USES AND GRATIFICATIONS OF FACEBOOK AMONG ROMANIAN GRADUATE STUDENTS

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Abstract. This paper investigates the "uses and gratifications" of Facebook among Romanian graduate students by identifying specific motivations, uses and benefits of this social networking site with a focus on online image construction. Although the uses and gratifications theory was developed in relation to traditional media, as the use of social media has spread widely in society, recent studies applied the theoretical framework to new media. Reference communication and media studies advance the idea that each medium offers a different set of gratifications according to their features and characteristics. The uses and gratifications theory suggests that audiences actively seek out media through a goal-oriented approach in order to gratify their needs. Research regarding Facebook usage patterns shows that this social network is used primarily to maintain contact with others, to keep up-to-date on friends' activities, to learn more about someone or about social events. This paper focuses on identifying what drives individuals to use Facebook and what are the main usage patterns in the case of Romanian graduate students, as well as their perspectives on Facebook use and online image construction. The study is based on a qualitative research consisting of 21 in-depth interviews, conducted in January 2016 with master's students in the broad area of communication. The research questions guiding the analysis focused on Facebook use and types of gratifications, and on how much students engage in constructing an online image.

Keywords: Facebook; gratifications; online image construction.

Introduction

Research studies so far indicate that the general evolution of society has led to the cultivation of its members' creativity, in the sense that they have always been preoccupied to find new ways to connect with each other, "beyond simply their physical reach" (Dimmick, Ramirez Jr., Wang & Lin, 2007, p.806). In this context, the emergence of new communication mediums offers new patterns in terms of usage, as compared to other types of (traditional) media. Besides the main focus of building and maintaining social networks, self-disclosure and gaining popularity among peers are important aspects when using social media (Hew, 2011). Other reasons for Facebook use regard the passing of time, entertainment, trend-following, and companionship (Sheldon, 2008).

Facebook users also involve in creating and maintaining an online image to attract social acceptance and appreciation, most of the time, the users are presenting the best version of themselves, and constructing an ideal self (Siibak, 2009). Self-affirmation through Facebook is justified by people's need to see themselves as valuable and worthy, thus motivating them to create a positive image of themselves by avoiding or distorting information that might trigger negative reactions or might affect their desirable self-presentation (Sherman & Cohen, 2006).

In terms of gratifications, these have a greater value for active users. Passive users just monitor other people's content without engaging or communicating, while active users have all sorts of information exchanges both targeted and non-targeted (Burke, Marlow & Lento, 2010; Matook, Cummings & Bala, 2015; Verduyn et al., 2015). Facebook use correlates with gratifications related to relaxation, entertainment, social interaction, self-status seeking and information-seeking (Smock, Ellison & Lampe, 2011).

This paper addresses the uses and gratifications of Facebook, the motivations behind Facebook usage patterns, and the level of engagement in self-promotion and online image construction.

Facebook uses and gratifications

Social networking sites, among which Facebook seems to be the most popular, are used for quite a wide variety of purposes, varying from maintaining contact with other people to self-affirmation and online image construction (Ellison, Steinfeld & Lampe, 2007; Lampe, Ellison & Steinfeld, 2008; Raacke & Bonds-Raacke, 2008; Toma & Hancock, 2013). According to the uses and gratifications theory, initially developed in relation with traditional media outlets (Katz, Blumler & Gurevitch, 1973, 1974), researchers suggest that the audience is an active actor within the media context (also see LaRose, Mastro & Eastin, 2001). Katz, Gurevitch and Haas (1973) put forth a list of 35 basic human needs that could be satisfied through the use of mass-media; they categorize them as follows: cognitive needs (i.e., strengthening information, knowledge, and understanding); affective needs (i.e., strengthening aesthetic, pleasurable, and emotional experiences); personal integrative needs (i.e., strengthening credibility, confidence, stability, and status); social integrative needs

(i.e., strengthening contact with family, friends, and the world) and tension release needs (i.e., escaping and diversion).

