

ICA 年度雙語論文

與人分享，幸福提升：社群媒體自我表露對台灣民眾心理幸福感的影響

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摘要

本研究探討社群媒體上的自我表露行為對台灣民眾心理幸福感的影響，並分析社會資本與社會支持對自我表露與心理幸福感之間關係的前置影響與中介效應。本研究的數據來自台灣傳播調查資料庫第三期第二次的調查資料，以台灣的2,075名受訪者為研究對象。研究結果顯示，契結型社會資本和橋接型社會資本是自我表露和社會支持的重要預測變項。此外，社會支持會中介影響自我表露與生活滿意度之間的關聯，也會中介影響自我表露與孤獨感之間的關聯。

關鍵詞：社群媒體、自我表露、社會支持、社會資本、心理幸福感

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論文投稿日期：2024年6月11日。論文接受日期：2024年9月1日。

The Impact of Self-Disclosure on Psychological Well-Being Among Social Media Users in Taiwan

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Abstract

This study examines the impact of self-disclosure behaviors on the psychological well-being of Taiwanese individuals, the antecedent influences of social capital, and the mediating effects of social support on the relationship between self-disclosure and psychological well-being. Data used in this study were derived from the second wave of the third phase of the Taiwan Communication Survey, involving 2,075 Taiwanese respondents. The findings reveal that both bonding and bridging social capital are significant predictors of self-disclosure and social support. Additionally, social support mediates the relationship between self-disclosure and life satisfaction and the relationship between self-disclosure and loneliness.

Keywords: social media, self-disclosure, social support, social capital, psychological well-being

Citation of this article: Fan, Y., Lo, V.-H., & Zhang, B. (2024). The impact of self-disclosure on psychological well-being among social media users in Taiwan. *Communication and Society*, 70, 185–239.

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研究背景與目的

隨著信息通訊技術的發展，社群媒體已成為人們查尋資訊、發表意見、交流討論、與人聯繫的重要管道 (Liu & Brown, 2014)。目前社群媒體的使用者已幾乎覆蓋所有年齡層。在台灣，大約有90%的民眾擁有一個或多個社群媒體平台帳戶 (Kemp, 2023)，如臉書 (Facebook)、LINE、Instagram 或 TikTok 等，平均每人每天使用社群媒體兩小時以上。社群媒體的興起使現實中的人際關係從線下 (offline) 發展到線上 (online)，為使用者在線上分享信息、維護關係提供了便利的渠道 (Liu & Brown, 2014)。

自我表露 (self-disclosure) 指個體將個人信息分享給他人 (Derlega & Berg, 1987)。社群媒體在設計之初就鼓勵信息共享 (Wiederhold, 2020)，目前已成為人們在面臨生活壓力時進行自我表露的重要渠道 (Lee et al., 2013)。蔣索等人 (2008) 的研究指出，人們在社群媒體上可能會表露生活中積極和消極的一面。

人們在社群媒體上表露生活中的困擾後，可能會因獲得他人的支持而受益 (Huang, 2016)，通過這些社會支持又可能繼續增強心理幸福感 (Luo & Hancock, 2020)。除此之外，社會文化和價值觀對自我表露的積極性也有著重要影響 (Asai & Barnlund, 1998)。具體來說，在個人主義盛行的社會，如歐洲和美國，個人自我表露的話題 (如觀點、興趣、性格) 和目標對象 (如父母、陌生人、朋友) 更多；相對而言，在集體主義瀰漫的國家中，如中國，個人自我表露的話題和目標對象較少 (Chen, 1995)。

台灣受儒家傳統思想的影響，有著較高的集體主義傾向 (涂榮宗等, 2009)，但台灣也受多元思潮的影響，產生了明顯的個人主義文化變遷 (邵康華, 2014)。因此，值得探究的是，像台灣這樣重視儒家傳統又受個人主義影響的社會，人們透過社群媒體進行自我表露，特別是針對生活壓力和個人負面情緒的表露頻率為何？哪些因素可能促使台灣的社群媒體使用者進行自我表露？自我表露對使用者的心理幸福感 (psychological well-being) 有何影響？這些是本研究希望回答的問題。

之前有學者 (Luo & Hancock, 2020) 指出，社會支持在自我表露對心理幸福感的影響中可能具有中介作用，即使用者通過自我表露獲得

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社會支持，再經由社會支持影響心理幸福感，然而他們的論述基於的是對現有研究的定性文獻綜述 (Chu et al., 2023)，自我表露、社會支持與心理幸福感三者的關係依然缺乏實證證據。此外，以往的研究也只關注於心理幸福感單一的正面或負面面向，不能明確說明基於自我表露而獲得的社會支持如何同時影響表露者心理幸福感的正負兩種面向。例如，社會支持是否可以既帶來情緒的滿足增強正面情緒，又緩解孤獨減少負面情緒？本研究將通過綜合考量心理幸福感的正負兩種面向，闡明社會支持作為中介變項對自我表露與生活滿意度和孤獨感之間關係的影響，以填補過去研究的不足。

文獻探討與研究假設

自我表露

自我表露是指個人向他人透露個人信息的行為 (Trepte & Reinecke, 2013)，包括情感、認知、感受等。Jourard (1971) 將這種行為具體定義為在人際交往的背景下，個人對思想、經歷和感受的表露。表露本身可以滿足個體對社會歸屬感和社會鏈接的需求，本質上具有互惠性 (Tamir & Mitchell, 2012)，即溝通中一方的主動表露可以引發另一方的表露 (Harper & Harper, 2006)。

互惠性是影響自我表露的一個重要因素。之前的研究者曾提出三種觀點來解釋：第一種觀點認為個體向他人的自我表露會增加他人對個體的喜愛和信任，進而增加他人對該個體的表露慾望。第二種認為自我表露的互惠性來自於社會規範。人們在獲得他人表露的信息後，基於公平規範會回饋對應的信息。第三種認為個人與他人之間的自我表露是一種模仿行為，聽者在接收到表露者的信息後會模仿表露者的行為 (Berg & Derlega, 1987)。自我表露的互惠性也是促進個體間關係發展的重要因素 (Derlega et al., 1993)。具體來說，個體並不會隨意向他人作自我表露，只有互動雙方各自表露達成互惠的信息交換後，個體間的關係才能發展 (Park et al., 2011)。

自我表露可以在多個維度上進行劃分，但通常可以歸為數量 (quantity) 和質量 (quality) 兩個維度 (Luo & Hancock, 2020)。數量維度主要是指對個人信息披露的話題、頻率和持續時間的控制，以及對親密程度的深度控制，而質量維度主要是指行為傾向，如意向、情感效價等 (Chu et al., 2023)。本文在數量維度上主要討論自我表露的頻率，在質量維度上主要關注負向的情感效價，即負向的自我表露。負向的自我表露主要指個體表露的內容是負面消極的，如自身的弱點、挫折和悲觀情緒等 (Kelly & McKillop, 1996)。

