Title

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Abstract

Masspersonal self-disclosure on social network sites entails new risks and benefits for bridging social capital, defined as social resources such as a connection to and investment in large and heterogeneous collectives, which are important to develop during the transition to adulthood in democratic societies. To better understand motivations and social capital consequences of masspersonal self-disclosure among emerging adults, this mixed-method study examined how U.S. college students view various topics of masspersonal self-disclosure and whether values embedded in their views contributed to their perceived bridging social capital, after accounting for their Facebook use and the diversity of their networks. A total of 208 (110 women, 95 men, M_{age} = 20.28) students completed online questionnaires while referring to their Facebook profiles. Qualitative analyses showed how valuing self-expression, alongside other-focused values, informed participants' decision-making about masspersonal self-disclosure. Quantitative results showed that valuing self-expression more frequently across topics of self-disclosure predicted bridging social capital; however, the use of Facebook privacy controls and indicators of ethnic and political diversity in students' networks did not. We discuss the importance of values in understanding emerging adults' behaviors on social network sites, their generation of bridging social capital, and civic identity development.

Keywords: Emerging Adult Values, Bridging Social Capital, Social Network Sites, Facebook, Self-Expression, Civic Identity Development

Emerging Adults' Views on Masspersonal Self-Disclosure and their Bridging Social Capital on Facebook

From "bowling alone" (Putnam, 2000) to "filter bubbles" (Pariser, 2011), potential negative effects of the Internet on social capital have been captured in vivid metaphors. Putnam defined social capital as "connections among individuals—social networks and the norms of reciprocity and trustworthiness that arise from them" (p. 19) and argued that electronic communication displaces face-to-face interactions and diminishes collective engagement. In the second decade of the new millennium, adolescents and emerging adults are forming civic identities among concerns that collective participation could be threatened by Internet algorithms constructed from likes and clicks that individually customize information environments. Facebook algorithms and filter bubbles have been invoked to explain the polarization of public discourse and the flourishing of "alternative epistemic realities" (Lewandowsky, Ecker, & Cook, 2017), which could have negative repercussions for civic identity development and the functioning of democratic societies.

However, there are also reasons to be optimistic about the potential of social media for building social capital and civic identity development in the transition to adulthood. Previous research has shown that social network sites (SNS) facilitate adolescents' participation in "networked publics" (boyd, 2010) and are useful for acquiring bridging social capital—a particular kind of social resource that is about connection to large and heterogeneous networks and informational resources outside one's close social spheres (Ellison, Vitak, Gray, & Lampe, 2014). One-to-many, masspersonal communication (O'Sullivan & Carr, 2017) on SNS has reduced the time necessary for forging and maintaining large networks and loose social ties, which tend to be the "bridges" in social networks, propagating non-redundant information across

social bubbles (Bakshy, Rosenn, Marlow, & Adamic, 2012; Granovetter, 1973). Through masspersonal communication on SNS, young people can come into contact with many different kinds of people and ideally cultivate greater awareness, reciprocity, trust, and belonging with diverse others in networked publics—experiences that could promote civic identity development, which includes political-moral awareness, sense of responsibility for society, and social agency (Youniss, McLellan, & Yates, 1997).

Of course the development of bridging social capital via masspersonal communication is not straightforward. The degradation of online discourse, including trolling and call-out culture, could jeopardize trust and investment in heterogeneous online communities and lead to self-silencing or withdrawal (Middaugh, Bowyer, & Kahne, 2017; Weinstein, Rundle, & James, 2015). Context collapse, the convergence of multiple audiences into one (Marwick & boyd, 2011), may lead to the "lowest common denominator approach" (Hogan, 2010), a strategy of masspersonal self-disclosure on SNS where users are conscious of possible unintended audiences and sanitize content appropriate for the masses, rather than spread novel, alternative information. In short, new social terrains at the intersections of personal and public have been introduced that call for youth to make decisions about risks and benefits of masspersonal self-disclosure in order to build bridging social capital on SNS.

The current mixed-method study contributes to research on motivations and social consequences of masspersonal self-disclosure on SNS (Bazarova & Choi, 2014; Reinecke & Trepte, 2014) by examining emerging adults' perspectives on various genres of masspersonal self-disclosure and their bridging social capital. First, we aimed to extend previous qualitative research on perceptions of trade-offs in masspersonal self-disclosure (Vitak & Ellison, 2012) by exploring how college students' value priorities drive their decision-making about those

tradeoffs. Then, we quantitatively tested whether students' value priorities predicted their feelings of connection to and investment in large and heterogeneous collectives on Facebook, after accounting for their relational engagement on Facebook and the diversity of their networks.

Bridging Social Capital in the Transition to Adulthood

Bridging social capital is an important social resource for civic identity development in digitally networked societies. Civic identity is understanding the self as a civic actor, which can become baked into an individual's sense of self through social activities during the transition to adulthood, a window of development characterized by exploration and commitment to life meaning and purpose (Youniss et al., 1997). Prior work suggests that social media could play an important role in civic identity by lowering the threshold for more youth to become involved in political discourse (Ekström, & Shehata, 2018). In their longitudinal study with Swedish adolescents, Ekström and Shehata found that social media use increased the likelihood of exposure to political information and involvement in low-cost political activities by blurring distinctions between public and private spaces, political and non-political activities, and by bridging divisions between politically engaged and non-engaged individuals. Sharing a news story online or participating in a political discussion thread are low cost activities that exemplify new forms of "participatory politics"—defined as peer-based interactions that give youth a voice in public issues (Kahne, Hodgin, & Eidman-Aadahl, 2016). Social media and participatory politics may not lead all youth toward high levels of civic engagement and political organization, but the convergence of social and political spaces online could foster more widespread political-moral awareness and give greater numbers of youth a sense of connection to broader society during formative periods of self-construction.

Some of the first studies to show the benefits of SNS for bridging social capital were conducted with college students using Facebook (Ellison, Steinfield, & Lampe, 2007; Steinfield, Ellison, & Lampe, 2008). Researchers drew from Putnam's distinction between bridging and bonding social capital to create self-report scales that measured how connected students felt to their college campus community through informational resources from loose ties (bridging) and emotional resources from close friends (bonding). Those who were more active on Facebook across the college years increased their feelings of social support and connection to the broader campus community (Steinfield et al., 2008). To examine how Facebook could extend feelings of connection beyond campus, Ellison et al. (2014) adjusted the bridging social capital scale to tap into a construct about connection to "the bigger picture" through new people and ideas. For example, the scale asks students to rate how much using Facebook "reminds me that everyone in the world is connected" and "makes me interested in what people unlike me are thinking." Ellison and colleagues (2014) found that relationship maintenance behaviors—commenting and posting in networked publics, rather than just passively observing—was a crucial component to students' construction of bridging social capital beyond campus. The present study also uses the 2014 scale to examine factors predicting students' feelings of connection and interest in a broad and heterogeneous world outside their close social circles.