Applying the uses and gratifications theory to newer media outlets in general and to Facebook in particular, recent investigations concentrate on finding out the main motivations that drive people to use this particular social networking site (e.g. Gelmez Burakgazi & Yildirim, 2014; Greer & Ferguson, 2015; Papacharissi & Mendelson, 2011; Valenzuela, Bachmann & Aguilar, 2016). There are at least nine types of different Facebook uses (Ellison et al., 2007; Krisanic, 2008; Nyland, 2007; Papacharissi & Rubin, 2000; Ruggiero, 2000): the use to meet people; the use for entertainment; the use to maintain relationships; the use for social events; the use to share media products; the use for product inquiry; for discussion and self-disclosure; for information and the use for impression management and self-affirmation. Facebook uses could vary according to users' individual characteristics such as age, gender, personality traits, as well as due to contextual variables such as the social and political context (also see Frison & Eggermont, 2016; Fullwood, Nicholls & Makichi, 2015; Hew, 2011; Kwon, D'Angelo & McLeod, 2013; Quan-Haase, Martin & McCay-Peet, 2015).

According to Ramirez Jr., Dimmick, and Feaster (2008, p.531), "gratification opportunities are properties of a medium that allows users to overcome time and space constraints and, in effect, amplify or attenuate the ability to derive satisfaction from a medium". In this context, the empirical analyses of gratifications associated with the use of Facebook are based on previous studies which concentrated on gratification needs satisfied through the use of traditional media. On this line, researchers identified six main motivations that might drive people to use Facebook: relationship maintenance, the passing of time, community building, entertainment, trend-following, and companionship (Sheldon, 2008). Likewise, Lai and Yang (2014) suggest that there are two main categories of gratifications, namely utilitarian (e.g., interpersonal utility, which means keeping in touch with other people, maintaining relationships) and hedonic gratifications (e.g., entertainment). The authors also point out that these two categories practically imply five gratification needs: interpersonal needs - refer to using Facebook in order to create and maintain relationships at an interpersonal level; enjoyment needs - refer to using Facebook features in order to pass time and experience pleasure; immersion needs - refer to the escapist feeling provided through the use of Facebook; achievement needs – refer to the desire to win and outrank other people; the pursuit of fashion – refers to the desire to follow the mainstream behaviour in order to get and maintain a sense of belonging to a group (also see Sheldon, 2008; Smock et al., 2011).

Strictly referring to the utilitarian dimension of Facebook and, even more specifically to the idea that Facebook enables people to keep in touch with one another, Joinson (2008) suggests two functions of this dimension – the surveillance function, which refers to the desire to see what old contacts and friends are up to, how they look, and how they behave; and the social searching one, which refers to the desire to maintain and reconnect with offline connections (also see Quan-Haase & Young, 2010).

To sum up, studies suggest that the uses and gratifications of Facebook are quite similar to those fulfilled by traditional media outlets and include relaxation, entertainment, and information-seeking. However, new media seems to function as a medium that completes traditional media in terms of gratifications.

Online image construction through Facebook

As previously discussed, there are a series of motives that drive people to use Facebook. In this context, online image construction is highly referred to, mainly because it involves a quite prevalent practice among young Facebook users. Initially designated to communication purposes, Facebook has been transformed into a social network where people might seek social acceptance. As Farquhar (2012) puts it, Facebookers might look for this type of acceptance by self-presenting and express in the best light possible. This top position of the self-derives from the theory comparing the actual and the ideal self; people tend to position themselves only in idealized circumstances in order to increase their chances to be accepted and agreeable (Goffman, 1969; Moretti & Higgins, 1990). Facebook users permanently analyze if and how other people regard their actions in terms of effectiveness and (re)consider them so that they will be further accepted. For example, when publicly sharing content (i.e., images and videos of themselves), individuals tend to be very careful and upload only that content that they believe that makes them "look attractive, social, funny, and thoughtful" (Farquhar, 2012, p. 448).