之前的研究表明，不能或不願表達強烈負面情緒的人更有可能出現心理問題 (Locke & Colligan, 1986)，而自我表露則可以幫助個人緩解壓力和負面情緒 (Derlega et al., 1993; Zhang, 2017)。Zhang (2017) 認為這一現象可以用宣洩效應 (Stiles, 1987) 來解釋：人們向山谷吶喊自身遭遇的負面事件以及負面情緒後，這些負面因素對自身的影響得到減輕。此外，在表露和表達負面事件後，個人對事件的理解和認知也可能得到加強，進而可以重新評估負面事件帶來的痛苦和壓力。因此，自我表露可能減輕痛苦事件對人的反覆困擾，從而緩解壓力 (Feldman et al., 2008)。

社群媒體的出現為在線使用者提供了與他人互動和進行自我表露的新渠道。相較於線下環境，許多人，特別是年輕人，更願意在社群媒體 (例如臉書) 上透露更多的內容和信息。且相較於面對面交流，社群媒體上的自我表露往往涉及範圍更廣，可以傳播到整個虛擬好友網路 (Liu & Brown, 2014)。

在社群媒體上進行自我表露也存在潛在風險。在線上，信息比傳統的線下人際交往傳播得更快更廣，使用者難以控制表露信息的傳播速度和範圍 (謝笑春等, 2013)。此外，網路的匿名性也使表露者難以確定溝通對象的真實身分和意圖，因此自我表露，尤其是對私密話題的自我表露有可能對表露者的個人隱私造成不良影響 (Joinson et al., 2008)。儘管存在風險，但許多研究表明，在社群媒體進行自我表露可以帶來諸多好處。如 Luo 和 Hancock (2020) 的總結，社群網站上的自我表露能增強一個人的社會連接性，從而減少孤獨感和其他負面情緒。

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Zhang (2017) 也發現在面對生活壓力時，人們在社群網站上進行自我表露可以獲得社會支持，從而緩解壓力對心理健康的有害影響。

自我表露的前因

自我表露的前因是自我表露行為研究的重要部分 (Andalibi & Forte, 2018; Andalibi et al., 2018; Luo & Hancock, 2020; Sharif et al., 2021)。自我表露受多種因素的影響，包括社會文化因素和個人心理因素。就社會文化因素而言，文化背景會影響個體自我表露行為 (Asai & Barnlund, 1998)。與集體主義文化背景下的個體相比，個人主義文化背景下的個體更願意公佈個人信息 (Rosen et al., 2010)，自我表露的頻率也更加頻繁。但也有研究認為，集體主義文化背景下的個體出於對集體的歸屬感和信任感，更願意與他人分享自己的信息 (Posey et al., 2010)。

除了文化因素外，信任、交往動機、隱私關注度等心理因素也會影響自我表露行為 (Joinson et al., 2010; Li et al., 2011)。之前的研究表明，信任是影響個體表露個人信息的重要因素。溝通雙方信任水平的提升會引起表露頻率和表露內容的進一步擴展 (Joinson et al., 2010)；就交往動機而言，交往動機越強的個體越希望與他人建立和維護人際關係，也越願意向對方透露更多的個人信息 (Tian, 2011)。個體對隱私關注程度的差異也會影響自我表露行為。相較於隱私關注程度較低的群體，高隱私關注度者往往更少在網路中表露個人信息 (Joinson et al., 2008)。

Luo 和 Hancock (2020) 在分析自我表露的前因時探討了在線自我表露與心理幸福感之間的關係，並概述了自我表露行為的動機以及自我表露行為影響心理幸福感強度和價值的機制。他們認為自我表露與心理幸福感的關係是雙向的，即使用者可以通過自我表露促進心理幸福感，反過來心理幸福感得到促進的使用者會更願意進行自我表露。但他們同樣也指出這種關係的因果方向需要進行實證檢驗，特別是關於動機和機制方面。此外，社會支持作為一個中介因素，可能直接且正向地影響自我表露與正面的心理幸福感 (如生活滿意度) 之間的關係。由於 Luo 和 Hancock (2020) 並未詳細說明自我表露如何影響負面的心理情緒 (如抑鬱和孤獨感)，因此本研究的主要目的是分析社群媒體上的自我表露

對心理幸福感正負兩個面向的影響，探討人們在社群媒體上表露自我的動機，並驗證社會支持對自我表露與心理幸福感的中介效應。

社會資本作為自我表露的動機

社會資本 (social capital) 指的是個人之間的連接以及由此產生的互惠和可信任的規範 (Putnam, 2000)。社會資本本質上是個人在社會關係網路中擁有的實際和潛在資源，這些資源由關係網路內各方的信任、共同的價值觀等特徵決定 (Coleman, 1988)。與基於資產或個人其他形式的資本不同，社會資本僅存在於人際交往的關係網路中 (Wasko & Faraj, 2005)。當人們互動並建立關係時，社會資本就會產生 (Coleman, 1988)。Putnam (2000) 將社會資本分為契結型社會資本 (bonding social capital) 和橋接型社會資本 (bridging social capital)。

契結型社會資本涉及強聯繫 (strong ties)，通常在親密和同質群體之間形成，例如家庭成員、親密朋友和具有共同身分或價值觀的群體。這種資本強調緊密的情感支持和持續的強聯繫社會互動 (Donath, 2007)。當個體面臨挑戰或困難時，與個體具有強聯繫的他人願意投入足夠的精力和時間來提供幫助和支持。

另一方面，橋接型社會資本涉及弱聯繫 (weak ties)，通常在異質群體之間形成，例如同事、一般關係的熟人、陌生人或來自不同背景和社交網路的人。這種資本主要促進信息交流，專注於通過弱聯繫的社會互動建立的異質群體成員所創造的價值。弱聯繫在信息多樣性和接觸不同群體方面為個人提供了明顯的優勢 (Ellison et al., 2007)。

互聯網為個體與他人的連接和互動提供了新的途徑，個體在線上可以通過不同的平台 (包括社群網路、在線社區和論壇等) 擴展社會關係，發展社會資本 (Selim et al., 2021)。就自我表露與社會資本的關係而言，先前研究往往認為自我表露的廣度和深度對社會資本有正向影響 (Liu & Brown, 2014)，但本文認為，社會資本可以作為自我表露的動機進而對自我表露這一行為產生影響。

社會資本理論已表明，社會資本會影響社會網絡中個體成員的行為 (Chen & Sharma, 2013)。具體來說，橋接型社會資本建立在具有相

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對嚴格互惠關係的大型鬆散的人際關係上 (Onyx & Bullen, 2000)。在社群媒體的背景中，互惠使一個人堅信自己的表露會被他人所欣賞，作為回報，他人也會進行自我表露從而進行互動，並在需要時提供幫助 (Chen & Sharma, 2013)。Moon (2000) 指出，如果人們首先從他們的談話對象那裏接受到了這種自我表露，那麼他們也會進行親密的自我表露——即使是與相對陌生的人。因此，通過互惠機制，擁有較高橋接型社會資本的人可能會因為預期從他人那裏得到相似的回報，從而增加自我表露的頻率。而契結型社會資本往往在具有共同身分或價值觀的群體中形成 (Donath, 2007)。身分認同作為社會實體之間的契結資源，影響著成員參與公共活動的動機。當成員在社群網站上感受到強烈的社會團結和身分認同時，他們更有動力參與自我表露 (Chen & Sharma, 2013)。因此，擁有較高契結型社會資本的人可能會因為與他人有較高的身分認同從而增加自我表露的頻率。之前的研究 (Kitsiou et al., 2016; Maksl & Young, 2013) 也發現，橋接型和契結型社會資本都能正向預測自我表露。基於此，我們提出以下假設：

