Self-disclosure and social media: motivations, mechanisms and psychological well-being

Mufan Luo and Jeffrey T Hancock

Self-disclosure is pervasive on social media and has significant implications for psychological well-being. In this review we synthesize recent research on the motivations, mechanisms and effects of self-disclosure on well-being and then propose a framework that highlights the bidirectional relationship between self-disclosure and well-being. The framework details the mechanisms by which self-disclosure on social media can influence well-being and how self-disclosure fulfills particular needs of individuals with different well-being characteristics. We call for future research to examine the proposed bi-directional relationship, especially studies designed to tease out causal effects.

Address
Department of Communication Stanford University, United States

Corresponding author: Hancock, Jeffrey T. (jeff.hancock@stanford.edu)

Social technologies have radically expanded and transformed how people communicate about themselves. People now regularly disclose information to their social network and beyond through posts on social media and conversations shared in a variety of messaging platforms. Over the past two decades, research on self-disclosure has traditionally focused on how the features of computer-mediated communication might afford disclosure (e.g. [1,2]) and more specifically, how social media affordances affect interpersonal intimacy and relational outcomes (e.g. [3,4]).

More recently there has been a shift to understanding how self-disclosure on social media platforms may be related to psychological well-being [51]. In this paper we review the extant research examining the relationship between self-disclosure on social media and psychological well-being with a focus on the motivations and mechanisms that may underlie the relationship. We propose a two-process framework that 1) outlines these motivations and mechanisms and 2) emphasizes the bi-directional relationship between social media self-disclosure and psychological well-being.

Conceptualizing self-disclosure and well-being

Self-disclosure can be conceptualized as any message about oneself that an individual communicates with other people [5,6]. Self-disclosure varies across multiple dimensions that generally fall into either quantity (i.e. frequency, duration, depth) or quality (i.e. accuracy, intention, and valence). Psychological well-being can be conceptualized as a construct involving both psychological adjustment and negative maladjustment [7]. This conceptualization captures both hedonic (i.e. the presence of positive and absence of negative emotionality) and eudaimonic (i.e. cognitive evaluations of one's life) aspects of well-being, and thus includes both positive indicators of psychological well-being, such as self-esteem, social well-being and life satisfaction, and negative indicators, such as depression, loneliness and anxiety.

Self-disclosure online and psychological well-being: a two-process framework

The Internet-enhanced self-disclosure (IESD) hypothesis was one of the first theories to extend disclosure research to overall well-being [8]. The theory argues that online self-disclosure enhances relationship quality to a greater degree than face-to-face disclosures. This relational effect in turn enhances the impact that self-disclosure has on well-being in computer-mediated communication relative to face-to-face. From a relational perspective, the IESD predicts that relationship quality is the mediator that accounts for the greater impact of disclosure on well-being in computer-mediate communication.

Another line of research investigated the antecedents of self-disclosure in social media, focusing on two competing hypotheses: the *social compensation hypothesis* ('poor-get-richer') and the *enhancement hypothesis* ('rich-get-richer') [9]. While the compensation hypothesis expects lonely and socially anxious people to use online communication more frequently, the enhancement hypothesis predicts that socially competent individuals will consider social media as additional venues for social interactions [10].

Below we propose a framework that accounts for both effects by articulating a two-process model that emphasizes distinct mechanisms and motivations for each direction, described in

Figure 1. Our review argues that self-disclosure in social media can affect psychological well-being through several mechanisms, and that people's well-being characteristics can influence self-disclosure production.

