$240,000 to \$259,999	13	2.42	1	0.16	5	0.71
\$260,000 to \$279,999	9	1.68	0	0.00	4	0.56
\$280,000 to \$299,999	7	1.30	1	0.16	2	0.28
\$300,000 or above	33	6.15	3	0.47	9	1.27

# Initial Items of the Experiential Aspects of Context Collapse Measurement (CFA1)

		Items		CF	A1 Load	ling	CFA2 Loading			
	Pilot 1	Pilot 2	Main Study	Sona	Mturk	Prolific	Sona	Mturk	Prolific	
			Diversity (D)							
D1	(same)	(same)	My audience(s) of this social media account have very different ideas about what is right or wrong.	.435	.761	.678	.628	.811	.762	
D2	People in my audience(s) of this social media account have different expectations.	People in my audience(s) of this social media account are interested in different things	People in my audience(s) of this social media account are interested in very different things.	.453	.702	.560	.463	.677	.593	
D4	(same)	People who follow me on this social media account believe in different ideas.	People who follow me on this social media account have very different beliefs.	.580	.853	.743	.744	.852	.829	
D3	(same)	My audience(s) of this social media account have similar backgrounds.	My audience(s) of this social media account have very similar backgrounds. (rc)	.488	.168	.605				
D5	(same)	My audience(s) of this social media account would hold opinions similar to one another.	My audience(s) of this social media account hold similar opinions to one another. (rc)	.635	.251	.758				
D6	(same)	(same)	People in my audience(s) of this social media account are generally alike. (rc)	.639	.19	.762				
[alpha]	[.714]	[.702]		[.704]	[.714]	[.838]	[.629]	[.817]	[.763]	

	Multiplicity (M)													
M1	(same)	(same)	There are many different audiences of this social media account.	.747	.802	.84	.808	.855	.883					
M2	(same)	(same)	I have multiple audiences on this social media account.	.792	.866	.894	.801	.867	.859					
M4	(same)	(same)	My audience of this social media account is composed of multiple groups of people.	.649	.787	.823	.685	.807	.848					
М3	There are only a few different groups in the audience(s) of this social media account.	There are only one or two different audiences of this social media account.	There is only one audience of this social media account. (rc)	.749	.570	.864								
M5	(same)	(same)	I do NOT have multiple audiences in this social media account. (rc)	.732	.670	.825								
M6	There aren't many different audiences of my posts on this social media account.	I only have a single group of audience on this social media account.	I only have a single group of audience on this social media account. (rc)	.740	.577	.831								
[alpha]	[.833]	[.774]		[.875]	[.871]	[.937]	[.807]	[.879]	[.897]					
			Clarity (CL)											
CL1	(same)	(same)	I have a clear idea of who can see my posts on this social media account.	.823	.853	.835	.84	.864	.85					
CL2	(same)	(same)	I know who would be seeing my posts on this social media account.	.761	.832	.839	.782	.834	.868					

\_

CL4	(same)	(same)	I can easily imagine who are the people that can see my posts on this social media account.	.789	.811	.816	.78	.811	.785
CL3	(same)	I only have a vague idea about the identities of those who see my posts on this social media account.	My idea about the identity of those who see my posts on this social media account is rather vague. (rc)	.531	.342	.745			
CL5	(same)	(same)	I have difficulty imagining who would be able to see my posts on this social media account. (rc)	.673	.379	.787			
CL6	(same)	(same)	I am not certain about the backgrounds of people who can see my posts on this social media account. (rc)	.498	.402	.685			
[alpha]	[.859]	[.824]		[.835]	[.807]	[.903]	[.842]	[.874]	[.872]
			Conflict (CF)						
CF1	In my audience(s) of this social media account, there are groups of people with conflicting ideas and opinions.	My audience(s) of this social media account would disagree with each other.	My audience(s) of this social media account disagree with each other.	.586	.488	.774	.692	.574	.815
CF4	When my friends on this social media account post something, they will be concerned about appearing inappropriate to certain groups of people.	Among my audience(s) on this social media account, things that are appropriate to one group could be inappropriate to other groups.	Groups in the audience(s) of this social media account do NOT get along with each other.	.613	.188	.705	.734	.713	.712
CF5	(same)	(same)	A post considered appropriate in one of my audience groups of this	.326	.313	.581	.399	.734	.607

\_

\_

			social media account can be considered inappropriate by other groups of my audience(s).						
CF2	(same)	Groups in the audience(s) of this social media account would get along with each other	Among my audience(s) on this social media account, things that are appropriate to one group are also appropriate to other groups. (rc)	.394	.565	.517			
CF3	(same)	(same)	If the groups in the audience(s) of this social media account came together, they will be in harmony. (rc)	.544	.760	.687			
CF6	I don't see that groups in the audience(s) of this social media account would be conflicting in their opinions.	My audience(s) of this social media account would generally disagree with each other.	My audience(s) of this social media account agree with each other. (rc)	.628	.783	.795			
[alpha]	[.593]	[.711]		[.675]	[.704]	[.830]	[.611]	[.713]	[.735]
			Intent (I)						
I1	(same)	(same)	The current composition of the audience(s) of this social media account is what I intended.	.580	.839	.808	.789	.840	.833
Ι3	I carefully planned and managed to have the current makeup of my audience(s) on this social media account.	I planned and managed to have the current makeup of my audience(s) on this social media account.	I planned and managed to have the current makeup of my audience(s) on this social media account.	.754	.831	.871	.795	.844	.825

I4	(same)	(same)	I intended to have the current audience makeup on this social media account.	.715	.838	.842	.829	.867	.897
12	The current backgrounds of my audience(s) on this social media account aren't what I intended.	The current makeup of my social media audience(s) is NOT what I intended.	The current makeup of my social media audience(s) is NOT what I intended. (rc)	.611	.379	.723			
15	(same)	(same)	The composition of the audiences on this social media account is NOT the result of my planning. (rc)	.548	.636	.888			
I6	(same)	(same)	I did NOT intentionally manage the makeup of the audience(s) on this social media account. (rc)	.702	.628	.849			
[alpha	] [.793]	[.869]		[.874]	[.861]	[.930]	[.844]	[.883]	[.886]
			Efficacy (E)						
E3									
	I have control over showing my posts selectively to groups of people that I intended to reach on this social media account.	I have control over showing my posts only to the groups of people that I want to reach on this social media account.	I have control over showing my posts only to the groups of people that I want to reach on this social media account.	.754	.841	.815	.722	.799	.81
E4	I have control over showing my posts selectively to groups of people that I intended to reach on this social media account. (same)	I have control over showing my posts only to the groups of people that I want to reach on this social media account. (same)	I have control over showing my posts only to the groups of people that I want to reach on this social media account. I am confident that I can keep distinct audience groups separate in viewing my posts on this social media account.	.754 .715	.841	.815 .822	.722 .776	.799 .864	.81 .854

E5	I am not confident that I can communicate only to the intended audience(s) on this social media account.	I feel I do NOT have control over who can and can't see my posts on this social media account.	I feel I do NOT have control over who can and can't see my posts on this social media account. (rc)	.548	.434	.768			
E1	It is difficult for me to communicate separately to different audience groups on this social media account.	It would be difficult for me to separate my contents for different audience(s) of this social media account.	It would be difficult for me to separate my contents for different audience(s) of this social media account. (rc)	.580	.425	.767			
E2	I find it challenging to make my posts on this social media account visible only to the ones that I intended to reach.	It would NOT be easy to make my posts on this social media account visible only to the ones that I intend to reach.	It would NOT be easy to make my posts on this social media account visible only to the ones that I intend to reach. (rc)	.611	.484	.783			
[alpha]	[.692]	[.858]		[.815]	[.822]	[.905]	[.786]	[.855]	[.859]

#### **CFA3** Loading SONA Mturk Prolific Instructions / Scale Labels Items Self-disclosure (SD) I often discuss my feelings about myself on .937 .970 .970 To what extent do you agree or SD1 disagree with the following social media. statements? I often talk about my feelings about myself .957 .951 .951 SD2 on social media. Strongly disagree (1) Strongly agree (7) I don't often talk about myself on social .722 .629 .629 SD3 media\*. Intended disclosure (ID) When I'm self-disclosing on social media, .632 .709 .709 To what extent do you agree or ID1 I'm consciously aware of what I'm revealing. disagree with the following statements? When I express my personal feelings on .810 .812 .812 ID2 social media, I am always aware of what Strongly disagree (1) I'm doing and saying. Strongly agree (7) .705 When I reveal my feelings about myself on .706 .706 ID3 social media, I consciously intend to do so. Bridging social capital (BSC) BSC1 Interacting with people on social media .797 .791 .791 To what extent do you agree or makes me interested in things that happen disagree with the following outside where I live every day. statements? BSC2 Interacting with people on social media .882 .765 .765 Strongly disagree (1) makes me want to try new things. Strongly agree (7) BSC3 Interacting with people on social media .684 .611 .611 makes me interested in what people unlike me are thinking. BSC4 Talking with people on social media makes .748 .757 .757 me curious about other places in the world. Privacy concern (PC) PC1 I am careful in what I post to social media .584 .651 To what extent do you agree or .651 because I worry about people who are not disagree with the following my Friends seeing it. statements? Concerns about the privacy of content PC2 .823 .883 .883 Strongly disagree (1) posted to social media keep me from Strongly agree (7) posting frequently.

#### Descriptive Statistics of the Variables Used for Assessing Construct Validity

PC3	Concerns about the privacy of content posted to social media keep me from posting personal information.	.804	.770	.770	
	Social media tension: self (STS)				
STS1	Social blunders	.662	.707	.707	How often have you experienced
STS2	Damaging gossip	.843	.780	.780	includes yourself?
STS3	Breaches of trust	.826	.876	.876	Never (1) Always (5)
	Social media tension: others (STO)				
STO1	Social blunders	.765	.782	.782	How often have you experienced
STO2	Damaging gossip	.899	.795	.795	amongst others?
STO3	Breaches of trust	0.891	0.897	0.897	Never (1) Always (5)

	χ2 (df)	p	CFI	TLI	RMSEA (95% CI)	SRMR	Scaled $\Delta \chi^2$ ( <i>df</i> )	р
CFA1								
Sona (N = 537)	1570.39 (579)	<.001	.839	.825	.061 (.058, .065)	.064		
Mturk (N = 645)	7029.907 (579)	<.001	.496	.451	.144 (.141, .147)	.190		
Prolific (N = 708)	1566.572 (579)	<.001	.926	.919	.055 (.051, .058)	.046		
CFA2								
Sona (N = 537)	196.610 (120)	<.001	.971	.963	.037 (.027, .046)	.047		
Mturk (N = 645)	275.116 (120)	<.001	.967	.963	.048 (.040, .055)	.041		
Prolific ( $N = 708$ )	277.723 (120)	<.001	.972	.964	.047 (.040, .054)	.037		
CFA2 invariance test								
Configural invariance	866.202 (360)	<.001	.968	.959	.047 (.043, .051)	.041		
Metric invariance	939.684 (384)	<.001	.967	.960	.047 (.043, .050)	.042	73.48 (24)	<.001
Partial metric invariance	893.462 (378)	<.001	.967	.960	.047 (.043, .050)	.042	27.26 (18)	.074
CFA3								
Sona (N = 537)	845.621 (563)	<.001	.961	.954	.033 (.028, .037)	.042		
Mturk (N = 645)	1266.540 (563)	<.001	.942	.931	.046 (.043, .049)	.049		
Prolific (N = 708)	1046.454 (563)	<.001	.961	.954	.037 (.034, .041)	.036		
CFA4								
Sona (N = 537)	1597.247 (1176)	<.001	.946	.935	.038 (.033, .043)	.051		
Mturk (N = 645)	1941.401 (1176)	<.001	.940	.928	.046 (.043, .050)	.054		
Prolific (N = 708)	1782.877 (1176)	<.001	.954	.945	.040 (.036, .043)	.042		

Test Statistics and Model Fit Indices of All Confirmatory Factor Analysis Iterations

*Note.* The scaled  $\Delta \chi^2$  were compared between the configural invariance model and the metric invariance model, as well as between the configural invariance model and the partial weak invariance model.

