

# CS 6474/CS 4803

## Social Computing:

### Social Computing Theories: Identity

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"What's in a name? That which we call a rose  
By any other name would smell as sweet."

In *Romeo and Juliet* (II, ii, 1-2), Juliet tells Romeo that a name is an artificial and meaningless convention, and that she loves the person who is called "Montague", not the Montague name and not the Montague family.

# Identity and Deception in the Virtual Community

# Summary

- Identity in the Usenet environment (newsgroups).
- Models of honesty and deception
- Assessment signals are reliable, since sending an assessment signal requires that the sender possess the relevant trait.
- Conventional signals are not reliable.
- Identity in voice and signal.
- “Signatures” to indicate identity.

Did you come up with interesting examples of conventional and assessment signals? [Ex. Online dating sites]

# Class Exercise 1a:

## Good and Bad Deception

- 1) Discuss some examples of social computing systems where deception can be *advantageous* to the user.
- 2) Discuss some examples of social computing systems where deception can be *disadvantageous* to the user.
- 3) In both cases describe how quality of social interaction is affected by deception.

# Class Exercise 1b:

## Detecting Deception

- 1) Can deception be detected via socio-technical means? How? Come up with two example ways. Pick any platform and be as creative as you like to be.
- 2) Based on the above, let us assume that there was a way to infer and alert (an end user) immediately if someone was being deceptive on a social media platform.
- 3) What are the sender and receiver costs in this scenario? What is the cost for a wrong inference (false positive or false negative)?

If not the name, how do we use  
conventional and assessment signals  
to elucidate our identities?



# Gender identity and lexical variation in social media<sup>1</sup>

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We present a study of the relationship between gender, linguistic style, and social networks, using a novel corpus of 14,000 Twitter users. Prior quantitative work on gender often treats this social variable as a female/male binary; we argue for a more nuanced approach. By clustering Twitter users, we find a natural decomposition of the dataset into various styles and topical interests. Many clusters have strong gender orientations, but their use of linguistic resources sometimes directly conflicts with the population-level language statistics. We view these clusters as a more accurate reflection of the multifaceted nature of gendered language styles. Previous corpus-based work has also had little to say about individuals whose linguistic styles defy population-level gender patterns. To identify such individuals, we train a statistical classifier, and measure the classifier confidence for each individual in the dataset. Examining individuals whose language does not match the classifier's model for their gender, we find that they have social networks that include significantly fewer same-gender social connections and that, in general, social network homophily is correlated with the use of same-gender language markers. Pairing computational methods and social theory thus offers a new perspective on how gender emerges as individuals position themselves relative to audiences, topics, and mainstream gender norms.

# LGBT Parents and Social Media: Advocacy, Privacy, and Disclosure during Shifting Social Movements

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## ABSTRACT

Increasing numbers of American parents identify as lesbian, gay, bisexual, or transgender (LGBT). Shifting social movements are beginning to achieve greater recognition for LGBT parents and more rights for their families; however, LGBT parents still experience stigma and judgment in a variety of social contexts. We interviewed 28 LGBT parents to investigate how they navigate their online environments in light of these societal shifts. We find that 1) LGBT parents use social media sites to detect disapproval and identify allies within their social networks; 2) LGBT parents become what we call *incidental advocates*, when everyday social media posts are perceived as advocacy work even when not intended as such; and 3) for LGBT parents, privacy is a complex and collective responsibility, shared with children, partners, and families. We consider the complexities of LGBT parents' online disclosures in the context of shifting social movements and discuss the importance of supporting individual and collective privacy boundaries in these contexts.

## AUTHOR KEYWORDS

LGBT; parents; families; advocacy; privacy; social media.

recognition of LGBT families, with or without children, is growing: in 2014, 55% of Americans polled were supportive of same-sex marriage, compared with only 35% in 2001 [61].

