

INDIVIDUAL ONLINE IMPRESSION MANAGEMENT: SELF-PRESENTATION ON YOUTUBE

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Abstract: A considerable number of studies have focused on individual use of impression management (IM) tactics in organizations. However, only a few studies have explored individual IM tactics in other fields, especially in a new communication technological area such as YouTube. Focused on amateur YouTube performers living in Taiwan, this study explores what and how specific IM tactics help individuals' attempts to create, maintain, and manage their image to target audiences.

1. INTRODUCTION

On October 18 2007, YouTube launched a Taiwanese site; since then, the number of users has been increasing, along with accompanying changes in its users' behaviors (YouTube news release, 2007; Krehbiel, 2007). The first YouTube website was first created in 2005, by 2008, it was reported that U.S.-based YouTube had over 150,000 new videos uploaded on a daily basis (Wesch, 2008). Moreover, it was also reported that the site already surpassed 100 million video views per day (comScore Research, 2009). Among others, YouTube made it possible for anyone who could use a computer to post a video that millions of people from all around the world could watch within a few minutes. The wide range of user-generated video content including movie clips, TV clips, and music videos, as well as amateur content such as video blogging and short original videos covered by YouTube, has turned video sharing into one of the most important components of individual impression management (IM) and social networking (Lange, 2007).

Recent studies have demonstrated that some individuals have employed strategies in the self-presentation activities they have carried out through cyberspace (e.g., Ellison, Heino & Gibbs, 2006; Walther, Slovacek & Tidwell, 2001; Whitty, 2007). However, most of the extant research on IM at the individual level has rarely addressed how individuals managed their impressions on these Websites. Rather, in prior research, individuals have only been considered to be managing impressions when they engage in organizations or job interviews requiring specific impression management tactics (e.g., Bolino, Kacmar, Turnley & Gilstrap, 2008; Jones & Pittman, 1982; Silvester, Anderson-Gough, Anderson & Mohamed, 2002). Thus, in order to advance our understanding of IM in the new communication technological age, it might be useful to thoroughly explore what individual IM tactics are typically adopted on YouTube. The present research aims to explore what and how certain tactics of attribution for YouTube performing decisions, as produced by individuals, are more likely to convey a positive impression of that individual to his or her online target audiences.

Before describing the present research in detail, we first discuss previous studies involving different types of IM tactics that have been used in the past research, even if employing grounded theory in this research is allowed to put aside any previous theories in order to develop new theories, following Willig's (2001) suggestion that the analysis of the present research results did take into account previous work on impression management tactics.

2. IMPRESSION MANAGEMENT AT THE INDIVIDUAL LEVEL

Over the past 40 years, IM has either been studied in areas involving career outcomes or areas focusing on the related topics of self-presentation and ingratiation (Goffman, 1959; Jones, 1964; Leary & Kowalski, 1990; Bolino et al, 2008). Goffman (1959) was among the first to acknowledge that individuals need to present themselves as an acceptable person to others. He described the “self-as-performer” is not merely a social product, but also has a basic motivational core. He further argued that individuals can be strategic in their impression formation. Gilmore and his colleagues went on defining impression management as: “conscious or unconscious attempts to influence images during interaction” (Gilmore, Stevens, Harrell-Cook & Ferris, 1999, p. 322). Drawing on Schlenker (1980), we defined impression management as comprising those behaviors individuals employ to create, control, maintain or protect their self-images, influence the way they are perceived by significant others, or both. Individuals manage their impressions when they wish to present a favorable image of themselves to others (Bolino et al., 2008; Jones & Pittman, 1982).

Historically, researchers have investigated IM at the individual level of analysis, seeking to understand the ways in which the behaviors of actors/performers affect the evaluations made by targets/viewers. Table 1 contains a list of frequently studied IM tactics and their definitions.

Table 1: Definitions of Impression Management (IM) Tactics

Tactics	Definitions
Account	Actors provide explanations for a negative event to escape disapproval; excuses and justifications are specific types of accounts.
Blaring	Actors publicly minimize their connections with unfavorable others.
Blurring	Actors blur their connections with favorable others by way of strategic omissions.
Boasting	Actors boast about their positive connections with favorable others.
Burying	Actors conceal their connections with unfavorable others.
Basking	Actors enhance their image by claiming association with prestige figures or prestigious institutions
Enhancement	Actors claim that positive outcomes for which they are responsible are more valuable than generally believed.
Exemplification	Actors do more or better than is necessary to attempt to appear dedicated or superior.
Ingratiation	Actors use flattery and favor rendering to attempt to appear likeable.
Intimidation	Actors threaten or harass to attempt to appear dangerous and powerful.
Self-promotion	Actors communicate abilities and accomplishments to attempt to appear competent.
Supplication	Actors portray themselves as weak or dependent to obtain help.