Var	iable		Sc	ona			Mt	urk		Prolific			
		Est.	Std.err	Ζ	$p(> \mathbf{z} )$	Est.	Std.err	Ζ	$p(> \mathbf{z} )$	Est.	Std.err	Ζ	$p(> \mathbf{z} )$
Diversit	ty												
	D1	1											
	D2	0.678	0.028	23.91	<.001								
	D4	1.042	0.034	30.464	<.001								
Multipl	icity												
	M1	1											
	M2	0.992	0.024	41.474	<.001								
	M4*	0.736	0.045	16.226	<.001	0.825	0.032	25.404	<.001	0.9	0.03	29.912	<.001
Clarity													
	CL1	1											
	CL2	1.012	0.026	39.409	<.001								
	CL4	0.884	0.024	37.55	<.001								
Conflic	t												
	CF1	1											
	CF4*	1.083	0.114	9.468	<.001	1.265	0.103	12.251	<.001	0.836	0.049	17.233	<.001
	CF5*	0.721	0.099	7.303	<.001	1.339	0.108	12.399	<.001	0.931	0.063	14.882	<.001
Intentio	nality												
	I1	1											
	I3	1.171	0.030	39.506	<.001								
	I4	1.134	0.027	41.524	<.001								
Efficacy	у												
	E3	1											
	E4	1.112	0.032	34.506	<.001								
	E6	1.044	0.032	32.784	<.001								

#### CFA2 Partial Metric Invariance Results

Note. Parameters with asterisk (\*) are freed to vary across datasets.

#### Correlation Matrices of Latent Variables in CFA3

		Diversity	Multiplicity	clarity	conflict	intent	efficacy	self- disclosure	Intended disclosure	Bridging social capital	Privacy concern	Social media tension: self	Social media tension: other
_		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
1	Sona	-											
	Mturk Prolific												
2	Sona	.372***	-										
	Mturk Prolific	.505*** .448***											
3	Sona	.313***	.176***	-									
	Mturk Prolific	.575*** .545***	.361*** .378***										
4	Sona	.076	.095*	140**	-								
	Mturk Prolific	.054 088*	.024 036	082* 181***									
5	Sona	036	01	051	.286***	-							
	Mturk Prolific	.06 146***	.045 119**	06 337***	.367*** .387***								
6	Sona	.142***	.091*	.049	.285***	.244***	-						
	Mturk Prolific	.251*** .049	.234*** .07	.093* 058	.324*** .339***	.467*** .336***							
7	Sona	.027	.101*	.165***	003	.159***	.148***	-					
	Mturk Prolific	.325*** .032	.284*** .138***	.125** .055	.183*** .082*	.289*** .078*	.323*** .114**						
8	Sona	.02	.110*	08	.148***	.087*	.056	164***	-				
	Mturk Prolific	063 048	.082* .107**	06 094*	.167*** .223***	.004 .111**	.047 .084*	133*** 035					
9	Sona	.067	.211***	.022	.026	.078	.067	.101*	.264***	-			
	Mturk Prolific	.241*** .130***	.334*** .265***	.120** .089*	.197*** .035	.185*** .027	.205*** .062	.326*** .245***	.283*** .201***				
10	)Sona	.065	027	019	066	01	043	257***	.133**	.07	-		
	Mturk Prolific	.215*** .087*	.109** .013	.173*** .044	.022 084*	.092* 03	.047 066	043 327***	.021 .078*	.102** 035			
11	Sona	.015	.087*	.148***	157***	.044	008	.219***	07	.125**	.044	-	
	Mturk Prolific	.424*** .155***	.238*** .171***	.410*** .161***	.047 028	.239*** 058	.271*** 015	.372*** .225***	172*** 102**	.182*** .200***	.239*** 06		
12	2Sona	007	.025	.06	07	0	.045	.06	.111**	.091*	011	.448***	-
	Mturk Prolific	.254*** .05	.124** .074	.293*** .186***	.059 042	.105** 144***	.120** 090*	.160*** .032	009 .001	.218*** .128***	.252*** .004	.679*** .506***	

Correlation Matrix of Latent Variables Used in CFA4

	Diversity	Multiplicity	Clarity	Conflict	Intent	Efficacy	Self- disclosure	Intended disclosure	Bridging social capital	Privacy concern	Social media tension: self	Social media tension: other	Overall diversity
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
1	-	0.323***	0.259***	0.048	-0.005	0.129*	-0.009	0.013	0.029	0.123*	0.091	0.072	0.116
		0.568***	0.606***	0.121*	0.121*	0.285***	0.349***	-0.093	0.282***	0.180***	0.430***	0.219***	0.400***
		0.456***	0.548***	-0.079	-0.146**	0.058	0.053	0.002	0.149**	0.085	0.136**	0.051	0.101
2	0.418***	-	0.138*	0.119	0.072	0.112	0.076	0.114	0.240***	0.054	0.059	0.072	0.220***
	0.443***		0.397***	0.008	0.04	0.202***	0.318***	0.073	0.408***	0.121*	0.243***	0.157**	0.328***
	0.441***		0.406***	0.003	-0.125*	0.095	0.117*	0.113*	0.251***	0.076	0.158**	0.04	0.169**
3	0.363***	0.214***	-	-0.157*	-0.039	0.107	0.053	-0.033	0.026	-0.021	0.202***	0.134*	0.112
	0.537***	0.325***		0.012	0.054	0.181***	0.145**	-0.039	0.234***	0.156**	0.461***	0.291***	0.317***
	0.541***	0.348***		-0.150**	-0.313***	-0.021	0.095	-0.067	0.106*	0.01	0.192***	0.196***	0.06
4	0.104	0.07	-0.125*	-	0.305***	0.255***	0.022	0.118	0.088	-0.129*	-0.234***	-0.172**	0.186**
	-0.023	0.04	-0.190***		0.339***	0.350***	0.114*	0.199***	0.143**	0.134*	0.066	0.044	0.162**
	-0.098	-0.075	-0.215***		0.355***	0.309***	0.067	0.245***	0.012	-0.042	-0.033	-0.016	0.101
5	-0.066	-0.092	-0.064	0.262***	-	0.130*	0.096	0.104	0.114	0.004	0.059	-0.024	0.092
	-0.004	0.048	-0.179**	0.397***		0.415***	0.282***	0.069	0.223***	0.133*	0.234***	0.123*	0.124*
	-0.146**	-0.113*	-0.364***	0.419***		0.335***	-0.01	0.084	0	0	-0.102	-0.207***	0.057
6	0.153*	0.072	-0.009	0.314***	0.351***	-	0.101	0.052	0.075	-0.017	0.032	0.08	0.096
	0.215***	0.265***	-0.002	0.295***	0.518***		0.352***	0.059	0.165**	0.039	0.270***	0.115*	0.292***
	0.041	0.047	-0.095	0.370***	0.337***		0.073	0.08	-0.011	-0.04	-0.054	-0.116*	0.125*
7	0.057	0.124*	0.265***	-0.033	0.213***	0.185**	-	-0.175**	0.082	-0.306***	0.111	0.042	-0.015
	0.300***	0.253***	0.105	0.255***	0.295***	0.295***		-0.125*	0.318***	0.101	0.354***	0.143**	0.387***
	0.007	0.160**	0.002	0.1	0.182***	0.172**		-0.089	0.264***	-0.386***	0.282***	0.081	0.108*
8	0.026	0.107	-0.122*	0.181**	0.073	0.062	-0.153*	-	0.183**	0.175**	-0.084	0.115	0.014
	-0.024	0.092	-0.08	0.132*	-0.061	0.035	-0.140*		0.287***	0.051	-0.166**	0.003	-0.114*
	-0.094	0.102	-0.122*	0.205***	0.136*	0.09	0.009		0.148**	0.072	-0.098	-0.055	0.017
9	0.103	0.181**	0.017	-0.043	0.042	0.06	0.119*	0.344***	-	0.116	0.088	0.038	0.129*
	0.196***	0.262***	-0.004	0.255***	0.148**	0.247***	0.334***	0.280***		0.231***	0.221***	0.254***	$0.188^{***}$
	0.109*	0.281***	0.07	0.06	0.057	0.138*	0.229***	0.254***		-0.048	0.185***	0.098	0.056
10	0.013	-0.106	-0.016	0.004	-0.021	-0.064	-0.210***	0.094	0.024	-	0.129*	-0.058	0
	0.257***	0.098	0.193***	-0.099	0.052	0.054	-0.187***	-0.013	-0.032		0.255***	0.292***	0.270***
	0.091	-0.053	0.086	-0.129*	-0.063	-0.098	-0.254***	0.086	-0.021		-0.101	-0.042	0.066
11	-0.052	0.114	0.1	-0.077	0.032	-0.043	0.317***	-0.059	0.161**	-0.037	-	0.446***	0.036
	0.415***	0.234***	0.347***	0.024	0.245***	0.272**	0.392***	-0.178**	0.138*	0.223***		0.696***	0.405***
	0.174**	0.185***	0.132*	-0.024	-0.016	0.02	0.174**	-0.105	0.217***	-0.02		0.531***	0.064
12	-0.085	-0.026	-0.013	0.053	0.031	0.017	0.085	0.10/	0.148*	0.035	0.451***	-	-0.064
	0.290***	0.089	0.292***	0.074	0.083	0.124*	0.180**	-0.019	0.176**	0.208***	0.657***		0.210***
	0.048	0.10/*	0.178**	-0.067	-0.081	-0.068	-0.015	0.049	0.160**	0.052	0.483***		-0.09
S.	-0.002	0.011	0.043	-0.017	0.029	0.051	0.013	-0.089	-0.165**	-0.018	0.068	-0.052 -	-
div	0.199***	0.029	0.193***	0.097	0.146*	0.175**	0.153**	-0.155**	-0.002	0.156**	0.141*	-0.031	
	0.043	0.026	-0.023	0.174**	0.162**	0.147**	0.07	-0.108*	0.007	0.124*	0.028	-0.077	

*Note.* In the upper-right quadrant, the correlation matrix presents overall audience diversity, while the lower-left quadrant displays salient audience diversity. Each cell in the matrix contains three correlation values, indicating the correlation within each of the three datasets.

# Descriptive Statistics of the Student Sample in Chapter 3

	Student Sample (N = 2	:64)
_	М	SD
Age	19.95	1.84
Sex	N	%
Female	177	67.3
Male	83	31.6
Other	3	1.1
Race/Ethnicity	N	%
American Indian or Alaskan Native	0	0
Asian	126	47.9
Black or African American	6	2.3
Hispanic/Latino	46	17.5
White	44	16.7
Other	41	15.6
Income	N	%
Less than \$20,000	45	17.1
\$20,000 to \$39,999	28	10.6
\$40,000 to \$59,999	26	9.9
\$60,000 to \$79,999	25	9.5
\$80,000 to \$99,999	24	9.1
\$100,000 to \$119,999	18	6.8
\$120,000 to \$139,999	15	5.7
\$140,000 to \$159,999	10	3.8
\$160,000 to \$179,999	6	2.3
\$180,000 to \$199,999	8	3.0
\$200,000 to \$219,999	16	6.1
\$220,000 to \$239,999	3	1.1
\$240,000 to \$259,999	8	3.0
\$260,000 to \$279,999	5	1.9
\$280,000 to \$299,999	2	0.8
\$300,000 or above	24	9.1

#### List of Social and Political Issues Used to Measure False Consensus

	Differen	ce Score
Issues	М	SD
Attitude-related issues		
Banning abortion	26.37	32.71
Legalization of prostitution	-5.21	27.39
Legalization of recreational use of psychedelic mushrooms	-0.79	29.91
Mandating gender-neutral bathrooms in public schools	-16.70	29.91
Affirmative action on university admission	-16.41	24.97
Banning plastic straws at restaurants and cafes	2.28	24.32
Reinforcing laws about animal rights	-12.40	21.42
Behavior-related issues		
Getting flu vaccines every year	-3.54	20.62
Consent to posthumous organ donation	-18.15	22.20
Bringing reusable bags for grocery shopping	-17.67	19.49
Recreational use of marijuana	4.30	19.49
Practice of open relationships	-11.45	25.59
Consumption of genetically modified food	-8.34	23.68
Practicing vegetarianism	-25.45	22.93

*Note.* Different score indicates the difference between participants' estimates of fellow students' public opinion and the actual consensus distribution.