The idea that individuals tend to present themselves in a positive light within social networking sites is in close relation to the self-affirmation theory. According to Toma and Hancock (2013), the main premise of this theory is that people's fundamental need is to see themselves as valuable and worthy. Thus, sometimes unintentionally, they distort or avoid information that threatens their self-worth and, vice versa, they value the information that reinforces it. Trying to adapt this theory to Facebook use, the same authors point out the main reasons why it might apply to social networking sites as well. Given the fact that people are concerned to represent the key aspects of the self, and, even more importantly, because self-representation is shown in a network of close personal relationships, "it is plausible that Facebook profiles may constitute a venue for self-affirmation and that users gravitate toward them in an unconscious effort to elevate their perceptions of self-worth and self-integrity" (Toma & Hancock, 2013, p.322). Noteworthy, the impression management in the online environment "varies according to the expectations of the reference group at hand" (Siibak, 2009). Thus, as the authors suggest, the virtual selves that are publicly offered are permanently (re)constructed in order to fit the values related to the ideal and actual self.

In conclusion, based on the uses and gratifications theory in the broader context of communication, we might argue that Facebook might be a useful tool in developing online identities, and thus, in the process of online image construction.

Research methodology

In order to analyze the types of Facebook uses and gratifications among Romanian graduate students as well as their focus on online identity management, we conducted a qualitative research, namely 21 semi-structured, in-depth interviews. The interviews were carried out in January 2016 with master's students in the broad area of communication, from the National University of Political Studies and Public Administration.

The main goal of this paper was to identify what drives individuals to use Facebook, the main usage patterns in the case of Romanian graduate students, as well as their perspectives on Facebook use and online image construction. There were two main questions that guided our research: *RQ1: What are the uses and gratifications of Facebook among Romanian graduates? RQ2: To what extent and in what ways do Romanian graduates use Facebook for self-affirmation and online image construction?* Thus, we were interested in uncovering students' uses and gratifications of Facebook, their perceptions regarding the reason why others might (not) use Facebook, how much they use/perceive Facebook as a source of information, as an instructive or relaxing tool, as a method to overcome boredom, and how much they engage in constructing an online image.

The sample used in this research study comprises 21 Romanian graduates, aged between 22 and 30 years old. The interviewees were all pursuing a masters' degree, and a part of them was already employed. They usually spend between 1 to 10 hours per day on Facebook, mostly between 3 and 6 hours daily, having a discontinuous activity. Their profiles range between 140 and 3000 friends; the majority of interviewees considering themselves as active users, while the rest engage in passive consumption. We expect that one of the most mentioned gratifications of Facebook will be related to the concept of impression management, being concurrently one of the gratifications fully developed besides identity and self-other relationships, due to the emergence of new technologies and growing use of social media (Farquhar, 2012; Lampe et al., 2008).

Findings and discussion

The uses and gratifications of Facebook among Romanian graduates

Main findings prove that the interviewees have mixed opinions related to spending time in the virtual environment. Although they can easily access information, contact and stay in touch with others, share and find more about various persons, most people think they end up wasting a lot of time, becoming addicted to checking what others are doing and also feeling the urge to post and compete in creating the image of a satisfying and beautiful virtual life, but missing to have a "real" social life ("Unfortunately, some people live in this virtual world more than they do in real life. When I go out and look around, everyone sits with a phone in their hand forgetting to pay attention to the people near them, which is not normal", Andreea, 22).

The interviewees have all sorts of activities on Facebook, the most preponderant ones being posting pictures and checking for updates from friends and pages they follow. Other actions include posting of media content, sharing, commenting, expressing opinions, liking friends' posts, communicating on messenger or on groups. Almost all respondents tend to mostly post pictures, sharing their special events, travels or group photos. Although the content is mostly personal, some of the respondents share work related updates and content, and all of them pay attention to the image they spread about themselves, to what their posts are communicating about them, how they look in the pictures and if they maintain a decent, professional image.