Note1: Actors refers to the person who exhibits IM behaviors. Target refers to the person or group of people at whom the behaviors are focused.

Note 2: Tactics and definitions were adapted from Bolino et al. (2008) and McFarland et al. (2003).

Given the dyadic nature of IM, the majority of works in this area have focused on the use of IM in the context of performance appraisal (e.g., Barsness, Diekmann & Seidel, 2005; Harris, Kacmar, Zivnuska & Shaw, 2007; Treadway, Ferris, Duke, Adams & Thatcher, 2007; Wayne & Ferris, 1990; Wayne & Kacmar, 1991; Wayne & Liden, 1995), interviews (e.g., Ellis, West, Ryan & Deshon, 2002; Higgins & Judge, 2004; McFarland, Ryan & Kriska, 2003), feedback seeking (Ashford & Northcraft, 1992; Morrison & Bies, 1991), and career success (Judge & Bretz, 1994; Wayne, Liden, Graf & Ferris, 1997). Overall, researchers have proposed several different theoretical frameworks of IM within organizations (e.g., Bolino & Turnley, 2003; Bozeman & Kacmar, 1997; Jones & Pittman, 1982; Tedeschi & Melburg, 1984). While several theoretical and empirical frameworks have been proposed, the Jones and Pittman (1982) taxonomy has remained as the popular theoretical model that has been empirically validated (Bolino & Turnley, 2003). According to their frameworks, individuals typically use five impression management tactics: (1) Self-promotion, whereby individuals seek to be viewed as competent by touting their accomplishments and abilities; (2) Ingratiation, whereby individuals seek to be viewed as likable by doing favors for others or flattering them; (3) Supplication, whereby individuals seek to be viewed as needy by broadcasting their limitations or showing their weaknesses; (4) Intimidation, whereby individuals seek to be viewed as intimidating by bullying or threatening others; and (5) Exemplification, whereby individuals seek to be viewed as dedicated by going above and beyond the call of duty (Jones & Pittman, 1982). Clearly, empirically-derived IM models in organizations have been introduced as well (e. g., Bolino & Turnley, 2003; McFarland, Ryan & Kriska, 2003). However, Bolino and his colleagues highlighted that in recent years, researchers have begun to notice new areas that had been largely ignored in the past (Bolino et al., 2008). Particularly, with the expansion of the Internet and other novel communication technologies, it is common for users to present themselves as actors/performers on video-sharing websites such as YouTube. In this paper, we argue that using the Jones and Pittman (1982) taxonomy as a model seems relatively inappropriate for explaining individual impression management on YouTube. Most empirical studies on IM have focused either on how situational or individual factors affect the use of specific IM-related behaviors in organizations or how certain IM tactics influence outcomes such as promotions, performance appraisal rating, and career success. This model does not seem very well suited for defining individual impression management tactics on the web, especially YouTube. There may be a tendency for individuals to generally manage impressions corresponding to certain forms that are likely to emerge from YouTube. The goal of this study, then, is to use the grounded theory to identify different patterns of individual impression management tactics on YouTube.

3. METHODS

The study was conducted by enlisting individual YouTube amateur performers living in Taiwan. The main data reported in this paper were collected from October 2007 to February 2009. For ethical reasons (mainly to keep the online users' identity confidential) the manager of YouTube Taiwan Company does not carry out the recruitment of informants. Therefore, in order to recruit volunteer informants, we adopted a strategy of "posting" on the YouTube Taiwan website as well as the "snowball sampling" method which aimed to look for friends of friends who frequently uploaded individual original videos on YouTube (Mason, 2002; Patton, 2002). In total, 12 informants were involved in this research. Six informants [3 females and 3 males] were working-people and six informants [2 females and 4 males] were enrolled as full-time students at a university or graduate school. All 12 informants resided in Taiwan and had been involved in uploading individual original videos onto YouTube for a period of at least a year. The informants' ages ranged from 20 to 32 years, with an overall mean age of 25 years. Although a pool of 12 key informants may seem small to some readers, it exceeds the number suggested by McCracken (1988, p. 17) as the amount considered sufficient for generating themes in this type of qualitative research.