Descriptive Statistics of the Constructs Used in Chapter 3

	М	SD	Alpha
Perceived audience diversity	4.5	1.1	0.66
Perceived audience multiplicity	5.1	1.2	0.77
Perceived audience conflict	3.7	0.99	0.59
Imagined audience clarity	5.1	1.3	0.86
Intentionality	4.4	1.2	0.80
Efficacy	4.4	1.2	0.68
Overall audience diversity	0.63	0.22	
Salient audience diversity	0.44	0.48	
Truly false consensus effect	-0.21	0.37	

	Diversity	Multiplicity	Conflict	Clarity	Intent	Efficacy	Overall	Salient	TFCE
							D.	D.	
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
1	1								
2		1							
	0.311***								
3		0.219***	1						
	0.251***								
4	0.071	-0.02	-0.180**	1					
5	-0.098	0.005	-0.228***	0.248***	1				
6	0.036	-0.002	-0.127*	0.226***	0.277***	1			
7	0.123*	0.157*	0.081	0.138*	-0.144*	0.034	1		
8	-0.034	-0.003	-0.057	0.11	0.088	0.003	0.168**	1	
9	-0.064	-0.034	-0.047	0.011	0.045	0.021	-0.065	0.056	1

Correlation Matrix of Latent Variables Used in Chapter 3

Multiple Regression	Model Coefficients

			95%	6 CI				95%	o CI
Predictor	Estimate	SE	Lower	Upper	t	р	Std.Estimate	Lower	Upper
Intercept	-0.106	0.198	-0.496	0.283	-0.537	0.592	-0.001	-0.124	0.122
Perceived diversity	-0.016	0.022	-0.060	0.029	-0.696	0.487	-0.047	-0.181	0.087
Perceived multiplicity	-0.001	0.022	-0.044	0.041	-0.057	0.955	-0.004	-0.137	0.129
Perceived conflict	0.002	0.020	-0.037	0.040	0.097	0.923	0.007	-0.126	0.140
Imagined audience clarity	-0.007	0.026	-0.058	0.045	-0.264	0.792	-0.018	-0.151	0.116
Intentionality in context collapse	0.004	0.020	-0.035	0.043	0.206	0.837	0.014	-0.122	0.151
Boundary-keeping efficacy	0.005	0.021	-0.035	0.045	0.244	0.807	0.016	-0.114	0.147
Overall audience diversity	-0.117	0.115	-0.343	0.109	-1.020	0.309	-0.068	-0.199	0.063
Salient audience diversity	0.050	0.050	-0.049	0.150	0.992	0.322	0.064	-0.063	0.192

# Figure 1

Dimensions of Experiential Aspects of Context Collapse



#### Appendices

#### Appendix A

#### **Study 1 Survey**

We would like to know how you use social media in general and who your social media friends are. The entire survey takes about 30 minutes. You will receive 0.5 extra credit as you complete the survey. Our survey data will remain anonymous, and the participation is entirely voluntary. Should you have any questions or concerns, you can contact the primary investigator: Taeyoung Kim (tytkim@ucdavis.edu). If you understand the above statement and agree to participate in this survey, move onto the next page to start the survey. Please be truthful in answering the following questions.

Do you use any social media?

O Yes

O No

How many days did you use social media in the past 7 days?

1 day
2 days
3 days
4 days
5 days
6 days
7 days

On those days you use social media, how often do you use it per day?

○ 1 - 2 times

- 3 4 times
- 5 6 times
- 7 8 times
- 9 10 times
- $\bigcirc$  more than 10 times

On average, how long do you spend on social media each time you use it?

 $\bigcirc$  5 minutes or less

- 6 10 minutes
- 11 20 minutes
- O 21 30 minutes
- 31 40 minutes
- 41 50 minutes
- 51 60 minutes
- $\bigcirc$  1 hour 2 hours
- O 2 hours 3 hours
- $\bigcirc$  more than 3 hours

On average, what is the total time you spend on social media each day?

- $\bigcirc$  5 minutes or less
- 6 10 minutes
- 11 20 minutes
- 21 30 minutes
- 31 40 minutes
- 41 50 minutes
- 51 60 minutes
- $\bigcirc$  1 hour 2 hours
- O 2 hours 3 hours
- $\bigcirc$  3 hours 4 hours
- 4 hours 5 hours
- $\bigcirc$  5 hours 6 hours
- $\bigcirc$  more than 6 hours

What kind of social media do you use? Check all that apply. If your social media is not listed, you can specify up to 3 most used ones. In this study, "social media" refers to an online platform where you can post contents and people can follow you to see those contents. Therefore, Youtube, Reddit, Discord, Line, and Snapchat are NOT considered social media. Also, do not include Tiktok unless you frequently post content on Tiktok.

Facebook
Instagram
Twitter
LinkedIn
Tumblr
Pinterest
Wechat
Not listed here: Please specify
Not listed here: Please specify
Not listed here: Please specify

	1	2	3	4	5 and more
Facebook	0	$\bigcirc$	$\bigcirc$	$\bigcirc$	$\bigcirc$
Instagram	0	$\bigcirc$	$\bigcirc$	$\bigcirc$	$\bigcirc$
Twitter	0	$\bigcirc$	$\bigcirc$	$\bigcirc$	$\bigcirc$
LinkedIn	0	$\bigcirc$	$\bigcirc$	$\bigcirc$	$\bigcirc$
Tumblr	0	$\bigcirc$	$\bigcirc$	$\bigcirc$	$\bigcirc$
Pinterest	0	$\bigcirc$	$\bigcirc$	$\bigcirc$	$\bigcirc$
Wechat	0	$\bigcirc$	$\bigcirc$	$\bigcirc$	$\bigcirc$
<listed social<br="">media&gt;</listed>	0	$\bigcirc$	$\bigcirc$	$\bigcirc$	0
<listed social<br="">media&gt;</listed>	0	$\bigcirc$	$\bigcirc$	$\bigcirc$	0
<listed social<br="">media&gt;</listed>	0	$\bigcirc$	$\bigcirc$	$\bigcirc$	$\bigcirc$

Indicate the number of accounts you have on each social media.

Which account do you use the most? The account on...

O Facebook

O Instagram

O Twitter

C LinkedIn

O Tumblr

O Pinterest

O Wechat

○ Not listed here: Please specify

○ Not listed here: Please specify

○ Not listed here: Please specify

In your <social media> account you use the most, about how many people can see your posts? Please estimate the number (i.e., the number of friends or followers).

Let's focus on your experience of using the <social media> account that you use the most. We will be asking about your audience(s) of this account. "Audience" refers to people who follow you and can see your post on this <social media> account.

	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Somewhat disagree	Neither agree nor disagree	Somewhat agree	Agree	Strongly agree
My audience(s) of this <social media&gt; account have very different ideas about what is right or wrong.</social 	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
People in my audience(s) of this <social media=""> account are interested in very different things.</social>	0	$\bigcirc$	0	0	0	0	0
My audience(s) of this <social media&gt; account have very similar backgrounds.</social 	0	$\bigcirc$	0	0	0	0	0
People who follow me on this <social media&gt; account have very different beliefs.</social 	0	$\bigcirc$	0	0	0	0	0
My audience(s) of this <social media&gt; account hold similar opinions to one another.</social 	0	$\bigcirc$	0	0	0	0	$\bigcirc$
People in my audience(s) of this <social media=""> account are generally alike.</social>	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Somewhat disagree	Neither agree nor disagree	Somewhat agree	Agree	Strongly agree
There are many different audiences of this <social media=""> account.</social>	$\bigcirc$	0	0	$\bigcirc$	0	0	0
I have multiple audiences on this <social media=""> account.</social>	$\bigcirc$	$\bigcirc$	$\bigcirc$	$\bigcirc$	$\bigcirc$	$\bigcirc$	$\bigcirc$
There is only one audience of this <social media=""> account.</social>	$\bigcirc$	$\bigcirc$	$\bigcirc$	$\bigcirc$	$\bigcirc$	$\bigcirc$	$\bigcirc$
My audience of this <social media&gt; account is composed of multiple groups of people.</social 	0	0	0	$\bigcirc$	0	0	0
I do NOT have multiple audiences in this <social media=""> account.</social>	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
I only have a single group of audience on this <social media=""> account.</social>	0	$\bigcirc$	$\bigcirc$	$\bigcirc$	0	0	0

	Strongl y disagre e	Disagre e	Somew hat disagree	Neither agree nor disagree	Somew hat agree	Agree	Strongl y agree
I have a clear idea of who can see my posts on this <social media=""> account.</social>	0	$\bigcirc$	$\bigcirc$	$\bigcirc$	$\bigcirc$	0	$\bigcirc$
I know who would be seeing my posts on this <social media=""> account.</social>	0	$\bigcirc$	$\bigcirc$	$\bigcirc$	$\bigcirc$	$\bigcirc$	$\bigcirc$
My idea about the identity of those who see my posts on this <social media=""> account is rather vague.</social>	0	$\bigcirc$	0	0	0	0	0
I can easily imagine who are the people that can see my posts on this <social media=""> account.</social>	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
I have difficulty imagining who would be able to see my posts on this <social media=""> account.</social>	0	$\bigcirc$	$\bigcirc$	0	0	$\bigcirc$	0
I am not certain about the backgrounds of people who can see my posts on this <social media&gt; account.</social 	0	$\bigcirc$	0	0	0	0	0

	Strongl y disagre e	Disagree	Somewhat disagree	Neither agree nor disagree	Somewhat agree	Agree	Strongly agree
My audience(s) of this <social media=""> account disagree with each other.</social>	0	$\bigcirc$	$\bigcirc$	$\bigcirc$	$\bigcirc$	0	0
Among my audience(s) on this <social media=""> account, things that are appropriate to one group are also appropriate to other groups.</social>	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
If the groups in the audience(s) of this <social media=""> account came together, they will be in harmony.</social>	0	$\bigcirc$	0	0	0	0	0
Groups in the audience(s) of this <social media=""> account do NOT get along with each other.</social>	0	$\bigcirc$	0	0	0	0	0
A post considered appropriate in one of my audience groups of this <social media&gt; account can be considered inappropriate by other groups of my audience(s).</social 	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
My audience(s) of this <social media=""> account agree with each other.</social>	0	$\bigcirc$	$\bigcirc$	$\bigcirc$	0	0	0

	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Somewhat disagree	Neither agree nor disagree	Somewhat agree	Agree	Strongly agree
The current composition of the audience(s) of this <social media=""> account is what I intended.</social>	$\bigcirc$	$\bigcirc$	$\bigcirc$	$\bigcirc$	$\bigcirc$	0	$\bigcirc$
The current makeup of my <social media&gt;audience(s) is NOT what I intended.</social 	$\bigcirc$	$\bigcirc$	$\bigcirc$	$\bigcirc$	$\bigcirc$	0	$\bigcirc$
I planned and managed to have the current makeup of my audience(s) on this <social media=""> account.</social>	$\bigcirc$	$\bigcirc$	$\bigcirc$	$\bigcirc$	$\bigcirc$	0	$\bigcirc$
I intended to have the current audience makeup on this <social media=""> account.</social>	$\bigcirc$	$\bigcirc$	$\bigcirc$	$\bigcirc$	$\bigcirc$	0	$\bigcirc$
The composition of the audience(s) on this <social media=""> account is NOT the result of my planning.</social>	0	$\bigcirc$	0	0	0	$\bigcirc$	0
I did NOT intentionally manage the makeup of the audience(s) of this <social media&gt; account.</social 	$\bigcirc$	$\bigcirc$	0	$\bigcirc$	0	$\bigcirc$	$\bigcirc$

	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Somewhat disagree	Neither agree or disagree	Somewhat agree	Agree	Strongly agree
To make sure our participants are paying attention, please select Somewhat agree from the options.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Somewhat disagree	Neither agree nor disagree	Somewhat agree	Agree	Strongly agree
It would be difficult for me to separate my contents for different audience(s) of this <social media=""> account.</social>	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
It would NOT be easy to make my posts on this <social media=""> account visible only to the ones that I intend to reach.</social>	0	0	0	0	$\bigcirc$	0	0
I have control over showing my posts only to the groups of people that I want to reach on this <social media=""> account.</social>	0	0	0	0	0	$\bigcirc$	0
I am confident that I can keep distinct audience groups separate in viewing my posts on this <social media&gt; account.</social 	0	0	0	0	0	$\bigcirc$	0
I feel I do NOT have control over who can and can't see my posts on this <social media=""> account.</social>	$\bigcirc$	$\bigcirc$	0	$\bigcirc$	0	0	$\bigcirc$
I have the ability to separately post contents to different audience groups on this <social media=""> account.</social>	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

To make sure we're on the same page, which social media were you thinking about while answering the previous questions?