Process 1: self-disclosure affects well-being

We identify four prominent mechanisms in the extant literature that may account for the effects of self-disclosure on well-being: 1) perceived connectedness, 2) social support, 3) capitalization process and 4) psychological authenticity.
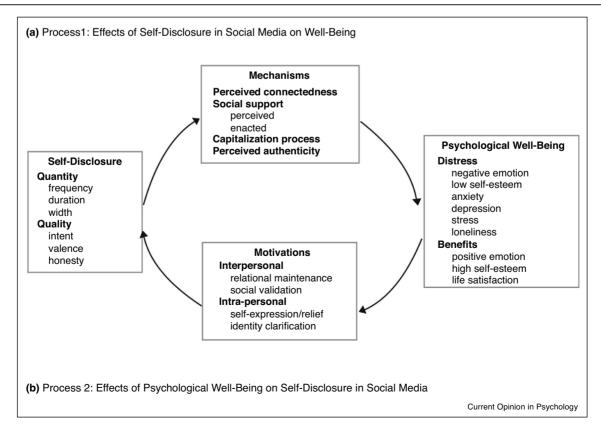
Perceived connectedness

As an inherent psychological need perceived connectedness refers to the feeling of relatedness with one another in their lives [11]. Much research now suggests that feelings of social connectedness, or belongingness, social inclusion and acceptance have positive effects on well-being, whereas social exclusion and isolation have negative impacts on well-being [12]. Since social media allow for public disclosure, and disclosure often predicts interpersonal intimacy in dyadic interaction [3], a more general feeling of connection is expected from disclosing in public, which improves well-being [13]. Research has shown that posting status updates about personal daily experience can increase connectedness, which in turn,

can reduce loneliness [14]. In contrast, individuals constrained from posting on Facebook may report lower belongingness or connectedness [15].

Social support

Social support refers to the social benefits (e.g. emotional, informational, and instrumental help) that people perceive, express, and gain from human interactions [16,17]. It involves both perceived (i.e. the general impression) and enacted social support (i.e. the specific supportive behaviors), and can have a direct positive impact on psychological well-being as it 'provides positive affect, a sense of predictability and stability in one's life situation, and a recognition of self-worth [16, p. 311].

Self-disclosure is considered a key route for social support given that social support is not available unless other people know about one's needs for support [17]. Because social media allow for public disclosure and makes others' feedback prominent through comments and one-click communication (e.g. 'Likes' [18]). Disclosers become more aware of other's attentiveness to their needs, and thus may perceive higher levels of social support [19•,20]. As shown in recent studies, perceived social support from one's networks on social media can improve online

Figure 1

Theoretical framework of self-disclosure in social media and psychological well-being.

social well-being [21,23] and reduce psychological distress, such as depression and loneliness [20,22]. Furthermore, enacted social support resulting from self-disclosure can predict higher levels of self-esteem [52], and happiness [24].

Capitalization and authenticity

The effects of self-disclosure on well-being should largely depend on the valence of the triggering event. People feel more positive sharing positive emotional disclosure and more negative sharing negative disclosure [25]. This phenomenon is referred to as a *capitalization* process, which suggests that expressing personal thoughts and emotions have additional effects on affect and psychological well-being because it increases the salience and significance of the events, and allows people to rearrange their memories about the events during the course of expression [26]. In addition, given the 'positivity norm' of Internet culture, positive disclosure often occurs more frequently and predicts positive feedback and more social support [27,28[•]], which in turn, can increase feelings of connectedness [13]. Similarly, negative disclosure (via status updates) may discourage others from providing public responses [53]. While receiving feedback can enhance self-esteem [29] a lack of feedback may lead to a sense of ostracism and threaten fundamental human needs [15], which is detrimental to overall well-being.

The feeling of authenticity may also be an important facilitator of social integration and other positive psychological outcomes [12]. Psychological authenticity occurs when people feel more able to express the true self [30]. Social media afford selective self-presentation, and thus allow for self-expression that may be inconsistent with the true self. Recent evidence has shown that accurate and authentic self-disclosure can benefit general well-being [31] and improve self-esteem among mindful people [32], whereas inaccurate and unauthentic self-disclosure may make people feel less socially connected and more stressful [33]. Furthermore, accurate and genuine disclosure has been shown to predict greater perceived social support [34] and enacted support from others [28[•]], both of which are positive contributors to well-being.