This change coincides with broader social movements characterized by significant and cumulative successes in LGBT peoples' fights for social and political inclusion in the U.S. and in many other countries. In 2015 alone, a number of key events highlighted these movements: on February 18, Kate Brown became the first openly bisexual U.S. governor [17]. On March 31, Tokyo's Shibuya ward became the first region in eastern Asia to recognize same-sex marriage [30]. On May 23, Ireland became the first nation to approve same-sex marriage by popular vote [73]. On June 1, Caitlyn Jenner became the first openly transgender woman to be featured on the cover of *Vanity Fair* [7]. Most significantly in the U.S., on June 26, 2015, the Supreme Court ruled state-level bans on same-sex marriage to be unconstitutional [72].

Despite these high-profile events, discrimination toward LGBT individuals remains a serious problem in the U.S. [21,74–77]. ENDA, the Employee Non-Discrimination Act,

# Digital Footprints and Changing Networks During Online Identity Transitions

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## ABSTRACT

Digital artifacts on social media can challenge individuals during identity transitions, particularly those who prefer to delete, separate from, or hide data that are representative of a past identity. This work investigates concerns and practices reported by transgender people who transitioned while active on Facebook. We analyze open-ended survey responses from 283 participants, highlighting types of data considered problematic when separating oneself from a past identity, and challenges and strategies people engage in when managing personal data in a networked environment. We find that people shape their digital footprints in two ways: by editing the self-presentational data that is representative of a prior identity, and by managing the configuration of people who have access to that self-presentation. We outline the challenging interplay between shifting identities, social networks, and the data that suture them together. We apply these results to a discussion of the complexities of managing and forgetting the digital past.

times, this connection to one's history through data traces can be appealing. Many people enjoy looking at old digital artifacts and reminiscing about, for instance, the time before they had children, or the period when they dyed their hair red. However, for others, data from the past can be reminders of difficult times and identities they would rather forget or have others forget. Identity transitions are, for some, a substantial move away from a difficult past identity, a move that can be made more difficult by the persistence of *digital footprints*: the trails and artifacts that people leave behind when interacting in a digital setting [37]. Digital footprints link the past with the present in ways that may be problematic during identity transitions.

In this work, we describe how people manage digital artifacts during gender transition on Facebook. Our analysis contributes a deep understanding of how people manage digital artifacts and online social relationships during identity changes. How do social network sites (SNSs) enable and inhibit networked presentations of self? Studying gen-

# “Too Gay for Facebook”: Presenting LGBTQ+ Identity Throughout the Personal Social Media Ecosystem

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Most US social media users engage regularly with multiple platforms. For LGBTQ+ people, this means making self-presentation decisions not just on one platform, but many. These choices are made in the face of sometimes-overlapping platform environments, which can have consequentially different norms, audiences, and affordances. Moreover, many LGBTQ+ users face high stakes in online self-presentation, due to the risk of stigmatization of their LGBTQ+ identity, increasing the importance of self-presentation decisions that enable them to achieve their goals and avoid stigmatization. This combination of environmental complexity and high stakes is not adequately accounted for in existing work on self-presentation, but doing so is important to support and understand the experiences of LGBTQ+ and other potentially stigmatized users. We adopt an ecological approach to an interview and cognitive mapping study of 20 LGBTQ+ social media users. We find that participants employ the platforms, audiences, affordances, and norms within what we call their “personal social media ecosystems” to avoid stigmatization while still allowing for expression of their LGBTQ+ identity and the flexibility to adjust their presentation over time.

CCS Concepts: • **Human-centered computing: Empirical studies in collaborative and social computing** • Human-centered computing: Empirical studies in HCI • **Social and professional topics: Sexual orientation**

## KEYWORDS

Sexual and gender minorities; LGBTQ; LGB; queer; self-presentation; social media; technology ecosystems; identity management; disclosure; privacy

# 4chan and /b/: An Analysis of Anonymity and Ephemerality in a Large Online Community

# What is anonymity?

- Security researchers define anonymity as unidentifiability “within a set of subjects”.
- In sociology, Gary Marx’s analysis: *being anonymous means a person cannot be identified according to any of seven dimensions of identity knowledge, that is, the person’s legal name, location, pseudonyms that can be linked to the person’s legal name or location, pseudonyms that cannot be linked to specific identity information but that provide other clues to identity, revealing patterns of behavior, membership in a social group, or information, items, or skills that indicate personal characteristics.*