O Facebook

○ Instagram

- Twitter
- ◯ LinkedIn
- Tumblr

O Pinterest

- O Wechat
- <listed social media>
- <listed social media>
- <listed social media>
Now, please keep this survey window open and log into this <social media> account that you use the most on a separate window/device while answering the following questions.

How many people follow you on this <social media> account?

Go to the page where you can see the list of your followers (that is, people who follow you). Keep this page open as you answer the next questions.

Now, browse the entire list of followers and estimate the percentage of different groups in your followers. Type in the number of percentages (Number only, without the % sign). The total needs to be 100. Please be as accurate as possible and spend at least 2 minutes on this task (you will see the "next" button in 60 seconds).

	% of family :
	% of close friends :
	% of classmates :
	% of co-workers (people from current or previous work) :
	% of members of religious organizations :
	% of professor/faculties :
	% of members of on-campus organizations :
	% of members of off-campus organizations :
	% of acquaintance :
	% of strangers/random people :
	% of old friends (friends from long time ago) :
	% of people who share the same interests/hobbies as mine:
	% of a group not listed here (specify):
	% of a group not listed here (specify):
	% of a group not listed here (specify):
Tot	al :

How confident are you about the accuracy of your estimation? Rate from 0% to 100%.

0 10 20 30 40 50 60 70 80 90 100



Now, please keep this survey window open. Then, in a separate browser window, log into this <social media> account that you use the most and visit your <social media>feeds. Feeds are the list of posts created by others or yourself.

Start from the top of the feeds (most recent) and list the names of people whose posts you can see in your feeds until you reach either 1) 30 names, or 2) the post that was created 30 days ago. Please list unique persons (i.e., do not list the same person twice). You don't have to write the full name of the person – any identifier of the person (e.g., first name, initial, nickname) works. Exclude non-humans. Type the names in the boxes below.

Person 1	Person 2	Person 3	Person 4	Person 5	Person 6
Person 7	Person 8	Person 9	Person 10	Person 11	Person 12
Person 13	Person 14	Person 15	Person 16	Person 17	Person 18
Person 19	Person 20	Person 21	Person 22	Person 23	Person 24
Person 25	Person 26	Person 27	Person 28	Person 29	Person 30

For the last person you identified above, when was his/her feed posted? Indicate the date in mm/dd/yyyy format

Select individuals that are your family.

Person 1	Person 2	Person 3	Person 4	Person 5	Person 6
Person 7	Person 8	Person 9	Person 10	Person 11	Person 12
Person 13	Person 14	Person 15	Person 16	Person 17	Person 18
Person 19	Person 20	Person 21	Person 22	Person 23	Person 24
Person 25	Person 26	Person 27	Person 28	Person 29	Person 30

Select individuals that are close friends of yours.

Person 1	Person 2	Person 3	Person 4	Person 5	Person 6
Person 7	Person 8	Person 9	Person 10	Person 11	Person 12
Person 13	Person 14	Person 15	Person 16	Person 17	Person 18
Person 19	Person 20	Person 21	Person 22	Person 23	Person 24
Person 25	Person 26	Person 27	Person 28	Person 29	Person 30

Select individuals that are your classmates.

Person 1	Person 2	Person 3	Person 4	Person 5	Person 6
Person 7	Person 8	Person 9	Person 10	Person 11	Person 12
Person 13	Person 14	Person 15	Person 16	Person 17	Person 18
Person 19	Person 20	Person 21	Person 22	Person 23	Person 24
Person 25	Person 26	Person 27	Person 28	Person 29	Person 30

Select individuals that are your co-workers (people from current or previous work).

Person 1	Person 2	Person 3	Person 4	Person 5	Person 6
Person 7	Person 8	Person 9	Person 10	Person 11	Person 12
Person 13	Person 14	Person 15	Person 16	Person 17	Person 18
Person 19	Person 20	Person 21	Person 22	Person 23	Person 24
Person 25	Person 26	Person 27	Person 28	Person 29	Person 30

Select individuals that are members of religious organizations.

Person 1	Person 2	Person 3	Person 4	Person 5	Person 6
Person 7	Person 8	Person 9	Person 10	Person 11	Person 12
Person 13	Person 14	Person 15	Person 16	Person 17	Person 18
Person 19	Person 20	Person 21	Person 22	Person 23	Person 24
Person 25	Person 26	Person 27	Person 28	Person 29	Person 30

Select individuals that are professors/faculty members.

Person 1	Person 2	Person 3	Person 4	Person 5	Person 6
Person 7	Person 8	Person 9	Person 10	Person 11	Person 12
Person 13	Person 14	Person 15	Person 16	Person 17	Person 18
Person 19	Person 20	Person 21	Person 22	Person 23	Person 24
Person 25	Person 26	Person 27	Person 28	Person 29	Person 30

Person 1	Person 2	Person 3	Person 4	Person 5	Person 6
Person 7	Person 8	Person 9	Person 10	Person 11	Person 12
Person 13	Person 14	Person 15	Person 16	Person 17	Person 18
Person 19	Person 20	Person 21	Person 22	Person 23	Person 24
Person 25	Person 26	Person 27	Person 28	Person 29	Person 30

Select individuals that are members of on-campus organizations.

Select individuals that are members of off-campus organizations.

Person 1	Person 2	Person 3	Person 4	Person 5	Person 6
Person 7	Person 8	Person 9	Person 10	Person 11	Person 12
Person 13	Person 14	Person 15	Person 16	Person 17	Person 18
Person 19	Person 20	Person 21	Person 22	Person 23	Person 24
Person 25	Person 26	Person 27	Person 28	Person 29	Person 30

Select individuals that are your acquaintances.

Person 1	Person 2	Person 3	Person 4	Person 5	Person 6
Person 7	Person 8	Person 9	Person 10	Person 11	Person 12
Person 13	Person 14	Person 15	Person 16	Person 17	Person 18
Person 19	Person 20	Person 21	Person 22	Person 23	Person 24
Person 25	Person 26	Person 27	Person 28	Person 29	Person 30

Select individuals that are strangers/random people.

Person 1	Person 2	Person 3	Person 4	Person 5	Person 6
Person 7	Person 8	Person 9	Person 10	Person 11	Person 12
Person 13	Person 14	Person 15	Person 16	Person 17	Person 18
Person 19	Person 20	Person 21	Person 22	Person 23	Person 24
Person 25	Person 26	Person 27	Person 28	Person 29	Person 30

Select individuals that are old friends (friends from a long time ago).

Person 1	Person 2	Person 3	Person 4	Person 5	Person 6
Person 7	Person 8	Person 9	Person 10	Person 11	Person 12
Person 13	Person 14	Person 15	Person 16	Person 17	Person 18
Person 19	Person 20	Person 21	Person 22	Person 23	Person 24
Person 25	Person 26	Person 27	Person 28	Person 29	Person 30

Person 1	Person 2	Person 3	Person 4	Person 5	Person 6
Person 7	Person 8	Person 9	Person 10	Person 11	Person 12
Person 13	Person 14	Person 15	Person 16	Person 17	Person 18
Person 19	Person 20	Person 21	Person 22	Person 23	Person 24
Person 25	Person 26	Person 27	Person 28	Person 29	Person 30

Select individuals who share the same interests/hobbies as yours.

In this section, you will be asked to indicate the extent to which you agree or disagree with the following statements.

	Strongly disagree	Disagre e	Somewh at disagree	Neither agree nor disagree	Somewh at agree	Agree	Strongly agree
I often discuss my feelings about myself on <social media="">.</social>	$\bigcirc$	$\bigcirc$	$\bigcirc$	$\bigcirc$	$\bigcirc$	$\bigcirc$	$\bigcirc$
I often talk about my feelings about myself on <social media="">.</social>	$\bigcirc$	$\bigcirc$	$\bigcirc$	$\bigcirc$	$\bigcirc$	$\bigcirc$	$\bigcirc$
I don't often talk about myself on <social media&gt;.</social 	$\bigcirc$	$\bigcirc$	$\bigcirc$	$\bigcirc$	$\bigcirc$	$\bigcirc$	$\bigcirc$

To what extent do you agree or disagree with the following statements?

To what extent do you agree or disagree with the following statements?

	Strongl y disagre e	Disagre e	Somew hat disagre e	Neither agree nor disagre e	Somew hat agree	Agree	Strongl y agree
When I'm self-disclosing on <social media="">, I'm consciously aware of what I'm revealing.</social>	$\bigcirc$	$\bigcirc$	$\bigcirc$	$\bigcirc$	$\bigcirc$	$\bigcirc$	$\bigcirc$
When I express my personal feelings on <social media="">, I am always aware of what I'm doing and saying.</social>	$\bigcirc$	$\bigcirc$	$\bigcirc$	$\bigcirc$	$\bigcirc$	$\bigcirc$	$\bigcirc$
When I reveal my feelings about myself on <social media&gt;, I consciously intend to do so.</social 	0	0	0	0	$\bigcirc$	0	$\bigcirc$
To make sure our participants are paying attention, please select disagree from the options.	$\bigcirc$	$\bigcirc$	$\bigcirc$	$\bigcirc$	$\bigcirc$	$\bigcirc$	$\bigcirc$

To what extent do you agree or disagree with the following statements?

	Stron gly disag ree	Disagre e	Somew hat disagree	Neither agree nor disagree	Somew hat agree	Agree	Strongly agree
I am careful in what I post to <social media=""> because I worry about people who are not my Friends seeing it.</social>	С	$\bigcirc$	$\bigcirc$	$\bigcirc$	$\bigcirc$	$\bigcirc$	$\bigcirc$
Concerns about the privacy of content posted to <social media&gt; keep me from posting frequently.</social 	С	$\bigcirc$	$\bigcirc$	$\bigcirc$	$\bigcirc$	0	$\bigcirc$
Concerns about the privacy of content posted to <social media&gt; keep me from posting personal information.</social 	С	$\bigcirc$	0	0	0	$\bigcirc$	$\bigcirc$

To what extent do you agree or disagree with the following statements?

