

# Turkish “Young-Old” Adults’ Self Presentation and Impression Management Tactics on Social Networking Sites

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## Abstract

Today, the usage rates of social networking sites are increasing globally, with different age groups using social media. This study aims to focus on how the users aged 65 - 74 are presenting themselves on social media, as well as their daily online habits on social media. Within the scope of this study, online behaviors of older adults on social networking sites were discussed based on Goffman’s dramaturgy theory. In this context, in-depth interviews were completed with 25 participants and the findings were analyzed with descriptive analysis. The results of the research showed that older adults’ self presentations on social media are dominated mostly by their “fears” in terms of getting punished by the political power, being excluded from society and to be deceived by some groups. They use the impression management tactics of ingratiation, exemplification and self-promotion with their digital identity.

## Keywords

Social Networking Sites, Self Presentation, Impression Management Tactics, Aging

## 1. Introduction

The fact that social networks have become a crucial part of daily life all over the globe, daily life with digital identities has led to the concentration of studies on social media, and many researches have started to focus on self-presentations and impression management tactics in social networking sites.

In the age of digital communication we live in, with the development and spread of internet technologies, digital communication technologies have begun to take place in the lives of individuals of almost all ages, not only for receiving

certain services but also for meeting social needs. “Presenting the self” is one of these social needs, besides communicating and building intimacy. According to Gonzalez et al., adapting to new technologies, learning and using these technologies is an element of the active aging process that enables older adults to integrate into society (Gonzalez et al., 2012). Statistics show us that, the proportion of users over the age of 65 who have social media accounts increased from 12% (2011) to 37% (2018) in seven years (Pew Research Center, 2018).

Canadian sociologist Erving Goffman, in his work “*The Presentation of Self in Daily Life*”, deals with the relationships and behaviors of individuals in society as performances with a dramaturgical approach. By describing daily life with the metaphor of a theater stage, he defends that individuals desire to perform their role routines in line with the values accepted by the society. Goffman explains this as the presentation of idealized performances, in which socially accepted values are reflected, and states that these performances take place in the region he defines as a “showcase” (Goffman, 1959).

Goffman’s approach has been reinterpreted many times in the context of social media studies, and it has started to appear again as the “showcase” in social life, profiles on social networking sites and created digital identities. According to Higgins, our behavior is guided by our “ideal self” as well as our “everyday self” (Higgins, 1987).

Just like young people, older individuals cannot be gathered under a single heading and cannot be generalized. The older adults, which cover the group between 60 - 74, are called “young-old” and constitute the largest group among the elderly (Wang et al., 2019). The demographic phenomenon of population aging, specifically the rapid increase in the proportion of older individuals in a population is described by the term “gray tsunami”. It is used to describe the significant social, economic, and healthcare challenges that arise as a result of this demographic shift (Wada & Shibuya, 2017; Steen & Victor, 2017). It is also noticeable that internet use among older adults has been steadily increasing over the years. According to the studies, 73% of adults aged 65 and older in the United States go online, which is a significant increase from previous years (PEW, 2021). The percentage of individuals aged 65 - 74 who reported using the internet in the European Union increased from 30% in 2010 to 70% in 2019 (Eurostat, 2020). The use of social media platforms among older adults has been also increasing in recent years on a global scale. According to the report of GlobalWebIndex, 59% of internet users aged 55 - 64 and 43% of internet users aged 65+ were active on social media in 2020 (GWI, 2021).

In this study, based on the dramaturgy theory of Goffman and impression management tactics of some researchers influenced by Goffman; the self-presentations of young-old individuals in social networking sites were examined by qualitative research methods. In-depth interviews were conducted with 25 social media users with different socio-demographic backgrounds. The social media accounts of the participants were also examined. The findings were analyzed with descriptive analysis.