H1a：契結型社會資本正向預測自我表露。

H1b：橋接型社會資本正向預測自我表露。

社會資本作為社會支持的預測因素

社會資本和社會支持緊密相關，兩者都描述了個人從社會關係中獲得的幫助和利益，但它們是有區別的。社會資本指的是通過社交關係獲得的整體資源和機會，包括信息交流和互惠，強調的是個體在社會網路中的連接和互動 (Vitak & Ellison, 2013)。另一方面，社會支持則是由社交關係提供的心理 (如情感關懷) 或實際 (如物質援助) 上的幫助 (Power et al., 1988; Cohen, 2004)。社會支持包括情感支持、信息支持、物質支持等多種形式，是個人在面對困難和挑戰時所依賴的重要資源。如果說社會資本被視為達成目標的手段，社會支持可以看作是個人從社會資本中獲得的一種核心利益。因此，個體可以利用其社會資本從而獲得來自他人的社會支持。

社會資本和社會支持的關係可以理解為前者為後者提供了基礎和渠道。具體來說，社會資本通過建立和維護社交網路，使個體能夠動用這些關係網路來尋求和獲得社會支持 (Resnick, 2002)。例如，契結型社會資本中的強聯結關係能夠為個體提供深層次的情感和實際支持 (Ryan et al., 2008)。而橋接型社會資本中的弱聯結關係則能夠擴展個體的信息來源和資源獲取途徑 (Putnam, 2000)。在社群媒體環境下，社會資本通過網路連接增強了個體獲取社會支持的能力。通過自我表露，個體能夠讓網路中的其他成員了解自己的需求，從而促使他們提供相應的支持。

如上所述，在社群媒體中，契結型資本和橋接型資本都能幫助個人獲取獲得社會支持的資源。我們提出以下兩個假設：

H2a：契結型社會資本正向預測社會支持。

H2b：橋接型社會資本正向預測社會支持。

社會支持作為關鍵因素

在自我表露對心理幸福感的影響過程中，社會支持是一個關鍵因素 (Luo & Hancock, 2020)。社會支持包括個體在與他人互動中感知、提供和獲得的幫助和優勢 (Ryan et al., 2008)，涵蓋了感知到的支持和實際提供的支持。

之前的研究發現，使用社群媒體能夠增強社會支持 (Ellison et al., 2007)，而社群媒體中的自我表露是獲得社會支持的關鍵途徑 (Derlega et al., 1993)。只有個人進行自我表露表現出自身的情感或物質需求後，他人才能識別這一需求，了解個體的困境，進而提供相應的支持 (Wang et al., 2015)。在社群媒體上，進行自我表露的求助者可以公開發表自身的需求，而支持者們可以通過評論、點讚等快捷方式向求助者分享經驗並提供實質或無形的幫助 (Gray et al., 2013)。除了幫助之外，進行自我表露的人通過感受到他人對其需求的關注，也可以獲得更高層次的社會支持 (Lu & Hampton, 2017)。

基於先前關於自我表露對社會支持有益影響的研究 (Huang, 2016)，我們提出以下假設：

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H3：自我表露正向預測社會支持。

自我表露通過社會支持間接影響心理幸福感

之前的研究表明，社會支持能夠為個體增強正面情緒、緩解負面情緒，從而對個體的心理幸福感產生直接和正向的影響(Cohen & Wills, 1985)。心理幸福感是心理健康的核心特徵，涵蓋了享樂式(hedonic)幸福(正面情緒的出現和負面情緒的消失)及意義式(eudaimonic)幸福(對生活的認知評價)兩個方面(Deci & Ryan, 2008)。在操作上，心理幸福感常被視為一個廣泛的觀念，既包括心理健康的正面指標，如自尊、社會福祉和生活滿意度，也包括負面指標，如抑鬱、孤獨和焦慮(Liu et al., 2019)。

很多學者的研究發現，得到社會支持越多的個體往往表現出更高水平的心理幸福感(Ko & Kuo, 2009; Siedlecki et al., 2014; Yıldırım & Tanrıverdi, 2021)。社會支持對心理幸福感的正向影響可以用兩種機制來闡明。第一種為緩衝機制，認為個體在遭受生活的壓力後，可能會因為無法應對而產生無助感(Garber & Seligman, 1980)。而社會支持可以給予個體物質援助或情感關懷，從而幫助其緩解壓力，防止個體產生過度反應(Cohen & Wills, 1985)。第二種觀點認為社會支持的效果可能在任何時間發揮功效，並非只有在個體遭受壓力後才起作用(Thoits, 1985)。社會支持可以增強個體的正面情緒，並提升個體自我價值感。同時社會支持也可以幫助個體緩解負面情緒(包括孤獨、抑鬱等)，從而增強心理幸福感(Turner & Turner, 2013)。簡言之，社會支持能促進正面情緒，並抑制負面情緒。

之前對社會支持和心理幸福感的研究主要關注心理幸福感的特定面向，而沒有同時考慮社會支持對正面情緒(如生活滿意度)和負面情緒(如孤獨感)的影響。在本研究中，我們將同時分析社會支持對正面情緒和負面情緒的影響。基於上述分析，我們提出以下兩個假設：

H4a：社會支持正向預測生活滿意度。

H4b：社會支持負向預測孤獨感。

此外，學者們尚未確定自我表露對心理幸福感的影響是直接的還是間接的。一些研究 (Hossain et al., 2023) 觀察到，自我表露對心理幸福感有直接、顯著的影響，而其他研究 (Kim & Lee, 2011) 則發現自我表露對心理幸福感並沒有直接影響。以往的研究表明，自我表露會引發社會支持，從而提高心理幸福感，這些研究顯示，社會支持可能是自我表露與心理幸福感之間的中介變項。

考慮到自我表露對個體心理影響的複雜性，目前仍未解決的問題是社會支持是否在自我表露與心理幸福感的正負兩個面向之間的關係中具有中介作用。一些研究表明，社群媒體使用者的自我表露頻率越高，他們就越有可能從其他使用者那裏獲得社會支持，進而提高幸福感。然而，根據Kim和Lee (2011) 的研究，誠實的自我表露對社會支持有正向影響，但不會直接影響幸福感。社會支持可能中介影響自我表露與心理幸福感的關係。