Process 2: well-being states influence disclosure motivations

In the second process, we aim to elucidate how people with varied psychological states choose to engage in different forms of disclosure. People higher and lower in psychological well-being should vary in their disclosure productions due to their particular disclosure motives and psychological needs. We draw on the functional model of self-disclosure in social media [4] to delineate a possible link between well-being and disclosure dynamics.

Interpersonal motives: relational development

Disclosure motivations can be mapped onto an intrapersonal-interpersonal continuum, with relational development on the interpersonal end and self-expression and identity clarification on the intrapersonal end [4]. Disclosure driven by relational development seeks to increase relational intimacy and closeness with another person. This motive is associated with more frequent self-disclosure in social media [35], and predicts more intentional, positive and honest disclosure [36].

According to the social compensation theory [9], the relational goal of disclosure might be more prominent among people with psychological distress (e.g. loneliness or social anxiety) because they perceive deficits in social skills and possess stronger needs for connection and affiliation than their counterparts [37]. For example, lonely and socially anxious people were more willing to disclose in social media than non-anxious people (e.g. [23,38,39]). People with low self-esteem disclosed a wider variety of topics on Facebook than those with high self-esteem [40]. Lonely people were more likely to disclose on social media due to their stronger motives for social compensation and social networking [41[••]].

Intrapersonal motives: self-expression

Disclosure driven by self-expression on social media seeks to 'express feelings and thoughts and release pent-up feelings ([4, p.11]).' Traditional research on disclosure argues that people with psychological distress are drawn to self-expression [42], because they can buffer stress by releasing the 'fever' of those pent-up feelings through self-expression [43]. In support of this proposition, Zhang [44[•]] revealed that higher level of stress triggered greater amounts of self-disclosure in social media. A possible reason may be that people low in self-esteem perceive social media as a safer medium for self-expression and a more appealing place for social compensation (e.g., more attention and support from others) [54].

Since disclosure can buffer stress by releasing the 'fever', self-expression motives are likely to encourage negative social sharing [55]. Indeed, people low in psychological distress disclosed more positively [45], whereas those high in distress tended to disclose more negative and less honest information [46,56]. This negativity effect appears to take place on image-based social media platforms, such as Instagram, as well. A recent study showed that depressed individuals were more likely to post darker, bluer and greyer images than healthy people, presumably matching how they perceived their world [47]. These studies suggest that self-expression motives may drive negative disclosure among people suffering psychological distress.

Taken together, the extant research suggests that well-being states can shape self-disclosure characteristics

in terms of both quantity and quality by modifying people's motivations. Future research is needed to examine the role of these and other motivations, such as identity clarification and social validation, in connecting individuals' well-being states and disclosure characteristics on social media.

Closing the loop: can distressed individuals benefit from self-disclosure?

Our review suggests that it may be difficult for distressed individuals to benefit from self-disclosure in social media. First, distressed individuals may be less honest in their disclosures online. While accurate or authentic disclosure may correspond to positive well-being [33], distressed people are more likely to present the 'false self' on social media [46] and thus may feel even more depressed and less connected.

Second, negative disclosure from psychologically distressed people may be less effective at obtaining social support or feedback than positive disclosure ([28●,53]. Although negative disclosure may gratify the intrapersonal needs for emotional venting and self-expression, it may impair relational goals. Indeed, Forest and Wood [54] revealed that disclosures from low self-esteem people was more negative, which in turn, received less responses and was generally not liked by others. Other research, however, suggested different psychological mechanisms that linked the negative disclosures and well-being. As shown in Park *et al.* [48], although depressed participants can actually obtain more Facebook social support from their negative sharing, they failed to perceive the wealth of support compared to healthier disclosers.

While these factors suggest a downward spiral of self-disclosure and well-being for distressed individuals, it is worth noting that some affordances of social media may disrupt this spiral and lead to improved well-being. For example, negative disclosure via private messaging may be more likely to receive responses than public status updates [53]. In addition, online forums such as reddit allow people to use anonymous accounts. Anonymity can reduce senders' perceived vulnerability of stigmatized content which may encourage more honest disclosure. For example, anonymous posts on reddit have been shown to involve more negative discourse on mental health and to receive more emotional and instrumental support than non-anonymous posts [49]. Similarly, the semi-anonymous nature of Instagram (i.e., no 'real name' policy)may make it an appropriate space for sensitive disclosures and supportive social interactions [50].