	Strongly disagree	Disagre e	Somew hat disagree	Neither agree nor disagree	Somew hat agree	Agree	Strongly agree
Interacting with people on <social media="">makes me interested in things that happen outside where I live every day.</social>	$\bigcirc$	$\bigcirc$	$\bigcirc$	$\bigcirc$	$\bigcirc$	$\bigcirc$	$\bigcirc$
Interacting with people on <social media="">makes me want to try new things.</social>	$\bigcirc$	$\bigcirc$	$\bigcirc$	$\bigcirc$	$\bigcirc$	$\bigcirc$	$\bigcirc$
Interacting with people on <social media="">makes me interested in what people unlike me are thinking.</social>	$\bigcirc$	$\bigcirc$	$\bigcirc$	$\bigcirc$	$\bigcirc$	$\bigcirc$	$\bigcirc$
Talking with people on <social media="">makes me curious about other places in the world.</social>	$\bigcirc$	$\bigcirc$	$\bigcirc$	$\bigcirc$	$\bigcirc$	$\bigcirc$	$\bigcirc$

	Never	Rarely	Sometimes	Often	Always
Social blunders	0	$\bigcirc$	$\bigcirc$	$\bigcirc$	$\bigcirc$
Damaging gossip	0	$\bigcirc$	$\bigcirc$	$\bigcirc$	$\bigcirc$
Breaches of trust	0	$\bigcirc$	$\bigcirc$	$\bigcirc$	$\bigcirc$

# How often have you experienced the following on social media that includes yourself?

## How often have you experienced the following on social media amongst others?

	Never	Rarely	Sometimes	Often	Always
Social blunders	$\bigcirc$	$\bigcirc$	0	$\bigcirc$	$\bigcirc$
Damaging gossip	$\bigcirc$	$\bigcirc$	$\bigcirc$	$\bigcirc$	$\bigcirc$
Breaches of trust	$\bigcirc$	$\bigcirc$	$\bigcirc$	$\bigcirc$	$\bigcirc$

We are at the very last section of this survey. Please give us some information about yourself. What is your gender?

O Male

○ Female

O Other

What is your age?

What is your race or ethnicity? Please choose the one that you identify with the most.

O American Indian or Al	askan Native
-------------------------	--------------

○ Asian

$\bigcirc$	Black	or	African	American
------------	-------	----	---------	----------

O Hispanic/Latino

○ White

Other: Specify \_\_\_\_\_

What is your highest degree completed for education?

- O No education received
- 1st-4th grade
- ◯ 5th-6th grade
- 7th-8th grade
- 9th grade
- $\bigcirc$  10th grade
- $\bigcirc$  11th grade
- Graduated high school or equivalent
- O Some college, no degree
- O Associate's degree, occupational
- O Associate's degree, academic
- O Bachelor's degree
- O Master's degree
- O Professional degree
- O Doctoral degree

Last year, that is in 2022, what was your total family/household income from all sources, before taxes? If you don't know, please choose the most likely one.

- O Less than \$20,000
- \$20,000 to \$39,999
- \$40,000 to \$59,999
- \$60,000 to \$79,999
- \$80,000 to \$99,999
- \$100,000 to \$119,999
- \$120,000 to \$139,999
- \$140,000 to \$159,999
- \$160,000 to \$179,999
- \$180,000 to \$199,999
- \$200,000 to \$219,999
- \$220,000 to \$239,999
- \$240,000 to \$259,999
- \$260,000 to \$279,999
- \$280,000 to \$299,999
- \$300,000 or above

### Appendix B

#### **Study 2 Survey Part 1**

We would like to know about your social media use, your friends on social media, and your opinions on various issues. This study has two parts: You will take Part 1 today, which is a survey that will last at most 30 minutes. You will receive 1 credit as you complete this survey. You will receive the link to Part 2 in 24 hours after you finish Part 1. Part 2 is another survey that will also take at most 30 minutes, and you will receive 1 credit upon completion. You need to complete Part 2 within 48 hours after you receive the link. Our survey is anonymous, and participation is voluntary. Should you have any questions or concerns, you can contact the primary investigator: Taeyoung Kim (tytkim@ucdavis.edu). If you understood the above statement and agree with participating in this survey, move onto the next page to start the survey. Please be truthful in answering the following questions.

Do you use any social media?

O Yes

O No

How many days did you use social media in the past 7 days?

🔿 1 day

- $\bigcirc$  2 days
- 🔿 3 days

 $\bigcirc$  4 days

 $\bigcirc$  5 days

 $\bigcirc$  6 days

 $\bigcirc$  7 days

On those days you use social media, how often do you use it per day?

○ 1 - 2 times

○ 3 - 4 times

- 5 6 times
- 7 8 times
- 9 10 times
- $\bigcirc$  more than 10 times

On average, how long do you spend on social media each time you use it?

- 5 minutes or less
  6 10 minutes
  11 20 minutes
  21 30 minutes
  31 40 minutes
  41 50 minutes
  51 60 minutes
  1 hour 2 hours
  2 hours 3 hours
- O more than 3 hours

On average, what is the total time you spend on social media each day?

- $\bigcirc$  5 minutes or less
- 6 10 minutes
- 11 20 minutes
- 21 30 minutes
- 31 40 minutes
- 41 50 minutes
- 51 60 minutes
- $\bigcirc$  1 hour 2 hours
- O 2 hours 3 hours
- O 3 hours 4 hours
- 4 hours 5 hours
- 5 hours 6 hours
- $\bigcirc$  more than 6 hours

What kind of social media do you use? Check all that apply. If your social media is not listed, you can specify up to 3 most used ones. In this study, "social media" refers to an online platform where you can post contents and people can follow you to see those contents. Therefore, Youtube, Reddit, Discord, Line, and Snapchat are NOT considered social media. Also, do not choose Tiktok unless you frequently post content on Tiktok.

Facebook
Instagram
Twitter
LinkedIn
Wechat
Tumblr
Pinterest
Tiktok
Not listed here: Please specify
Not listed here: Please specify
Not listed here: Please specify

Indicate the number of your accounts on each social media.

O Facebook	_
O Instagram	_
O Twitter	
C LinkedIn	_
O Wechat	
O Tumblr	
O Pinterest	-
O Tiktok	
O specified social media	
O specified social media	
O specified social media	

Among your social media accounts, which one do you use the most?

O Facebook

O Instagram

- O Twitter
- LinkedIn
- O Wechat

○ Tumblr

O Pinterest

○ Tiktok

- $\bigcirc$  specified social media
- $\bigcirc$  specified social media
- $\bigcirc$  specified social media

Let's focus on your experience of using the <social media> account that you use the most. We will be asking about your audience(s) of this account. "Audience" refers to people who follow you and can see your post on this <social media> account.

	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Somewh at disagree	Neither agree nor disagree	Somewh at agree	Agree	Strongly agree
My audience(s) of this <social media=""> account have very different ideas about what is right or wrong.</social>	0	$\bigcirc$	0	$\bigcirc$	0	0	0
People in my audience(s) of this <social media=""> account are interested in very different things.</social>	0	$\bigcirc$	$\bigcirc$	$\bigcirc$	0	$\bigcirc$	0
My audience(s) of this <social media=""> account have very similar backgrounds.</social>	$\bigcirc$	$\bigcirc$	$\bigcirc$	$\bigcirc$	0	$\bigcirc$	0
People who follow me on this <social media=""> account have very different beliefs.</social>	$\bigcirc$	$\bigcirc$	$\bigcirc$	$\bigcirc$	0	$\bigcirc$	$\bigcirc$
My audience(s) of this <social media=""> account hold similar opinions to one another.</social>	$\bigcirc$	$\bigcirc$	$\bigcirc$	$\bigcirc$	0	0	0
People in my audience(s) of this <social media=""> account are generally alike.</social>	0	$\bigcirc$	$\bigcirc$	$\bigcirc$	0	0	0

	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Somewhat disagree	Neither agree nor disagree	Somewhat agree	Agree	Strongly agree
There are many different audiences of this <social media&gt; account.</social 	0	0	$\bigcirc$	0	$\bigcirc$	$\bigcirc$	$\bigcirc$
I have multiple audiences on this <social media=""> account.</social>	0	$\bigcirc$	$\bigcirc$	$\bigcirc$	$\bigcirc$	$\bigcirc$	$\bigcirc$
There is only one audience of this <social media=""> account.</social>	0	$\bigcirc$	$\bigcirc$	$\bigcirc$	$\bigcirc$	$\bigcirc$	$\bigcirc$
My audience of this <social media=""> account is composed of multiple groups of people.</social>	0	$\bigcirc$	0	0	0	0	$\bigcirc$
I do NOT have multiple audiences in this <social media=""> account.</social>	0	$\bigcirc$	$\bigcirc$	$\bigcirc$	$\bigcirc$	$\bigcirc$	$\bigcirc$
I only have a single group of audience on this <social media=""> account.</social>	0	$\bigcirc$	$\bigcirc$	$\bigcirc$	$\bigcirc$	$\bigcirc$	$\bigcirc$

	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Somewhat disagree	Neither agree nor disagree	Somewhat agree	Agree	Strongly agree
I have a clear idea of who can see my posts on this <social media&gt; account.</social 	0	0	$\bigcirc$	0	0	0	0
I know who would be seeing my posts on this <social media&gt; account.</social 	$\bigcirc$	$\bigcirc$	$\bigcirc$	$\bigcirc$	$\bigcirc$	$\bigcirc$	$\bigcirc$
My idea about the identity of those who see my posts on this <social media&gt; account is rather vague.</social 	0	$\bigcirc$	$\bigcirc$	$\bigcirc$	$\bigcirc$	0	$\bigcirc$
I can easily imagine who are the people that can see my posts on this <social media&gt; account.</social 	0	$\bigcirc$	$\bigcirc$	$\bigcirc$	0	0	$\bigcirc$
I have difficulty imagining who would be able to see my posts on this <social media=""> account.</social>	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
I am not certain about the backgrounds of people who can see my posts on this <social media=""> account.</social>	0	$\bigcirc$	0	0	0	0	0

	Strongl y disagree	Disagre e	Somew hat disagree	Neither agree nor disagree	Somew hat agree	Agree	Strongl y agree
My audience(s) of this <social media=""> account disagree with each other.</social>	0	$\bigcirc$	$\bigcirc$	$\bigcirc$	$\bigcirc$	$\bigcirc$	$\bigcirc$
Among my audience(s) on this <social media=""> account, things that are appropriate to one group are also appropriate to other groups.</social>	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
If the groups in the audience(s) of this <social media&gt; account came together, they will be in harmony.</social 	0	0	0	$\bigcirc$	0	0	0
Groups in the audience(s) of this <social media=""> account do NOT get along with each other.</social>	0	$\bigcirc$	$\bigcirc$	$\bigcirc$	$\bigcirc$	$\bigcirc$	0
A post considered appropriate in one of my audience groups of this <social media=""> account can be considered inappropriate by other groups of my audience(s).</social>	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
My audience(s) of this <social media=""> account agree with each other.</social>	0	$\bigcirc$	$\bigcirc$	$\bigcirc$	$\bigcirc$	$\bigcirc$	$\bigcirc$

	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Somewhat disagree	Neither agree nor disagree	Somewhat agree	Agree	Strongly agree
The current composition of the audience(s) of this <social media=""> account is what I intended.</social>	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
The current makeup of my <social media&gt; audience(s) is NOT what I intended.</social 	0	$\bigcirc$	$\bigcirc$	$\bigcirc$	$\bigcirc$	$\bigcirc$	$\bigcirc$
I planned and managed to have the current makeup of my audience(s) on this <social media=""> account.</social>	0	$\bigcirc$	0	0	0	0	$\bigcirc$
I intended to have the current audience makeup on this <social media=""> account.</social>	0	$\bigcirc$	0	0	0	0	0
The composition of the audience(s) on this <social media=""> account is NOT the result of my planning.</social>	0	$\bigcirc$	0	0	0	$\bigcirc$	0
I did NOT intentionally manage the makeup of the audience(s) of this <social media=""> account.</social>	0	$\bigcirc$	0	0	0	$\bigcirc$	0

	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Somewhat disagree	Neither agree or disagree	Somewhat agree	Agree	Strongly agree
To make sure our participants are paying attention, please select Somewhat agree from the options.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

	Strongl y disagree	Disagre e	Somew hat disagree	Neither agree nor disagree	Somew hat agree	Agree	Strongl y agree
It would be difficult for me to separate my contents for different audience(s) of this <social media=""> account.</social>	0	$\bigcirc$	$\bigcirc$	0	0	$\bigcirc$	$\bigcirc$
It would NOT be easy to make my posts on this <social media=""> account visible only to the ones that I intend to reach.</social>	0	0	0	$\bigcirc$	0	$\bigcirc$	$\bigcirc$
I have control over showing my posts only to the groups of people that I want to reach on this <social media&gt; account.</social 	0	0	$\bigcirc$	$\bigcirc$	0	$\bigcirc$	$\bigcirc$
I am confident that I can keep distinct audience groups separate in viewing my posts on this <social media&gt; account.</social 	0	0	$\bigcirc$	$\bigcirc$	$\bigcirc$	$\bigcirc$	$\bigcirc$
I feel I do NOT have control over who can and can't see my posts on this <social media=""> account.</social>	0	$\bigcirc$	$\bigcirc$	$\bigcirc$	$\bigcirc$	$\bigcirc$	$\bigcirc$
I have the ability to separately post contents to different audience groups on this <social media=""> account.</social>	0	$\bigcirc$	$\bigcirc$	$\bigcirc$	$\bigcirc$	$\bigcirc$	$\bigcirc$

To make sure we're on the same page, which social media were you thinking about while answering the previous questions?