## 2. Self Presentation of the Older Adults in Society

The concept of “self”, which basically expresses the self-perception of who we are, has been defined in different ways. Mead (1934) states that individuals shape their actions with their inner conversations with themselves, and that the important thing is not how others see us, but how we think about the others’ perception of us. While William James (1950) categorizes self as “material self”, “social self”, “spiritual self” and “pure ego”, he defines self as “social self”, which is related to how we are perceived by others (cited by Myers, 2017).

Erving Goffman, argues that individuals tend to fulfill the roles expected from them in line with the moral values approved by the society. They perform roles as if they were on a theater stage by wearing different masks in different role routines (Goffman, 1959).

According to Goffman, when individuals/players do not perform, they continue to spread their attitudes in accordance with certain norms. Individuals in society, like actors, transform their wishes, feelings and beliefs into various forms of communication such as words, gestures or non-verbal expressions (Sandstrom, Martin, & Fine, 2006: p. 105). Goffman suggests that; people are trying to create an impression of others that will enable them to achieve goals, which is called “impression management”.

Various theorists influenced by Goffman have made various classifications of impression management tactics. The most common classification was made by Jones and Pittman. According to them, the most common tactics used in impression management are “ingratiation”, “intimidation”, “exemplification”, “supplication” and “self-promotion” behaviors (Jones & Pittman, 1982). According to Leary, people care about the perception they create around them with the impressions they create, what others think of them and how they are evaluated by them (Leary, 1996). In this context, one of the most used impression management tactics is ingratiation. Ingratiation involves seeking approval and gaining favor by using compliments, flattery, or conformity to social norms (Jones & Pittman, 1982). The individual who uses the tactic of exemplification, tries to create the impression of an exemplary individual, depending on moral values, in other individuals (Schütz, 1998). Individuals are intrinsically motivated not only by the desire to improve themselves, but also by the desire to improve themselves in the eyes of others. To this end, they want to highlight their personal achievements, unique traits and attitudes (Giacalone & Rosenfeld, 1986). These are the tactics of self-promotion.

Snyder states that the concept of “self-monitoring” refers to an individual’s ability to monitor and adjust their behavior based on the social context and cues from others. It involves being aware of one’s own behavior, emotions, and external factors to effectively modify and adapt one’s actions to fit the situation. Snyder suggests that; individuals with a high level of self-monitoring tend to closely observe their own actions, emotions, and external factors to effectively modify and adjust their behavior. They are sensitive to social norms, expecta-

tions, and social desirability, and they are adept at presenting themselves in a way that is socially appropriate and favorable (Snyder, 1974).

According to Goffman, one of the key features of the process of “socializing a performance” to fit the understanding and expectations of the society in which it is presented is, the tendency of actors to present an idealized impression to the observer, from several different angles. Performances present an idealized view of the situation, and when the person presents himself to others, the performance in question can be viewed as an expressive revival and affirmation of the moral values, insofar as it reveals the common official values of the society (Goffman, 1959: p. 45).

The data is showing that the world population is getting older. Developments in healthcare, nutrition, and living conditions have contributed to increased life expectancy. This has resulted in a larger proportion of older adults in the population (Christensen et al., 2009). The older population, defined as individuals aged 65 and above, is growing rapidly worldwide. According to the United Nations, the number of people aged 65 and older is projected to double by 2050, reaching over 1.5 billion (United Nations, 2019). For this reason, social policies regarding aging need to be determined meticulously (Kalinkara, 2016).

In Turkey, the proportion of the older adults in the total population increased to 9.7% in 2021. 44.3% of this rate is men and 55.7% are women. According to the projections; it is predicted that the proportion of the older adults’ population will be 16.3% in 2040 and 22.6% in 2060 (TUIK, 2022).

Older individuals often seem to be weak, needy or unhealthy in many societies. Phelan emphasizes that biased media representations of older adults are similar across countries and are presented with stereotypes such as poor health, dependency on others, not contributing to the workforce, and being vulnerable (Phelan, 2018). These negative stereotypes can also be accepted by the older individuals, as well. Martin et al. argues that, older adults often want to present themselves in a consistent manner within the context of norms and roles applicable to “old people” (Martin, Leary, & Rejeski, 2000).