A demographic profile of the informants is presented in Table 2. To maintain confidentiality, all informants are referred to throughout the paper using pseudonyms that we have assigned to each.

Table 2: Informant Profiles

Name	Gender	Age	Occupation
Mark	M	27 yrs	An assistant at an architect's agency
Tim	M	20 yrs	Undergraduate student
Vincent	M	23 yrs	Graduate student
Hank	M	32 yrs	A staff of a civil engineering company
Jack	M	27 yrs	Salespeople
Gary	M	23 yrs	Undergraduate student
Adam	M	22 yrs	Undergraduate student
Lisa	F	23 yrs	Undergraduate student
Jennifer	F	22 yrs	Undergraduate student
Clare	F	27 yrs	A marketing specialist at a farming company
Alice	F	25 yrs	An interior designer
Kelly	F	26 yrs	An assistant of a retail company
		≅ 25 yrs	

Observation (both participative and non-participative) and long interviews (McCracken, 1988) were the two main data collection methods employed in this study. While the observation method reveals the informants' perception in action (Wallendorf & Belk, 1989), the long interviews provide thematic explanations of their thoughts, feelings, and actions (McCracken, 1988). A structure interview schedule, which mostly consisted of open-ended questions, was then designed for this study. Informants were initially asked to report basic demographic details about themselves (e.g., age, socio-economic status, gender). Next, they were asked to explain their tactics for presenting themselves the site. They were finally asked to describe how their impression managements were typically set-up and why they were set-up in this way. The data collection was conducted through face-to-face interviews. Each in-depth interview lasted from one hour to nearly two and a half hours, all of which were recorded and then transcribed verbatim. Each interview was conducted in a coffee shop with only the informant and the researchers in the natural atmosphere. In order to minimize the "distortion of the fieldwork texts," we read all reported data directly from the original language (i.e., Chinese or Taiwanese) and translated it literally. Afterwards, we took the comprehensive meaning of the text then translated it figuratively while maintaining its holistic sense.

The grounded theory methodology (Glaser & Strauss, 1967) guided the procedures carried out for this research. As Willig (2001) argued, "grounded theory involves the progressive identification and integration of categories of meaning from data. Grounded theory is both the process of category identification and integration (as method) and its product (as theory)" (p. 33). In this study, themes emerged from the informants' responses rather than a priori categories. Although strictly speaking, the

grounded theory puts aside any previous theories in order to develop new theories (Glaser & Strauss, 1967), this analysis did take into account previous works on IM tactics when considering the data. Previous researchers have also conducted qualitative research using this framework (Willig, 2001). Through data analysis using pattern coding and analysis, emergent themes were thus identified. Once the themes were decided upon, each transcript was re-examined and coded for whether these themes was absent or present. To ensure inter-coder reliability, two scorers separately coded the entire data set. In the very few cases where there was disagreement, the researchers discussed their disagreements until consensus was reached. The next section fully discusses the emergent themes from the interview data.

4. FINDINGS AND DISCUSSIONS

4.1. Basking tactics

Basking is one of the most popular tactics that amateur performers use in order to manage individual impressions on YouTube. As earlier mentioned, the definition of basking refers to how actors/performers enhance their image by claiming association with prestige figures (Bolino et al., 2008; McFarland et al., 2003). It appeared in our data that some informants initially drew attention to themselves through connections with popular or successful celebrities. They imitated their performances and impression management activities by association. Impression by association refers to the behaviors (i.e., tone, actions or sense of style) the informants created for their original videos in order to manage their associations with celebrities and things to create favorable impressions of themselves. Basically, most informants like Mark believed that “YouTube is a great platform for an individual to present himself/herself.” To date, they realized how to use basking tactics to attract online target viewers’ interests and urge them to view their videos frequently, and then make themselves an agenda by associating themselves with celebrities. Mark was one of the typical cases to explain basking tactics most performers adopted on YouTube in Taiwan. He explained how to use basking tactics and reflected on the way he learned these tactics from celebrities to manage his positive impressions. As expressed by Mark:

The most important thing is to copy the original concept from celebrities’ works, and then input my new factors or ideas to revise them. It might look like celebrities’ works but I only borrow from high-profile celebrities to enhance my ideas. Most Taiwanese actors or actresses also imitate some concepts or behaviors from Hollywood films and then input some of their new ideas, right?

