

Martin A. M. Gansinger (Ed.)

**Social impact
of media discourse
in the age of iDeology**

A perspective from the global periphery



Anchor Academic
Publishing

Gansinger, Martin A. M. (Ed.): Social impact of media discourse in the age of iDeology. A perspective from the global periphery, Hamburg, Anchor Academic Publishing 2019

Buch-ISBN: 978-3-96067-223-4

PDF-eBook-ISBN: 978-3-96067-723-9

Druck/Herstellung: Anchor Academic Publishing, Hamburg, 2019

Bibliografische Information der Deutschen Nationalbibliothek:

Die Deutsche Nationalbibliothek verzeichnet diese Publikation in der Deutschen Nationalbibliografie; detaillierte bibliografische Daten sind im Internet über <http://dnb.d-nb.de> abrufbar.

Bibliographical Information of the German National Library:

The German National Library lists this publication in the German National Bibliography. Detailed bibliographic data can be found at: <http://dnb.d-nb.de>

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Hermannstal 119k, 22119 Hamburg
<https://www.anchor-publishing.com>, Hamburg 2019
Printed in Germany

Dedicated to my father

Acknowledgments

The editor would like to thank the following individuals for their help and assistance in creating this volume: Yosra Jarrar and all the contributing authors, Lilou, my new office mate Ahmed-Nouri, Hanane L'Avoine, Hafid, Halima, Abdenbi, Sahel Gault-Millau, Mounya Plouton-Pecher, Vincent Pecher, Theodore Rollins, Song Zhijian, Sophia Munster-Marichal, Thierry, Flavie, Richard Wilhelm.

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Content

Mohammadreza Hashemi & Gabriel E. Nweke

The moderating role of social media on perfectionism and depression13

Sidik Khdir Ahmed

The impact of social media on the acceptance of ISIS survivors in Iraq41

Belkıs Şahinoğlu & Martin A. M. Gansinger

Analyzing the effects of media discourse on the sentencing
of criminal trials in the TRNC: foundations for future research51

Julie Jepchirchir

Assessing the ethicality of journalism of attachment:
a perspective of Kenyan media.....71

Ovie Sandra Ochuko

The role of media bias in influencing public opinion in Nigeria.....85

Abbas Zakria Qasmi

A comparative analysis of the speeches of the Pakistani Prime Minister
and Indian Foreign Minister in UNGA 71st session105

Abbas Zakria Qasmi, Shema Bukhari and Yosra Jarrar

Politics, ideologies, and media representation:
a case study of Pakistan and India135

Shema Bukhari

Political discourse: what we do not see in Pakistani and
Indian newspaper headlines171

Julie Jepchirchir & Martin A. M. Gansinger

A Comparative Critical Discourse Analysis of the language
used in the coverage of the 2017 presidential campaign in Kenya
by Citizen Television and K24211

Ovie Sandra Ochuko and Yosra Jarrar

The framing of the coverage of the 2018 Gubernatorial elections in
Ekiti State, Nigeria.....229

Tables and Figures

The moderating role of social media on perfectionism and depression

Table 1: <i>Intercorrelations and Cronbach's alpha for all variables in the study</i>	24
---	----

The role of media bias in influencing public opinion in Nigeria

Table 1: <i>Distribution/newspapers</i>	93
Table 2: <i>Distribution/CHANNELS TV and AIT News Networks</i>	93
Table 3: <i>Mean and standard deviation for the visibility of frames</i>	94

Politics, ideologies, and media representation: A Case Study of Pakistan and India

Figure 1: <i>Comparison of total publications in The Hindu and The Express Tribune</i>	157
Figure 2: <i>Daily breakdown of published articles corresponding to the keyword "Pakistan" on the front page of The Hindu</i>	158
Figure 3: <i>Daily breakdown of published articles corresponding to the keyword "India" on the front page of The Express Tribune</i>	158
Figure 4: <i>Comparison of the daily breakdown of The Hindu and The Express Tribune</i>	159
Figure 5: <i>Number of publications in The Hindu with their respective themes</i>	163
Figure 6: <i>Number of publications in The Express Tribune with their respective themes</i>	164
Figure 7: <i>Comparison of the distribution of publications under their respective themes of both The Hindu and The Express Tribune</i>	165
Figure 8: <i>Representation of "Pakistan" in the items published by The Hindu</i>	166
Figure 9: <i>Representation of "India" in the items published by The Express Tribune</i>	167