Conclusion

Our review suggests a bi-directional relationship between self-disclosure on social media and psychological well-being, and that this relationship is influenced by several different mechanisms and motivations. Future research should adopt appropriate methods to disentangle the causal processes of how and why self-disclosure and well-being affects each other. In addition, it will be theoretically fruitful and clinically important for future research to examine how individuals suffering from psychological distress disclose about themselves and whether their disclosures can offer psychological resources that close the disclosure-well-being loop on social media.

Conflict of interest statement

Nothing declared.

References and recommended reading

Papers of particular interest, published within the period of review, have been highlighted as:

● of special interest
●● of outstanding interest

1. Joinson AN: **Self-disclosure in computer-mediated communication: the role of self-awareness and visual anonymity**. *Eur J Soc Psychol* 2001, **31**:177-192 http://dx.doi.org/10.1002/ejsp.36.

2. Tidwell LC, Walther JB: **Computer-mediated communication effects on disclosure, impressions, and interpersonal evaluations: getting to know one another a bit at a time**. *Hum Commun Res* 2002, **28**:317-348 http://dx.doi.org/10.1111/j.1468-2958.2002.tb00811.x.

3. Bazarova NN: **Public intimacy: disclosure interpretation and social judgments on Facebook**. *J Commun* 2012, **62**:815-832 http://dx.doi.org/10.1111/j.1460-2466.2012.01664.x.

4. Bazarova NN, Choi YH: **Self-disclosure in social media: extending the functional approach to disclosure motivations and characteristics on social network sites**. *J Commun* 2014, **64**:635-657 http://dx.doi.org/10.1111/jcom.12106.

5. Cozby PC: **Self-disclosure: a literature review**. *Psychol Bull* 1973, **79**:73-91 http://dx.doi.org/10.1037/h0033950.

6. Wheeless LR, Grotz J: **Conceptualization and measurement of reported self-disclosure**. *Hum Commun Res* 1976, **2**:338-346 http://dx.doi.org/10.1111/j.1468-2958.1976.tb00494.x.

7. Houben M, Van Den Noortgate W, Kuppens P: **The relation between short-term emotion dynamics and psychological well-being: a meta-analysis**. *Psychol Bull* 2015, **141**:901 http://dx.doi.org/10.1037/a0038822.

8. Valkenburg PM, Peter J: **Social consequences of the internet for adolescents: a decade of research**. *Curr Dir Psychol Sci* 2009, **18**:1-5 http://dx.doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-8721.2009.01595.x.

9. Valkenburg PM, Peter J: **Preadolescents' and adolescents' online communication and their closeness to friends**. *Dev Psychol* 2007, **43**:267-277 http://dx.doi.org/10.1037/0012-1649.43.2.267.

10. Kraut R, Kiesler S, Boneva B, Cummings J, Helgeson V, Crawford A: **Internet paradox revisited**. *J Soc Issues* 2002, **58**:49-74 http://dx.doi.org/10.1111/1540-4560.00248.

11. Baumeister RF, Leary MR: **The need to belong: desire for interpersonal attachments as a fundamental human motivation**. *Psychol Bull* 1995, **117**:497 http://dx.doi.org/10.1037/0033-2909.117.3.497.

12. Ryan RM, Deci EL: **On happiness and human potentials: a review of research on hedonic and eudaimonic well-being**. *Annu Rev Psychol* 2001, **52**:141-166 http://dx.doi.org/10.1146/annurev.psych.52.1.141.

13. Utz S: **The function of self-disclosure on social network sites: not only intimate, but also positive and entertaining**

self-disclosures increase the feeling of connection. *Comput Hum Behav* 2015, **45**:1-10 http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.chb.2014.11.076.