# 4chan and /b/

- An English-language imageboard website.
- 4chan is split into various boards with their own specific content and guidelines.
- Registration is not possible
- /b/ permits discussion and posting of any sort of content

# Summary

- Study of 4chan's /b/
- Contributions:
  - Dominated by playful exchanges of images and links
  - Most threads spend just five seconds on the first page and less than five minutes on the site before expiring
  - 90% of posts are made by fully anonymous users, with other identity signals adopted and discarded at will



Why do people seek anonymity online?

# Why do people seek anonymity online?

## Why Do People Seek Anonymity on the Internet? Informing Policy and Design

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### ABSTRACT

In this research we set out to discover why and how people seek anonymity in their online interactions. Our goal is to inform policy and the design of future Internet architecture and applications. We interviewed 44 people from America, Asia, Europe, and Africa who had sought anonymity and asked them about their experiences. A key finding of our research is the very large variation in interviewees' past experiences and life situations leading them to seek anonymity, and how they tried to achieve it. Our results suggest implications for the design of online communities, challenges for policy, and ways to improve anonymity tools and educate users about the different routes and threats to anonymity on the Internet.

literature that exists mainly derives from studies of one or a few online communities or activities (e.g., the study of 4chan in [5]). We lack a full understanding of the real life circumstances surrounding people's experiences of seeking anonymity and their feelings about the tradeoffs between anonymity and identifiability. A main purpose of the research reported here was to learn more about how people think about online anonymity and why they seek it. More specifically, we wanted to capture a broad slice of user activities and experiences from people who have actually sought anonymity, to investigate their experiences, and to understand their attitudes about anonymous and identified communication.

Another purpose of this research was to understand the

# Why do people seek anonymity online?

<b>Category</b>	<b>Advantages of being anonymous</b>	<b>Advantages of being identified</b>
<b>Social connections</b>	Avoid disliked others Avoid commitment to the community Lower barrier to new relationships Protect others one cares about	Connect to real life friends Have stronger social connections Encourages more participation
<b>Reputation and trust</b>	Give honest rating/ recommendation	Good for reputation building Gain trust from other users
<b>Image building</b>	Have control over personal image Avoid embarrassment /judgment /criticism	Avoid harsh criticism Consistent with self-image
<b>Emotional benefit</b>	Feel relax and comfortable Feel cool and sophisticated	Feel real, integrated Feel closer to people
<b>Express opinion</b>	Feel free to express views	Avoid irresponsible behavior
<b>Privacy</b>	Have more control over personal information disclosure	Look innocent
<b>Security</b>	Protect personal safety Avoid legal repercussion/spam/stalk/lost of property	Hide in the crowd
<b>Ease of use</b>	Saves effort to log in	Easy to remember account

**Table 2. Perceived tradeoffs of being anonymous vs. being identified**

## Class Activity 2:

- What kind of social computing platforms (or online communities) can benefit from anonymity?
- Which ones could be hurt due to anonymity?

# Understanding Social Media Disclosures of Sexual Abuse Through the Lenses of Support Seeking and Anonymity

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## ABSTRACT

Support seeking in stigmatized contexts is useful when the discloser receives the desired response, but it also entails social risks. Thus, people do not always disclose or seek support when they need it. One such stigmatized context for support seeking is sexual abuse. In this paper, we use mixed methods to understand abuse-related posts on reddit. First, we take a qualitative approach to understand post content. Then we use quantitative methods to investigate the use of "throwaway" accounts, which provide greater anonymity, and report on factors associated with support seeking and first-time disclosures. In addition to significant linguistic differences between throwaway and identified accounts, we find that those using throwaway accounts are significantly more likely to engage in seeking support. We also find that men are significantly more likely to use throwaway accounts when posting about sexual abuse. Results suggest that subreddit moderators and members who wish to provide support pay attention to throwaway accounts, and we discuss the importance of context-specific anonymity in support seeking.