O Facebook

- Instagram
- Twitter
- ◯ LinkedIn
- Tumblr
- O Pinterest
- O Wechat
- $\bigcirc$  Specified social media
- Specified social media
- $\bigcirc$  Specified social media

In the following section, you will be given questions about who consists of your followers (or people who can see your posts) in your <social media> account. Now, please keep this survey window open and log into this <social media> account on a separate window/device while you answer the following questions.

How many people follow you on this <social media> account? Type in number.

Go to the page of the list of your followers (or people who can see your posts). Keep this page open as you answer the following questions.

Now, browse the entire list of followers and estimate the percentage of different groups in your followers. Type in the number of percentage (Number only, without the % sign). The total needs to be 100.Please be as accurate as possible and spend at least 2 minutes on this task. You can move to the next question after 2 minutes.

% of family :
% of close friends :
% of classmates :
% of co-workers (people from current or previous work) :
% of members of religious organizations :
% of professor/faculties :
% of members of on-campus organizations :
% of members of off-campus organizations :
% of acquaintance :
% of strangers/random people :
% of old friends (friends from long time ago) :
% of people who share the same interests/hobbies as mine:
% of a group not listed here (specify):
% of a group not listed here (specify):
% of a group not listed here (specify):
Total :

How confident are you about the accuracy of your estimation? Rate from 0% to 100%.



Now, let's focus on the people who you follow (subscribe to). On some social media, people who you follow and people who follow you exactly match (e.g. friends on Facebook), while on other social media (e.g. Instagram, Twitter), who you are "following" do not match with your "followers". On <social media>, are the people who follow you the same as the people who you follow?

$\frown$	
()	No
$\smile$	110

O Yes

Now, on a separate window/device, go to the page where you can see the people you follow on <social media>.

How many people do you follow on <social media>?

Now, browse the entire list of people you follow and estimate the percentage of different groups in the list. Type in the number of percentage without %. The total needs to be 100. Please be as accurate as possible and spend at least 2 minutes on this task.

% of family :
% of close friends :
% of classmates :
% of co-workers (people from current or previous work) :
% of members of religious organizations :
% of professor/faculties :
% of members of on-campus organizations :
% of members of off-campus organizations :
% of acquaintance :
% of strangers/random people :
% of old friends (friends from long time ago) :
% of people who share the same interests/hobbies as mine :
% of a group not listed here (specify): :
% of a group not listed here (specify): :
% of a group not listed here (specify): :
Total :

How confident are you about the accuracy of your estimation? Rate from 0% to 100%.

 $0 \quad 10 \quad 20 \quad 30 \quad 40 \quad 50 \quad 60 \quad 70 \quad 80 \quad 90 \quad 100$ 



To make sure we're on the same page, which social media were you thinking about while answering the previous questions?

O Facebook

- Instagram
- Twitter
- LinkedIn
- Tumblr
- O Pinterest
- O Wechat
- Tiktok
- O Specified social media
- Specified social media
- O Specified social media

Now, we would like to know your opinions about a list of issues below. Please indicate whether you agree or disagree with each of the following statements.

	Agree	Disagree
Banning abortion	$\bigcirc$	$\bigcirc$
Legalization of prostitution	$\bigcirc$	$\bigcirc$
Legalization of recreational use of psychedelic mushrooms	0	$\bigcirc$
Mandating gender-neutral bathrooms in public schools	$\bigcirc$	$\bigcirc$
Affirmative action on university admission	$\bigcirc$	$\bigcirc$
Banning plastic straws at restaurants and cafes	0	$\bigcirc$
Reinforcing laws about animal rights	$\bigcirc$	$\bigcirc$

Do you agree or disagree with the following issue?

	Agree	Disagree
Getting flu vaccines every year	$\bigcirc$	0
Consent to posthumous organ donation	0	$\bigcirc$
Bringing reusable bags for grocery shopping	$\bigcirc$	$\bigcirc$
Recreational use of marijuana	$\bigcirc$	$\bigcirc$
Practice of open relationships	$\bigcirc$	$\bigcirc$
Consumption of genetically modified food	$\bigcirc$	$\bigcirc$
Practicing vegetarianism	$\bigcirc$	$\bigcirc$

## Do you agree or disagree with the following issue?

Please keep in mind that you will receive the link for the Part 2 of this study within 24 hours. Once you receive the link, complete the Part 2 survey within 48 hours.

### Appendix C

#### **Study 2 Survey Part 2**

You have participated in the first part of this study. In this part, we would again like to know a bit more about your social media use, your friends on social media, and your opinions on various issues. The entire survey will last about 30 minutes. You will get 1 sona point upon completing this survey. Our survey data will remain anonymous, and participation is entirely voluntary. Should you have any questions or concerns, you can contact the primary investigator: Taeyoung Kim (tytkim@ucdavis.edu). If you understood the above statement and agree with participating in this survey, move onto the next page to start the survey. Please be truthful in answering the following questions.

Do you use any social media?

O Yes

🔿 No

What kind of social media do you use? Check all that apply. If your social media is not listed, you can specify up to 3 most used ones. In this study, "social media" refers to an online platform where you can post contents and people can follow you to see those contents. Therefore, Youtube, Reddit, Discord, Line, and Snapchat are NOT considered social media. Also, do not choose Tiktok unless you frequently post content on Tiktok.

Facebook
Instagram
Twitter
LinkedIn
Wechat
Tumblr
Pinterest
Tiktok
Not listed here: Please specify
Not listed here: Please specify _
Not listed here: Please specify

Facebook

Instagram

Twitter

LinkedIn

Kechat

Tumblr

Pinterest

Tiktok

Specified social media

Specified social media

Indicate the number of accounts you have on each social media.

Among your social media accounts, which one do you use the most? The account on...

O Facebook

O Instagram

- Twitter
- LinkedIn
- O Wechat

○ Tumblr

O Pinterest

○ Tiktok

○ Not listed here: Please specify

- Not listed here: Please specify
- $\bigcirc$  Not listed here: Please specify

Now, please keep this survey window open. Then, in a separate browser window, log into this <social media> account that you use the most and visit your <social media> feeds. Feeds are the list of posts created by others or yourself

How many people follow you on <social media>? Type in number.

Start from the top of the feeds (most recent) and list the names of people whose posts you can see in your feeds until you reach either 1) 30 names, or 2) the post that was created 30 days ago. Please list unique persons (i.e., do not list the same person twice). You don't have to write the full name of the person – any identifier of the person (e.g., first name, initial, nickname) works. Exclude non-humans (e.g. organizations). Type the names in the boxes below.

Person 1	Person 2	Person 3	Person 4	Person 5	Person 6
Person 7	Person 8	Person 9	Person 10	Person 11	Person 12
Person 13	Person 14	Person 15	Person 16	Person 17	Person 18
Person 19	Person 20	Person 21	Person 22	Person 23	Person 24
Person 25	Person 26	Person 27	Person 28	Person 29	Person 30

When was the latest activity of the last person in the list above? Indicate the date in mm/dd/yyyy format.

Person 1	Person 2	Person 3	Person 4	Person 5	Person 6
Person 7	Person 8	Person 9	Person 10	Person 11	Person 12
Person 13	Person 14	Person 15	Person 16	Person 17	Person 18
Person 19	Person 20	Person 21	Person 22	Person 23	Person 24
Person 25	Person 26	Person 27	Person 28	Person 29	Person 30

Select individuals that are your family.

### Select individuals that are close friends of yours.

Person 1	Person 2	Person 3	Person 4	Person 5	Person 6
Person 7	Person 8	Person 9	Person 10	Person 11	Person 12
Person 13	Person 14	Person 15	Person 16	Person 17	Person 18
Person 19	Person 20	Person 21	Person 22	Person 23	Person 24
Person 25	Person 26	Person 27	Person 28	Person 29	Person 30

#### Select individuals that are your classmates.

Person 1	Person 2	Person 3	Person 4	Person 5	Person 6
Person 7	Person 8	Person 9	Person 10	Person 11	Person 12
Person 13	Person 14	Person 15	Person 16	Person 17	Person 18
Person 19	Person 20	Person 21	Person 22	Person 23	Person 24
Person 25	Person 26	Person 27	Person 28	Person 29	Person 30

Select individuals that are your co-workers (people from current or previous work).

Person 1	Person 2	Person 3	Person 4	Person 5	Person 6
Person 7	Person 8	Person 9	Person 10	Person 11	Person 12
Person 13	Person 14	Person 15	Person 16	Person 17	Person 18
Person 19	Person 20	Person 21	Person 22	Person 23	Person 24
Person 25	Person 26	Person 27	Person 28	Person 29	Person 30

#### Select individuals that are members of religious organizations.

Person 1	Person 2	Person 3	Person 4	Person 5	Person 6
Person 7	Person 8	Person 9	Person 10	Person 11	Person 12
Person 13	Person 14	Person 15	Person 16	Person 17	Person 18
Person 19	Person 20	Person 21	Person 22	Person 23	Person 24
Person 25	Person 26	Person 27	Person 28	Person 29	Person 30

Select individuals that are professors/faculty members.

Person 1	Person 2	Person 3	Person 4	Person 5	Person 6
Person 7	Person 8	Person 9	Person 10	Person 11	Person 12
Person 13	Person 14	Person 15	Person 16	Person 17	Person 18
Person 19	Person 20	Person 21	Person 22	Person 23	Person 24
Person 25	Person 26	Person 27	Person 28	Person 29	Person 30

Person 1	Person 2	Person 3	Person 4	Person 5	Person 6
Person 7	Person 8	Person 9	Person 10	Person 11	Person 12
Person 13	Person 14	Person 15	Person 16	Person 17	Person 18
Person 19	Person 20	Person 21	Person 22	Person 23	Person 24
Person 25	Person 26	Person 27	Person 28	Person 29	Person 30

Select individuals that are members of on-campus organizations.