As illustrated by our study, for most of the respondents the main reason for using Facebook is related to communication. Most of them use it to communicate with their friends, with people overseas, to stay in touch with new acquaintances and to maintain contact with colleagues at work or on faculty groups ("I use Facebook primarily to keep in touch with friends who have left the country or with new foreign friends that I've met in various contexts. I also find it to be a good source of information", Diana, 30). Secondly, the interviewees use Facebook for surveillance purposes, to see what others are doing without having to interact with them, and to get information about their dear ones. Another main purpose consists in obtaining information, finding out about events, being up to date with the latest news, opportunities, offers, information about the pages they like or the public figures they follow ("I like to see the posts from bloggers' pages, fashion posts, I like following even the page of my favourite bakery and find out about offers, new products, or the posts of online shops and then I get to benefit from sales because I found out about them on Facebook.", Camelia, 25). Other motives for using Facebook include relaxation, entertainment, playing games, watching media content, fighting boredom or dead time, self-promotion, keeping others updated with their lives by sharing pictures, important events, accomplishments, being part of a trend ("Clearly the lack of occupation is a reason. I mean when you get bored and you have your phone at hand, you involuntarily check Facebook. And everyone is on *Facebook*", *Patricia*, 22). Many emphasize the power of habit when it comes to using Facebook, the feeling of dependency it creates, which is often perceived as frustrating ("I see all sorts of interesting posts and stay informed, but of course there are so many times when I find myself scrolling and scrolling without actually realizing what I'm doing or without any purpose. And it's quite frustrating when you think about it", Mariana, 22).

Most of the respondents find Facebook attractive for the possibility of maintaining the connection with so many people without even having to physically interact with them, simply by checking the updates (*I love that I can be connected with everyone there. For example, now I have over 1000 friends, but even if I had 5000 or 10.000, I could always click on their profile or write to them. It's so easy to communicate", Andreea, 22). Other mentions include the variety of opinions and media content, the ease in filling the dead time, the free of charge messages and calls, the feeling of being a part of a trend. Many respondents declare they are addicted to Facebook, while others state that even if they find nothing attractive about Facebook, the feel they have no choice but to use it since especially in grad school everyone shares information only on Facebook.*

Although Facebook is perceived mainly as a relaxation tool, most of the interviewees also use it as a mean to obtain information regarding events and ways to spend their free time, latest news, opportunities, interesting articles, birthdays, sales and offers, or updates on public figures. However, the respondents do not find Facebook as an instructive or educative means. The majority of interviewees use it as a first option when they feel bored and, thus, they find it efficient in reducing this state of spirit. Only a few indicated no change or a worse condition, in their case the trigger being the passive surveillance for updates and frequent checking which resulted in finding the same data on the Facebook wall (*"I got more bored using Facebook as I was scrolling through the news feed and realized I've seen them all and seeing something that had already three days made no sense, there was nothing interesting in that anymore. And when you stay like that and just check, at some point you get angry and finally do something else", Diana, 30)*. However, most of them think Facebook helped them carry some activities that would not have been possible otherwise such as promoting their

work, inviting all their friends to events with a few clicks, sharing information easily and commenting it on faculty groups, finding information about people, recruiting, performing questionnaire based research, finding partners for activities, getting to see when others are active or reading their messages.

The use of Facebook for self-affirmation and online image construction

When asked about the reasons why people use Facebook, most of the interviewees indicated the possibility of promoting their work, self-affirmation, and online image construction. Other uses and gratifications include communication and maintaining contact with others, being up to date, relaxation and entertainment, getting attention and validation, acquiring a feeling of self-importance, being in trend, and finding a partner. Addiction and social pressure are also included among reasons for Facebook usage. The respondents believe that those who do not use Facebook are probably old and afraid to use technology, they do not have time, they use other social networks, they find Facebook an unsafe or fake medium, and they fear addiction, exposure or damaging human interaction in the real world.