The framing of the coverage of the 2018 Gubernatorial elections in Ekiti State, Nigeria

Table 1: <i>Distribution/CHANNELS TV and AIT</i>	241
Table 2: <i>Mean and standard deviation for the visibility of frames</i>	242

Foreword

In the age of iDeology – in which individual access and participation to technology is about to replace the rich texture of religion, culture, tradition and political convictions – the social impact of media discourse only magnifies. This volume is an attempt to explore the influence of ever-available communication content on the minds and behavior of a population that has made the permanent and often obsessive use of communication technology a defining element of social orientation. Unlike the many accounts that focus on the remarkably redefined patterns in the context of Western society – ranging from twittering Presidents to the emerging populist movements all over Europe – this volume portrays the situation from the frequently neglected perspective of the global periphery. As opposed to simply transfer and measure perspectives taken from a Western point of view, the clear intention of this volume is to provide ample space for the sincere and explorative consideration of local characteristics and settings of the different social, cultural and political contexts and therefore contribute to providing the ground for future research.

The first chapter serves to establish an understanding of the huge impact of the highly individualized approach of consumption and participation to mediated social discourse by pointing out the moderating role of social media on perfectionism and depression among a population of international students from Turkey, the Middle East, Africa and Asia. In the following chapter, a core strategy for the employment of social media channels as part of the challenging endeavor to constitute social acceptance and integration of ISIS survivors in Iraqi society is being outlined along the theoretical lines of social penetration and social exchange. Chapter three opens room for discussion on matters of media and judicial sentencing by offering a future research design for the evaluation of judges' and jury members' exposure to crime reporting in the Turkish Republic of North Cyprus, taking into consideration the specific history and nature of the local media. Following is a discussion about the ethicality of the highly subjective practice of journalism of attachment and its anticipation among Kenyan journalists. Next, the role of media bias in influencing

public opinion is illustrated by the case of the depiction of the Indigenous People of Biafra in Nigerian media. Chapter six offers a Critical Content Analysis of the speeches of the Prime Minister of Pakistan and the Indian Minister of Foreign Affairs at the 71st General Assembly of the United Nations. This analysis provides insight into the ideological patterns of the ongoing conflict between the two countries – with its mediated dimension being detailly investigated in the subsequent chapter. In direct continuation of the focus on political aspects of media discourse in Pakistan and India, chapter eight provides a Multi-Modal Critical Discourse Analysis of newspaper headlines in both countries. Closing this volume, the last two chapters provide accounts on the language used in the coverage of the 2017 presidential campaign in Kenya and framing techniques applied in the coverage of the 2018 Gubernatorial elections in Ekiti State, Nigeria.

It is the intent of the editor – and the international authors from a multi-disciplinary academic and professional background – to offer an insightful glimpse into the less illuminated corners on the globalized map, considering that the undisputed spotlight still seems to be reserved for the dominant forces of the last century. However, “the times they are a-changin’” and the way things present themselves, the future giants might very likely emerge from out of the African or Asian continent – which is one more reason to increase scholarly consideration for the contemporary developments in the corresponding countries. Hence, this volume is also an effort to provide a voice for future intellectuals from these neglected areas of the global periphery to give their very own account of things – and therefore shape and reflect the development of their nations.

Martin A. M. Gansinger, Toulouse, March 2019

The moderating role of social media on perfectionism and depression

Abstract: Although past studies have documented that perfectionism is associated with depression, the moderating agents mostly remain unexplored. This study aimed to examine if perfectionist individuals who frequently use social networking sites are more likely to be exposed to depression. To put the question more precisely, can the depression level of a perfectionist be significantly increased by social media use? The proposed underlying mechanism of this process is social comparison which influences the perfectionistic individual through lowering his/her already low self-esteem. A sample of 468 students at Girne American University, North Cyprus, completed self-report questionnaires measuring perfectionism, social media use, social comparison behavior, self-esteem and level of depression. Overall, the results indicated that social media use, social comparison behavior, perfectionism and self-esteem significantly predicted participants' level of depression. More importantly, using moderation analysis it was also revealed that the link between perfectionism and depression was moderated by social media use. Perfectionist students suffering from low self-esteem who frequently used social media were more likely to engage in social comparison behavior and showed higher levels of depressive symptoms. The findings highlight the adverse consequences that such websites may have on perfectionistic individuals and provide new insight and implications for widespread use and popularity of social networking sites and future research.