## Author Keywords

Identity; reddit; self-disclosure; sexual abuse; social media; well-being; social support; stigma; anonymity; throwaway.

## ACM Classification Keywords

H.5.m. Information interfaces and presentation (e.g., HCI).

## INTRODUCTION

Opportunities for anonymity are central to decisions about self-disclosure [14,47]. According to sociologist Gary Marx, anonymity "means that a person cannot be identified according to any of seven dimensions of identity knowledge," including legal name, location, behavior patterns, social group membership, identifying personal

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characteristics, or pseudonyms that can be linked with these [44]. In computer-mediated communication, anonymity has been linked to less accountability [35] and more disinhibition [37,64]. Increased disinhibition might lead to negative behaviors such as bullying and flaming [35], but may also be therapeutic by allowing disclosures of taboo or stigmatized topics [6,8].

Abuse in general, and sexual abuse and rape in particular, is one context that is socially stigmatized and difficult for people to talk about in both non-computer-mediated and computer-mediated contexts. Different countries have different definitions of rape and sexual assault, so statistics are difficult to compare globally. In the United States, there are on average 293,066 victims (age 12 or older) of rape and sexual assault each year [53,63] and it is estimated that 68% of sexual assaults go unreported to authorities [53]. The negative long-term impacts of sexual assault are well documented and include immediate and enduring emotions such as anger, anxiety, depression, self-blame, guilt, shame, humiliation, fear, a sense of loss, helplessness, isolation, low self-esteem, and interpersonal difficulties [27,33].

Sexual abuse disclosures are often difficult and delayed, causing additional emotional distress [52]. Sometimes survivors never disclose their sexual abuse, or disclose it years later [52] and when they do disclose, the response that some survivors endure often make them more reluctant to further disclose [68]. Non-disclosure of abuse has negative health outcomes [61], while disclosure and support seeking has good psychological effects [55].

Although seeking support can be helpful for sexual abuse survivors, people have difficulty doing so for many reasons. One risk of seeking support is losing "face," in Goffman's terms; "face" being the positive self-image that people present in their social interactions, wish to maintain, and feel discontent without [31]. People seek support directly or indirectly [5]. Direct disclosures are more likely to lead to support while indirect methods could be misunderstood or ignored [5]. Those dealing with stigmatized problems are more likely to seek support indirectly [7].

Despite the importance of sexual abuse-related disclosure and support, there is little HCI work that investigates the experiences of sexual abuse victims who seek support online, or the kinds of online cultures and technical affordances that support or inhibit such disclosures. This

# An interesting case of online anonymity: “*for the lulz*”

## The Secret Life of Online Moms: Anonymity and Disinhibition on YouBeMom.com

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### Abstract

Moms are one of the fastest growing demographics online. While much is known about where they spend their time, little is known about how they spend it. Using a dataset of over 51 million posts and comments from the website YouBeMom.com, this paper explores what kinds of topics moms talk about when they are not constrained by norms and expectations of face-to-face culture. Results show that almost 5% of posts are about *dh*, or “dear husband,” but these posts tend to express more negative emotion than other posts. The average post is only 124 characters long and family and daily life are common categories of posting. This suggests that YouBeMom is used as a fast-paced social outlet that may not be available to moms in other parts of their lives. This work concludes with a discussion of anonymity and disinhibition and puts forth a new provocation that moms, too, spend time online “for the lulz.”

Prior work has examined how moms seek health information and social support online (Plantin and Daneback 2009; Sarkadi and Bremberg 2005). Related work has also studied the role of the Internet in family life (Boneva et al. 2004; Kraut et al. 2002; Mesch 2006). Though motherhood and the culture of information sharing has been studied extensively in offline settings (e.g. Scott, Brady, and Glynn 2001), less work has focused on how moms spend their time online. This is an important demographic to study. One-third of all bloggers are moms, older moms are one of the fastest growing demographics on Facebook, and younger moms are 85% more likely to visit Facebook than the average user (Nielsen 2009).