Most of the interviewees evaluate their profiles as having a medium or high level of popularity. The majority of respondents use Facebook to build an image, self-affirm or promote themselves. Even though the image construction is mostly on a personal basis, they admit paying attention to how they are perceived in case employers or other people might check their profiles. They focus on creating a positive and interesting image about themselves, and the majority have completed the profiles with previous studies or work related information as the Facebook page is perceived as a business card (*"Every time I post something I think about my image, about the message it sends to me, especially if I'm searching for a job. Besides your CV, many employers check your Facebook page and this is the first impression you make, after all, it's like a business card" Mariana, 22*).

Those who used Facebook for promoting their work and attracting clients indicated mostly positive results ("I've created a page for my makeup services and in one year I got over 1500 likes without paying or anything. A lot of my clients found me on Facebook. I also share the posts from this page on my personal account and I get positive reactions", Alina, 25; "I think it's very good for businesses. For example, I worked for a club and I was sharing the Facebook posts on my account so my friends could find out about offers, I was inviting them to events and afterward they were tagging themselves in pics, sharing and practically promoting the club themselves", Lucian, 24). There are also some respondents that do not use Facebook for promoting themselves although they intend to or consider it very efficient. Among their reasons for not making use of it are the fear of exposure, the fear of being judged, the fear of negative reactions, the fear of not being good enough or having interesting things to share ("I plan to do it for a while but I didn't have the guts for it guite vet. I'm a shy person and sharing my music videos and thinking I might get criticized or have negative reactions... I don't know, I couldn't stand *it"*, *Patricia*, 22). Others are just not interested in creating a certain image online, using Facebook to communicate with close friends and for surveillance purposes.

In brief, students' responses indicate a high preoccupation for constructing a positive online image and affirm among other users. Those who use Facebook for professional purposes hope to create a good first impression to employers or to attract clients and good reviews.

Limitations and directions for future research

One possible limitation of the present research derives from its conceptual framework, mainly based on classic theories of media and communication developed with regard to traditional media outlets. Specifically, this approach is rather strict and deductive, in the sense that it seeks to analyze the drivers of using Facebook and the main usage patterns in the case of young people (i.e., the motives and benefits of using this social networking site) with reference to the pre-existing yet limited number of uses and gratifications. Future studies should try to adapt the current theoretical framework initially designed for traditional media outlets, in order to enrich the virtually different types of uses and gratifications associated with newer communication mediums (i.e., Facebook).

Another limitation is related to the conclusions about the use of Facebook as an online image construction or self-affirmation tool. Their value cannot be neglected; nevertheless, we need to assume the fact that all of them are based on self-reported issues. In this sense, some conclusions might be somewhat biased (i.e., they might follow the principles of social desirability). Therefore, future research studies could use mixed techniques (i.e., interviews and content analysis) in order to find out how people effectively build their online image and how they affirm themselves in the online environment.

Conclusion

Main findings show that Romanian graduate students use Facebook mostly for communication, surveillance, and entertaining purposes. In terms of gratifications, the results are in line with the previous work on traditional mass media, indicating that although it is a different medium, Facebook can satisfy people's cognitive needs by offering easy access to information, as well as their affective and social integrative needs by providing emotional and pleasurable experiences, strengthening their contact with friends, families and other persons. It can also respond to tension release and personal integrative needs by consolidating their status and image both in the virtual and the real world.

Furthermore, considering the uses of Facebook, the present results are consistent with previous studies, showing that graduates use this social network for maintaining/creating relationships and communicating, using and sharing media content, learning about social events, impression management, and self-affirmation. People also declare using the surveillance and the social searching functions of Facebook. Another function is the achievement one, by outranking or competing with others through creating a positive online image and at the same time, obtaining the acceptance and approval of others. The majority of respondents use Facebook to build an image, self-affirm or promote themselves either for personal or business purposes and indicate mostly positive results.

Overall, social networking users can fulfill gratifications related to identity, positioning, and self-other relationships when compared to traditional media, but get to benefit from classic uses and gratifications as well. The research results are important for determining new uses and gratifications of Facebook among graduates, with a focus on online image construction and self-promotion techniques.

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