In terms of social media communication; as the age of the participants increased, the level of personal information shared in the profiles decreased (Nosko et al., 2010). The main motivations of older adults to use social media are; “having a good time”, “having social contact” and “receiving social support” (Leist, 2013). At the same time, some older users state that they find it easier to write on the keyboard and read on the computer because they have difficulty in reading their handwriting (Lindley et al., 2009). On the other hand, the “like” button on Facebook is often preferred by older adults because it provides a space for expression without revealing themselves too much (Jung et al., 2017).

### 3. Older Adults and Social Networking Sites

In the digital age we are living in, social media and social networking sites have become an integral part of our daily lives, transforming the way we communi-

cate and interact with others. These platforms provide a virtual space for individuals to connect, share information, and express themselves. Social networking sites have revolutionized communication by enabling individuals to connect with friends, family, and acquaintances across the globe (Boyd & Ellison, 2008).

Social networking sites also serve as a powerful tool for disseminating information, news, and ideas. Users can share articles, videos, and personal insights, instantly reaching a vast audience. This democratization of information has transformed the way we access and consume content, enabling individuals to stay informed and participate in public discourse (Bakshy et al., 2015). Today, social networking sites have become the most preferred communication tools among internet users, responding to very different needs and providing users with the opportunity to perform and construct identities.

Digital networks have also revealed different forms of control and surveillance; individuals' privacy areas have begun to shrink because information sharing is a requirement of the nature of social network sites and people exist in social networks by revealing themselves, posting photos, content and following each other (Boyd, 2010). Social networking sites gaining global popularity today are designed to enable users to deliver the same message in different ways.

Social networking sites with the highest number of active users worldwide; are listed as Facebook, YouTube, WhatsApp, Instagram, WeChat and TikTok (Lua, 2023). Wellman et al. states that, with increasing mobility and developments in internet technologies, social networks tend to be completely people-oriented, not space-oriented. This process allows for choice and customization in social relations. Each communication network of an individual, consisting of different people, has certain roles, meanings and functions in that individual's life. Instead of belonging to a single group, people live and work among multiple and overlapping groups (Wellman, Boase, & Chen, 2002: p. 160).

The rate of use of the internet and social networks by "young-old" individuals, who are the subjects of our research, has been increasing rapidly in recent years. Maintaining social connections and actively participating in the community can enhance the quality of life in older age. Engaging in social activities, volunteering, joining clubs or organizations, and participating in intergenerational programs can provide opportunities for social interaction, fostering a sense of purpose and belonging (Holt-Lunstad et al., 2015). Studies show us that the use of the Internet and social networks is also an effective way for older adults to cope with feelings of isolation and loneliness, as they increase social interaction and the potential for information exchange (Kiel, 2005; Fritsch et al., 2013).

In recent years, there has been an increase in the use of the internet and social media by older adults. According to the data of the European Statistical Office, while the participation rate of European internet users between the ages of 65 and 74 in social networks is 34 percent, the rate of individuals in the 65-74 age group using the Internet in Turkey was 8.8% in 2016, while this rate was 32.5% in 2021 (EUROSTAT, 2021). In the USA, 45 percent of individuals over the age of 65 use social media, while 61 percent own a smartphone (Faverio, 2022).

While the internet usage rate of older adults in European Union countries was 17 percent in 2018, this rate has increased to 32.5 percent in 2021 (Eurostat, 2022).

The number of social media users in Turkey is estimated to be about 70 million. Facebook, the most preferred social networking site, has nearly 35 million users (Kemp, 2022). Approximately 30 percent of the internet users are older adults and also 70 percent of them are active social media users as well (“Türkiye’deki yaşlı nüfus, sosyal medya kullanım rekoru kırdı”, November 14, 2019). It is also recognized that during the COVID-19 Pandemic, which affects social life all over the world, there are changes in the usage habits of social media users belonging to all age groups, and especially older adults who are out of social life during the closure processes continue their social activities in daily life in these channels.