What moms talk about when they are not constrained by norms and expectations of face-to-face culture

In some posts, **dh** is used in an affectionate way that implies that the husband is in fact dear to the poster. For others, **dh** is used cynically, often in the context of a deeply sarcastic or angry post:

*"If your **dh** treated you badly during your high risk pg [pregnancy], and got into a fight at the hospital after **db** was born, didn't show up the next day, would that be enough for you to divorce?"*

An interesting case of online  
anonymity: "*for the lulz*"



# “This is a Throwaway Account”: Temporary Technical Identities and Perceptions of Anonymity in a Massive Online Community

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## ABSTRACT

This paper explores temporary identities on social media platforms and individuals' uses of these identities with respect to their perceptions of anonymity. Given the research on multiple profile maintenance, little research has examined the role that some social media platforms play in affording users with temporary identities. Further, most of the research on anonymity stops short of the concept of varying perceptions of anonymity. This paper builds on these research areas by describing the phenomenon of temporary “throwaway accounts” and their uses on reddit.com, a popular social news site. In addition to ethnographic trace analysis to examine the contexts in which throwaway accounts are adopted, this paper presents a predictive model that suggests that perceptions of anonymity significantly shape the potential uses of throwaway accounts and that women are much more likely to adopt temporary identities than men.

## Author Keywords

Anonymity; multiple profile maintenance; reddit; throwaway account; selective self-presentation; social news sites

## ACM Classification Keywords

H.5.3. Group and Organization Interfaces—Web-based Interaction

## INTRODUCTION

Even though anonymity plays such a crucial role in the history of computer-mediated communication (CMC), online identity management remains a significant issue in the technology industry [19]. For example, Google's initial decision to forbid anonymous accounts on the young Google+ social networking service led to a dramatic disturbance among its members, many of whom felt that anonymous profiles should be allowed [44].

However, some social media platforms have implemented

features that afford a variety of boundary management techniques for information disclosure or identity performance. These affordances play a key role in how some users negotiate identity boundaries through the creation of multiple accounts, such as in moments when someone does not want particular information linked to the primary representation of him- or herself. I call these types of accounts “temporary technical identities,” where the particular sociotechnical system affords an individual to create a provisional pseudonymous username. This paper explores one online platform, reddit.com, which permits users to create numerous accounts (under any pseudonym) easily, leading to the emergent phenomenon of “throwaway accounts.”

This paper explores the typology and uses of temporary technical identities within the sociotechnical and cultural context of reddit guided by two research questions:

**RQ1:** *How and in what contexts do social media users navigate boundary management around identity with particular affordances of some sociotechnical platforms?*

**RQ2:** *How do CMC factors, especially perceptions of anonymity, play into an individual's potential use of a temporary technical identity?*

To investigate these questions, this paper draws from a dataset of self-identified throwaway accounts as well as a survey of reddit users to see how perceptions of anonymity, willingness to self-disclose, and the size of the imagined audience play into the potential adoption of temporary technical identities. The paper concludes with a discussion of multiple profile maintenance with respect to reddit's peculiar community subculture and the implications of affordances for temporary identity creation toward the design of online communication platforms.

## RELATED WORKS

This paper investigates the use of temporary technical identities at the intersection of a number of research areas: multiple profile maintenance; selective self-presentation and imagined audiences; and affordances for anonymity.

# Identity Management and Mental Health Discourse in Social Media

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## ABSTRACT

Social media is increasingly being adopted in health discourse. We examine the role played by identity in supporting discourse on socially stigmatized conditions. Specifically, we focus on mental health communities on reddit. We investigate the characteristics of mental health discourse manifested through reddit's characteristic 'throwaway' accounts, which are used as proxies of anonymity. For the purpose, we propose affective, cognitive, social, and linguistic style measures, drawing from literature in psychology. We observe that mental health discourse from throwaways is considerably disinhibiting and exhibits increased negativity, cognitive bias and self-attentional focus, and lowered self-esteem. Throwaways also seem to be six times more prevalent as an identity choice on mental health forums, compared to other reddit communities. We discuss the implications of our work in guiding mental health interventions, and in the design of online communities that can better cater to the needs of vulnerable populations. We conclude with thoughts on the role of identity manifestation on social media in behavioral therapy.