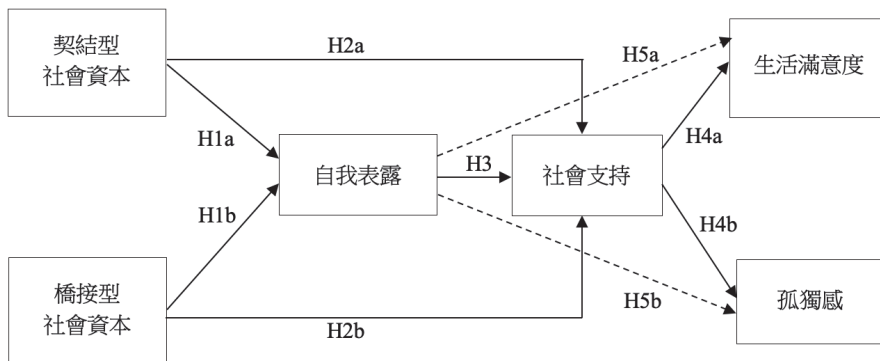
基於先前研究提出的潛在間接影響，我們認為社會支持可能中介影響自我表露與正面情緒之間的關係，也可能在自我表露與負面情緒之間的關係中具有中介作用。因此最後兩個假設如下：

H5a：社會支持會中介影響自我表露與生活滿意度之間的關係。

H5b：社會支持會中介影響自我表露與孤獨感之間的關係。

圖一展示了我們假設的分析框架。

圖一 研究架構圖



註：虛線代表中介效果中的間接效果

研究方法

本項研究的數據來源於台灣傳播調查資料庫第三期第二次的調查資料。台灣傳播調查資料庫獲台灣科技部支持，每年執行全台灣訪調查，蒐集民眾對社會重要議題的看法，並追蹤其媒體使用行為的變遷。第三期第二次調查執行於2023年6月至9月間，調查母體為年滿18週歲並常住台灣的居民。調查採用分層等機率三階段抽樣法(probability-proportional-to-size sampling)，根據台灣地區戶籍資料檔記錄的人口密度、年齡、職業、受教育程度等指標，抽取具有全台代表性的樣本。面訪由受訓訪員登門進行，在到訪的7,735個台灣住址中，每個住址抽出一人進行面訪，總計回收2,075份有效問卷，回覆率為29.65%。

本研究的樣本包含男性1,018人，佔總受訪人數的49.1%，女性1,057人，佔50.9%。受訪者的平均年齡為49.25歲，標準差為17.33，年齡區間涵蓋18至93歲。在受教育程度方面，41.6%的受訪者持有大學及以上學歷，47.3%畢業於初高中及專科學校，11.1%則為小學及以下程度。

核心變項與測量方法

如研究架構圖所示，本項研究的核心變項包括自我表露、契結型與橋接型社會資本、社會支持、生活滿意度和孤獨感。依據這個研究架構圖，本研究認為契結型與橋接型社會資本會影響自我表露，而自我表露會引發社會支持，社會支持又會進一步影響生活滿意度和孤獨感。

I. 自我表露

自我表露的測量方式參考Chen等人(2016)與Cheung等人(2015)的自我表露量表，詢問受訪者在臉書、Instagram、LINE等社群媒體上的自我表露頻率。題項包含以下三項：「請問您有多常在社群媒體上談到您遇到的問題呢？」、「請問您有多常在社群媒體上談到您承受的壓力呢？」、「請問您有多常在社群媒體上談到您個人的困難呢？」。受訪者針對上述問題以「1」=從來沒有、「2」=很少、「3」=有時、「4」=經常作答。主成分因素分析(principal component factor analysis)顯示，所有

題項構成同一因素，特徵值 (eigenvalue) 為 2.43，解釋變異量 (explained variance) 為 80.82%。因此，我們把這三個題項相加，並除以 3，建構成「自我表露」的複合型測量指標 (composite measure)。這個變項的平均值為 1.50，標準差為 0.62，克隆巴赫係數 (Cronbach's α) 為 .87，已達非常可信的程度。自我表露的數值越大，表示受訪者越常在社群媒體上表露生活中的困難與負面情緒。

II. 社會資本

社會資本的測量採用 Williams (2006) 的網路社會資本量表，包含下列六個題項：「當我遇到困難時，我能找到信賴的人幫我解決問題」、「當我有私密的問題時，有人可以讓我放心地聊一聊」、「當我覺得孤單時，我可以找到其他人說話」、「經由和別人的來往，我會想要嘗試新事物」、「經由和別人的來往，我會對和我不一樣的人在想些甚麼產生興趣」、「經由和別人的閒聊，我會對世界上發生的事情感到好奇」。受訪者在 1 至 5 的李克特量表 (Likert scale) 上作答，其中「1」表示非常不同意，「5」表示非常同意。

基於最大變異法轉軸 (varimax rotation) 的主成分因素分析顯示，這六個題項形成兩個因素，共解釋 74.31% 的變異量。第一個因素由上文提及的後三個題項組成 (特徵值 = 2.28，解釋變異量 = 37.92%)，體現受訪者與身邊人士之間的弱聯繫，因此被命名為「橋接型社會資本」。我們把受訪者在這三個題項上的分數相加，並取平均值作為複合型測量指標 (平均值 = 3.48，標準差 = 0.79，克隆巴赫係數 = .84)。第二個因素則由前三個題項組成 (特徵值 = 2.18，解釋變異量 = 36.39%)，體現人與人之間的強聯繫，因此被命名為「契結型社會資本」。我們同樣把這三題的分數相加，並取平均值作為複合型測量指標 (平均值 = 3.77，標準差 = 0.70，克隆巴赫係數 = .81)。這兩個變項的數值越大，表示社會資本越豐富。

III. 社會支持

在測量社會支持時，本項研究著重情感與資訊兩個面向，使用的六個題項取自 Lin 等人 (2021) 和 Nick 等人 (2018) 兩項研究：「當我遇到困難時，在社群媒體上有人會挺我或站在我這邊」、「當我遇到困難時，在社群媒體上有人會安慰並且鼓勵我」、「當我遇到困難時，在社

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群媒體上有人會對我表示關心」、「當我遇到困難時，在社群媒體上有人會提供有用的建議給我」、「當我遇到困難時，在社群媒體上有人會提供有幫助的資訊給我」、「當我遇到困難時，在社群媒體上有人會告訴我可以去哪裏尋求幫助」。所有題項均以1至5李克特量表測量，其中「1」表示非常不同意，「5」表示非常同意。

主成分因素分析顯示所有題項同屬一個因素(特徵值 = 4.07，解釋變異量 = 67.81%)，因此我們把這六個題項的分數相加，並除以6，構建名為「社會支持」的複合型測量指標。這個變項的平均值為3.56，標準差為0.67，克隆巴赫係數為.90，顯示具有極高信度。數值越大，表示受訪者在社群媒體上獲取的社會支持越多。

IV. 生活滿意度

生活滿意度的測量改自Heatherton和Polivy (1991)的量表。受訪者以1至5李克特量表回答以下三個問題：「整體而言，我對我的(1)生活、(2)工作、(3)社交生活感到滿意」(「1」=非常不同意，「5」=非常同意)。主成分因素分析顯示，所有題項歸屬同一因素(特徵值 = 2.08，解釋變異量 = 69.20%)。因此，我們把這三個題項相加，並取其平均值，建構「生活滿意度」的複合型測量指標。該測量平均值為3.56，標準差為0.59，克隆巴赫係數為.78。數值越大表示受訪者的生活滿意度越高。