14. Deters Fgroße, Mehl MR: **Does posting Facebook status updates increase or decrease loneliness? An online social networking experiment**. *Soc Psychol Pers Sci* 2013, **4**:579-586 http://dx.doi.org/10.1177/1948550612469233.

15. Tobin SJ, Vanman EJ, Verreynne M, Saeri AK: **Threats to belonging on Facebook: lurking and ostracism**. *Soc Influ* 2015, **10**:31-42 http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/15534510.2014.893924.

16. Cohen S, Wills TA: **Stress, social support, and the buffering hypothesis**. *Psychol Bull* 1985, **98**:310 http://dx.doi.org/10.1037/0033-2909.98.2.310.

17. Derlega VJ, Metts S, Petronio S, Margulis ST: *Sage Series on Close Relationships: Self-disclosure*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage; 1993.

18. Hayes RA, Carr CT, Wohn DY: **One click, many meanings: interpreting paralinguistic digital affordances in social media**. *J Broadcast Electron Media* 2016, **60**:171-187 http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/08838151.2015.1127248.

19. Lu W, Hampton KN: **Beyond the power of networks:**
• **differentiating network structure from social media affordances for perceived social support**. *New Media Soc* 2017, **19**:861-879 http://dx.doi.org/10.1177/1461444815621514.
This research examines the roles of social media affordances and individuals' network characteristics in how self-disclosure is related to social support awareness. Results show that controlling for network characteristics, public disclosure on Facebook was positively associated with perceived social support, whereas private disclosure failed to evoke the awareness of support. This research is important to the extent that it highlights the value of publicness of social media that public disclosure makes people more aware of others' support that would have gone unnoticed in private conversations.

20. Seo M, Kim J, Yang H: **Frequent interaction and fast feedback predict perceived social support: using crawled and self-reported data of Facebook users**. *J Comput Commun* 2016, **21**:282-297 http://dx.doi.org/10.1111/jcc4.12160.

21. Huang H-Y: **Examining the beneficial effects of individual's self-disclosure on the social network site**. *Comput Hum Behav* 2016, **57**:122-132 http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.chb.2015.12.030.

22. Frison E, Eggermont S: **Toward an integrated and differential approach to the relationships between loneliness, different types of Facebook use, and adolescents' depressed mood**. *Commun Res* 2015:0093650215617506 http://dx.doi.org/10.1177/0093650215617506.

23. Lee K-T, Noh M-J, Koo D-M: **Lonely people are no longer lonely on social networking sites: the mediating role of self-disclosure and social support**. *Cyberpsychol Behav Soc Netw* 2013, **16**:413-418 http://dx.doi.org/10.1089/cyber.2012.0553.

24. Zell AL, Moeller L: **Are you happy for me . . . on Facebook? The potential importance of "likes" and comments**. *Comput Hum Behav* 2018, **78**:26-33 http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.chb.2017.08.050.

25. Choi M, Toma CL: **Social sharing through interpersonal media: patterns and effects on emotional well-being**. *Comput Hum Behav* 2014, **36**:530-541 http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.chb.2014.04.026.

26. Gable SL, Reis HT: **Good news! Capitalizing on positive events in an interpersonal context**. *Adv Exp Soc Psychol* 2010, **42**:195-257 http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/S0065-2601(10)42004-3.

27. Metzler A, Scheithauer H: **The long-term benefits of positive self-presentation via profile pictures, number of friends and the initiation of relationships on Facebook for adolescents' self-esteem and the initiation of offline relationships**. *Front Psychol* 2017, **8** http://dx.doi.org/10.3389/fpsyg.2017.01981.

28. Vogel EA, Rose JP, Crane C: **"Transformation Tuesday":**
• **temporal context and post valence influence the provision of social support on social media**. *J Soc Psychol* 2018, **158**:446-459 http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/00224545.2017.1385444.
Results in both Study 1 and Study 2 revealed that social media disclosure that were positive and involved temporal change were more likely to receive social support. Findings not only support the hypothesis of

'positivity norm', but also indicate that honest disclosure, as depicted in one's imperfection and improvement over time, is more attractive to social support.