The Role of Network Heterogeneity in Bridging Social Capital

Although many studies have used the perceived bridging social capital scale to examine Facebook behaviors that promote social capital (Antheunis, Abeele, & Kanters, 2015; Brandtzæg, 2012), fewer have considered whether perceptions of bridging social capital are associated with actual heterogeneity in the network. Earlier studies examined network heterogeneity in terms of representation of different cliques or facets of life in individuals'

Facebook networks—one study found that network heterogeneity was positively associated with perceived bridging social capital (Vitak, 2012) while another showed associations with increased social tension online (Binder, Howes, & Sutcliffe, 2009). Kim and Kim (2017) examined social identity diversity in online networks by asking U.S. college students to rank "the extent to which they communicate with a variety of heterogeneous people in terms of different gender, opinions, race/ethnicity, religion, nationality, majors, places, and background" and found that general social media use did indeed predict perceptions of communication with diverse others, which in turn, predicted perceived bridging social capital. In the current study, we attempted to anchor participants more concretely to the composition of their networks by asking them to log onto their Facebook accounts and count the number of contacts in their networks who differed from them ethnically/racially, politically, and religiously—social identities that have been implicated in discussions of filter bubbles and polarization of public discourse.

On the one hand, we expected that having a greater proportion of people in one's network with different ethnic backgrounds and worldviews should promote bridging social capital by increasing exposure to and interest in diverse perspectives, as well as positive feelings of connection to the bigger picture and all the heterogeneity it involves. Previous research has highlighted the importance of ethnic/racial diversity in adolescents' and emerging adults' schools and social networks for fostering greater generalized trust (Stolle & Harell, 2013) and positive intergroup attitudes (Graham, 2018). There is also evidence that active SNS use increases users' exposure to dissimilar political views (Bakshy, Messing, & Adamic, 2015; Kim, 2011) and that political disagreements on SNS can actually reduce associations between selective likeminded media use and political polarization (Kim, 2015).

On the other hand, diverse political, religious, and ethnic points of view in one's network might also compromise bridging social capital on Facebook. Some have found that greater ethnic diversity can decrease overall interconnectedness and trust compared to more homogenous groups (Putnam, 2007; Laurence, 2011). Contradictory worldviews in the network could intensify youths' experiences of context collapse, creating tension and hesitancy to engage (Weinstein et al., 2015). With context collapse, social media users balance the desire to express authentic selves with the desire to maintain positive impressions to diverse, ambiguous, and even unknown audiences (Marwick & boyd, 2011). Context collapse can help explain the positivity bias in masspersonal self-disclosures (Reinecke & Trepte, 2014) where negativity is perceived as more appropriate for private, intimate exchanges and perceived as less attractive when expressed to a general audience (Bazarova, 2012). Indeed, Yang and Brown (2013) found that emerging adults who are more contained and strategic about sharing only positive status updates on Facebook, such as information related to hobbies or activities, receive more audience supportive feedback and greater social connectivity from their posts in their transition to college.

Navigating Masspersonal Self-Disclosure on SNS

One strategy for circumnavigating context collapse in masspersonal self-disclosure is the use of privacy controls—adjusting SNS settings to regulate who has access to one's self-disclosures. Previous research has shown associations between the use of privacy controls and perceived bridging social capital (Ellison, Vitak, Steinfield, Gray, & Lampe, 2011; Vitak, 2012), suggesting that technological knowledge, in combination with understanding and applying norms of self-disclosure on the continuum from personal to masspersonal, are important new social competencies involved in the construction of bridging social capital during emerging adulthood. However, the use of privacy controls to limit audiences for self-disclosures could also inhibit

relationship maintenance with weak ties, thereby inhibiting the spread of social capital resources such as novel information across social bubbles. Recent research shows that college students who have gravitated to Twitter have the highest bridging social capital, precisely because they are less likely to use privacy settings on this platform (Phua et al., 2017; Shane-Simpson et al., 2018). These studies suggest that those who are willing to forgo privacy concerns in exchange for other benefits of masspersonal self-disclosure are more likely to generate bridging social capital.

In the SNS privacy literature, the "privacy paradox" refers to the way that concerns about privacy do not always translate to behaviors on SNS when users weigh the risks and benefits of self-disclosure (Norberg, Horne, & Horne, 2007; Tufekci, 2008). That is, although people are concerned about privacy, they may surrender control over who has access to self-disclosures because they value the benefits of masspersonal communication more. In their qualitative study of perceived risks and benefits of masspersonal self-disclosure for bridging social capital among U.S. adults, Vitak and Ellison (2012) found that all participants recognized unique and valuable resources such as novel perspectives that could be acquired through masspersonal interactions but some were not willing to trade-off privacy concerns to engage in the process. For these individuals, context collapse had a chilling effect such that they self-censored or resorted to more private communication channels when a topic was perceived as too intimate or controversial.

For college students, the perceived benefits that motivate tradeoffs in the direction of masspersonal self-disclosure tend to be about self-expression/relief (expressing feelings and thoughts; releasing pent-up feelings) and social validation (approval and support from others) (Bazarova & Choi, 2014). These results are not surprising given the salience of identity development in emerging adulthood and the drive to explore and affirm a socially desirable self

en route to committing to adult roles and responsibilities valued in society (Arnett, 2000). Findings from Bazarova and Choi (2014) suggest that prioritizing the benefits of self-expression and social validation over privacy (a desire to control who has access to the self) may serve an important function in driving masspersonal self-disclosure and the development of bridging social capital during the transition to adulthood in digitally networked societies.

We argue that value priorities are important for understanding how emerging adults navigate masspersonal self-disclosure. Values are cultural sources of motivation—ideals that transcend specific situations, shaping and justifying beliefs, attitudes, and behaviors (Schwartz, 1992). Beliefs about what is desirable and important cohere by mid-adolescence, as youth around the world come to understand and organize value priorities according to a universal structure (Schwartz, 2012). The structure consists of conflicts and compatibilities between 10 goals along two dimensions, forming a circular continuum of four quadrants: Openness-to-Change values such as stimulation and self-direction (independence, freedom, creativity) that are self-focused and anxiety-free; Self-Transcendence values such as benevolence and universalism (equality, social justice) that are other-focused and anxiety-free; Conservation values such as tradition, conformity, and security (harmony and stability of relationships and society) that are other-focused and anxiety-based; Self-Enhancement values such as power and achievement that are self-focused and anxiety-based (Schwartz, 1992). The universality of the circular structure (i.e., the closer two values are on the circle the more they motivate the same action or attitude) has been supported by a large body of cross-cultural research (Schwartz & Boehnke, 2004); however, the importance of these motivational ideals vary between and within cultures and predict individual behaviors such as adolescent delinquency (Ungvary, McDonald, & Benish-Weisman, 2017).

From a Uses and Gratifications perspective (Katz, Blumer, & Gurevitch, 1974), individuals' value priorities influence how media are selected and mobilized and therefore influence the effects of media. Prioritizing self-expression over privacy, that is, prioritizing self-direction over power in Schwartz's model, should promote young people's enthusiasm for masspersonal self-disclosure and contribute to the development of their bridging social capital on SNS. Cross-cultural SNS studies lend support to this view; relatively more individualistic U.S. college students engage in more masspersonal and less private communication compared to French students (Brown, Michinov, & Manago, 2017) and have more generalized trust and less concern for privacy online compared to Japanese students (Thomson, Yuki, & Ito, 2015). In the current study we hypothesized that U.S. college students would value self-expression when making decisions about various genres of masspersonal self-disclosure and those who were more likely to do so would have greater bridging social capital.

Current Study

The present mixed-method study aimed to clarify factors that contribute to college students' feelings of connection and interest in a heterogeneous world outside their close social circles. Our goals were to 1) understand how college students' beliefs and values inform their views on masspersonal self-disclosure and 2) test whether valuing self-expression accounts for variability in students' bridging social capital. We first examined the strength of students' endorsements of masspersonal self-disclosure across major topics identified in the research literature (sexy selfies, emotions, political views, religious views, personal achievements, and social life) and then explored value priorities in students' reasons for their endorsements. Finally, we tested whether valuing self-expression when reasoning about masspersonal self-disclosure

predicted students' Facebook bridging social capital, after accounting for students' relationship maintenance behaviors, network diversity, and use of privacy controls.

