

Understanding gen z's online self-presentation on multiple Instagram accounts

Desi Yoanita^{*)}, Vivian Graciela Chertian,
Putu Dinda Ayudia

Department of Communication, Universitas Kristen Petra
121 Siwalankerto, Surabaya, Indonesia
Email: dy-nita@petra.ac.id, Phone: +62 87703333406

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Abstract Currently, Instagram has become one of the most effective mediums for personal branding. Interestingly, celebrities or influencers are not the only ones using it. Gen Z also uses Instagram to present their image as ideal as possible. However, that does not mean they lose their true identity. This generation prefers to have multiple Instagram accounts to express themselves. This study aimed to explore why Gen Z had multiple Instagram accounts, how they chose the followers, and how they conducted online self-disclosure through content categorisation of each account. Through this study, the researchers wished to contribute a deeper understanding of the cyber-self, particularly in communication. A focused group discussion was conducted with 21 adolescents aged 18-20 who live in Java, Bali, Kalimantan, and Sulawesi with varying family backgrounds, education, occupation, and gender. The study found that Gen Z distinguished their account based on the designation they have for each account, what self-aspect they want to display, and it finally affects how they disclose information on Instagram.

Keywords: online self-presentation; cyber-self; gen z; instagram

INTRODUCTION

When we open our Instagram account, a row of Instagram stories (Instastory/ Instastories) will fill the Instagram home. Every time we tap through the story reels, we often find some stories with a green star sign or green ring that signifies "part of my close friends." Take an example of a green-ringed Instagram story by a college student who told about her exhaustion of being a college student. She posted a story saying, "I want to get out of college, but my mom will not let me do it." The Instastory was in the form of a video showing her without-make-up face pretending she talked face-to-face to a person. However, on her open-to-public Instagram feeds or in her Instastories with no green star marks, she could post her daily routines or college tasks casually, as if there is no problem with her life.

^{*)} Corresponding Author

This exemplified how Instastory could become the layering of self-disclosure in social media. Citing Prilyantinasari & Mulyana (2020), digital natives wanted to be seen in their ideal image based on what they considered as their ideal selves. Hence, the need for personal space to present the 'real' self arises. Instagram's close-friend feature is now becoming its medium.

The emergence of this feature has become one of Instagram's innovations that provide a space for their users to design their own social space. It lets its users choose which parties are allowed to view the uploaded content(s) and which are not. Robby Stein, the product leader of Instagram, explained the mechanism of the close-friend feature that does not send notifications if someone is included or excluded from the close-friends list. He stated that adding and removing people from the list should be as socially painless as possible, and the hope is that with this feature, users will be able to share with smaller groups (Newton, 2018).

What is being highlighted here is how Instagram users can share certain content(s) with their designated public. The close friend feature is just one of the phenomena that show how Instagram is currently used to filter content and its public. Besides the close-friend feature, another more complex phenomenon recently is using more than one private account, usually mentioned as 'second accounts.' A person explained the reason behind the second account, commenting, "My second account is filled with those that are the closest to me, those who know my real personality," which tells it is more comfortable for them to show their certain self to certain people. As Goffman (1959) stated, within interactions, a self produces multiple selves for multiple performances (Chambers, 2013). It shows how typically, content uploaded in first-account and second accounts are different. Users tend to present their 'best' self in the first account compared to the second account, in which the contents seem more casual.

Specifically, the content presented in the first account was the response to community surveillance. Exemplified by Kent's (2020) study, it was discovered that Instagram users uploading healthy lifestyle posts were trying to prove to their community "who they are," i.e. a person with a healthy lifestyle, through the pictures. It is also meant to gain a positive reaction from the online community surveillance. Since the scope of social media is getting wider and worldly accessible, the users consider protecting their image or constructing their persona on social media, especially in the first account. Meanwhile, community surveillance in the second account is not as strict due to the users' increased control of who can view the contents.

The close-friend feature and 'second account' signify how media is now converged in a social dynamic that is no longer only in a face-to-face meeting but happens similarly in cyberspace. Like how they would adjust their actions or attitude in real-life situations, social media users present themselves differently and specifically differ their accounts for

that. The audiences who do not understand these phenomena, especially the generation before Gen-Z, are apt to think that an Instagram profile is a whole and true depiction of the account owner. According to Goffman, humans are actors creating, interacting, and responding to the world around them. He regarded social situations as stages on which people perform identities (Wood, 2016). Mark R. Leary also describes these processes as self-presentation. Jonathon Brown said that self-presentation occurs when people carefully monitor, manage, and present the self in a certain way to maintain a certain image of oneself to another person(s). People use visual and verbal stimuli in offline relationships to present themselves (Attrill, 2015).