V. 孤獨感

孤獨感的測量方式沿用台灣傳播調查資料庫的問卷題項：「整體而言，目前的我感到孤獨」。答項採用1至5李克特量表，其中「1」表示非常不孤獨，「5」表示非常孤獨。受訪者的「孤獨感」平均值為2.31，標準差為0.77。

媒體使用變項

由於本項研究著重探究經由社群媒體的自我表露，因此也調查受訪者的傳統媒體及社群媒體使用時長作為參考。在傳統媒體使用方面，受訪者平均每週觀看電視4.81天(標準差 = 2.79)，閱讀報紙0.74天(標準差 = 1.93)。在社群媒體使用方面，受訪者平均每週使用LINE

6.14天(標準差 = 2.18)、臉書4.29天(標準差 = 3.16)、YouTube 4.23天(標準差 = 2.96)及Instagram 2.01天(標準差 = 2.97)。

數據分析與假設檢驗

表一呈現的是自我表露的測量方法以及各題項的描述性統計。初步數據分析顯示，社群媒體上的自我表露行為在台灣受訪者中並不普遍。在答項為1至4的李克特量表上(數值越小表示自我表露的頻率越低)，有超過半數(50.2%)的受訪者表示從未在社群媒體上透露過遇到的問題(平均值 = 1.66，標準差 = 0.78)，65.0%受訪者從未在社群媒體上表露過承受的壓力(平均值 = 1.43，標準差 = 0.65)，從未談及個人困難的受訪者更是佔總樣本數的65.6%(平均值 = 1.42，標準差 = 0.64)。複合型測量指標顯示，受訪者的平均自我表露頻率為1.50(標準差 = 0.62)，介於「從來沒有」和「很少」之間。由此可見，台灣受訪者的社群媒體自我表露頻率普遍較低。

表一 自我表露的測量題項與描述性統計

題項	從來沒有	很少	有時	經常	平均值(標準差)
1. 請問您有多常在社群媒體上談到您遇到的問題呢?	784 (50.2%)	581 (37.2%)	149 (9.5%)	49 (3.1%)	1.66 (0.78)
2. 請問您有多常在社群媒體上談到您承受的壓力呢?	1,016 (65.0%)	444 (28.4%)	87 (5.6%)	16 (1.0%)	1.43 (0.65)
3. 請問您有多常在社群媒體上談到您個人的困難呢?	1,026 (65.6%)	438 (28.0)	84 (5.4%)	15 (1.0%)	1.42 (0.64)
複合型測量指標	—	—	—	—	1.50 (0.62)

註：N = 1,563

表二 核心變項的描述性統計

變項	樣本數	平均值	標準差	中位數	尺度區間	克隆巴赫係數
契結型社會資本	1,987	3.77	0.70	4.00	1-5	.81
橋接型社會資本	2,050	3.48	0.79	3.67	1-5	.84
自我表露	1,563	1.50	0.62	1.33	1-4	.87
社會支持	811	3.56	0.67	3.83	1-5	.90
生活滿意度	1,480	3.56	0.59	3.67	1-5	.78
孤獨感	2,072	2.31	0.77	2.00	1-5	—

註：契結型與橋接型社會資本、自我表露、社會支持及生活滿意度均採用多題項測量，此表提供其複合型測量指標的描述性統計；孤獨感由單一題項測量，故不適用克隆巴赫係數

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研究架構中所有核心變項(即契結型社會資本、橋接型社會資本、自我表露、社會支持、生活滿意度與孤獨感)的描述性統計如表二所示。本研究進而對這些核心變項進行皮爾森相關性分析(Pearson's correlation)，使用的數據分析軟體及版本為IBM SPSS 25.0。分析結果如表三所示，自我表露與除生活滿意度外的全部變項呈顯著相關。其中，自我表露與橋接型社會資本的皮爾森相關性最強，達到.25 ($p < .001$)，其次與社會支持具有顯著正相關($r = .24, p < .001$)，與契結型社會資本也具有顯著正相關($r = .16, p < .001$)。然而，自我表露與生活滿意度間的相關性不顯著，與孤獨感則為較弱的顯著正相關($r = .09, p < .001$)。與此同時，社會支持與生活滿意度呈顯著正相關($r = .15, p < .001$)，與孤獨感呈顯著負相關($r = -.09, p < .05$)。這些結果顯示，自我表露對生活滿意度和孤獨感可能存在間接影響，社會支持可能是其中的中介變項，這也為下一步的結構方程模型(structural equation modeling)分析奠定基礎。

表三 各核心變項間的皮爾森相關性分析

變項	1	2	3	4	5	6
契結型社會資本	—					
橋接型社會資本	.38*** (1,974)	—				
自我表露	.16*** (1,529)	.25*** (1,558)	—			
社會支持	.27*** (805)	.33*** (811)	.24*** (811)	—		
生活滿意度	.37*** (1,441)	.12*** (1,474)	-.01 (1,253)	.15*** (688)	—	
孤獨感	-.25*** (1,986)	-.07** (2,048)	.09*** (1,560)	-.09* (811)	-.41*** (1,479)	—

註：各變項的測量及編碼尺度如下：自我表露的尺度區間為「1」（從來沒有）至「4」（經常）；契結型社會資本、橋接型社會資本、社會支持及生活滿意度的尺度區間為「1」（非常不同意）至「5」（非常同意）；孤獨感的尺度區間為「1」（非常不孤獨）至「5」（非常孤獨）。*** $p < .001$ ；** $p < .01$ ；* $p < .05$ ；括號內的數據均為樣本數

本研究採用AMOS 23.0進行結構方程模型分析。驗證性因素分析(confirmatory factor analysis)的結果如表四所示，測量模型(measurement model)取得較好的模型適配度(model fit)，其中所有潛在變項(latent

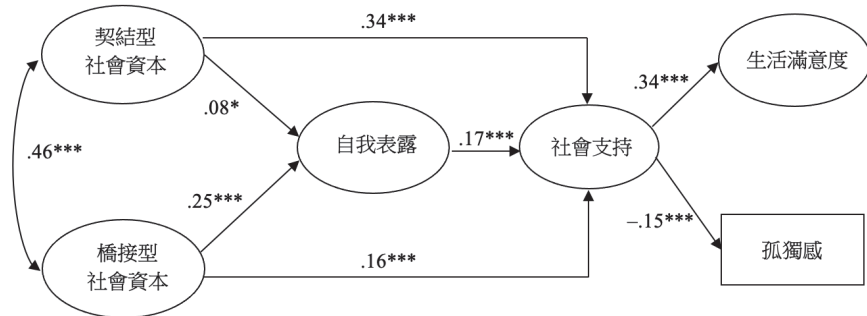
表四 潛在變項的信度與收斂效度檢驗

潛在變項	測量題項	因素負荷量	CR	AVE	模型適配度
契結型社會資本	社會資本 1	.74	.83	.61	$\chi^2 = 746.18$ $df = 114$ $\chi^2/df = 6.55$ RMSEA = .05 NFI = .94 TLI = .93 CFI = .95 IFI = .95
	社會資本 2	.79			
	社會資本 3	.82			
橋接型社會資本	社會資本 4	.82	.85	.66	
	社會資本 5	.81			
	社會資本 6	.81			
自我表露	自我表露 1	.87	.92	.78	
	自我表露 2	.85			
	自我表露 3	.94			
社會支持	社會支持 1	.66	.91	.64	
	社會支持 2	.79			
	社會支持 3	.77			
	社會支持 4	.92			
	社會支持 5	.88			
	社會支持 6	.77			
生活滿意度	生活滿意度 1	.89	.84	.65	
	生活滿意度 2	.67			
	生活滿意度 3	.84			

variables) 的平均變異萃取量 (average variance extracted, AVE) 指標均大於 .50，組合信度 (composite reliability, CR) 指標均大於 .70，顯示此模型具有較好的信度與收斂效度 (Fornell & Larcker, 1981)。