Method

Participants

A total of 208 (110 women, 95 men, M_{age} = 20.28, SD_{age} = 1.70) undergraduate students were recruited at a West Coast public university to participate in the study. Participants were recruited through an online study recruitment system (SONA) and received one hour research credit for their participation. The selection criterion included active users of Facebook (at least one login per month). Data were collected from January 14, 2016, through March 6, 2017, a time period when Facebook remained the most popular SNS among emerging adults (Pew Research, 2018). The majority of participants' mothers and fathers were college graduates and they tended to identify as White (68.5%), non-religious (58.7%), and Democrat (42.3%). Complete demographics can be found in Table 1.

Procedure

Participants convened in computer labs on a university campus, where they were directed to an online survey using the software Qualtrics. Once in the survey, participants responded to six scenarios in which two characters disagreed about whether content should be posted on social media. After the scenarios, participants answered general questions about their Facebook use, knowledge and use of privacy settings, and then completed the Facebook Relationship Maintenance Behaviors and Facebook Bridging Social Capital scales (Ellison et al., 2014). Next, participants were directed to login to their Facebook accounts so that they could answer questions about their network size and composition. Lastly, participants provided demographic information, including age, sex, ethnicity/race, and political and religious identity.

Measures

Views on Masspersonal Self-Disclosure. Six scenarios were constructed to prompt participants' attitudes, beliefs, and values regarding masspersonal self-disclosure across six different content areas: sexy selfies, emotions, political views, religious views, personal achievements, and social life. These topics were chosen based on research on common forms of masspersonal self-disclosure that include ideology (Bakshy, Messing, & Adamic, 2015), emotions and moods (Manago, Taylor & Greenfield, 2012), photos of oneself (Siibak, 2015), symbols of social connectivity (Christofides, Muise, & Desmarais, 2009), and updates about everyday life, romantic partners, and accomplishments (Marshall, Lefringhausen, & Ferenczi, 2015).

The scenarios briefly introduced the topic and two characters with opposing opinions – one in favor of posting the content online and another against it. Characters in the scenarios did not explain reasons for their views and no specific site or platform was mentioned. See appendix for all six scenarios. Participants were asked to 1) select the person they most agreed with (dichotomous variable) and how strongly they felt about their choice on a 3-point sliding scale (1 = *Somewhat strongly*, 2 = *Strongly*, 3 = *Very strongly*). After participants indicated their strength of endorsement of posting versus not posting, they were asked to explain the reasons for their answer.

To compare positive endorsements of masspersonal self-disclosure across topics, the dichotomous character selection plus sliding scale scores were transformed into a 6-point scale (1 = *Very strongly against self-disclosure,* 2 = *Strongly against self-disclosure,* 3 = *Somewhat strongly against self-disclosure,* 4 = *Somewhat strongly in favor of self-disclosure,* 5 = *Strongly in favor of self-disclosure,* 6 = *Very strongly in favor of self-disclosure*). Inductive thematic

analyses were conducted for the open-ended responses and codes were created to assess the prevalence of values and beliefs in participants' explanations for their endorsements.

General Facebook Use. Two items captured overall Facebook use. The first item asked participants to provide the number of years they owned a Facebook account. The second item asked how frequently participants used their account on a 6-point scale (1 = *Never or almost never*, 2 = *Rarely*, 3 = *A few times a month*, 4 = *A few times a week*, 5 = *Once a day*, 6 = *Multiple times a day*).

Facebook Privacy Controls. Four items captured participants' knowledge or use of Facebook privacy settings. Participants were asked how familiar they were with Facebook privacy settings on a 4–point scale (1 = *Not at all familiar*, 2 = *A little familiar*, 3 = *Familiar*, 4 = *Very familiar*). They were also asked who could view their profile on a 4-point scale (1 = *Anyone (My profile is set to public)*, 2 = *Friends of friends*, 3 = *Only my friends*, 4 = *Customized (I block certain individuals from viewing my profile*). Lastly, participants reported how frequently they used customized privacy settings for status updates and photo uploads on a 5-point scale (1 = *Never*, 2 = *Rarely*, 3 = *Sometimes*, 4 = *Often*, 5 = *Very often*).

Facebook Relationship Maintenance Behaviors (FRMB). The Facebook Relationship Maintenance Behaviors (FRMB) scale is a 5-item scale that assesses social behaviors on Facebook (Ellison et al., 2014). Participants report on a 5-point Likert scale (1 = *Strongly disagree*, 5 = *Strongly agree*) the extent to which they engage in certain relationship maintenance behaviors, with items such as "When I see someone in my social network sharing good news on Facebook, I try to respond." Although previous research found the scale highly reliable (Ellison et al., 2014), Cronbach's alpha revealed the scale was just under the reliability threshold (α = .69). Upon removing the item "When a Facebook friend has a birthday, I try to post something

on their wall" the scale met reliability (α = .73). This item was excluded from the scale for all analyses.

Facebook Bridging Social Capital scale. Perceived bridging social capital was measured using Ellison et al.'s (2014) scale. The scale is a 9-item measure in which participants report the extent to which they feel connected to novel informational resources and have a sense of belonging to a broad and diverse network of social contacts on a 5-point Likert scale (1 = *Strongly disagree*, 5 = *Strongly agree*). Sample items include "Interacting with people in my Facebook network makes me interested in things that happen outside of my town," and "Interacting with people in my Facebook network makes me interested in what people unlike me are thinking." Cronbach's alpha revealed the scale is reliable (α = .76).

Network Diversity. We measured network diversity in three ways: the proportion of people within participants' networks who differed from them in terms of their ethnicity/race, their political identity, and their religious identity. Toward the end of the survey, participants opened their Facebook profiles, reported their total number of Facebook friends, and were then presented with the following written instructions:

> *For the next 4 minutes, please carefully look through your Facebook friends list and count how many people <u>you are certain</u> identify with a different religion than you. You may use the scratch sheet of paper you have been provided with. You will not be able to advance to the next question until 4 minutes have passed.*

The screen was programmed on a 4-minute timer to promote accurate reporting and to prevent participants from entering a random number to advance through the survey quickly. We piloted this procedure with undergraduates with large Facebook networks (500-800 friends) to determine this 4-minute interval. In addition, an attentive researcher remained in the computer

lab to further promote accountability. After answering the question about religion, participants advanced to the next 4-minute task of counting the number of friends in their Facebook networks who identify with a different ethnicity/race than them, and then the next 4-minute task to count the number of contacts who identify with a different political ideology than them. We computed proportions of ethnic/racial, religious, political diversity separately by dividing the number people participants reported in each social identity category over their reported total number of Facebook friends.

Results

Analytic Plan

First, we used a repeated measures *ANOVA* with a Greenhouse-Geisser to test whether the strength of students' endorsements of masspersonal self-disclosure on a Likert scale differed across genres of masspersonal self-disclosure. Post hoc tests using Bonferroni correction were run to identify specific differences between each of the six topics.