Nowadays, people represent themselves online, especially through social media accounts such as Instagram, Twitter, and LinkedIn. With social media, ordinary people share their self-representations with a larger audience than ever (Rettberg, 2018). A study on Twitter found that social media is used to construct a "meta-narrative and meta-image of self carefully." Personal profiles are expected to be highly managed as multimedia online identity presentations (Hearn, 2008).

There are two perspectives to examining someone's image on their social media. The first is self-presentation, which analyses how the person acts to present themselves. The second one is self-representation. This perspective allows us to analyse the signs seen as constructed in some way (Rettberg, 2018). Since the researchers interviewed the informants about how they present themselves on social media, this research uses self-presentation.

From Goffman's perspective, the network site user's profile is constructed by the 'I' through the choice of text, photos and formatting, which are all selected to seek the other's presence, anticipate their response, and consider their reaction (Chambers, 2013). To participate effectively in society, the self is invited to cooperate with other-selves to stage interactions that form 'front stage' and 'backstage' (Goffman, 1956). Thus, what people show on social media is called the front stage in Goffman's dramaturgy theory.

We Are Social reported that Instagram is the third most-used social media platform in Indonesia, after Youtube and Whatsapp (Kemp, 2021). Meanwhile, another data from NapoleonCat shows that by April 2021, the highest share of Instagram users in Indonesia, 36.4 per cent, were between 18 and 24 years (Nurhayati-Wolff, 2021). From those data, the researcher decided to examine the self-representation of adolescents aged 18-20.

According to Pew Research, Gen Z are those who were born after 1997 (Dimock, 2019). By 2021, the oldest Gen Z will be 24 years old. Gen Z is also well-known as digital natives since they are already connected with technologies even when they were in their mothers' wombs. A study by Deloitte found that 18 to 24-year-olds report checking their phones 86 times a day, the highest compared to any other generation (Deloitte, 2017).

For Gen Z, conversations can occur in multiple settings and across various platforms, such as talking to the same friend throughout the day via text message, email thread, social media sites, and Snapchat. Among other social media, Instagram is very popular because users can communicate through pictures and videos (Seemiller & Grace, 2019). Gen Z prefers to use Instagram to share about themselves as the platform allows users to carefully tailor their profile and audience to determine who sees their content. Being able to customise and restrict the information they share aligns with Gen Z's concerns for privacy (Seemiller & Grace, 2017). This fact is in line with surveys conducted among 400 respondents in Indonesia's five big cities, which found that Instagram users also consider "what information" and "to whom" the information is shared, as emphasised by Sandra Petronio in Communication Privacy Management Theory (Purmiasa et al., 2020).

Through Instagram, Gen Z could also curate and operate multiple identities. It is called Rinsta and Finsta. Rinsta is a 'real' Instagram account, which typically has more followers and features content that is carefully crafted. Meanwhile, the Finsta account is a much more private account, shared with a small group of friends, where users may post silly content, memes, and screenshots (Lorenz, 2017). In this research, researchers want to know how Gen Z manages privacy through the content they upload on multiple Instagram accounts.

Social media, once used for sharing only with those we know and self-expression towards the closest people, now turns into working needs. Traced back in time, early social networking platforms such as Friendster and MySpace are used to establish online networks only with peers and friends (Liebler & Chaney, 2014). However, social media today stands as a portfolio, a new way for self-branding, demonstrating their area of expertise even as a digital tracer of past activities done by the person (Liebler & Chaney, 2014; Ahuja & Alavi, 2017). This activity now forms a new social behaviour of self-actualisation in cyberspace, particularly for Gen Z, the digital natives. Therefore, this research aims to answer these two research questions: 1) What are the reasons behind Gen Z's multiple Instagram accounts? 2) How does Gen Z present themselves through multiple Instagram accounts?

METHODOLOGY

To fulfil the research objectives, the researchers conducted qualitative research using the case study method. Through the case study, the researchers aim to gain an in-depth understanding of situations and the meaning for those involved. This method identifies the topic or question(s) of interest, determines the appropriate unit to represent it, and defines what is known based on careful analysis of multiple sources of information about the "case". Insights from case studies can directly influence policy, procedures, and future research (Hancock & Algozzine, 2006). The case the researchers discuss in this research is the online self-presentation by Gen Z through Instagram.