檢驗整體模型適配度的方法包括卡方 (χ^2) 檢定值、近似均方根誤差 (Root Mean Square Error of Approximation, RMSEA) 與基準配適指數 (Normed Fit Index, NFI)、Tucker-Lewis 指數 (TLI)、比較適配度指數 (Comparative Fit Index, CFI) 等指標。圖二所示模型的卡方值為 574.76 ($df = 135, p < .001$)， χ^2/df 的比率為 4.26，符合學界公認的 1 至 5 閾值區間 (Wheaton et al., 1977)。RMSEA 值為 .04，低於 Bollen (1989) 建議的良好模型適配度的閾值 .05。此外，NFI 值為 .96，TLI 值為 .95，CFI 值為 .97，均處於學界建議的不低於 .95 且趨近於 1 的閾值區間。以上數值均表明本研究的理論模型與樣本數據適配良好。

圖二 結果模型圖



註：孤獨感由單一題項測量，故在此模型中標註為觀察變項 (observed variable)；契結型與橋接型社會資本、自我表露、社會支持及生活滿意度均為潛在變項 (latent variables)；*** $p < .001$ ；* $p < .05$

由圖二的結構模型與係數估計可知，受訪者持有的契結型社會資本與社群媒體上的自我表露行為呈顯著正相關 ($\beta = .08, p < .05$)，橋接型社會資本也與自我表露具有顯著正向關聯 ($\beta = .25, p < .001$)。因此，本研究的H1a與H1b兩個假設獲得支持。這樣的研究發現顯示，受訪者的契結型和橋接型社會資本越高，自我表露的頻率也越高。

H2a與H2b探究兩種社會資本各自對社會支持的影響。分析結果顯示，契結型社會資本與社會支持具有顯著正向關聯 ($\beta = .34, p < .001$)，橋接型社會資本也與社會支持也具有顯著正相關 ($\beta = .16, p < .001$)，因此H2a與H2b獲得支持。此外，自我表露對社會支持具有顯著的正向預測力 ($\beta = .17, p < .001$)，H3也獲得支持。這些發現顯示，受訪者的社會資本越多，所獲得的社會支持也越多；自我表露頻率越高，所獲得的社會支持也越多。

H4a與H4b著眼於社會支持與生活滿意度與孤獨感間的關聯。分析結果顯示，社會支持與生活滿意度呈顯著正相關 ($\beta = .34, p < .001$)，與孤獨感則為顯著負相關 ($\beta = -.15, p < .001$)。因此，H4a與H4b也獲得支持。換言之，受訪者獲得的社會支持越多，生活滿意度就會越高，也比較不會感到孤獨。

H5a與H5b探索社會支持對自我表露及心理幸福感兩個面向的中介效果。數據分析採用Hayes (2022) 的PROCESS Macro (Model 4)，運用

偏差校正拔靴法 (bias-corrected bootstrapping procedure)，抽取 5,000 個 bootstrap 樣本進行估算。估算結果如表五所示，在直接效果方面，自我表露與生活滿意度呈顯著負相關 ($\beta = -.079, 95\% CI = [-.157, -.001]$)，即自我表露頻率越高，生活滿意度越低。而隨著中介效果的介入，社會支持顯著且正向地中介影響自我表露與生活滿意度之間的關係 ($\beta = .036, 95\% CI = [.018, .057]$)。換而言之，隨著自我表露頻率的增加，表露者會獲得更多社會支持，進而提升生活滿意度。Sobel 檢定也印證此中介效果顯著 ($z = 3.68, p < .001$)，因此 H5a 獲得支持。在孤獨感方面，單看直接效果，自我表露與孤獨感呈顯著正相關 ($\beta = .200, 95\% CI = [.100, .301]$)，即自我表露頻率越高，孤獨感越強。與此同時，自我表露經由社會支持對孤獨感具有顯著且負向的間接影響 ($\beta = -.043, 95\% CI = [-.074, -.016]$)，即隨著自我表露頻率的增加，表露者會獲得更多社會支持，進而降低孤獨感。Sobel 檢定也印證此中介效果顯著 ($z = -3.12, p < .01$)，因此 H5b 也獲得支持。這些發現表明，社群媒體自我表露透過社會支持對生活滿意度和孤獨感產生不同影響。具體而言，社群媒體自我表露的頻率越高，受訪者獲得的社會支持就越多，而更多的社會支持有助於增強受訪者的生活滿意度，並降低孤獨感。

表五 社會支持對自我表露與生活滿意度及孤獨感間關係的中介效果

		<i>B</i>	<i>SE (boot)</i>	[LLCI, ULCI]
直接效果	自我表露 → 生活滿意度	-.079	.040	[-.157, -.001]
	自我表露 → 孤獨感	.200	.051	[.100, .301]
間接效果	自我表露 → 社會支持 → 生活滿意度	.036	.010	[.018, .057]
	自我表露 → 社會支持 → 孤獨感	-.043	.015	[-.074, -.016]

註：Bootstrap 次數為 5,000；[LLCI, ULCI] 為 95% 偏差校正信賴區間

討論與結論

自我表露是一種「高度個人化」的行為 (郭正瑩, 2008)，而這種行為在受訪的台灣民眾中並不普遍。本研究發現，超過半數的受訪者從未在社群媒體上透露過生活困境與壓力，平均每人自我表露的頻率介於

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「從來沒有」和「很少」之間。這與早前學者在日本(Asai & Barnlund, 1998)及中國大陸(Chen, 1995)進行的研究結果類似，台灣、日本與中國大陸同屬集體主義主導的社會，三地民眾都很少公開談論個人問題與負面情緒，這樣的研究發現揭示了文化價值對自我表露的重要影響。相較於線上，台灣民眾可能更注重線下親友間的面對面人際互動，因此很少經由社群媒體自我表露。線下親友與其他可以信賴的人，才是他們分享內心想法與個人困難的優先人選。