Basking identities or performances of celebrities can be seen as the informants striving to capitalize on their association with high-profile celebrities in an effort to secure a strong performance appraisal. While Tim had industriously imitated the image of Alexander Wang, a famous star in Taiwan whom he likes, he was delighted to receive some positive feedbacks from online target audiences:

I admire his good shape (Alexander Wang)... He is very handsome and professional... I have always wanted to be like him so I copied his recent Ad concept and uploaded that to YouTube. Ha..ha..ha...some online viewers left messages saying I look a lot like him and that my performance is as good as his. I am so happy to hear these.

It was also suggested that the informants bask in the reflected glory of the positive image of celebrities in order to enhance their prestige and further become a (web) star (McFarland et al., 2003). Lisa told us several television companies showed her YouTube original videos on their channels and also invited her to attend television talk shows. She admitted that basking tactics helped her gain confidence and made her “star” dream come true. As stated by Lisa:

In the beginning, TVBS released one of my videos on its news channel...More and more of my friends kept telling me this kind of stuff (that they have seen me on TV). Then, the ETTV channel contacted me and asked me to attend its talk show for an interview... I agreed and performed as a guest star in its program...A few days later, I was informed that the rating was very high so the producer of other TV programs kept asking me to attend... I feel like a star right now.

4.2. Mystery tactics

A number of previous theorists have argued the importance of the body image online and the need to appear physically attractive (Kim, 2000). However, in stark contrast, this study revealed that some informants who adopted mystery tactics believed that the need to present positive characteristics of themselves was more important than any other physical images. According to Oxford dictionary, “mystery” refers to “a person or a thing that is strange and interesting because you do not know much about them or it.” In order to excite YouTube viewers’ senses, the results from this study highlighted some of the informants’ tactic of not revealing the important part of their physical image on purpose and keeping a mysterious identity in order to emphasize their talents and not draw attention to their physical appearance. For example, Alice explained the reason why she did not show her face on her YouTube original videos by stating: “I keep mystery feelings to my viewers because I want them to focus on my dancing skills.” Informants also talked about the importance of keeping a mysterious profile that could successfully attract the attention of her targets. Some described this as a process of impression construction. This is explained by Vincent below:

I only show my dancing... The viewers could not see my face... While I have been unwilling to answer their questions, I have kept my mystery in order to let them focus on my dancing skills. See, during the long process they seem to like my dancing skills, and call me a “Dancing Angel”.... Just let them keep guessing! I quite enjoy this kind of mysterious atmosphere.

Similarly, in his original YouTube videos, Hank only showed his soft and beautiful woman-like voice along with images from famous Japanese female singer Utada Hikaru. To his surprise, a great number of online viewers offered him praise and encouraged him to sing more of her songs:

I felt so happy when my voice, imitating Utada Hikaru (one of the most famous Japanese pop stars), was accepted by a lot of online viewers on YouTube. They left messages to me saying “You are so great!!” These messages really touched my heart. Some of them even urged me to sing her other songs...

In fact, there were some cases proving that individual impressions gained negative or stereotypical labels when the mystery was eliminated. As stated above, Hank had been famous in Taiwan for imitating the beautiful, woman-like voice of Utada Hikaru. At the beginning, he purposely chose to be mysterious such that nobody knew that the woman-like voice on the video actually came from a “man.” One day, he decided to reveal his face while performing with a woman-like voice. The results really hurt him. As described by Hank:

Beyond my understanding, they loved my woman-like voice when they only listened to it being matched with Utada’s photos. When I uploaded my appearance as a man with the same voice, all of the YouTube viewers became crazed and angry... Some replied “That’s outrageous, when I saw your face.” Others said, “It’s disgusting, when I knew you’re a man.” I felt frustrated and depressed... I thought they have kept some stereotypical images in their minds.

As in Hank’s case, we acknowledged that managing an impression is a dynamic process. As demonstrated in the quotations above, individuals experimented with what mysterious descriptions or performances would be more successful at attracting others. More importantly, individuals were most concerned with how they created positive images in order to establish their social networks. This is nicely expressed by Kelly:

No matter what methods we use, the final goal is to extend our social relations. After all, we want to be famous...Today, when you upload your personal performances or images onto YouTube, there are at least one million people in the world who can see you. The impact is more than any TV shows in Taiwan could ever produce.