The characteristics of a case study are 1) focuses on the phenomenon; 2) emphasises context in doing intensive investigations of individuals or groups as well as events, situations, programs, activities, and other phenomena of interest; 3) richly descriptive because it is grounded in deep and varied sources of information (Hancock & Algozzine, 2006). Case studies combined on-site documentary analysis (operational policies, clinical protocols, service specifications, audit outcomes and so on) with individual interviews of key players, group interviews, observations and critical incident analysis (Stark & Torrance, 2005).

Table 1. Informant List (source: primary data)

Initial	Age	Hometown
GB	19	Makassar
GT	20	Surabaya
RD	20	Denpasar
SR	19	Singaraja
GG	20	Samarinda
AR	19	Semarang
BM	19	Singaraja
BG	20	Semarang
CH	19	Surabaya
MT	19	Balikpapan
ML	19	Banyuwangi
DS	19	Singaraja
CL	19	Surabaya
HM	19	Singaraja
DF	19	Surabaya
HD	20	Denpasar
DK	20	Singaraja
RS	19	Singaraja
NT	20	Surabaya
DY	20	Singaraja
WL	19	Surabaya

Source: Data Processed by Author (2022)

The data collection technique used in this research is focus group discussion. This technique was selected as it could encourage more discussion and gain various perspectives regarding the topic investigated, along with providing a more comfortable environment for open sharing with peers in contrast to one-to-one interviews (Creswell, 2007; Remler & Van Ryzin, 2011; Mills et al., 2010). Due to the pandemic, focus groups were conducted online and divided into two groups. The duration of each FGD was 2.5 hours. The informants of this study were 21 college students (6 males and 15 females) aged 18-20 years who live in Java, Bali, Kalimantan, and Sulawesi with varying family backgrounds, education, occupation and gender. As Neumann said, group members should have something in common, not close friends and family (Neumann, 2014). The similarities between the informants in this research are their age range, their status as students, and all of them have multiple Instagram accounts. The members of the

focus groups should be close to the situation discussed in this research, formulate and modify their views, and make sense of their experiences in the group (Barbour & Schostak, 2005). The table 1 is the list of informants involved in the research.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

All informants involved in the focus group discussion own at least two Instagram accounts, with several informants possessing 3-5 accounts. Each account has different functions and represents the different self-aspects of the informants. McConnell (2011) argued that self-aspects are specific to each individual since each individual has varying "roles, goals, private and public selves, and relational and collective identities." Despite the unique distinctions from one individual to another in this discussion, there are commonalities regarding the informants' self-presentations, particularly in their first and second Instagram accounts. It is important to note that the terms 'first' and 'second' are based on the sequence in which the Instagram accounts were created by the informants rather than the account's rank based on the frequency of use.

Based on the group discussion, the first account is the account where informants disclose information about themselves openly to the public. Also called 'main account,' it has approximately 100-2000 followers and is primarily utilised for personal branding, especially related to professional work.

"I have two Instagram (accounts); I used the first one for my work. I am working as a campus brand ambassador for a cosmetics brand, so my first Instagram functions to build my personal branding" (SR, 1 February 2021).

"I want to use my first account for a professional image, in case I work in the future...so I try to (follow) positive accounts in my first account" (GB, 1 February 2021).

"For me, the first account is...well, a personal Instagram for the public, for (public) display, to manage feeds, take pictures...I guess the term for it is branding" (CH, 6 February 2021).

"Why is it important for first account to exist? It is for self-branding. Self-branding is important, both for work in the future and other purposes" (GT, 6 February 2021).

Building personal branding becomes the norm in the first account, as it is visible to potential business partners or recruiters (Stevens, 2016). A first account is also where informants can show their public selves on social media. Considering how the 'main account' becomes the centre of personal branding, a positive presence is required in the first account. This is what Goffman mentioned as impression management when most people strive to present themselves positively (Attrill, 2015).