A general inductive approach (Thomas, 2006) for analyzing qualitative data was used to identify major beliefs and values at play in college students' views on masspersonal self-disclosure. We chose not to use Schwartz's value structure as a framework because our goal was not to test Schwartz's theory, but rather, to develop a set of themes that characterize young people's values priorities when negotiating risks and benefits of masspersonal self-disclosure. We used an inductive approach because although we anticipated that self-expression would appear as justification for decisions about the scenarios, we sought to center youth perspectives and discover other kinds of values that would be obscured by a focus on self-expression but become evident from detailed readings of participants' written responses from the ground-up.

In this inductive approach, the research team first read participants' responses to the scenarios multiple times to understand participants' points of view. Then, we focused on identifying beliefs and values that supported positive and negative endorsements toward masspersonal self-disclosure. Themes were constructed, consolidated, and refined through an iterative process of team discussions and individual reengagement with raw data. The team eventually agreed on an exhaustive set of eight themes as encapsulating participants' views on masspersonal self-disclosure and indeed, a self-expression theme emerged robustly from the data. A codebook was written describing each of the themes and two researchers coded approximately 30% of the data to test the coding scheme. Inter-rater reliability was established for each code across scenarios, with percent agreement for all codes above 80%, and an overall percent agreement of 97.8%. Cohen's kappa for codes within each of the six scenarios ranged from .60 – 1.00, with the majority in the .80-1.00 range and an average kappa of .92. Only two kappas were below .74: the code "negative impact on others" in the sexy selfies scenario (.60) and the code "positive impact on others" in the personal achievement scenario (.68). In our qualitative results section, we describe how our themes relate to Schwartz's theoretical model.

To examine the prevalence of themes appearing in responses to the scenarios, we coded all responses as having either the presence or absence of each of the themes and computed frequency by dividing the number of participants articulating a theme by the total number of participants responding to the scenarios. To test whether valuing self-expression contributes significantly to students' bridging social capital, we computed a self-expression composite score by adding the number of times the self-expression theme appeared in participants' responses across all six scenarios. A linear multiple regression was used to predict students' perceived bridging social capital on Facebook from their Facebook relationship maintenance behaviors,

network composition, use of privacy controls, and self-expression composite scores. We also controlled for gender and racial/ethnic, religious, and political identity in the regression models.

Quantitative Comparison of Endorsements across Topics of Masspersonal Self-Disclosure

A repeated measures *ANOVA* with a Greenhouse-Geisser correction determined that the strength of participants' endorsements of masspersonal self-disclosure differed statistically significantly between the six topics, $F(4.43, 674.00) = 110.65$, $p < .001$. Average strength of endorsements for each topic and the results of post hoc tests using the Bonferroni correction are in Table 2. On average, the genres with the highest positive endorsements of masspersonal self-disclosure was social life and personal achievement, followed by religious views, and then political views. Students tended to negatively view masspersonal self-disclosure in the case of emotions and sexy selfies, according to our 6-point scale.

We explored whether participants' political or religious identities were associated with their endorsement for political or religious self-disclosure. An independent-samples t-test revealed significant differences on the topic of political views, $t(182) = 3.18$, $p = .002$. Specifically, those who identified with a political party ($M = 3.65$, $SD = 1.69$) more strongly endorsed posting about political views online compared to those who did not identify with a political party ($M = 2.77$, $SD = 1.76$). In addition, a one-way *ANOVA* showed significant differences on the topic of religious views among those who identified as religious, atheist, or non-religious ($F(2, 172) = 6.38$, $p = .002$). In a Tukey post hoc test, endorsement of self-disclosure for religious views was higher among those who identified as religious (4.31 ± 1.47), compared to those who identified as either atheist (3.17 ± 1.69, $p = .003$) or as non-religious (3.66 ± 1.57, $p = .032$). The difference between those who identified as atheist versus non-religious was not significant ($p = .335$).

Qualitative Analysis of Reasons for Endorsements

We derived eight broad themes from college students' reasoning about the masspersonal self-disclosure scenarios. Table 3 shows the prevalence of themes in participants' responses to each topic. Beliefs and values related to self-expression were present in responses to all topics except social life. The social life scenario tended to elicit the social grooming theme—beliefs and values about the importance of fulfilling social obligations. Multiple values were present in responses, some compatible and some incompatible. For example, social grooming and self-expression appeared together in the personal achievement scenario reinforcing the same view toward self-disclosure; information control in combination with self-expression in the sexy selfies scenario appeared together to reduce the intensity of self-disclosure endorsements.

Students' responses to religious/political views and emotions topics also included a multiplicity of intersecting values. When responding to the religion scenario, students emphasized self-expression and the importance of showing tolerance for other worldviews. Some college students believed that disclosing political views could have a positive impact on others but some also believed it could be a poor and ineffective form of communication, values that resonate with Schwartz's concepts of benevolence and perhaps tradition (valuing traditional modalities of communication). The most frequent theme in responses to the emotions scenario was the importance of contextual factors, suggesting the heightened complexity of this topic in terms of perceived risks and benefits. We now go into detail into each theme, which are depicted in Figure 1 in terms of how they would be conceptually related to Schwartz's theoretical structure of values.

Self-Expression. Participants often simply stated the importance of "expression" or "freedom of expression" when giving reasons for their positive attitudes toward masspersonal self-disclosure. For example, in response to the political views scenario, one participant said:

> *"I think it's great that we have a tool in our society to express our thoughts about political issues. This kind of expression did not exist before social media, and I think it's powerful…"*

The self-expression theme captured beliefs and values similar to the self-expression/relief motivation identified by Bazarova & Choi (2014). College students in our sample believed in the importance of expressing what you think, what you feel, and what you want in masspersonal self-disclosures of sexuality, emotion, political and religious views, and personal achievements. Often participants emphasized personal choice when they themselves would not engage in masspersonal self-disclosure. For example, when explaining reasons for endorsing sexy selfies, one participant wrote:

> *"Personally I would never post a sexually provocative picture online, and it makes me slightly uncomfortable when others d[o] based upon the degree to which it is revealing. Still though I believe people should have the freedom to post almost anything they want and I know a lot of people are into that."*

Self-expression also appeared in combination with other values. Students described believing in self-expression as a potential strategy for social and political change with the goal of creating a more tolerant and accepting environment for everyone, combining Schwartz's universalistic social justice values with self-direction values. Other students attenuated their endorsements of self-expression when factoring the well-being of others into their considerations. The following participant believes that self-disclosures

can interfere with social expectations and interpersonal harmony—beliefs and values represented in Schwartz's circular structure as conformity and security, respectively:

> *"I think it's important to share our feelings and opinions, but sometimes people can go too far, and that's when it becomes disruptive to others or can be harmful."*

In sum, self-expression was a prominent value in college students' reasoning but they often combined self-expression with other values to either augment or attenuate their views on masspersonal self-disclosure.

Social Grooming. The importance of sharing content about the self to nurture social ties was a frequent theme in college students' reasoning about personal achievement (44.4%) and social life (32.9%), the genres with the highest average endorsements of self-disclosure across topics. This theme encapsulates the idea that "sharing is caring," as in this participant's response:

> *"I think that sharing what you've been doing and time with friends is what social media is for. When I'm geographically absent from friends' lives I can still feel some sense of community through seeing what they're up to."*

This participant highlights that engaging in masspersonal self-disclosure can be understood as conforming to common social practices ("sharing… is what social media is for") that fulfill social obligations and maintain stability of social attachments.