#### Select individuals that are members of off-campus organizations.

Person 1	Person 2	Person 3	Person 4	Person 5	Person 6
Person 7	Person 8	Person 9	Person 10	Person 11	Person 12
Person 13	Person 14	Person 15	Person 16	Person 17	Person 18
Person 19	Person 20	Person 21	Person 22	Person 23	Person 24
Person 25	Person 26	Person 27	Person 28	Person 29	Person 30

#### Select individuals that are your acquaintances.

Person 1	Person 2	Person 3	Person 4	Person 5	Person 6
Person 7	Person 8	Person 9	Person 10	Person 11	Person 12
Person 13	Person 14	Person 15	Person 16	Person 17	Person 18
Person 19	Person 20	Person 21	Person 22	Person 23	Person 24
Person 25	Person 26	Person 27	Person 28	Person 29	Person 30

#### Select individuals that are strangers/random people.

Person 1	Person 2	Person 3	Person 4	Person 5	Person 6
Person 7	Person 8	Person 9	Person 10	Person 11	Person 12
Person 13	Person 14	Person 15	Person 16	Person 17	Person 18
Person 19	Person 20	Person 21	Person 22	Person 23	Person 24
Person 25	Person 26	Person 27	Person 28	Person 29	Person 30

#### Select individuals that are old friends (friends from a long time ago).

Person 1	Person 2	Person 3	Person 4	Person 5	Person 6
Person 7	Person 8	Person 9	Person 10	Person 11	Person 12
Person 13	Person 14	Person 15	Person 16	Person 17	Person 18
Person 19	Person 20	Person 21	Person 22	Person 23	Person 24
Person 25	Person 26	Person 27	Person 28	Person 29	Person 30

#### Select individuals who share the same interests/hobbies as yours.

Person 1	Person 2	Person 3	Person 4	Person 5	Person 6
Person 7	Person 8	Person 9	Person 10	Person 11	Person 12
Person 13	Person 14	Person 15	Person 16	Person 17	Person 18
Person 19	Person 20	Person 21	Person 22	Person 23	Person 24
Person 25	Person 26	Person 27	Person 28	Person 29	Person 30
To make sure we're on the same page, which social media were you thinking about while answering the previous questions?

O Facebook

- Instagram
- Twitter
- LinkedIn
- Tumblr
- O Pinterest
- O Wechat
- Tiktok
- O Specified social media
- Specified social media
- O Specified social media

Now, you will be estimating the percentage of UC Davis students that agree or disagree with each of the following issues.

What is your estimate of the percentage of UC Davis students who agree or disagree with the following issues? The total for each issue should be a 100%

	Agree	Disagree
Banning abortion		
Legalization of prostitution		
Legalization of recreational use of psychedelic mushrooms		
Mandating gender-neutral bathrooms in public schools		
Affirmative action on university admission		
Banning plastic straws at restaurants and cafes		
Reinforcing laws about animal rights		

What is your estimate of the percentage of UC Davis students who agree or disagree with the following issues? The total for each issue should be a 100%

	Agree	Disagree
Getting flu vaccines every year		
Consent to posthumous organ donation		
Bringing reusable bags for grocery shopping		
Recreational use of marijuana		
Practice of open relationships		
Consumption of genetically modified food		
Practicing vegetarianism		

We are at the very last section of this survey. Please give us some information about yourself. What is your gender?

O Male

○ Female

O Other

What is your age? Type in a number.

## How do you identify your political orientation?

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	
Strongly left wing	$\bigcirc$	0	0	0	0	0	0	$\bigcirc$	0	Strongly right wing

What is your race or ethnicity? You can choose more than one.

American Indian or Alaskan Native
Asian
Black or African American
Hispanic/Latino
White
Other (please specify)

Last year, that is in 2021, what was your total family/household income from all sources, before taxes? If you don't know, please choose the most likely one.

- O Less than \$20,000
- \$20,000 to \$39,999
- \$40,000 to \$59,999
- \$60,000 to \$79,999
- \$80,000 to \$99,999
- \$100,000 to \$119,999
- \$120,000 to \$139,999
- \$140,000 to \$159,999
- \$160,000 to \$179,999
- \$180,000 to \$199,999
- \$200,000 to \$219,999
- \$220,000 to \$239,999
- \$240,000 to \$259,999
- \$260,000 to \$279,999
- \$280,000 to \$299,999
- \$300,000 or above

## References

- Akter, T., & Nweke, G. E. (2016). Social media users and their social adaptation process in virtual environment: Is it easier for Turkish Cypriots to be social but virtual beings?
   *Computers in Human Behavior*, *61*, 472–477. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.chb.2016.03.067
- Bandura, A. (1982). Self-efficacy mechanism in human agency. *American Psychologist*, *37*(2), 122.
- Bastos, M. (2021). From Global Village to Identity Tribes: Context Collapse and the Darkest Timeline. *Media and Communication*, 9(3), 50–58. https://doi.org/10.17645/mac.v9i3.3930
- Bauman, K. P., & Geher, G. (2002). We think you agree: The detrimental impact of the false consensus effect on behavior. *Current Psychology*, 21(4), 293–318. https://doi.org/10.1007/s12144-002-1020-0
- Baym, N. K., & Boyd, D. (2012). Socially mediated publicness: An introduction. *Journal of Broadcasting & Electronic Media*, 56(3), 320–329.
- Bazarova, N. N., Choi, Y. H., Schwanda Sosik, V., Cosley, D., & Whitlock, J. (2015). Social sharing of emotions on Facebook: Channel differences, satisfaction, and replies.
   *Proceedings of the 18th ACM Conference on Computer Supported Cooperative Work & Social Computing*, 154–164.
- Beam, M. A., Child, J. T., Hutchens, M. J., & Hmielowski, J. D. (2018). Context collapse and privacy management: Diversity in Facebook friends increases online news reading and sharing. *New Media & Society*, 20(7), 2296–2314.
- Binder, J., Howes, A., & Sutcliffe, A. (2009). The problem of conflicting social spheres: Effects of network structure on experienced tension in social network sites. *Proceedings of the*

SIGCHI Conference on Human Factors in Computing Systems, 965–974.

- Boyd, D. (2002). Faceted id/entity: Managing representation in a digital world. *Unpublished Master's Thesis. Cambridge, MA: MIT.*
- Boyd, D. (2008). Why youth (heart) social network sites: The role of networked publics in teenage social life. YOUTH, IDENTITY, AND DIGITAL MEDIA, David Buckingham, Ed., The John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation Series on Digital Media and Learning, The MIT Press, Cambridge, MA, 2007–2016.
- Boyd, D. (2010). Social network sites as networked publics: Affordances, dynamics, and implications. In *A networked self* (pp. 47–66). Routledge.
- Brake, D. R. (2012). Who do they think they're talking to? Framings of the audience by social media users. *International Journal of Communication*, *6*, 21.
- Brandtzæg, P. B., Lüders, M., & Skjetne, J. H. (2010). Too Many Facebook "Friends"? Content Sharing and Sociability Versus the Need for Privacy in Social Network Sites. *International Journal of Human-Computer Interaction*, 26(11–12), 1006–1030. https://doi.org/10.1080/10447318.2010.516719
- Campbell, D. T., & Fiske, D. W. (1959). Convergent and discriminant validation by the multitrait-multimethod matrix. *Psychological Bulletin*, 56, 81–105. https://doi.org/10.1037/h0046016
- Cinelli, M., De Francisci Morales, G., Galeazzi, A., Quattrociocchi, W., & Starnini, M. (2021).
   The echo chamber effect on social media. *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences*, *118*(9). https://doi.org/10.1073/pnas.2023301118
- Costa, E. (2018). Affordances-in-practice: An ethnographic critique of social media logic and context collapse. *New Media & Society*, *20*(10), 3641–3656.

- Darr, C. R., & Doss, E. F. (2022). The Fake One is the Real One: Finstas, Authenticity, and Context Collapse in Teen Friend Groups. *Journal of Computer-Mediated Communication*, 27(4). https://doi.org/10.1093/jcmc/zmac009
- Das, S., & Kramer, A. (2013). Self-Censorship on Facebook. Proceedings of the International AAAI Conference on Web and Social Media, 7(1), Article 1. https://doi.org/10.1609/icwsm.v7i1.14412
- Davis, J. (2010). Architecture of the personal interactive homepage: Constructing the self through MySpace. New Media & Society, 12(7), 1103–1119. https://doi.org/10.1177/1461444809354212
- Davis, J. L., & Jurgenson, N. (2016). Context collapse: Theorizing context collusions and collisions. In *Current Research on Information Technologies and Society* (pp. 98–107).
   Routledge.
- Dennen, V. P., & Burner, K. J. (2017). Identity, context collapse, and Facebook use in higher education: Putting presence and privacy at odds. *Distance Education*, 38(2), 173–192. https://doi.org/10.1080/01587919.2017.1322453
- Duguay, S. (2016). "He has a way gayer Facebook than I do": Investigating sexual identity disclosure and context collapse on a social networking site. *New Media & Society*, *18*(6), 891–907. https://doi.org/10.1177/1461444814549930

Dvir-Gvirsman, S. (2015). One-Track Minds? Cognitive Needs, Media Diet, and Overestimation of Public Support for One's Views. *Media Psychology*, 18(4), 475–498. https://doi.org/10.1080/15213269.2014.929526

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. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1083-6101.2007.00367.x

- Ellison, N. B., Steinfield, C., & Lampe, C. (2011). Connection strategies: Social capital implications of Facebook-enabled communication practices. *New Media & Society*, *13*(6), 873–892. https://doi.org/10.1177/1461444810385389
- Faraj, S., & Azad, B. (2012). The materiality of technology: An affordance perspective. Materiality and Organizing: Social Interaction in a Technological World, 237, 258.
- Gil-Lopez, T., Shen, C., Benefield, G. A., Palomares, N. A., Kosinski, M., & Stillwell, D.
  (2018). One size fits all: Context collapse, self-presentation strategies and language styles on Facebook. *Journal of Computer-Mediated Communication*, 23(3), 127–145.
- Goethals, G. R., Allison, S. J., & Frost, M. (1979). Perceptions of the magnitude and diversity of social support. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology*, *15*(6), 570–581.
- Goffman, E. (1972). The presentation of self to others. *Symbolic Interaction: A Reader in Social Psychology*, 234–244.
- Granovetter, M. S. (1982). Alienation reconsidered: The strength of weak ties. *Connections*, 5(2), 4–16.
- Habermas, J. (1991). The structural transformation of the public sphere: An inquiry into a category of bourgeois society. MIT press.
- Halpern, D., & Gibbs, J. (2013). Social media as a catalyst for online deliberation? Exploring the affordances of Facebook and YouTube for political expression. *Computers in Human Behavior*, 29(3), 1159–1168. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.chb.2012.10.008
- Hampton, K. N., Shin, I., & Lu, W. (2017a). Social media and political discussion: When online presence silences offline conversation. *Information, Communication & Society*, 20(7),

1090-1107. https://doi.org/10.1080/1369118X.2016.1218526

- Hampton, K. N., Shin, I., & Lu, W. (2017b). Social media and political discussion: When online presence silences offline conversation. *Information, Communication & Society*, 20(7), 1090–1107. https://doi.org/10.1080/1369118X.2016.1218526
- Hauser, G. A. (2022). Vernacular Voices: The Rhetoric of Publics and Public Spheres. Univ of South Carolina Press.
- Hayes, R. A., Smock, A., & Carr, C. T. (2015). Face [book] management: Self-presentation of political views on social media. *Communication Studies*, 66(5), 549–568.
- Hewitt, A., & Forte, A. (2006). Crossing Boundaries: Identity Management and Student/Faculty Relationships on the Facebook.
- 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. https://doi.org/10.1177/0270467610385893
- Holtz, R., & Miller, N. (1985). Assumed similarity and opinion certainty. *Journal of Personality* and Social Psychology, 48(4), 890–898. https://doi.org/10.1037/0022-3514.48.4.890
- Hussain, I. (2012). A Study to Evaluate the Social Media Trends among University Students. *Procedia - Social and Behavioral Sciences*, 64, 639–645. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.sbspro.2012.11.075
- Kini, S., Pathak-Shelat, M., & Jain, V. (2022). Conceptualizing "Filter-ing": Affordances, Context Collapse, and the Social Self Online. *International Journal of Communication*, 16, 21.
- Kline, R. B. (2023). *Principles and practice of structural equation modeling*. Guilford publications.