然而，擁有更多社會資本，尤其是橋接型資本的受訪者更傾向於在社群媒體上自我表露。換言之，當他們遭受挫折或感受到壓力時，社會資本的多少與他們的自我表露意願呈現正相關，社會資本越多，他們越願意公開自我表露。值得一提的是，橋接型社會資本源自人際關係中的弱聯繫，即相識卻不親近的泛泛之交，而社群媒體的優勢之一，便是在線上極大程度地拓展這種弱聯繫。因此，使用者可以通過社群媒體積累社會資本，擴大自我表露的受眾，從而使更多人認識到他們正在經歷的困境與壓力，並提供社會支持。這樣的研究結果也與Wang等人(2015)的研究發現一致，自我表露確實可以為表露者帶來更多來自他人的社會支持。在社群媒體的語境下，與人分享生活困難可以減輕個人負擔、獲取社會支持，進而提升心理幸福感。

此外，本研究發現社會支持會對心理幸福感的正負兩個面向造成不同影響。結構方程模型的分析結果顯示，社會支持對生活滿意度具有顯著正向影響，對孤獨感則具有顯著負向影響。這樣的發現顯示，社會支持可以提升生活滿意度，也可以減少孤獨感等消極情緒。這是本項研究對社會支持與心理幸福感文獻的理論貢獻之一。

本研究也進一步證實社會支持對自我表露與心理幸福感之間關係的中介效果。在不考慮社會支持的中介效果的情形下，自我表露與生活滿意度呈負相關，與孤獨感呈正相關。但隨著社會支持的介入，本研究發現自我表露可以為表露者帶來更多社會支持，這些支持則可以正向預測生活滿意度，負向預測孤獨感。上述研究結果揭示了自我表露對表露者心理幸福感的間接影響，也印證了Luo和Hancock(2020)提出的基於社會支持的影響路徑。他們認為，自我表露並不會直接影響心理幸福感，而是通過幾個關鍵因素對心理幸福感產生間接影響，這些間接

因素包括感知連結性 (perceived connectedness)、感知真實性 (perceived authenticity) 等，社會支持也是其中之一。本研究發現，社會支持確實會中介影響自我表露與生活滿意度和孤獨感間的關聯性。具體而言，自我表露會正向影響社會支持，而社會支持又可以正向預測生活滿意度、負向預測孤獨感。這些研究發現有助於加深學界對自我表露與心理幸福感之間關聯的理解，是本項研究的另一個理論貢獻。

在實際意義方面，本研究揭示，在社群媒體上表露個人困難與負面情緒是一種獲得社會支持的可行方式。使用者可基於自願原則，在保護個人隱私的前提下適當自我表露，增進與其他使用者的交流，獲得實用建議或情感支持，從而提升自身的心理幸福感，幫助自己克服困境。

如前所述，在社群媒體上自我表露是網路文化的一部分 (Kim & Dindia, 2011)，但表露頻率與程度可能受到文化價值的影響。本研究顯示，自我表露在深受儒家思想影響的台灣民眾中並不常見，但現有西方研究卻提供了相反的經驗性證據，北美與歐洲民眾表現出較高的自我表露意願，表露的深度與廣度也更寬廣 (Asai & Barnlund, 1998; Chen, 1995; Trepte & Reinecke, 2013)。然而，文化價值如何影響線上自我表露、發揮作用的是哪些價值仍然有待探索。未來學者可以從比較文化視角出發，進一步進行比較性研究。

本研究亦有幾項研究限制。雖然結構方程模型可以揭示研究變項間的潛在關係，但只能驗證相關性而非因果性。舉例而言，本研究發現更多的社會資本可以鼓勵社群媒體使用者表露自我，但逆向關係亦可能成立，即自我表露也可能為表露者帶來更多社會資本。由於表露者透露自己的生活困境，吸引其他有相似經歷的社群媒體使用者與之建立連結，進而增加表露者的社會資本，這也是一種合理的解釋。因此，讀者在解讀本項研究的發現時應辯證思考，切勿將模型中的影響路徑解讀為因果關係。此外，由於調查問卷的限制，孤獨感的測量僅採用單一題項，後續研究應改用多題項量表，檢驗自我表露、社會支持與孤獨感間的理論關係。心理幸福感的正負兩個面向亦不只包括生活滿意度與孤獨感這兩個變項，未來研究可探索自我表露與更多心理幸福感變項間的關係，例如自尊、樂觀、快樂等正面指標 (Chida & Steptoe, 2008)，以及心理壓力、焦慮、抑鬱等負面指標 (Liu et al., 2019)。

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本文引用格式

樊一寧、羅文輝、張博翰 (2024)。〈與人分享，幸福提升：社群媒體自我表露對台灣民眾心理幸福感的影響〉。《傳播與社會學刊》，第70期，頁185–239。

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The Impact of Self-Disclosure on Psychological Well-Being Among Social Media Users in Taiwan

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Introduction

With advances in information and communication technology, social media has become a crucial channel for people to search for information, express opinions, engage in discussions, and connect with others (Liu & Brown, 2014). Currently, social media use spans nearly all age groups. In Taiwan, approximately 90% of the population has one or more social media accounts on platforms such as Facebook, Instagram, TikTok, and LINE (a popular integrated app and service for instant messaging and social networking in East and Southeast Asia) (Kemp, 2023). On average, users in Taiwan spend over two hours daily on social media. The rise of social media has facilitated the transition of interpersonal relationships from offline to online, providing users with convenient channels to share information and maintain relationships (Liu & Brown, 2014).

Self-disclosure refers to the act of sharing personal information with others (Derlega & Berg, 1987). From its inception, social media has encouraged information sharing (Wiederhold, 2020) and has now become a significant channel for individuals to engage in self-disclosure, particularly when facing life stressors (Lee et al., 2013). Research by Jiang et al. (2008) indicates that individuals may reveal both the positive and negative aspects of their lives on social media.

After individuals disclose their troubles on social media, they may receive support from others (Huang, 2016). That social support can, in turn, enhance their psychological well-being (Luo & Hancock, 2020). Additionally, social culture and values play a significant role in influencing self-disclosure (Asai & Barnlund, 1998). Specifically, in individualistic societies, such as those in Europe and the United States, there tends to be a greater variety of topics (e.g., viewpoints, interests, and personality) and targets (e.g., parents, strangers, and friends) for self-disclosure. By contrast,

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in collectivist countries such as China, there are generally fewer topics and targets deemed suitable for self-disclosure (Chen, 1995).

Taiwan, influenced by traditional Confucian thought, exhibits a high degree of collectivism (Tu et al., 2009). However, Taiwan has also experienced significant shifts toward an individualistic culture due to diverse ideological influences (Shaw, 2014). Consequently, it is important to investigate how individuals in a society like Taiwan—one that values Confucian traditions yet is also impacted by individualism—engage in self-disclosure through social media. Specifically, what is the frequency of self-disclosure related to life stress and personal negative emotions? What factors may encourage social media users in Taiwan to engage in self-disclosure? How does self-disclosure impact users' psychological well-being? These are the questions that the study investigates.