From this point of view, expressing oneself via status updates, even bragging about the self, can be about fulfilling social obligations. The following participant illustrates this meaning-making, combining the importance of social grooming with the value of personal achievement:

> *"I do not see any problem with posting about career achievements online. It's an easier way to let most of your family and close friends know the same exciting news without having to call 10 people sep[a]rately. There's nothing wrong in my eyes with being pr[o]ud of your accomplishments."*

In sum, the social grooming theme demonstrates how young people can be motivated to engage in masspersonal self-disclosures through other-oriented values such as security.

Positive Impact on Network. This second other-oriented theme reflects beliefs and values about helping others through self-expression. In these responses, participants described how posting content can benefit others by spreading information, educating and entertaining, facilitating important dialogue, and encouraging others. The following participant believes masspersonal self-disclosures spread positive psychosocial resources such as inspiration while satisfying a more self-focused desire for social affirmation of personal achievements.

> *"Suc[c]ess motivates others seeking out the same goals. Sharing also feels good because of the recognition of one[']s hard work."*

This theme highlights once again the intersections of self- and other-focused values in U.S. college students' views on masspersonal self-disclosure.

Poor Communication. When arguing against masspersonal self-disclosure, participants frequently made statements concerning the ineffectiveness of the masspersonal communication medium. The poor communication theme was common in responses to topics that the sample on average regarded as controversial (political views and religious views) or as not ideal for self-disclosure (emotions). They described ineffectiveness in general terms of dysfunction and poor solutions to problems, and as potentially initiating arguments within their network. Regarding posting about emotions on Facebook, one participant said:

> *"Personal problems are not solved by posting on social media. I believe it is a false way to vent problems and in order to adequately deal with these problems people should seek alternative methods."*

The poor communication theme could involve Schwartz's benevolence and security values but what tied this theme together was the idea that features of masspersonal self-disclosure, including lack of face-to-face social cues and context collapse, are inherently negative. In this way, students emphasizing face-to-face communication over new modalities and possibilities could be thought of as prioritizing tradition in Schwartz's model, in this case traditional customs and ideas about human communication.

Information Control. In this theme, college students articulated the importance of controlling who has access to the self because of the permanency of posted content and unknown audiences online. Students understood these circumstances as creating risks such as damage to one's reputation and exposure of vulnerabilities. Information control was most often present in college students' reasoning about sexy selfies. For example, one participant said:

> *"I think people should have the confidence to do whatever they want with their bodies, but the photos on the internet are forever and could affect [your] career if your employ[er] sees it."*

The information control theme also appeared in the most positively endorsed topic for masspersonal self-disclosure, social life:

> *"This leads to identity theft, and also puts you in danger. Updating where you are and [who] you are with makes you extremely vulnerable to predators."*

Interestingly, students tended to discuss information control as a means of managing their public reputation or as a way of protecting the self from "predators"— values for power and

security that are anxiety-based—yet, they did not discuss privacy issues in terms of government surveillance or surveillance capitalism.

Negative Impact on Network. This theme was a mirror image of the positive impact on others theme, with participants describing how self-expression could harm others. Students acknowledged the potential impacts on others in terms of self-disclosures being upsetting, annoying, or taking-up precious attention. This theme was distributed across genres except for social life and was most frequent in sexy selfies, for example, in this participant's response:

> *"I have mixed feelings on this. Still undecided about it. I do think it is potentially offensive to some parties, and should be censored to a limited audience in order to not offend people."*

As this quote exemplifies, sentiments about potential negative effects of self-disclosures on others often expressed Schwartz's value of conformity, which is about restraining inclinations that violate social expectations and norms that are likely to upset others.

Depends on Tolerance. A tolerance-dependent theme was identified specifically in responses to the religious/political masspersonal self-disclosure scenarios. In this theme, participants explicitly stated that their endorsement of disclosure was dependent upon whether the religious/political expression conveyed respect and acknowledgment of differing perspectives and beliefs. In regard to posting about religion online, one participant said:

> *"I think it's good to promote whatever you have faith in, as long as it's not to condemn other people's beliefs along the way."*

In this quote and others like it, valuing self-expression was attenuated with universalistic values, which Schwartz defines as prioritizing understanding, appreciating, tolerating, and protecting *all* people and nature.

Depends on Context. In four out of the six scenarios (all except religious/political views), the depends on context theme was applied when participants described not having enough information to make a clear endorsement. In this reasoning, students were not expressing a value per se but rather, hesitancy to make a judgement (thus, the theme is not in Figure 1). Depends on context operated as a general catch-all for when participants emphasized various factors outside of the scenario that would sway their perspective. For example, students described how they would endorse the sexy selfies scenario on some platforms (Instagram) but not others. Other examples include participants describing how their endorsement would depend on the frequency of an individual's posting behavior or the specific content of the post:

> *"There are certain emotions that are okay to post on social media but the more personal things should be kept to yourself and the people you care about."*

The context-dependent theme was quite broad and reflected a variety of values in Schwartz's model including security, power, conformity, and benevolence.

Overall, we found that many of our inductively derived themes could be related to Schwartz's (1992) universal values. Although we did not set out to identify Schwartz's theoretical values in students' responses, we nevertheless found that participants expressed beliefs and values that could be related to all four quadrants of circular structure. As expected, valuing self-expression appeared most frequently in students' responses but many other values were present such as universalism, benevolence, conformity, security, and power. Whereas much of the focus of research on masspersonal self-disclosure has tended to focus on risks and benefits to the individual, our analyses revealed that emerging adults also view masspersonal self-disclosures through the lens of other-focused value motivations.

Quantitative Analysis of Factors Contributing to Perceived Bridging Social Capital

Descriptive Statistics. Table 4 includes descriptive statistics for the variables tested in the regression analysis that tested factors predicting college students' perceived bridging social capital. On average, participants owned a Facebook account for over 6 years (M = 6.56, SD =1.43) and currently used their Facebook account at least once a day. Participants regarded themselves as at least somewhat familiar with Facebook privacy settings but rarely used customized privacy settings for status updates or photo uploads and tended to have their Facebook set to friends-of-friends having access to their profile. On average, about a quarter of participants' network contacts were of a different ethnicity or race than them, less than a quarter of their contacts were of a different religious identity, and less than a quarter were of a different political identity. Given the average network size of 545 contacts, this translates roughly to 128 people with a different ethnicity/race, 99 people with a different religious identity, and 79 people with a different political identity in their networks. On average, valuing self-expression came up in participants' reasons for their endorsements of masspersonal self-disclosure between 1-2 times across the scenarios.

Bivariate Correlations. Perceived bridging social capital was associated with frequency of Facebook use, $r(205) = .305$, $p = .0001$, replicating previous research. Correlations between Facebook relationship maintenance behaviors, privacy settings, network diversity, valuing self-expression, and perceived bridging social capital are in Table 5. Perceived bridging social capital was associated with network size, Facebook relationship maintenance behaviors, and valuing self-expression. Valuing self-expression was also significantly correlated with relationship maintenance behaviors. Contrary to expectations, perceived bridging social capital was not correlated with any of the network diversity measures. In addition, none of the privacy behaviors were associated with perceived bridging social capital scores (p's > .05). We then did a median

split, dividing participants into two groups based on their use of privacy controls to correspond with Ellison and colleagues' (2011) analyses of privacy settings and perceived bridging social capital. There were no significant differences in average perceived bridging social capital scores between people who were familiar with privacy settings versus those who were not ($p = .90$), those who employed profile privacy settings versus those who did not ($p = .66$), nor those who customized their privacy settings on status updates ($p = .54$) or photo uploads ($p = .08$) versus those who did not.