Keywords: Social Media Use, Social Comparison, Perfectionism, Self-Esteem, Depression, Social Networking Sites

Introduction

One of the qualities of human beings is the motivation and desire to enhance life by setting and adhering to high standards, striving for better performance and attaining excellence. Evolutionary speaking, this could serve us to achieve a better fitness for survival (Sirois & Molnar, 2016). Research has indicated that majority of people are perfectionistic regarding at least one area in their lives (Stoeber & Stoeber, 2009). However, if there is constant worry over making mistakes, excessively high unrealistic standards are set, and self-worth is evaluated based on what one has achieved and gained according to these standards, it moves from adaptive to maladaptive resulting in damaging effects (Egan, Wade, Shafran & Antony, 2014). Today, social networking sites (SNSs) are becoming more and more integrated into our lives and there seems to be an increasing upward trend toward using certain SNSs such as Facebook and Instagram. Brailovskaia and Margraf (2018) pointed out that among German students, the use of Facebook amounts to seventy-six percent and the one of Instagram reaches almost up to forty percent. Proliferation of these social media technologies exposes people to tremendous amount of personal information of others which can be perceived as a reference for comparison or setting standards. Given the nature of perfectionism and the characteristics of a perfectionist, it is proposed that such networking media serve as a catalyst and facilitate depression in those who are perfectionistic. Since the use of social media will most likely continue progressively and become more widespread, it is crucial to examine possible deleterious outcomes that can result from such networks for certain individuals, in this case, perfectionists. This is indeed the rationale behind this study.

Perfectionism

As a recognized contributor to health and well-being, perfectionism is rather young. Although the last few decades have seen burgeoning research dedicated to this aspect of personality, there remains much to be explored and converged. Perfectionism is defined as a personality trait characterized by striving to perform faultlessly according to excessively high standards prescribed by oneself along with severe self-scrutiny, appraisal and concern regarding one's own mistakes and others' evaluations (Frost, Marten, Lahart & Rosenblate, 1990; Stoeber & Childs, 2010; Flett & Hewitt, 2002). Despite the conceptual differences, there is growing agreement that two underlying dimensions of perfectionism can be extracted from the majority of employed perfectionism measures and supported by factor analysis: perfectionist strivings or personal standards (PS), which refers to having the tendency to set unrealistic high standards and expect absolute perfection from oneself; and perfectionist concerns (PC), which is regarded as the neurotic aspect of perfectionism construct incorporating uncertainty about one's abilities, having unusually critical evaluations of one's own behavior continuously along with brooding over one's mistakes, others' criticisms and demands and not being capable of feeling satisfaction when one has attained a goal (Hewitt & Flett, 1991; Frost et al. 1990; Slaney, Rice, Mobley, Trippi & Ashby, 2001; Dunkley, Blankstein, Masheb & Grilo, 2006; Rice & Dellwo, 2002; Stoeber & Otto, 2006; Terry-Short, Owens, Slade & Dewey, 1995; Frost, Heimberg, Holt, Mattia & Neubauer, 1993). One of the conceptualized models used to differentiate between adaptive and maladaptive perfectionism has been developed by Slaney et al. (Slaney, Mobley, Trippi, Ashby & Johnson, 1996; Slaney et al., 2001; Slaney, Rice & Ashby, 2002). It consists of three dimensions: high standards, order, and discrepancy. Standard measures how one expects oneself to perform and contains features of personal strivings whereas discrepancy assesses the extent of self-critical evaluations and incorporates perfectionism concerns. Order measures tendency for order and organization (Slaney et al. 2002; Stoeber & Otto, 2006).

Social networking websites (SNSs)

With the advent of the internet and later online SNSs, the definition of the term “social” has literally changed and there is now a clear distinction between online and offline social life. The last few decades have been linked to an “information revolution” and as a result, the boundary between public and private life has become blurry to some extent – especially for those who are deeply involved with social media sites (Das & Sahoo, 2011). The number of SNSs and their popularity is rapidly rising particularly among the youth and it is considered unusual not to be a member of such websites (Pempek, Yermolayeva & Calvert, 2009). Two of the most popular so-called “social” networking websites, especially used by students and in a way indispensable to many people, are Facebook and Instagram. Both sites are considered as a convenient way to connect and share information – including/especially personal information, to the extent that one’s whole life or even daily activities may be followed through illustrations, photos and descriptions. Currently, the number of Facebook and Instagram users is estimated to be over 2.1 billion and 800 million respectively (Roth, 2018; statista, 2018).