- Koltai, J., Lorincz, L., Wachs, J., & Takacs, K. (2021). Do Diversity and Context Collapse Kill an Online Social Network? https://doi.org/10.31235/osf.io/4vk2m
- Krueger, J. (1998). On the Perception of Social Consensus. In Advances in Experimental Social Psychology (Vol. 30, pp. 163–240). Elsevier. https://doi.org/10.1016/S0065-2601(08)60384-6
- Krueger, J., & Clement, R. W. (1997). Estimates of Social Consensus by Majorities and Minorities: The Case for Social Projection. *Personality and Social Psychology Review*, 1(4), 299–313. https://doi.org/10.1207/s15327957pspr0104\_2
- Krueger, J., & Zeiger, J. S. (1993). Social categorization and the truly false consensus effect. Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 65(4), 670.
- Kwon, K. H., Moon, S.-I., & Stefanone, M. A. (2015). Unspeaking on Facebook? Testing network effects on self-censorship of political expressions in social network sites. *Quality & Quantity*, 49(4), 1417–1435. https://doi.org/10.1007/s11135-014-0078-8
- Lee, J. K., Choi, J., Kim, C., & Kim, Y. (2014). Social Media, Network Heterogeneity, and Opinion Polarization. *Journal of Communication*, 64(4), 702–722. https://doi.org/10.1111/jcom.12077
- Li, C.-H. (2016). Confirmatory factor analysis with ordinal data: Comparing robust maximum likelihood and diagonally weighted least squares. *Behavior Research Methods*, 48, 936–949.
- Lim, S. S., Vadrevu, S., Chan, Y. H., & Basnyat, I. (2012). Facework on Facebook: The Online Publicness of Juvenile Delinquents and Youths-at-Risk. *Journal of Broadcasting & Electronic Media*, 56(3), 346–361. https://doi.org/10.1080/08838151.2012.705198

Litt, E. (2012). Knock, Knock . Who's There? The Imagined Audience. Journal of Broadcasting

& Electronic Media, 56(3), 330-345. https://doi.org/10.1080/08838151.2012.705195

- Litt, E., & Hargittai, E. (2014). Smile, snap, and share? A nuanced approach to privacy and online photo-sharing. *Poetics*, *42*, 1–21.
- Litt, E., & Hargittai, E. (2016). The imagined audience on social network sites. *Social Media*+ *Society*, 2(1), 2056305116633482.
- Lőrincz, L., Koltai, J., Győr, A. F., & Takács, K. (2019). Collapse of an online social network: Burning social capital to create it? *Social Networks*, *57*, 43–53.
- MacKenzie, S. B., & Podsakoff, P. M. (2012). Common method bias in marketing: Causes, mechanisms, and procedural remedies. *Journal of Retailing*, 88(4), 542–555.
- Marder. (2012). Every Post You Make, Every Pic You Take, I'll Be Watching You: Behind Social Spheres on Facebook / IEEE Conference Publication / IEEE Xplore. https://ieeexplore.ieee.org/abstract/document/6148998?casa\_token=Iq6RBLJTUkAAAAA:lRAvMO9SJoq9iFS24nGv-

ENZw1LK4JvbFhV3eJIStWOFMNYL6xDIz26PWKQMDO7Pyutzpbw

- Marder, B. (2018). Trumped by context collapse: Examination of 'Liking'political candidates in the presence of audience diversity. *Computers in Human Behavior*, *79*, 169–180.
- Marks, G. (1984). Thinking one's abilities are unique and one's opinions are common. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, *10*(2), 203–208.
- Marks, G., & Miller, N. (1987). Ten years of research on the false-consensus effect: An empirical and theoretical review. *Psychological Bulletin*, *102*(1), 72.
- Marvin, C. (2013). Your smart phones are hot pockets to us: Context collapse in a mobilized age. *Mobile Media & Communication*, *1*(1), 153–159.

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.

- Matthes, J., Knoll, J., & von Sikorski, C. (2018). The "spiral of silence" revisited: A metaanalysis on the relationship between perceptions of opinion support and political opinion expression. *Communication Research*, 45(1), 3–33.
- Meyrowitz, J. (1986). *No sense of place: The impact of electronic media on social behavior*. Oxford University Press.
- Morrison, K. R., & Matthes, J. (2011). Socially motivated projection: Need to belong increases perceived opinion consensus on important issues. *European Journal of Social Psychology*, 41(6), 707–719. https://doi.org/10.1002/ejsp.797
- Moussaïd, M., Kämmer, J. E., Analytis, P. P., & Neth, H. (2013). Social influence and the collective dynamics of opinion formation. *PloS One*, 8(11).
- Mullen, B., Atkins, J. L., Champion, D. S., Edwards, C., Hardy, D., Story, J. E., & Vanderklok,
  M. (1985). The false consensus effect: A meta-analysis of 115 hypothesis tests. *Journal* of Experimental Social Psychology, 21(3), 262–283. https://doi.org/10.1016/0022-1031(85)90020-4
- Neubaum, G., & Krämer, N. C. (2017a). Monitoring the opinion of the crowd: Psychological mechanisms underlying public opinion perceptions on social media. *Media Psychology*, 20(3), 502–531.
- Neubaum, G., & Krämer, N. C. (2017b). Opinion climates in social media: Blending mass and interpersonal communication. *Human Communication Research*, *43*(4), 464–476.
- Nir, L. (2011). Motivated Reasoning and Public Opinion Perception. *Public Opinion Quarterly*, 75(3), 504–532. https://doi.org/10.1093/poq/nfq076

Noelle-Neumann, E. (1993). The spiral of silence: Public opinion-Our social skin. University

of Chicago Press.

- O'Leary, L. S. (2014). Civic Engagement in College Students: Connections Between Involvement and Attitudes. *New Directions for Institutional Research*, 2014(162), 55–65. https://doi.org/10.1002/ir.20077
- Putnam, R. D. (2000). *Bowling alone: The collapse and revival of American community*. Simon and Schuster.
- Ravn, S., Barnwell, A., & Barbosa Neves, B. (2020). What is "publicly available data"?
  Exploring blurred public–private boundaries and ethical practices through a case study on Instagram. *Journal of Empirical Research on Human Research Ethics*, 15(1–2), 40–45.
- Ross, L., Greene, D., & House, P. (1977). The "false consensus effect": An egocentric bias in social perception and attribution processes. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology*, *13*(3), 279–301. https://doi.org/10.1016/0022-1031(77)90049-X
- Rui, J. R., & Stefanone, M. A. (2013). Strategic Image Management Online. Information, Communication & Society, 16(8), 1286–1305.
  - https://doi.org/10.1080/1369118X.2013.763834
- Scheufele, D. A., & Eveland Jr, W. P. (2001). Perceptions of 'public opinion'and 'public'opinion expression. *International Journal of Public Opinion Research*, *13*(1), 25–44.

Schulz, A., Wirth, W., & Müller, P. (2020). We Are the People and You Are Fake News: A Social Identity Approach to Populist Citizens' False Consensus and Hostile Media Perceptions. *Communication Research*, 47(2), 201–226. https://doi.org/10.1177/0093650218794854

Schwartz-Chassidim, H., Ayalon, O., Mendel, T., Hirschprung, R., & Toch, E. (2020). Selectivity in posting on social networks: The role of privacy concerns, social capital, and technical literacy. *Heliyon*, 6(2), e03298.

Seidman, G. (2014). Expressing the "True Self" on Facebook. *Computers in Human Behavior*, 31, 367–372. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.chb.2013.10.052

Sheldon, K. M., Abad, N., & Hinsch, C. (2011). A two-process view of Facebook use and relatedness need-satisfaction: Disconnection drives use, and connection rewards it. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 100(4), 766–775. https://doi.org/10.1037/a0022407

- Sherman, S. J., Presson, C. C., & Chassin, L. (1984). Mechanisms Underlying the False Consensus Effect: The Special Role of Threats to the Self. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 10(1), 127–138. https://doi.org/10.1177/0146167284101015
- 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. *Proceedings of the 2013 Conference on Computer Supported Cooperative Work*, 793–802. https://doi.org/10.1145/2441776.2441865
- Strater, K., & Lipford, H. R. (2008). Strategies and struggles with privacy in an online social networking community. *People and Computers XXII Culture, Creativity, Interaction 22*, 111–119.
- Treem, J. W., & Leonardi, P. M. (2013). Social media use in organizations: Exploring the affordances of visibility, editability, persistence, and association. *Annals of the International Communication Association*, 36(1), 143–189.
- Treem, J. W., Leonardi, P. M., & Van den Hooff, B. (2020). Computer-mediated communication in the age of communication visibility. *Journal of Computer-Mediated Communication*, 25(1), 44–59.

- Triggs, A. H., Møller, K., & Neumayer, C. (2021). Context collapse and anonymity among queer Reddit users. *New Media & Society*, 23(1), 5–21.
- Tsfati, Y., Stroud, N. J., & Chotiner, A. (2014). Exposure to ideological news and perceived opinion climate: Testing the media effects component of spiral-of-silence in a fragmented media landscape. *The International Journal of Press/Politics*, 19(1), 3–23.
- Tversky, A., & Kahneman, D. (1974). Judgment under uncertainty: Heuristics and biases. *Science*, *185*(4157), 1124–1131.
- Uusiautti, S., & Määttä, K. (2014). I am no longer alone–How do university students perceive the possibilities of social media? *International Journal of Adolescence and Youth*, *19*(3), 293–305.
- Vandenberg, R. J., & Lance, C. E. (2000). A review and synthesis of the measurement invariance literature: Suggestions, practices, and recommendations for organizational research. *Organizational Research Methods*, 3(1), 4–70.
- Vitak, J. (2012). The Impact of Context Collapse and Privacy on Social Network Site Disclosures. *Journal of Broadcasting & Electronic Media*, 56(4), 451–470. https://doi.org/10.1080/08838151.2012.732140
- Vitak, J., Blasiola, S., Patil, S., & Litt, E. (2015). Balancing audience and privacy tensions on social network sites: Strategies of highly engaged users. *International Journal of Communication*, 9, 20.
- Wang, Y.-C., Burke, M., & Kraut, R. (2016). Modeling Self-Disclosure in Social Networking Sites. Proceedings of the 19th ACM Conference on Computer-Supported Cooperative Work & Social Computing, 74–85. https://doi.org/10.1145/2818048.2820010

Wesch, M. (2009). YouTube and You Experiences of Self-Awareness in the Context Collapse of

the Recording Webcam. *Explorations in Media Ecology*, 8(2), 99–114. https://doi.org/10.1386/eme.8.2.99\_1

- Wheeless, L. R., & Grotz, J. (1976). Conceptualization and measurement of reported selfdisclosure. *Human Communication Research*, 2(4), 338–346.
- Whiting, A., & Williams, D. (2013). Why people use social media: A uses and gratifications approach. *Qualitative Market Research: An International Journal*, 16(4), 362–369. https://doi.org/10.1108/QMR-06-2013-0041
- Williams, D. (2006). On and off the 'Net: Scales for Social Capital in an Online Era. *Journal of Computer-Mediated Communication*, 11(2), 593–628. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1083-6101.2006.00029.x
- Wisniewski, P., Knijnenburg, B. P., & Lipford, H. R. (2014). Profiling facebook users privacy behaviors. *SOUPS2014 Workshop on Privacy Personas and Segmentation*.
- Wojcieszak, M. (2008). False consensus goes online: Impact of ideologically homogeneous groups on false consensus. *Public Opinion Quarterly*, 72(4), 781–791.
- Wojcieszak, M. E. (2011). Computer-mediated false consensus: Radical online groups, social networks and news media. *Mass Communication and Society*, *14*(4), 527–546.
- Wojcieszak, M., & Price, V. (2009). What Underlies the False Consensus Effect? How Personal Opinion and Disagreement Affect Perception of Public Opinion. *International Journal of Public Opinion Research*, 21(1), 25–46. https://doi.org/10.1093/ijpor/edp001
- Zhang, J., & Reid, S. A. (2013). A Self-Categorization Explanation for Opinion Consensus Perceptions: Opinion Consensus Perceptions. *Human Communication Research*, 39(3), 269–294. https://doi.org/10.1111/hcre.12004

Zhu, Q., & Skoric, M. M. (2021). From Context Collapse to "Safe Spaces": Selective Avoidance

through Tie Dissolution on Social Media. *Mass Communication and Society*, 24(6), 892–917. https://doi.org/10.1080/15205436.2021.1883671