Linear Regression. A multiple linear regression was run to examine the relative contributions of Facebook use, network size, network diversity, and valuing self-expression to college students' perceived bridging social capital. Age was not correlated with bridging social capital and was not entered into the model. Controlling for gender, race/ethnicity, religious and political identity, we found that our model was significant $F(15, 173) = 4.66$, $p < .0001$, $R_2 = .226$, and that the predictor variables accounted for 23% of the variance in perceived bridging social capital. Facebook use frequency, network size, relationship maintenance behaviors, valuing self-expression, and network religious diversity all had significant beta weights. Table 6 shows the regression model with variables and standardized regression coefficients. The model shows that in addition to network size and social engagement on Facebook, valuing self-expression uniquely contributes to college students' bridging social capital.

Discussion

In this study we found that a variety of values inform emerging adults' views on masspersonal self-disclosure and that valuing self-expression is important for their development of bridging social capital. After controlling for factors such as network size and active Facebook use that have been previously established in the research literature (Ellison et al., 2014),

consistently valuing self-expression when making decisions about various topics of masspersonal self-disclosure predicted students' perceived bridging social capital. Contrary to previous research (Ellison et al., 2011; Phua et al., 2017), we did not find that use or familiarity with privacy settings on Facebook contributed to the variability in students' bridging social capital. We also failed to find evidence of an association between participants' perceptions of bridging social capital and the political, religious, or ethnic/racial diversity of their networks (although not correlated with bridging social capital, religious diversity of the network was significant in a regression model, suggesting suppressor effects). College students who more strongly endorsed bridging social capital scale items such as "talking with people in my Facebook network makes me interested in what people unlike me are thinking" were no more likely to have greater numbers of contacts in their Facebook networks who were politically, religiously, or ethnically different from them.

There are many potential explanations for these null findings, including the possibility that positive and negative aspects of network diversity cancel each other out over the course of adolescence and transition to adulthood. In the introduction we argued that exposure to political, religious, and ethnic diversity online could facilitate bridging social capital, resembling the way ethnic/racial diversity in adolescents' and emerging adults' offline contexts promote greater understanding and positive attitudes toward difference (e.g., Graham, 2018). Alternatively, greater diversity in online networks could intensify tensions and ideological polarizations for youth over time, fostering sanitized self-disclosures, withdrawal from social media, or increased desire to engage only with those whose views are compatible with one's own. Both of these dynamics have the potential to play out as online networks expand, contract, and change; the

major insight of our study is that these dynamics are likely shaped by the values young people bring to the table when engaging in masspersonal self-disclosure.

Insignificant associations between perceived bridging social capital and network diversity could also be explained by reporting errors in college students' assessments of their networks or lack of awareness of network homogeneity when responding to items on the bridging social capital scale. Indeed, Mariek and colleagues (2018) found that students' perceptions of their bridging social capital were not good indicators of the actual availability of diverse sources of knowledge and expertise in their online networks. Although our participants may have wanted to believe that they have access to alternative points of view through Facebook, they may not have been aware of the ways that relatively homogenous worldviews are represented in the ethnic/racial, political, or religious compositions of their networks. Indeed, homophily, the human tendency to seek out and be attracted to more similar others, has been shown to influence adolescents' and adults' social interactions and network composition online (Craig & Wright, 2012; Mazur & Richards, 2011; Koiranen, Koivula, Keipi, & Saarinen, 2019). Whether it is offline echo chambers or online filter bubbles, people in general may not recognize how identity homophily in their social environments limits their perspectives.

Importantly, we also found low reliability in the perceived bridging social capital scale and evidence for three separate constructs: four items about curiosity and novelty ("Interacting with people on my Facebook network makes me interested in things that happen outside my town"), three items about feeling connected to an expansive community ("the bigger picture"), and two items about meeting new people through Facebook. Future research using this scale should consider conceptualizing these factors separately to examine associations with political, ethnic, religious network diversity.

Another insignificant finding was the use of privacy controls. The use of privacy controls in our sample was not indicative of technological savvy in managing context collapse to enhance bridging social capital, as previous research has suggested (Ellison et al., 2011; Phua et al., 2017). This failure to replicate can be understood in terms of historical changes in the social and technological environments of college students' Facebook networks over the past 10 years. As older adults and parents have gravitated to Facebook, youth have moved on to other sites such as Instagram and Twitter to carve out separate peer spaces (Pew Research, 2018). Ellison and boyd (2013) point out that when the user base on a SNS shifts, so will the norms and function of privacy controls; therefore, contradictory results across time may actually reflect the shifting social landscape of a particular SNS. College students in our sample in 2016 were likely engaging in a different kind of social and technological context on Facebook compared to college students in the past, more likely to be using Facebook to share social life and personal achievement information with family and friends, while using other sites to engage with friends and peers in particular ways (such as sexy selfies on Instagram or political views on Twitter).

Rather than segmenting audiences to maintain authenticity and manage context collapse, a better predictor of college students' bridging social capital on Facebook was the extent to which they valued self-expression when making meaning out of various topics of masspersonal self-disclosure. Individual variations in value priorities for self-expression may be a motivational foundation explaining why those who more frequently interact with weak ties on social media have greater civic participation and feelings of generalized trust (Bouchillon & Gotlieb, 2017) or why SNS users with greater privacy concerns disclose less frequently via status updates and have decreased bridging social capital (Vitak, 2012). Valuing self-expression may be key to motivating the spread of novel and even controversial information across filter bubbles in large

social networks online, and therefore should be considered when examining how social media could be harnessed to promote social agency, responsibility for society, and political-moral awareness during adolescence and the transition to adulthood.

Our qualitative results also illustrated that valuing self-expression is not the whole story in college students' decision-making regarding masspersonal self-expression. Students reasoned about masspersonal self-disclosure through a multiplicity of intersecting values. Themes such as "social grooming," "negative impact on others," "poor communication," "positive impact on others," and "depends on tolerance" illustrated how college students consider others and the bigger picture in their negotiations of masspersonal self-disclosure. In relating our inductively derived themes to Schwartz's (1992) theoretical model we found similarities in terms of tensions and compatibilities—students combined values such as universalism and self-direction proximally placed on the circle to reinforce or slightly change the tenor of a particular view while combining more distant values on the circle to attenuate a particular view. For example, students combined self-direction with conformity values to temper masspersonal self-disclosure, and self-direction with benevolence or universalism to imagine prosocial benefits of masspersonal self-disclosure. A fruitful area for future research would be to examine how value combinations, rather than just self-expression by itself, contribute to the generation of bridging social capital during the transition to adulthood.

Emerging adults, like adolescents, are often depicted as focused on the self because of identity development concerns during this period of development. However, our results depart from previous research showing that emerging adults' social media engagement tends to be primarily mediated by motivations (Bazarova & Choi, 2014) and forms of thinking (Flores & James, 2012) that are geared toward enhancing and protecting the self. This difference could be a

reflection of cohort changes across time or it could be explained by methodological and theoretical differences across studies. The use of a functional theory of self-disclosure in Bazarova and Choi (2014) presupposes motivations related to self-enhancement and protection; face-to-face interviews and questions about personal experiences in Flores and James (2012) could have influenced participants to be more self-focused in their thinking and expression. Certainly adolescents and emerging adults are drawn to social media to fulfill needs for identity exploration and commitment but we may underestimate the role of fundamental human values in young people's prosocial motivations online. By asking emerging adults to make decisions about genres of masspersonal self-disclosure, our research evoked fundamental values guiding how they negotiate masspersonal self-disclosure, and documented compelling considerations of others and broader society.