29. Burrow AL, Rainone N: **How many likes did I get?: purpose moderates links between positive social media feedback and self-esteem**. *J Exp Soc Psychol* 2017, **69**:232-236 http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.jesp.2016.09.005.

30. Sheldon KM, Ryan RM, Rawsthorne LJ, Ilardi B: **Trait self and true self: cross-role variation in the big-five personality traits and its relations with psychological authenticity and subjective well-being**. *J Pers Soc Psychol* 1997, **73**:1380-1393 http://dx.doi.org/10.1037/0022-3514.73.6.1380.

31. Reinecke L, Trepte S: **Authenticity and well-being on social network sites: a two-wave longitudinal study on the effects of online authenticity and the positivity bias in SNS communication**. *Comput Hum Behav* 2014, **30**:95-102 http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.chb.2013.07.030.

32. Yang C, Holden SM, Carter MDK: **Emerging adults' social media self-presentation and identity development at college transition: mindfulness as a moderator**. *J Appl Dev Psychol* 2017, **52**:212-221 http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.appdev.2017.08.006.
This research focuses on emerging adults' social media disclosure, which reveals associations between disclosure and identity formation. Main findings show that authentic self-presentation/disclosure was related to higher self-esteem among mindful freshmen, whereas intimate disclosure corresponded to lower self-concept clarity. This study is important to the extent that it adds to literature that besides quantity of disclosure, quality of disclosure has key well-being implications for self-concept as well.

33. Grieve R, Watkinson J: **The psychological benefits of being authentic on Facebook**. *Cyberpsychol Behav Soc Netw* 2016, **19**:420-425 http://dx.doi.org/10.1089/cyber.2016.0010.

34. Kim J, Lee J-ER: **The Facebook paths to happiness: effects of the number of Facebook friends and self-presentation on subjective well-being**. *Cyberpsychol Behav Soc Netw* 2011, **14**:359-364 http://dx.doi.org/10.1089/cyber.2010.0374.

35. Lai C-Y, Yang H-L: **Determinants of individuals' self-disclosure and instant information sharing behavior in micro-blogging**. *New Media Soc* 2015, **17**:1454-1472 http://dx.doi.org/10.1177/1461444814528294.

36. Hollenbaugh EE, Ferris AL: **Predictors of honesty, intent, and valence of Facebook self-disclosure**. *Comput Hum Behav* 2015, **50**:456-464 http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.chb.2015.04.030.

37. Teppers E, Luyckx KA, Klimstra T, Goossens L: **Loneliness and Facebook motives in adolescence: a longitudinal inquiry into directionality of effect**. *J Adolesc* 2014, **37**:691-699 http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.adolescence.2013.11.003.

38. Tian Q: **Social anxiety, motivation, self-disclosure, and computer-mediated friendship: a path analysis of the social interaction in the blogosphere**. *Commun Res* 2013, **40**:237-260 http://dx.doi.org/10.1177/0093650211420137.

39. Weidman AC, Fernandez KC, Levinson CA, Augustine AA, Larsen RJ, Rodebaugh TL: **Compensatory internet use among individuals higher in social anxiety and its implications for well-being**. *Pers Individ Dif* 2012, **53**:191-195 http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.paid.2012.03.003.

40. Hollenbaugh EE, Ferris AL: **Facebook self-disclosure: examining the role of traits, social cohesion, and motives**. *Comput Hum Behav* 2014, **30**:50-58 http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.chb.2013.07.055.

41. Hood M, Creed PA, Mills BJ: **Loneliness and online friendships**
•• **in emerging adults**. *Pers Individ Dif* 2018, **133**:96-102 http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.paid.2017.03.045.
This research found that loneliness (i.e. social and romantic) significantly predicts social compensation and networking motives, which in turn, facilitates disclosure on social media. Findings provide direct empirical supports for motives as mediators of the effects of loneliness on online disclosure.