Positive presentations are done by uploading posts that build a positive image and positively impact the account viewers, such as sharing about the informants' experiences to provide insight to the viewers, providing tips or suggestions, and uploading inspirational

quotes. Aside from posting constructive or positive content, the informants tend to determine, arrange, or design their posts following particular themes. They gained inspiration from different parts of their daily lives, ranging from the theme of the movies they watched on Netflix, images found on Pinterest, or influencer accounts on Instagram that inspired them. Being out in nature or feeling particular emotions may inspire them to upload a post or Instastory.

McConnell suggested that self-aspects are associated with personal attributes. The descriptive attributes include traits, behaviours, physical characteristics, affect, and social categories. Attributes can be quite idiosyncratic and derived from numerous sources, including culturally transmitted knowledge, feedback provided by others, inferences drawn from one's behaviour, experiences moving through one's environment, and physically experienced or simulated bodily states (McConnell, 2011).

The photos or writings in the first account uploads exist to represent the informants' attributes, such as physical attractiveness (e.g. through selfies or photos of self), achievement (related to proud effect), or confidence (e.g., through motivational quotes). Two informants further noted that the orderliness of the Instagram feed could represent the account owner's personality.

"If my (Instagram) feed is messy, it shows that (I am) someone (who) does not pay serious attention to everything. If my (Instagram) feed is neat, tidy...well, not very tidy, but at least decently tidy, people will know what sort of person I am. It will give other people a good first impression, so they are interested in knowing me better" (BM, 6 February 2021).

"My Instagram feed is very messy, and that is very 'me'" (DY, 6 February 2021).

In general, the presentations in the first account are more oriented to presenting the informant's 'best version' or 'perfect' selves, in which positive self-aspects are preferred to display as the public self. Positive presentation in social media helps them establish the authenticity of their self-expression, along with building approval from the social media audience regarding themselves (Cheung et al., 2017). As part of the personal front, people usually show their sex, age, racial characteristics, achievements, family, day outfit (OOTD), etc. In Rinsta, someone's profile feeds and stories are moulded and modified to fit into the understanding and expectations of the society in which it is presented (Goffman, 1956). While in Finsta, Gen Z tends to post everything without any constraint of personal branding.

Considering this, the ability of posts to represent their users significantly impacts the informants to a certain degree. The informants select the pictures or text they will upload very carefully. They show particular concern towards negative comments and remarks made by their followers. Furthermore, as indicated below, they express fear of being judged or negatively criticised in their first accounts, especially by unfamiliar followers or families and friends.

"I have ever experienced this in the first account...every time I post a photo or story, sometimes there are those (followers) commenting on it even though they are not close to us. I once uploaded a story, and suddenly, (someone commented) "Ew, why are there lots of acne (in my face)", despite not being close to me. So I was like, "What is the problem? S/he does not even know me. Why does s/he comment about it?" (BG, 6 February 2021).

"Let us say I have shared an (Insta)story about my favourite artist. I feel anxious in such a way that I think, 'Will this (Instastory) be judged as 'excessive' or annoying?' if I spam about what I like? So...the fear of judgment (from other people) gives me anxiety" (CR, 1 February 2021).

"I shared (a story) once in (my) first account, me in a coffee shop with five or six of my friends, all boys. At that time, I was the only girl in the group, and someone commented on the Instagram DM, "Why are you a girl by yourself? Why are you always hanging out with the boys?"... We have the right to be friends with anybody. If all my friends are boys, (I would be) immediately branded as an 'improper girl'" (DS, 1 February 2021).

"The family usually follows the private IG, and if we want to do something (questionable), we fear that our family sees that" (CL, 1 February 2021).

The informants' stories demonstrate how feedback provided by others influences the attribute(s) of a self-aspect. In the case of informant BG, for instance, she uploaded an Instastory showing her face. In the Instastory, she was showing her physical appearance, which was related to her attractiveness, one of her self-aspects that is a part of her public self. However, upon receiving negative feedback about her physical appearance (i.e., criticism for having an acne breakout on the face), the informant started to doubt her attractiveness and the 'properness' of presenting her 'flawed' appearance when presenting her public self. Research shows that when friends, family members, coworkers, or romantic partners post information on someone's account, their messages shape others' perceptions of that person more powerfully than his/her postings do— especially when their postings contradict the self-description (McCornack, 2010).

Furthermore, attractiveness was not the only self-aspect impacted by such feedback. It connected to the informant's self-aspect as a woman and a member of Indonesian society. Beauty standards for women in her cultural environment idealised smooth, flawless skin (Li et al., 2008; Prianti, 2013). When her 'attractiveness' became more vital to herself, the negative feedback would greatly influence her general affective states (i.e., mood and self-esteem). The informant became less happy and less confident about herself.