According to Boyd and Ellison (2007), social networking sites are online services that make it possible for an individual to create a public or quasi-public profile, to express a list of their connections and to be in touch with those listed by others within the system. Such websites are used to create and maintain relationships with other people. Although students use such networks to communicate, most of the time is spent looking at new information and such “lurking activities” like checking other’s profiles, feeds or photographs are frequently performed by many students (Pempek et al., 2009). Naturally, there seems to be a tendency to project the best possible image of oneself, which is in line with the self-worth theory of achievement motivation, stating that individuals are motivated to build a competent picture of themselves (Covington, 2000). According to Jiang, Bazarova and Hancock (2011), individuals engage in “selective self-representation” on SNSs in order to make a better impression on others. This self-disclosure is a means by which to create an

ideal identity based on how they prefer to be perceived by others (Pempek et al. 2009; Urista, Dong & Day, 2009; Rosenberg & Egbert, 2011). To boost their popularity, for example, highly narcissistic Facebook users share more private photos, put more “Likes” and receive frequent updates from their favorite pages in order to show (off) their knowledge about various subjects (Brailovskaia & Bierhoff, 2016). Furthermore, an advancing culture of exposure, openness and disclosure has been identified (Calvert, 2000). Therefore, in a way one expects to be confronted predominantly with others’ achievements and good qualities reflected on such websites rather than failures or shortcomings. Besides the content of such websites, there are other factors that can have an impact on an individual’s self-esteem, for example, the number of followers one has or how “active” that person is in comparison to other members of the same site. This could be regarded as the more contacts one has, the more popular that person is (Kim & Lee, 2011). Flooded with such amount of claimed or displayed achievement and success stories, a perfectionist is reminded of how inadequate and insignificant he or she is – which has a tremendous impact on his/her self-esteem.

Theoretical framework

The first theoretical reference used in this study is social comparison theory by Festinger (1954), which states that humans are hard-wired to innately evaluate themselves in comparison to others. This behavior helps us with self-evaluations, self-enhancement and self-improvement (Festinger, 1954; Wills, 1981; Kruglanski & Mayseless, 1990; Corcoran, Crusius & Mussweiler, 2011; Suls, Martin & Wheeler, 2002; Wood & Taylor, 1991). According to Festinger (1954), people tend to choose comparison criteria of those individuals who resemble themselves for comparison, also known as lateral comparison (Corcoran et al., 2011; Gruder, 1971). Downward comparison is defined as comparing oneself with those worse off than oneself, which may result in generating a positive image of oneself or self-enhancement (Wills, 1981). Upward comparison, on the other hand, is based on the desire to improve ourselves. It is motivating and can supply us with appropriate

input in order to make headway and gain better performance (Festinger, 1954; Mussweiler, Ruter & Epstude, 2004; Lockwood, Dolderman, Sadler & Gerchak, 2004). There is also another side to upward social comparison supported by a different line of investigations, as it can shake one's self-image and diminish his or her self-regard resulting in negative effects (Tesser, Miller & Moore, 1988; Gilbert, Giesler & Morris, 1995; Morse & Gergen, 1970). A decisive agent that affects the direction of the comparison process is construing of the "self" prior to applying social comparison (Corcoran et al., 2011)

and as such being a perfectionist can be pivotal – since comparison and low-self-esteem are indispensably at the very core of perfectionism and in a sense the driving force behind it (Ashby & Rice, 2002). As Egan et al. (2014) put it, the issue concerning clinical perfectionism is "upward social comparison or comparing oneself to others who are perceived as much better" (p. 109). The second theoretical reference is self-discrepancy theory by Higgins (1987), that states that there are three fundamental domains of the self which serve as self-guides and references:

- a) the actual-self, which represents those attributes that someone (you or another) believes you possess;
- b) the ideal-self, which represents those attributes that someone (you or another) would ideally like you to have;
- c) the ought-self which represents those attributes that someone (you or another) believes you should have;

The comparison of different aspects of the self provides feedback on how close or distant an individual's current self is from his or her "self-guides". Closeness results in positive effects, and if there is a discrepancy, one goes through negative effects and emotional disturbances (Higgins, 1987). Various effects have been attributed to different discrepancies, for example, depression, disappointment, dissatisfaction, frustration, and blameworthiness as a result of actual vs. ideal discrepancy or agitation, self-dissatisfaction, guilt, self-contempt, worthlessness and self-criticism due to actual vs. ought discrepancy (Higgins, 1987; Bruch, Rivet & Laurenti, 2000).