42. Pennebaugh JW: **Writing about emotional experiences as a therapeutic process**. *Psychol Sci* 1997, **8**:162-166 http://dx.doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-9280.1997.tb00403.x.

43. Stiles WB: **"I have to talk to somebody": a fever model of disclosure**. In *Self-Disclosure: Theory, Research and Therapy.* Edited by Derlaga VJ, Berg JH. New York, NY: Plenum Press; 1987:257-282.

44. Zhang R: **The stress-buffering effect of self-disclosure on**
• **Facebook: an examination of stressful life events, social support, and mental health among college students**. *Comput Human Behav* 2017, **75**:527-537 http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j. chb.2017.05.043.
This research found that people with higher intensity of stressful live events attend to more frequent and more intimate Facebook disclosure. In addition, self-disclosure was positively associated with actual social support, leading to improved perceived social support and positive well-being. This study is one of few that provides direct evidence for the positive association between stress and quantity of disclosure, and thus fits nicely in our review.

45. Chen H: **Antecedents of positive self-disclosure online: an empirical study of US college students' Facebook usage**. *Psychol Res Behav Manag* 2017, **10**:147-153 http://dx.doi.org/ 10.2147/PRBM.S136049.

46. Gil-Or O, Levi-Belz Y, Turel O: **The "Facebook-self": characteristics and psychological predictors of false self-presentation on Facebook**. *Front Psychol* 2015, **6** http://dx.doi. org/10.3389/fpsyg.2015.00099.

47. Reece AG, Danforth CM: **Instagram photos reveal predictive markers of depression**. *EPJ Data Sci* 2017, **6**:15 http://dx.doi. org/10.1140/epjds/s13688-017-0110-z.

48. Park J, Lee DS, Shablack H, Verduyn P, Deldin P, Ybarra O *et al.*: **When perceptions defy reality: the relationships between depression and actual and perceived Facebook social support**. *J Affect Disord* 2016, **200**:37-44 http://dx.doi.org/ 10.1016/j.jad.2016.01.048.

49. Choudhury MD, De S: **Mental health discourse on reddit: self-disclosure, social support, and anonymity**. *Eighth International AAAI Conference on Weblogs and Social Media*. 2014. Retrieved from https://www.aaai.org/ocs/index.php/ICWSM/ICWSM14/ paper/view/8075.

50. Andalibi N, Ozturk P, Forte A: **Sensitive self-disclosures, responses, and social support on instagram: the case of #depression**. *Proceedings of the 2017 ACM Conference on Computer Supported Cooperative Work and Social Computing - CSCW' 17* 2017:1485-1500 http://dx.doi.org/10.1145/2998181.2998243.

51. Verduyn P, Ybarra O, Résibois M, Jonides J, Kross E: **Do social network sites enhance or undermine subjective well-being? A critical review**. *Soc Iss Policy Rev* 2017, **11(1)**:274-302 http://dx. doi.org/10.1111/sipr.12033.

52. Yang C, Bradford Brown B: **Online self-presentation on Facebook and self development during the college transition**. *J Youth Adolesc* 2016, **45(2)**:402-416 http://dx.doi.org/10.1007/ s10964-015-0385-y.

53. Ziegele M, Reinecke L: **No place for negative emotions? The effects of message valence, communication channel, and social distance on users' willingness to respond to SNS status updates**. *Comput Hum Behav* 2017, **75**:704-713 http://dx.doi.org/ 10.1016/j.chb.2017.06.016.

54. Forest AL, Wood JV: **When social networking is not working: Individuals with low self-esteem recognize but do not reap the benefits of self-disclosure on facebook**. *Psychol Sci* 2012, **23**:295-302 http://dx.doi.org/10.1177/0956797611429709.

55. Lin H, Qiu L: **Sharing emotion on Facebook: Network size, density, and individual motivation**. *Proceedings of the 2012 ACM Annual Conference Extended Abstracts on Human Factors in Computing Systems Extended Abstracts – CHI EA '12* 2012:2573 http://dx.doi.org/10.1145/2212776.2223838.