BG was not the only informant who suffered from decreasing mood and self-esteem; several informants who shared similar experiences also admitted experiencing these decreases. In their cases, when the bad

mood and low self-esteem reached their peak, they opted to 'detoxify' from social media. 'Detoxification' refers to avoiding 'toxic' materials from social media deemed threatening to the self. It aims to reduce or shut the negative feedback directed to the informant's self-aspect, particularly the self-aspect(s) that greatly impacts the informant's general affective states. Several informants shared different experiences in 'detoxification.'

"I decided to detox from my Instagram account for two weeks. I set my business account (main account) to private. No more selfie uploads in the (Insta)story as I did in the past. (During the detox,) I changed my mindset. Why do we have to compare ourselves with others? So I changed. I followed inspirational people, information about the internship, volunteer...social media is strictly for positive things" (SR, 1 February 2021).

"I off (deactivate) my account for several weeks. I closed my account and opened it again, but I did not post anything. I was only active on the second account. Only after my acne started to disappear do my photos start to appear again (in my first account)" (BG, 6 February 2021).

"I felt very insecure about my body, and I realised that scrolling on Instagram took a lot of my time...so I decided it was necessary to distance myself from social media like Instagram. During detox, I realised that I must be grateful for my body. I also learn more about self-love and how to have a healthier me-time rather than spending my me-time scrolling through Instagram." – GB, 1 February 2021

From the informants' accounts, the 'detoxification' process can be done by temporarily putting the first account into hiatus or not uploading anything to the first account. Moreover, the informant may only be actively uploading content into the second account. Throughout the 'detoxification,' informants tend to self-reflect on the influenced self-aspects. Most prominently, they re-think their notion of attractiveness, confidence, and even social media use behaviour (e.g., whom to follow or what to upload in the future). Once they change their perspective on the self-aspects, they will re-activate their first accounts. Informants may follow other Instagram accounts they deem 'inspirational' and continue to upload posts/stories to inspire others and present their self-aspects positively even more.

Aside from negative feedback, informants' other concerns regarding their presentations on social media are "uploading faux pas." Rather than the number of likes they received, most informants are more worried about uploading an Instagram post/story designated for their private accounts in the main account or business account. The 'uploading faux pas' contents urgently need to be taken down since it may unpleasantly present the informant self. This is related to how the construction of the self at the 'front stage' considers the anticipation of people's responses and reactions online (Chambers, 2013). To avoid 'breaking character on the front stage' (i.e. giving the wrong

presentation in the wrong place) and avoiding possible negative responses and reactions towards the wrong presentation, the informants would immediately take down the uploaded post/story.

With the frequent possibility of facing these concerns regarding their self-presentation on Instagram, the informants have restricted freedom in uploading freely. It is because their main accounts have been set to represent the informants' professional, almost flawless self-aspect. Moreover, to serve its purpose of professional presentation, the informants may be obliged to upload non-personal content, such as paid promotions or endorsement posts. These posts are considered to 'bothering' the overall flow of the Instagram feeds. Specifically, they flooded and 'swallowed' other feeds from the informants' friends or families. Moreover, they are also deemed to disrupt the orderliness of the first account feeds, which notably adhere to a particular predetermined structure/theme. Therefore, the informants opt to create another account where they can express a non-professional self-aspect, the 'second account'.

The 'second account' mostly acts as the informants' private account, in which the followers are strictly limited to those whom the informants heavily trust. Its followers are screened based on their familiarity with the informants, and usually, only close friends (roughly 10% of the total first account follower number) made it into the list. This data is supported by previous research, which showed that Instagram users in Indonesia strongly consider privacy concerns (Purmiassa et al., 2020).

Since the content in the second account tends to differ majorly from those of the first account, followers are narrowed down heavily. It is a space where the informants can post selfies with exaggerated expressions or poses, 'wacky' or 'questionable' contents, spam uploads (a long string of Instagram posts/stories), inner jokes, or personal rants. Typically, the informants avoid posting these types of content in the first account not to tarnish the professional image they wanted to build. The informants admitted that they became more expressive and more liberated in the second account because they did not have to exhaust themselves with maintaining their 'perfect' image or bother themselves with pondering over the aesthetics of their posts. Hence, the second account has become a 'safe place' for them to post anything they want. Several informants even stated that they posted more frequently in their second account than in their first account.