Given the color of perfectionism, which is a mixture of self-imposed duty, aspirations and strivings toward a nirvana, certain components of it can bring about more severe detrimental consequences – especially between actual and ideal/ought (Higgins, Bond, Klein & Strauman, 1986).

The third model applied in this study is Beck's (1976) cognitive triad of depression that regards depression as the result of:

- a) negative views of oneself, for example, being inadequate, deficient, worthless, incapable, and flawed;
- b) one's life i.e. the world is putting exorbitant demands accompanied by insurmountable impediments and difficulties;
- c) the future, thinking that the present hardship and pain will continue in the future infinitely (Beck, Rush, Shaw & Emery, 1979);

Generally, perfectionists go through a mixture of rumination, maladaptive beliefs and negative automatic thoughts which arise from the need to be flawless as a compensatory mechanism for perceiving oneself worthless and with no confidence in one's abilities (Gordon, Nepon & Hewitt, 2016). It is these maladaptive cognitions that initiate the cognitive triad which can lead to depression or work as a maintaining factor. This investigation seeks to explore the role of SNSs (namely Facebook and Instagram) as a moderating agent between perfectionist individuals and depression. Social networking sites exert their effect by lowering a perfectionist's self-esteem and image of herself/himself (that which is already low) through social comparison to the point where the person is quite unhappy with what he or she is or is not and hence steps into depression. In this regard, heavy users are expected to engage in high levels of social comparison behavior. The hypothesis is that perfectionists are more likely to develop depression when exposed to SNSs than non-perfectionist or perfectionists who do not use SNSs. Therefore, the research question reads as follows: To what extent does social media use moderate the relationship between perfectionism and level of depression?

Methodology

Participants

A convenient sample of 468 undergraduate students from the faculties at Girne American University in the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus (TRNC) participated in this study. The participants were all university students ranging in age from eighteen to forty years ($M = 22.6$, $SD = 4.4$). Of the sample group, 60.3% were female and 39.7% were male. Furthermore, 35.9% of participants were international students and 64.1% of Turkish origins. All participants were treated in accordance with the Ethical Principles of Psychologists and Code of Conduct of American Psychological Association, 2017.

Procedure

The study was conducted at Girne American University in TRNC. Convenience sampling method was used to select classes, participation was voluntary and anonymous. Participants were told that the study was designed to examine “the impact of social media on depression for perfectionists”. Informed consent was obtained from all the students. Self-administered written questionnaires to measure social media use, perfectionism, self-esteem, social comparison behavior and level of depression were then distributed to students during their lectures with ample time to answer the questions.

Social media usage

A scale with Cronbach's alpha of .83 was adopted from Olufadi (2016), Social Networking Time Use Scale (SONTUS) and Media and Technology Usage and Attitudes Scale (MTUAS) by Rosen, Whaling, Carrier, Cheever and Rokkum (2013) to measure the participants' rate of SNS use, the amount of time applied to it, and attitudes towards the use of SNSs and applications. A total of nine questions were included in the questionnaire, which let participants identify their mostly used social

networking websites and whether they use them on personal computers or/and smart phones. The frequency of SNS use was measured with questions such as “On average, I check my social media accounts (how many times) ____ times per day”. For duration they were asked “On average, I spend (how long, in terms of hours) ____ on social media per day.” Also, to assess the intervals between their visits to their SNSs, they were asked to choose “Yes” or “No” for the following questions:

“I look at my social media accounts on a daily basis”.

“I check my social media accounts as soon as I wake up”.

“I check my social media accounts before I go to bed”.

“I do not go more than 24 hours without checking my social media accounts”.

Each participant’s score was then standardized and calculated with higher scores indicating heavy use and involvement on SNSs.