#### 4. Method

This study is aimed to be carried out with qualitative methods. Within the scope of the research, not only answers are needed, but also words and sentences in which young-old individuals can express themselves more easily. Phenomenology design, one of the qualitative research designs, was used in the research. Data collection in phenomenological studies is usually done using in-depth and multiple interviews with the participants (Creswell, 2013).

It was planned to obtain the data by conducting “structured open-ended interviews” with the determined sample group. This type of interview method was preferred in order to obtain a large number of systematic data from certain people and to minimize the bias in different interviews with different people (Patton, 1987: p. 113).

Within the scope of the research, 25 “young-old” social networking site users were interviewed and the total number of male and female participants was kept close to each other. Older adults with different socio-demographic characteristics living in different regions of Ankara were selected as the sample group. Snowball sampling and some references were used to reach the participants. 14 of the participants were female and 12 were male; 11 of them are university graduates, 6 of them are high school graduates, 3 of them are secondary school graduates and 5 of them are primary school graduates. All of them were between the ages 65 - 74 and active users of social networking sites.

In-depth interviews are a qualitative research method that involves conducting detailed, open-ended interviews with participants to gain a deep understanding of their experiences, perspectives, and beliefs. The specific question types used in in-depth interviews can vary depending on the research objectives, the research questions, and the context of the study (Rubin & Rubin, 2011). In this context, together with the questions and interview form prepared, the participants who had an appointment were met and interviews were held in environments that lasted 35 - 40 minutes on average and where the researcher spent

a few hours with the participants from time to time (aging center, courses, etc.). It was stated in advance that interviews will be recorded and the consent of the participant was obtained. The interviews have been made mostly in the form of conversations.

After the face-to-face interviews were completed, the audio recordings were deciphered. In the data analysis phase, categories were created in the light of repetitive codes and concepts, and as Moustakas (1994) states, “key phrases” were listed. Then, the notes of the participants and the interview notes of the researcher were evaluated by a descriptive analysis (structural description) method. At least 2 photos and shares from the social network accounts of the participants were subjected to content analysis, and the answers and the shares were compared.

## 5. Findings

All of the participants are individuals who have experience using social media and have social networking accounts for at least 2 - 3 years. The general trend is that the participants have made social networking sites a part of their daily lives and routine. The most frequently used social networking site by the participants is Facebook. In addition, most of the users stated that they use the instant messaging application WhatsApp frequently and are a member of at least one WhatsApp group. Participants with higher education levels also have Instagram, Twitter and YouTube accounts.

The findings obtained in the interviews with the participants are that, most of the older adults are using social networking sites, in a multiple way. Instead of being tied to a single social network account, these users prefer different social networks for different purposes depending on their needs or motivations.

The majority of the participants stated that they use social networking sites to communicate with their family and loved ones, to obtain information and to spend time. Kanayama (2003) states that older users like online communication in written form and Lindley et al. (2009) states that some older individuals find it easier to type on the keyboard and read on the computer because they have difficulty in reading their handwriting. Findings partially support these views; older adults state that they have difficulty in writing messages/comments on their mobile phones, but they also state that they use the keyboard more comfortably at home and write their messages more comfortably by designing their messages in this way, although it takes longer.

According to Goffman (1959), people desire to make a good impression on others by playing their roles and performing their best, just as actors want to receive applause after their performances. The post area, called “*What’s on your mind?*” is a message board on Facebook that allows young-old individuals to convey their thoughts to their friends/audience without worrying about a message and content, with colorful backgrounds and fonts that can be easily selected and used without letter restrictions. There is a built-in showcase and set, and the

performances of the actors are similar. On these message boards, young-old users express their feelings and thoughts, and meet their need for approval with the likes and comments. So, for their “performances”, older adults use this message box on Facebook, “story” on Instagram and “status” on WhatsApp. These parts create free space for them to easily write and send something.