Given the importance placed on making the best impression on YouTube, all the informants expressed being highly encouraged by worldwide audiences. Adam admitted “Everyone wants to be famous... even my father wants to be famous too.” He stated ecstatically the way he generated a lot of international fans who cheered him up. Their encouraging statements also broadened his views to compete with other rivals in the world. This is explained by Adam below:

Most online viewers were impressed by my magic skills. Some asked me to teach them, while others suggested that I publish a magic book... Gradually, they became my fans... They have always encouraged me to improve my approaches... My online fans are unlimited within Taiwan... You know YouTube is worldwide so some are foreigners... They sent messages saying, "Your magic show some day will be better than magic David Blaine..." Who knows? Maybe some day I will actually become the best in the world.

4.3. Self-promotion tactics

The results of this research also highlighted that YouTube was a place where the informants could be creative with their identities and self-promotion. While maintaining a good impression, individuals selected ideal or perfect gestures as well behaviors to be shot. These they planned in advance. Afterwards, they uploaded the results onto YouTube. To give an example, Jack used technical skills to revise his appearances on his YouTube original videos in order to match his personal expectations:

I have revised my appearances and posted certain gestures learned through the mirror to show the "ideal me" on my YouTube videos. I want to be seen as a perfect man. I used to revise my photos on my blog. Now, technology has been improved and I can do it on videos, too.

As earlier mentioned in Table 1, self-promotion is defined as the act of seeking to be viewed as competent by touting an individual's abilities and accomplishments (Bolino & Turnley, 2003). Systematically analyzing our data, these abilities and accomplishments include singing, dancing, playing in a band, playing an instrument, or being good in sports as well as executing values or beliefs on our informants' original YouTube videos. For example, Gary was happy that YouTube provided a great platform for him and his band to present their specialties. Below, Gary described how to create a new identity by uploading his band performance videos onto YouTube:

I have always wanted to distinguish my band from others. In the past, it was very difficult for me because most bands were similar and audiences found it easy to forget us. Now, we turn our images upside down on YouTube. Sometimes we made up ourselves differently or wore wigs to attract viewers' attentions. Through YouTube performances, we present ourselves differently... I seem to take on another personality. It breaks me out of the cocoon. In this way, I gain more confidence to promote my band and myself.

What also emerged from this study is the amount of information individuals self-promote to their online target audiences is their values and beliefs. Jennifer highlighted how she has focused on her values by promoting ideals close to locals and her homeland. According to Jennifer:

I show the documentary of my bicycle traveling videos in order to share my feelings on how the friendly, hospitable people in this country have cheered me up. This documentary encourages me to establish connections with my homeland and people, helps me understand locals, and then teaches me ways through which I can communicate with this society.

Similar to others who have used tactics, our informants did admit to using self-promotion tactics to help them gain more worldwide audiences who can admire their abilities and accomplishments. Within such a scheme, there was a possibility for a social relationship to develop. This was nicely described by Clare below:

I have been uploading videos showing my dancing skills on YouTube... You know people in the world can watch my performances. One day, a Mexican guy contacted me and said he really liked my dance. I was so happy. It sounds absolutely heavenly. I have fans in other parts of the world.

5. CONCLUSIONS

The results showed that YouTube has not only provided a platform for individuals to share clips/videos with acquaintances, but has also become a "worldwide" platform for individuals who presented themselves as amateur performers in order to convey a

positive impression of themselves to online target audiences. The common primary goal of most online amateur performers interviewed for this study was to attract worldwide audiences/viewers with whom they wanted to establish social networking. The informants also revealed how they aimed to promote themselves, their views, and their skills to others. As such, they attempted to achieve their goals while engaging in different individual tactics or combining these in order to design and create an ideal image. In this study, the three main tactics employed by amateur performers to manage individual impressions on their YouTube original clips/videos are basking, mystery, and self-promotion. Interestingly, previous studies have demonstrated that individuals employed strategies or tactics designed to circumvent the constraint of online social cues (i.e., nonverbal cues such as smiling and winking) and the environment, and then adapting their behaviors to the available cues through which they can convey information to one another (Tidwell & Walther, 2002; Walther, 1992). However, on the contrary, the results of this study revealed that individuals employed mystery tactics by not showing the cues in order to highlight their positive attributes and capitalize on the greater perception over self-presentation performances on YouTube original videos. This study also highlighted how YouTube offers individuals an opportunity to become an international (web) star through various tactics. While individuals on YouTube acknowledge that their performances can be watched by worldwide audiences and viewers, they are not dependent on traditional actor agency systems, that is, they feel they are truly empowered to manage their own IM strategies online.

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