Social comparison

To measure the extent of participants’ social comparison orientation, Scale For Social Comparison Orientation (INCOM, Iowa-Netherlands Comparison Orientation Scale), developed by Gibbons and Buunk (1999) was included in the questionnaire. This scale measures to what extent an individual tends to evaluate himself/herself by comparing with others, consisting of a total of eleven items, two of which are negative. To find out how often they compare themselves with other people, the participants were asked to indicate how much they agree with each statement on a five-point Likert scale from “Strongly Disagree” to “Strongly Agree”. The total score ranges from eleven to fifty-five, with higher scores indicating more general tendency towards comparisons and lower scores representing minor tendency towards comparisons. The items reflect two bases of comparison, abilities and opinions. Cronbach’s alpha in the original sample was .83, which proved consistent with other samples that followed. The scale asks participants to rate the frequency that they compare themselves in different situations such as: with respect to what one has accomplished in life; what others think of learning something; paying

attention to how one does things compared to others, comparing how one's loved ones are doing with others (Gibbons, & Buunk, 1999)

Depression

Beck's Depression Inventory (BDI), developed by Beck (1961), was used in the current research to measure participants' level of depression. This twenty-one-item self-rated scale evaluates characteristics and key symptoms of depression. Each item is rated on a four-point Likert scale ranging from zero to three, based on the severity in the last two weeks. The total score ranges from zero to sixty-three, with higher scores indicating more severe depressive symptoms. The items cover aspects of pessimism, sense of failure, self-dissatisfaction, guilt, punishment, self-dislike, self-accusation, suicidal ideas, crying, irritability, social withdrawal, indecisiveness, body image change, work difficulty, insomnia, fatigability, loss of appetite, weight loss, somatic preoccupation, and loss of interest in sex. Internal consistency for the BDI ranges from .73 to .92, with a mean of .86 (Beck, Steer & Garbin, 1988).

Perfectionism

To measure participants' level of perfectionism in this study, Almost Perfect Scale—Revised (APS-R) designed by Slaney et al. (2001) was used. A twenty-three-item questionnaire measures three dimensions of perfectionism: high standards, order and discrepancy to distinguish between adaptive versus maladaptive perfectionism. Statements are developed to examine people's attitudes toward themselves, their performance and others. The scale consists of three subsets of questions, each dealing with one aspect of perfectionism: Standards (max score 49), Order (max score 28) and Discrepancy (max score 84). After adding up an individual's score on each subscale, maladaptive perfectionism can be assessed by high scores on both standards and discrepancy subscales, while adaptive perfectionism is associated with high scores on standards and low scores on the discrepancy subscale. The items are rated using a seven-point Likert scale from

“Strongly Disagree” to “Strongly Agree”. According to Slaney et al. (2001), the internal consistency estimates of the APS-R ranged from .85 to .92.

Self-Esteem

The Rosenberg Self Esteem Scale (RSES) was used to evaluate individual’s self-esteem participating in this research. It is a widely known self-report questionnaire designed by Rosenberg in 1965, consisting of ten items, five of which are positively and five of which are negatively worded. The items are positioned on a four-point Likert scale, ranging from “Strongly Agree” to “Strongly Disagree”. Every individual’s score can range from ten to forty, with higher scores indicating greater levels of self-esteem. Internal consistency for the RSES ranges from 0.77 to 0.88. The mean internal reliability (Cronbach’s alpha) of the RSES scale across fifty-three nations is reported a substantial (.81) (Rosenberg, 1965; Schmitt & Allik, 2005).

Results

The main purpose of this study was to examine the moderating effect of social media use on the relationship between perfectionism and level of depression among students at Girne American University. Table 1 summarizes the variables’ intercorrelations and Cronbach’s alpha of the scales.

Variable	SMU	SCB	PEF	SE	LOD
SMU	(.83)				
SCB	.42**	(.83)			
PEF	.16**	.42**	(.87)		
SE	.53*	-.21**	-.40**	(.80)	
LOD	.34**	.63*	.36*	-.14*	(.85)
<i>M</i>	25.5	23.5	104.1	19.6	45.8
<i>SD</i>	6.0	15.6	10.1	3.4	5.8

N = 468. Entries on the main diagonal are Cronbach's alpha. SMU = Social Media Use; SCB = Social Comparison Behavior; PEF = Perfectionism; SE = Self-Esteem; LOD = Level of Depression; **p* < .05, ***p* < .01.