Aside from uploading private posts, several informants have made second accounts out of demand within their friends' circle or specialise them for hobby, portfolio, or school assignments. In the case of the former, the second accounts are primarily used among friend circles to share secrets. Meanwhile, in the latter case, the content of the second account is exchanged with that of the first account (the first account acts as the private account instead). When the second account is used for a hobby or portfolio, the accounts may be open to the public. However,

some informants made them private to prevent many people from seeing the content.

"I was not asked to (make a second account), but I felt shy. I got an assignment about design, and those were still early designs, so I was a bit embarrassed if (I posted it in the account where) there were more followers. So it is more for following classmates who know about the design assignment. Since (I have) just started, I become embarrassed if the design is ugly" (DF, 1 February 2021).

"For my second account, I have a photography hobby... I thought if I upload these (photos) to the first account, won't it bother other people? Sometimes some people like (to say), 'What is this? Such a trashy photo' or 'Such a random photo'. That, or I have ever uploaded it to the first account, but the comments were not so good. So I thought, 'Let us just make a second account for my hobby'" (HM, 6) February 2021).

From the two opinions, it can be seen that concerns regarding negative feedback still exist. The second account, with its limited amount of followers, may also act as a filter to limit the people who can give feedback on the informants' self-aspects.

Considering the distinctions of presentation in the two accounts, a question may arise about which account represents the real self. The previous discussion on the topic (see Kang & Wei, 2020) has referred to the first account mainly as the Rinsta (real Instagram), while the second account and alike were referred to as the Finsta (fake Instagram). However, we argue that the boundary between real and fake accounts may differ in this case. Adhering to McConnell's (2011) theory of multiple self-aspects that construct the self as a whole, the first account and second account may both represent the real self. The main distinction is located in which self-aspect is shown in each account.

One might think that there is a possibility that the informants were criticised by their friends because the informant's self is shown on Instagram differently from the true self offline. However, an informant claimed that such comments were usually aimed at the aspect of physical appearance from first glance.

"I frequently got this comment from other people...being grumpy, arrogant...I ever received a confession from someone who stalked my Instagram that I looked grumpy and unfriendly before that person knew me (my personality). But I do not think it is because of the Instagram (post/story) or the image I want to show (through the post/story). It is because of the others' perception when they look at my physical appearance" (GT, 6 February 2021).

One might also perceive that the Rinsta was, in fact, fake because its contents were fabricated in such a way that the informant wanted. However, some informants refused to refer to the first account's representation as something fake but as an effort to establish a reputable self-image as personal branding for professional purposes. To exemplify it, presenting oneself using positive representations in the first

account (notably for personal branding) is akin to how one decides to present himself/herself professionally by wearing a suit for a formal job interview in a company. Overall, the significant differences between several aspects in the first and second accounts are listed in the table 2 (Table arranged based on researcher's analysis).

Table 2. Differences between first and second account

Aspect	First/main account	Second account
Purpose	Personal branding	Connect to the closest people and express the 'true' self
General content	Neat and tidy feeds with a certain theme according to the person's intended image	Not giving as high attention to posts as in the main account
Need to 'detoxify.'	Users tend to 'detox' from the first account	Could be used as a portfolio account for hobbies or tasks (e.g. paid promotion) Users do not feel the need to 'detox' on the second account
Followers	Have more followers (>100)	Followers are narrowed down and selected carefully ($\pm 10\%$ of total followers in the first account)

Source: Data Processed by Author (2022)

CONCLUSION

In conclusion, Gen Z presents themselves online on Instagram differently based on the designation of their accounts. It affects how they disclose themselves on their Instagram accounts as well. Accounts designed for business and private use have varying representations (i.e. content uploads) based on the self-aspects that the account users want to display to different audiences. There is also a layering system for followers in each account based on the followers' intimacy with the account owners. However, as this paper focuses on the discussion of self-presentation, it does not delve more into the layering system and its implications on online personal relationships or communication. Hence, future studies may discuss these implications further with a focus on interpersonal relations – using a quantitative approach – by applying an online relational maintenance questionnaire. Moreover, since the data, in this case, were taken from only a few selected informants from four islands in Indonesia, future studies presenting cases focusing on adolescents from one specific region are encouraged to provide a broader view and better understanding of the developing phenomenon.

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