## Categories and Subject Descriptors

J.4. [Social and Behavioral Sciences]: Psychology

The nature of online mental health discourse, however, may vary depending on the *nature of identity* adopted by an individual. This is likely to be particularly valid in the case of mental illness, since it is considered socially stigmatic [8]. Literature in sociology also supports this observation. In his celebrated book "Stigma" [14], Goffman examined how, individuals with a socially discredited attribute such as mental illness, tend to manage impressions of themselves in social settings—in order to protect their identities. However we note that in online settings, such as on social media, this constraint may be circumvented. This is because individuals may choose to withhold their actual identities allowing themselves to engage in more candid self-disclosure than is possible in offline settings, or through their identified online personas.

Our motivation for this research is also rooted in the rich literature on online identity construction, which has been recognized as a key aspect of online communities [11, 28]. Prior work demonstrates dissociative anonymity (a resistance to attach to offline identity or to their actual account/online persona), for instance, can be the foundation of online disinhibition [24]. Online disinhibition, the ability to avoid being "visible, verifiable, and accountable", leads people to act differently than they would in offline settings [6]. Social media naturally provides us with a rich ecosystem where we can study ways in which individuals manage their identities to engage in discourse on a stigmatized condition like mental

The throwaway cohort hints at a sense of urgency or desire to act: (“just need to”, “to do something”, “am going to”): *now i’m not crazy, i’m not a danger to any one, i just need to stay busy until i can see a new therapist in the next couple of days.*

Throwaway posts extensively share posters’ personal beliefs and fear. This might reveal their vital constructs and private, sensitive informational attributes (“if I could”, “part of me”, “because I know”).

The throwaway cohort also expresses a desire to avail help/need from the community (“want to talk”, “what do i”): *i think about suicide at least once or twice a day but im not sure if i could go through with it.*

Category	Throw.	Identified	t-stat	p
<b>Cognitive Attributes</b>				
negation	0.0309	0.0282	5.537	***
certainty	0.0171	0.0160	3.561	**
<b>Linguistic Style Attributes</b>				
<i>Lexical Density</i>				
verbs	0.1899	0.1847	4.872	***
nouns	0.1777	0.1893	-5.396	***
<i>Temporal References</i>				
<i>Social/Personal Concerns</i>				
family	0.0055	0.0046	4.948	***
health	0.0138	0.0155	-3.448	**
<i>Interpersonal Awareness</i>				
1st person singular	0.1180	0.1123	6.141	***
2nd person	0.0045	0.0069	-6.277	***
3rd person	0.0195	0.0175	3.733	**
<b>Social Attributes</b>				
post length	332.0886	253.5124	13.361	***
median comment length	78.5943	64.9318	8.0622	***

**Table 6: Results of independent sample t-test between throwaway mental health posts and identified mental health posts.**

Is anonymity a binary attribute?

# Whisper

- Whisper was a mobile app that allowed users to post and reply to public messages on top of an image (e.g. Internet memes), all using anonymous user identifiers.
- Whisper did not associate any personal identifiable information with user IDs, does not archive any user history, and did not support persistent social links between users

## The Many Shades of Anonymity: Characterizing Anonymous Social Media Content

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### Abstract

Recently, there has been a significant increase in the popularity of anonymous social media sites like Whisper and Secret. Unlike traditional social media sites like Facebook and Twitter, posts on anonymous social media sites are not associated with well-defined user identities or profiles. In this study, our goals are two-fold: (i) to understand the nature (sensitivity, types) of content posted on anonymous social media sites and (ii) to investigate the differences between content posted on anonymous and non-anonymous social media sites like Twitter. To this end, we gather and analyze extensive content traces from Whisper (anonymous) and Twitter (non-anonymous) social media sites. We introduce the notion of *anonymity sensitivity* of a social media post, which captures the extent to which users think the post should be anonymous. We also propose a human annotator based methodology to measure the same for Whisper and Twitter posts. Our analysis reveals that anonymity sensitivity of most whispers (unlike tweets) is not binary. Instead, most whispers exhibit