Most of the participants spend a long time in thinking and planning processes before sharing, commenting or writing a message and they hesitate to share as soon as they think of it. The area where written messages are corrected and reviewed before they are published, corresponds to Goffman’s (1959) “behind the scene” metaphor. They want to be ready before giving their “performance”.

Nostalgia is one of the most prominent elements in the use of social media by older adults. Many of them use social networking sites to find their old friends, join alumni groups, and get news from their hometown. They also like sharing photos from the past and writing about memories. Nearly half of the participants (P5, P11, P20, P3, P15, P6) are using Facebook in order to communicate with their old friends or relatives they haven’t seen in many years.

**P5 (Male-66)**

***“I have many friends on Facebook and I can find more of what I’m looking for there. I found my old friends from school”.***

**P11 (Female-69)**

***“I found my friend of 40 years on Facebook and it made me very happy”.***

**P20 (Male-74)**

***“I found my military friend on Facebook, I found my friend from 40-50 years ago. Face is useful because at least we know where and what our friends are doing”.***

According to Wenger et al. the relationship between loneliness and isolation in older age is related to whether the individual’s peers are alive or not. Friendship and reliable relationships gain more importance in older age rather than having a spouse and children (Wenger et al., 1996). To most of the participants, friendship is very important but female participants are more likely to share group photos than the male participants. As for nostalgic posts, male participants mostly prefer to share their younger looks in their profile photos, while female participants prefer to include their spouses, children or grandchildren in their profile photos. While all participants share their old photos and content from the past from time to time, it has been observed that the hometown, neighborhood and team belongings of male participants are more prominent. Female participants mostly prefer to express themselves with their family and friends.

On the other hand, the most dominant factor in the online behaviors of older adults is the feelings of “fear” and “anxiety”. It is striking that they are reluctant to comment on political issues in particular, and that they delete even the content their children send to them for fear that something might happen to them.

The majority of the participants (P1, P2, P5, P7, P8, P10, P12, P14, P16, P22, P23) said that they were very uneasy about the political posts criticizing the gov-



ernment. They stated that they were uncomfortable even with the existence of such content on their phones.

***P16 (Female-73)***

***“There are things in political content that I do not share in case something happens to me. In fact, if there is a photo or something on WhatsApp, I immediately delete it. After this new law, I’m paying more attention”.***

***P11 (Female-69)***

***“I never share politics, you know the situation. We talk among ourselves, but we do not share it in groups”.***

Another point that forms the basis of the fears of the participants is the fear of being deceived by strangers. This fear is considered to be closely related to privacy concerns. Older adults attach great importance to their privacy in their use of social networking sites, they never accept friendship offers from people they do not know, and they do not respond to messages from people they do not recognize, as well. The majority of the participants said that they did not pick up the phones unless it was friends or family members calling, because they thought that they could be called from banks or from various companies marketing fake campaigns.

***P21 (Female-66)***

***“I get friend requests on Facebook, but I refuse. You don’t know them, how can you trust them”?***

***P9 (Female-69)***

***“I’m a little scared of social media. I see it on TV, there are fraudsters and so on, so I get nervous. I have fears about sharing things”.***

***P3 (Male-72)***

***“I’m afraid that the things I have shared will be deleted. I need to install them on the computer”.***

The information in the literature is showing that the concerns of older adults in terms of privacy are generally about whether companies or hospitals will use their personal information (Gatto & Tak, 2008; Dumbrell & Steele, 2014). No concerns were expressed in this regard by the participants. The main concern of Turkish young-old individuals is being punished by the government regarding their posts that criticize the government or the president and the other issue is about their privacy; some “bad people” can steal their account or share their private information with others.