Table 1: Intercorrelations and Cronbach's alpha for all variables in the study

Analysis

Moderation multiple linear regression analyses were used to examine moderation effects between social media use, perfectionism, self-esteem and social comparison behavior on level of depression. The analysis indicated that about sixty percent of the variation in the level of depression could be explained by the main effects and the interaction effects ($R^2 = .612$, adjusted $R^2 = .608$, $F [4,463] = 18.4$, $p < .01$). All the main effects were significant and contributed uniquely to high levels of depression: perfectionism ($B = .33$, $t = 9.6$, $p < .01$), social media use ($B = .23$, $t = 8.7$, $p < .01$), social comparison behavior ($B = .03$, $t = 17.1$, $p < .01$) and self-esteem ($B = .29$, $t = 9.3$, $p < .01$). The interaction between social media use and perfectionism was significant ($B = -.06$, $\beta = -.29$, $t = -2.2$, $p = .026$), suggesting that the effects of perfectionism on depression depended on the level of social media use. Simple slopes for the association between perfectionism and depression were tested for low, moderate, and high levels of social media use. Each of the simple slope tests

revealed a significant positive association between perfectionism and level of depression but the perfectionism revealed stronger relation to depression for high levels of social media use ($b = .61$, $SEb = .05$, $\beta = .68$, $p < .01$) than for moderate ($b = .58$, $SEb = .04$, $\beta = .52$, $p < .01$) or lower levels ($b = .36$, $SEb = .05$, $\beta = .20$, $p < .01$) of social media use.

Discussion

Extensive work has been done on the impact of social media on mental health, but this study is the first one to examine the interconnected associations of perfectionism, social comparison, self-esteem and depression in the context of social media use among students. As predicted, we found out that social media use, social comparison behavior, perfectionism and self-esteem significantly predicted participants' level of depression. There was a significant positive correlation between social media use, social comparison behaviors, perfectionism and depression, and a significant negative correlation between self-esteem and depression. Furthermore, a strong moderating effect of social media use on the relationship between perfectionism and depression could be observed.

As expected, there seems to be a strong link between being perfectionistic and having more depressive symptoms which is supported by previous studies (Cox, Clara & Enns, 2009; Hewitt & Flett, 1991). As for social comparison, in its many forms, it is a natural process of human life and we are constantly engaged in this, one way or another (Dunning & Hayes, 1996). However, when one suffers from low self-esteem, sets excessively high standards and is never satisfied with his or her achievements, as is the case with perfectionists, the whole process can change to maladaptive behavior with undesirable consequences (Egan et al., 2014). It appears that social comparison is a strong amplifier on the level of depression among high SNS perfectionist users.

This is, while even as a singular factor, social comparison has been linked to depression (Swallow & Kuiper, 1988). Comparison lies at the core of perfectionism,

without it there would be no point of reference for the perfectionist to set standards, strive for the best or criticize him or herself against. Egan et al. (2014) put it as “measuring one’s performance against that of others” (p. 109). Additionally, anything that signals an imperfect “self” – such as “unflattering social comparison information” (Flett, Nepon & Hewitt, 2016, p. 127) can trigger worry in a perfectionist. Perfectionists also have the urge and desire to be number one which is based purely on comparison with others. When this expectation is not met, negative states and adverse consequences may follow (Burns, 1980). It is suggested that for non-perfectionists, there is a mixture of downward, lateral or upward comparison with varying degrees, depending on the personality and situation which can neutralize the negative effects of one’s inabilities and shortcomings working as a motivating agent. For perfectionists, there seems to be solely upward or more upward social comparison, which can be an endless reminder of one’s flaws, defects, failures, weaknesses, shortcomings and “imperfection”.

A key agent in this process is self-esteem, defined by Rosenberg (1979) as the totality of the individual’s thoughts and feelings with reference to himself as an object. That self-esteem depends upon how successfully one is living up to his or her overarching standards is central to clinical perfectionism. Shafran, Egan and Wade (2010) stated that among all the questions asked to assess clinical perfectionism the following is regarded as the most decisive and crucial one: “Do you base your self-esteem on striving and achievement?” (p. 18). Several studies on the relationship between perfectionism and self-esteem show that self-evaluative propensities are critical processes associating perfectionism to distress and establish a strong association between perfectionism concerns and self-esteem (Ashby & Rice, 2002; Flett, Hewitt, Blankstein, Solnik & Van Brunschot, 1996). Moreover, the link between self-esteem and depression has also been investigated, demonstrating that low self-esteem predicts depression (Orth, Robins & Roberts, 2008).

Although low self-esteem may not always necessarily be a fixed part of perfectionism, it increases the likelihood of perceiving many experiences as failure