Limitations and Future Directions

A viable reason for our null findings between ethnic/racial, political, and religious network diversity and perceptions of bridging social capital is error in measurement. The social network measures relied on participants to evaluate large numbers of individuals relative to their own identifications, which may have taxed their attention and knowledge capacities, and the internal consistency of the perceived bridging social capital scale was only moderate. Reliability was low for two codes within particular scenarios ("positive impact on others" in personal achievement; "negative impact on others" in sexy selfies) and therefore those frequencies should be interpreted with caution. In addition, our estimation of diversity was limited to the proportions of people in the network who differed from the individual, which could mean different things whether the individual reporting has minority versus majority identities. Applications of the findings from the current research should take into consideration the sample, mostly European-

American, liberal, West Coast college students and consider masspersonal self-disclosure experiences and bridging social capital from the perspectives of younger adolescents and minority youth.

Future research should further evaluate and fine-tune measures of network diversity and bridging social capital, as they can be examined at the levels of society and the individual to understand civic identity development and the functioning of democratic societies in the digital age. Developmental researchers could design longitudinal studies from adolescence to adulthood to better understand how value priorities influence how youth take-up new communication affordances to participate in networked publics, and how particular experiences in networked publics feed into political-moral awareness, civic responsibility, social agency, and later civic engagement. As our results on privacy controls illustrate, rather than solely focusing on replication as a metric of quality science, future research must take into account socio-technological changes when examining developmental processes and outcomes (Greenfield, 2017). In this study, we considered filter bubbles in terms of individuals' tendencies toward homophily but future research should look further into the ways that social media algorithms designed to maintain users' attention might influence adolescents' and emerging adults' engagement with diverse perspectives, bridging social capital, and civic identity development.

Conclusions

In general, the results of this study align with previous research showing that use of social media for expression and information-seeking can positively contribute to social capital, civic engagement, and political participation among U.S. adults (Gil de Zuñiga, Jung, & Valenzuela, 2012; Skoric, Zhu, Goh, & Pang, 2016). Our study suggests that to understand the consequences of social media for social capital and civic identity development, we must consider young

people's value priorities in taking up the affordances of these new communication tools. Insights from this study has implications for digital literacy education in high schools, which could capitalize on the newfound coherence in value priorities during early and middle adolescence (Schwartz, 2012) to scaffold adolescents into value-conscious social media engagement. Our qualitative results illustrated how college students who are grappling with multiple values achieve layers of nuance, tolerance, and reflections on self and other when approaching masspersonal self-disclosure. A positive youth development framework that harnesses developmental strengths and assets (Benson, 2007) could build on the ways adolescents are beginning to combine, reconcile, and integrate multiple values to adapt successfully to networked publics. Rather than framing technology in terms of risks and dangers, this approach could make digital literacy education more appealing and relevant to youth perspectives and the porous boundaries between their social and political activities, and therefore more effective in helping adolescents use social media in ways that will prepare them to take on new responsibilities to sustain and transform society.

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Table 1
Participant Sociodemographics

Sociodemographic Variables	Mean/Proportion	SD
Age	20.28	1.70
Mother Education	3.90	1.64
Father Education	4.01	2.01
Race/Ethnic Identity		
White	68.5%	
Black/African American	1.5%	
Latino	3.9%	
Asian	11.8%	
Pacific Islander	0.5%	
Native American	0.5%	
Multiracial	8.9%	
Other	4.4%	
Religious Identity		
Christian	24.5%	
Jewish	1.9%	
Hindu	0.5%	
Muslim	1.0%	
Buddhist	2.9%	
Agnostic	17.8%	
Atheist	15.4%	
Other	7.7%	
My religious identity is not important to me	25.5%	
Political Identity		
Democrat	42.3%	
Republican	5.3%	
Libertarian	7.2%	
Socialist	6.3%	
Other	6.7%	
My political identity is not important to me	30.8%	

Note. Mother and Father Education was reported on a scale from 1 = few years of high school or less, 4 = university graduate, 8 = law, medical school, or PhD.

Table 2
Strength of endorsements of masspersonal self-disclosure across topics

Topic	*Mean*	*SD*
Social Life	5.13[a]	0.08
Personal Achievement	4.99[a]	0.09
Religious Views	3.87[b]	0.13
Political Views	3.41[c]	0.14
Emotions	2.62[d]	0.11
Sexy Selfies	2.41[d]	0.13

Note. Subscripts indicate significant differences between means.

Table 3
Prevalence of themes in participants' responses to six masspersonal self-disclosure topics

Themes	Sexy Selfies	Emotions	Political Views	Religious Views	Personal Achieve	Social Life
Self-Expression	37.2%	21.3%	24.6%	33.5%	40.6%	
Social Grooming					44.4%	32.9%
Pos Impact Others			30.0%	16.5%	11.1%	10.6%
Poor Communication		22.7%	33.8%	14.6%		
Information Control	35.5%	19.3%				5.8%
Neg Impact Others	28.0%	14.5%	16.4%	11.7%	7.2%	
Depends on Tolerance			15.5%	38.3%		
Depends on Context	11.1%	26.6%			22.2%	17.4%

Note: Percentages refer to the proportion of participants (*n* = 208) who described a theme in their response to each topic. Participants' responses could include multiple themes. Only percentages 5% or greater are reported in the table.

Table 4
Descriptives of Facebook use, network diversity, values, and bridging social capital variables

Variable	*Mean*	*SD*
FB Frequency of Use	5.30	1.10
FB Network Size	545	371
FB Relationship Maintenance Behaviors	3.06	0.72
FB Perceived Bridging Social Capital	3.19	0.56
FB Privacy Familiarity	2.58	0.84
FB Status Privacy	1.91	0.90
FB Photos Privacy	2.18	1.19
FB Profile Privacy	2.46	.88
Ethnic Network Diversity	23.54%	25.92%
Religious Network Diversity	18.14%	24.85%
Political Network Diversity	14.55%	22.80%
Valuing Self-Expression	1.56	1.20

Note. FB Privacy Familiarity = Familiarity with Facebook privacy settings, FB Status Privacy = Frequency of customizing privacy settings for Facebook status updates, FB Photos Privacy = Frequency of customizing privacy settings for Facebook photos; FB Profile Privacy = Degree to which Facebook profile is public.

Table 5
Bivariate correlations between Facebook use, network diversity, values, and bridging social capital

	FB Priv Familiar	FB Profile Privacy	FB Status Privacy	FB Photo Privacy	FB Relation Maint	Bridge Soc Capital	Total Self-Express	Ethnic Net Div	Religious Net Div	Political Net Dive
FB Priv Familiar	-									
FB Profile Privacy	**.328****	-								
FB Status Privacy	**.426****	**.253****	-							
FB Photo Privacy	**.421****	**.273****	**.660****	-						
FB Relation Maint	.131	-.024	.127	.102	-					
Bridge Soc Capital	.046	-.025	-.039	.070	**.374****	-				
Value Self-Express	.01	-.01	.01	-.01	**.147***	**.246****	-			
Ethnic Net Div	.110	**.207****	.125	.046	-.019	-.092	-.070	-		
Religious Net Div	.018	-.064	-.041	-.048	-.056	.061	-.069	**.143***	-	
Political Net Div	-.084	.020	-.025	-.061	-.024	-.064	-.129	**.208****	**.473****	-

Note. *$p < .05$, ** $p < .01$. FB Priv Familiar = Familiarity with Facebook privacy settings, FB Status Privacy = Frequency of customizing privacy settings for Facebook status updates, FB Photos Privacy = Frequency of customizing privacy settings for Facebook photos; FB Profile Privacy = Degree to which Facebook profile is public, FB Relation Maint = Facebook relationship maintenance behaviors, Bridge Soc Capital = Perceived bridging social capital, Value Self-Express = valuing of self-expression, Ethnic Net Div = ethnic diversity in Facebook network, Religious Net Div = religious diversity in Facebook network, Political Net Div = political diversity in Facebook network.