On the other hand, most of the participants stated that they are also scared of being ostracized by society. Social, cultural and religious norms are important to them. So, in order not to be excluded from society and their intimate friend groups in social media, they are trying to suppress their real thoughts or feelings. They also inhibit themselves from posting photos that their friends won’t like and they feel compelled to write comments on every photo their friends or relatives share.

***P7 (Male-70)***

***“Actually, the truth is to be like yourself, but I don’t want to be seen with***

*a drink in my hand, so a wine glass or a beer bottle in my hand... Some traditions have to be protected”.*

***P1 (Female-63)***

*“My family is somewhat conservative. I don’t post pictures of me when I’m drinking or smoking. I don’t post photos of revealing clothes either. I pay attention when writing my political thoughts”.*

Wang and Tai argue that the perception of group membership in virtual communities and the sense of satisfaction brought by this group membership reveal the habit of using social networks regularly (Wang & Tai, 2011). Their social network, their family ties and group connections are important to them and they need to perform their roles in a coherent way. Beside these, they seem to need a free space to express their true selves and it seems that, confirming the literature, “like” button is functional for this purpose. Most of the participants said that they frequently use the “like” button and the emojis to express their feelings.

***P5 (Male-65)***

*“I use the ‘like’ button a lot, I like it if I have really liked it. I also write comments, but I prefer to use the like sign more”.*

***K2 (Female-72)***

*“I mostly use applause and gratitude emojis. And, I mostly use smiling faces, I don’t like sullen faces”.*

Turkish young-old individuals also prefer the “nazar boncuğu” emoji in general. It is a very common cultural code in Turkey and it is generally believed that a “nazar boncuğu” will protect someone from evil eyes.

## 6. Discussion

The most frequently used social networking sites by Turkish young-old individuals are seen as Facebook and WhatsApp, confirming the literature. Online social networking seems to become a routine activity for most of the participants and social networking sites contribute to their socialization and alleviating feelings of loneliness.

Older adults fulfill the roles expected of them with idealized performances, as mentioned by Goffman and create their self-presentations in social networking sites by exhibiting attitudes and behaviors that harmonize with the value mechanism of the society. Turkish young-old individuals also seem to have a high level of self-monitoring as they are highly concerned about the thoughts of others and about the cultural and religious norms of the society.

The fact that they generally prefer photos taken with family members both in their profile and background photos shows that the concept of family is the most important value for individuals in this age group. However, since they have high privacy concerns, they are hesitant to share private moments with their families. Social and religious concerns come to the fore in their online communications, and they avoid sharing things that they think will be criticized or that will cause

them to be excluded from the community they are in.

Turkey's conservative and political structure also affects the use of social media by older adults; they are more interested in social and political events and follow such content rather than news about their own lives or health conditions. Besides, as they feel under pressure, they cannot adequately display their "honest selves" on their online posts. "Fear" is considered to be the most dominant emotion in the use of social media by older adults in contexts such as the violation of their privacy, deception, criticism and exclusion.

The most used impression management tactics by young-old adults on social networking sites are seen as ingratiation, exemplification and self-promotion. Due to the feelings of anxiety and fear they feel; they prefer to write conforming comments or keep their silence outside of closed and small online groups. They always seem to seek the approval of society for their online actions. Finally, we can say that their online self presentations and online behaviors of the older adults are not so different from their offline identity. They tend to care more about social norms, and they even feel the pressure of society more on them when they are managing their impressions on social media.

As a result, older adults are an important part of the society, they make valuable contributions to society and their social media use can also have positive effects on their well-being, their social life and productivity. So, their relations with digital technologies and social networking sites should be supported and new studies in this field should be conducted.

Considering their privacy concerns, new interfaces and innovative digital tools can be developed for their use. For future research, self-presentations of different age groups using social networking sites can be examined comparatively, as well as the differences in the use of social media of the older individuals living in different countries.

### **Conflicts of Interest**

The author declares no conflicts of interest regarding the publication of this paper.

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