While anonymous online forums have been in existence since the early days of the Internet, in the past, such forums were often devoted to certain sensitive topics or issues. In addition, its user population was relatively small and limited to technically sophisticated users with specific concerns or requirements to be anonymous. On the other hand, anonymous social media sites like Whisper<sup>1</sup> and Secret<sup>2</sup> provide a generic and easy-to-use platform for lay users to post their thoughts in relative anonymity. Thus, the advent and rapidly growing adoption of these sites provide us with an opportunity for the first time to investigate how large user populations make use of an anonymous public platform to post content.

In this paper, our goal is to better understand the characteristics of *content* posted on anonymous social media sites. Specifically, we introduce the notion of *anonymity sensitivity* to measure the sensitivity of content posted on such sites. Intuitively, anonymity sensitivity of a message cap-

# Anonymity sensitivity

- Older users are more anonymity sensitive than younger ones.
- College educated users are more (statistically significant) anonymity sensitive than non-college educated users.
- No gender difference.
  - WHY?

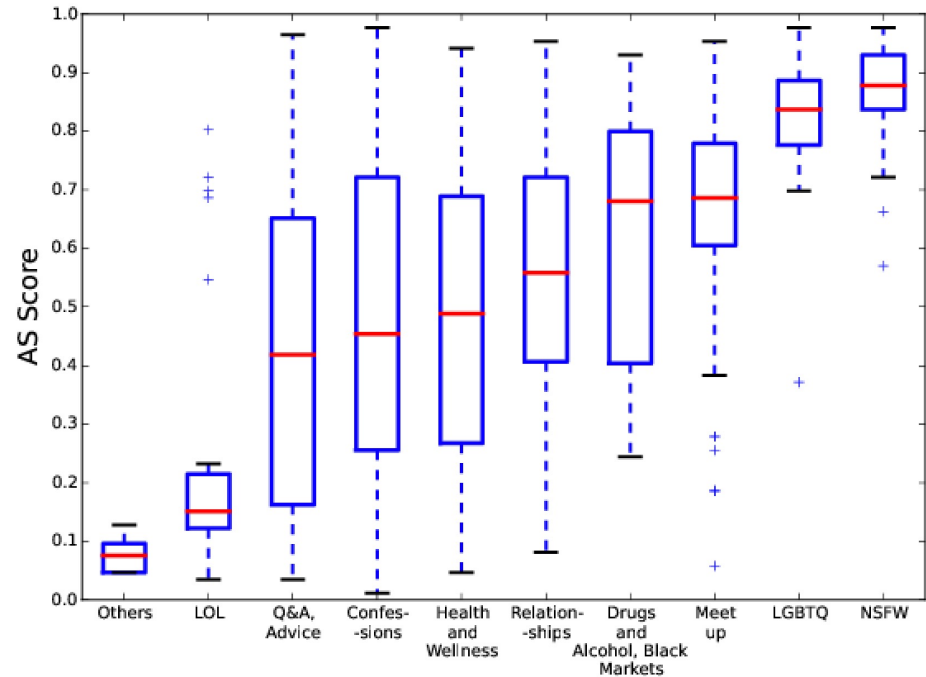


Figure 4: shows the distribution of *Anonymity Sensitivity Score* for all categories via box-and-whisker plot. *NSFW*, *Relationships* and *LGBTQ* categories contains highly sensitive content while *LOL* has low content sensitivity.

Does anonymity always have to be a design feature? Is it possible to be anonymous on a platform where this is not the case?



Over the last few years since the three studies, many new platforms have emerged. What are additional ways/cues people use to manage their identity?