Table 6
Multiple linear regression predicting perceived bridging social capital

Predictor Variables	Standardized Coefficients (β)
Male vs Female	.058
White vs. Non-White	-.043
Religious vs. Non-Religious	-.044
Political vs. Non-Political	-.093
FB Frequency of Use	**.202****
FB Network Size	**.167***
FB Relationship Maintenance Behaviors	**.308****
Value Self-Express	**.158***
Ethnic Network Diversity	-.012
Religious Network Diversity	**.165***
Political Network Diversity	-.088
FB Privacy Familiarity	-.049
FB Profile Privacy	.000
FB Status Privacy	-.079
FB Photo Privacy	.097
Adjusted R^2	.226
Equation F	$F(15, 173) = 4.66$**

Note. *$p < .05$, ** $p < .01$. FB Privacy Familiarity = Familiarity with Facebook privacy settings, FB Status Privacy = Frequency of customizing privacy settings for Facebook status updates, FB Photos Privacy = Frequency of customizing privacy settings for Facebook photos; FB Profile Privacy = Degree to which Facebook profile is public.

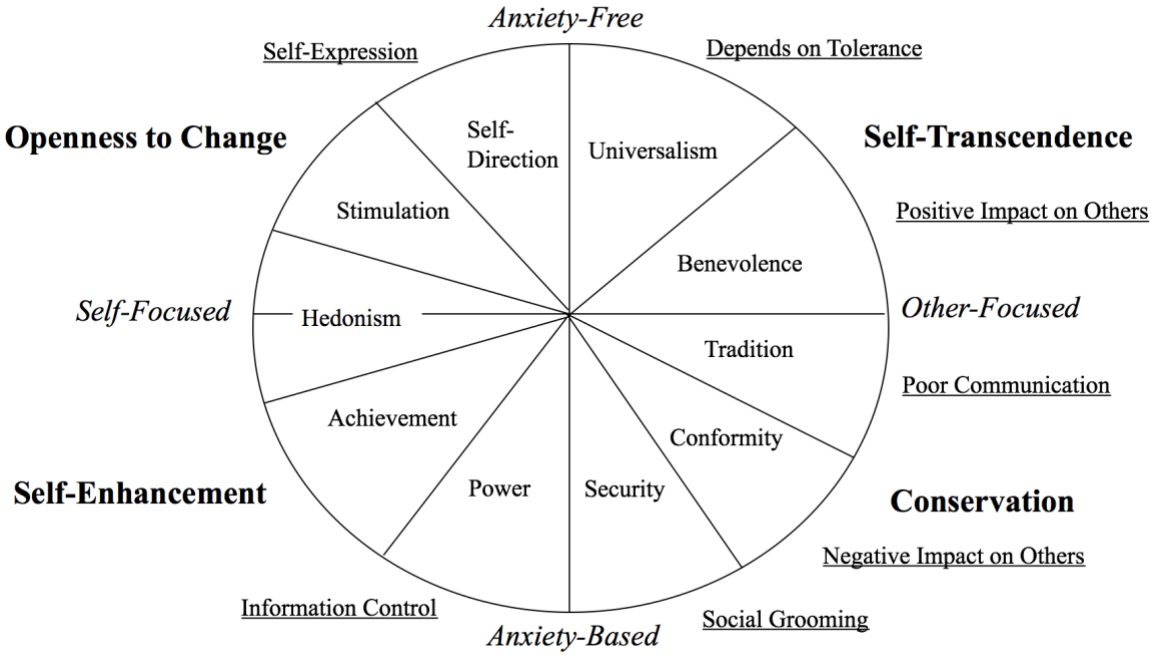

Figure 1. Visual depiction of the relationship between qualitative themes and Schwartz's (1992) values. Schwartz's values are inside the circle; superordinate value categories are in bold outside the circle. Themes found in the current study are underlined and placed next to the value in Schwartz's model that is most conceptually similar.

Appendix

Scenario 1: Emotions
Kim and Jodie are discussing their friends' online behavior. Some of their friends have been posting on social media about their emotions and moods.

Kim says that it is good to express your feelings online.

Jodie argues that expressing feelings online is not a good idea.

1. Who do you agree with more?
   Jodie.
   Kim.

2. How strongly do you feel about your choice? (Please slide the bar)
   Somewhat strongly Very strongly
   |----------|----------|

3. Please explain the reasons for your choice.

Scenario 2: Social Life
Toby and Rachel have noticed that some of their friends frequently post pictures of themselves on social media having fun with friends.

Toby thinks it is great when people post photos of their social life online, such as photos of them hanging out with their friends.

Rachel thinks it is foolish to display your social life on social media.

1. Who do you agree with most?
   Rachel.
   Toby.

2. How strongly do you feel about your choice? Please slide the bar.
   Somewhat strongly Very strongly
   |----------|----------|

3. Please explain the reasons for your choice.

Scenario 3: Political Views
Beverly and Maria have noticed that some of their friends commonly post about their political beliefs on social media.

Beverly thinks it is great that people use social media to express their political views.

Maria thinks it is not a good idea to express political views online.

1. Who do you agree with most?
   Maria.
   Beverly.

2. How strongly do you feel about your choice? (Please slide the bar)
   Somewhat strongly Very strongly
   |----------|----------|

3. Please explain the reasons for your choice.

Scenario 4: Sexy Selfies
Kaitlyn and Cheyenne are scrolling through their social media newsfeeds together and notice that some of their friends post sexually provocative picture of themselves on social media.

Kaitlyn likes it when people post sexy pictures of themselves online.

Cheyenne does not like it when people post sexy pictures of themselves online.

1. Who do you agree with most?
   Cheyenne.
   Kaitlyn.

2. How strongly do you feel about your choice? (Please slide the bar)
   Somewhat strongly Very strongly
   |----------|----------|

3. Please explain the reasons for your choice.

Scenario 5: Personal Achievement
Chris and David are discussing how some of their friends post status updates on social media about their career achievements.

Chris says it is a great idea to share your successes online.

David says it is bad form to announce your successes online.

1. Who do you agree with most?
   David.
   Chris.

2. How strongly do you feel about your choice? (Please slide the bar)
   Somewhat strongly Very strongly
   |----------|----------|

3. Please explain the reasons for your choice.

Scenario 6: Religious Views

Ashley and Dan have friends who commonly post about their spiritual or religious beliefs on social media.

Ashley believes it is good to express spiritual beliefs online.

Dan believes it is wrong to express spiritual beliefs online.

1. Who do you agree with most?
   Dan.
   Ashley.

2. How strongly do you feel about your choice? (Please slide the bar)
   Somewhat strongly Very strongly
   |----------|----------|

3. Please explain the reasons for your choice.