Previous research (Luo & Hancock, 2020) suggests that social support may mediate the effect of self-disclosure on psychological well-being. Specifically, users might gain social support through self-disclosure, which then affects their psychological well-being. However, their discussion was based on a qualitative review of existing literature (Chu et al., 2023), and there remains a lack of empirical evidence on the relationships among self-disclosure, social support, and psychological well-being. Additionally, past studies have primarily focused on either the positive or negative aspects of psychological well-being, failing to clarify how social support obtained through self-disclosure simultaneously affects both positive and negative dimensions of psychological well-being. For instance, does social support enhance positive emotions by providing emotional satisfaction while also alleviating loneliness to reduce negative feelings? This study aims to address these gaps by considering both positive and negative dimensions of psychological well-being and examining how social support, as a mediator, influences the relationship between self-disclosure and life satisfaction and between self-disclosure and loneliness.

Literature Review and Hypotheses

Self-Disclosure

Self-disclosure refers to the act of revealing personal information to others (Trepte & Reinecke, 2013), including emotions, cognitions, and

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feelings. Jourard (1971) defines this behavior as the disclosure of thoughts, experiences, and feelings within the context of interpersonal interactions. Self-disclosure can fulfill individuals' needs for social belonging and connection, and it is inherently reciprocal (Tamir & Mitchell, 2012); that is, proactive self-disclosure by one party can prompt disclosure from the other party (Harper & Harper, 2006).

Reciprocity is a significant factor in self-disclosure. Researchers have previously proposed three perspectives to explain this phenomenon: The first suggests that self-disclosure by an individual increases others' liking for and trust in that individual, which heightens the desire of others to disclose information in return. The second posits that the reciprocity of self-disclosure is rooted in social norms. After receiving information from others, individuals feel compelled by the norms of fairness to reciprocate with corresponding information. The third views self-disclosure as a form of imitation; upon receiving information from a discloser, the listener may imitate the discloser's behavior (Berg & Derlega, 1987). The reciprocity of self-disclosure is also an important factor in facilitating the development of relationships between individuals (Derlega et al., 1993). Specifically, individuals do not disclose information randomly; rather, relationships between individuals develop when both parties engage in reciprocal information exchanges through disclosure (Park et al., 2011).

Self-disclosure can be categorized across multiple dimensions, but it is generally divided into the dimensions of quantity and quality (Luo & Hancock, 2020). Quantity refers to aspects such as the topics, frequency, and duration of personal information disclosure, along with the depth of intimacy involved. Quality pertains to behavioral tendencies, including intentions and valence (Chu et al., 2023). The present study focuses on the frequency of self-disclosure in the quantity dimension and the negative valence in the quality dimension, specifically addressing negative self-disclosure, which refers to the content revealed by individuals that is characterized by negative or pessimistic elements, such as personal weaknesses, setbacks, and pessimistic emotions (Kelly & McKillop, 1996).

Previous research has indicated that individuals who are unable or unwilling to express strong negative emotions are more likely to experience psychological problems (Locke & Colligan, 1986), while self-disclosure can help individuals alleviate stress and negative emotions (Derlega et al., 1993; Zhang, 2017). Zhang (2017) explains this phenomenon through the catharsis effect (Stiles, 1987), suggesting that when people vocalize their

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negative experiences and emotions, the impact of these negative factors on them is mitigated. Additionally, after disclosing and expressing negative events, individuals may enhance their understanding and cognition of the events, which can lead to a re-evaluation of the suffering and stress caused by these negative events. Therefore, self-disclosure may reduce the recurring distress caused by painful events and thus alleviate stress (Feldman et al., 2008).

The advent of social media has provided online users with new channels for interacting with others and engaging in self-disclosure. Compared to offline environments, many people, especially younger individuals, are more inclined to reveal a greater amount of content and information on social media platforms (e.g., Facebook). Additionally, self-disclosure on social media often encompasses a broader range of topics and can reach an entire virtual network of friends, unlike face-to-face interactions (Liu & Brown, 2014).

Self-disclosure on social media also carries potential risks. In the online context, information spreads more quickly and broadly than in traditional offline interactions, which makes it difficult for users to control the dissemination speed and range of the disclosed information (Xie et al., 2013). Additionally, the anonymity of the internet means that it is challenging for disclosers to ascertain the true identity and intentions of their communication partners. Consequently, self-disclosure, particularly of sensitive topics, can negatively impact a discloser's personal privacy (Joinson et al., 2008).

Despite these risks, many studies have highlighted the benefits of self-disclosure on social media. As summarized by Luo and Hancock (2020), self-disclosure on social networking sites can enhance an individual's social connectivity, thereby reducing feelings of loneliness and other negative emotions. Zhang (2017) also found that when facing life stressors, people can obtain social support by engaging in self-disclosure on social networking sites, which helps alleviate the harmful effects of stress on mental health.

Antecedents of Self-Disclosure

The antecedents of self-disclosure are a crucial aspect of research on self-disclosure behaviors (Andalibi & Forte, 2018; Andalibi et al., 2018; Luo

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& Hancock, 2020; Sharif et al., 2021). Self-disclosure is influenced by a number of factors, including socio-cultural and psychological elements. As to the former, cultural background significantly impacts self-disclosure behaviors (Asai & Barnlund, 1998). People from individualistic cultural backgrounds are generally more willing to share personal information and disclose more frequently than those from collectivistic cultures (Rosen et al., 2010). However, some studies have suggested that individuals from collectivistic cultures might also be inclined to share their information due to a strong sense of belonging and trust within their group (Posey et al., 2010).

In addition to cultural factors, psychological aspects such as trust, communication motivation, and privacy concerns influence self-disclosure behaviors (Joinson et al., 2010; Li et al., 2011). Previous research has demonstrated that trust is a crucial factor affecting the disclosure of personal information. An increase in the level of trust between communicators will further expand the frequency and content of self-disclosure (Joinson et al., 2010). Regarding communication motivation, individuals with stronger motives to establish and maintain interpersonal relationships are generally more willing to disclose personal information (Tian, 2011). Furthermore, the degree of privacy concern impacts self-disclosure behaviors. Individuals with lower privacy concerns tend to disclose more personal information online, whereas those with higher concerns are often more reserved in sharing personal details (Joinson et al., 2008).

Luo and Hancock (2020) explored the relationship between online self-disclosure and psychological well-being, outlining the motivations behind self-disclosure and the mechanisms through which self-disclosure influences the intensity and value of psychological well-being. They proposed a bidirectional relationship where self-disclosure can enhance psychological well-being; conversely, increased psychological well-being can lead to a greater willingness to engage in self-disclosure. However, they also noted that the causal direction of this relationship, especially regarding motivations and mechanisms, requires empirical validation. Additionally, social support, as a mediating factor, may directly and positively influence the relationship between self-disclosure and positive aspects of psychological well-being, such as life satisfaction. Since Luo and Hancock (2020) did not detail how self-disclosure affects negative psychological states, such as depression and loneliness, the present study analyzes the impact of self-disclosure on both positive and negative dimensions of psychological well-being, investigates the motivations behind self-disclosure

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on social media, and tests the mediating effect of social support on the relationship between self-disclosure and psychological well-being.

Social Capital as Motivation for Self-Disclosure

Social capital refers to the connections between individuals and the norms of reciprocity and trustworthiness that arise from these connections (Putnam, 2000). Essentially, social capital represents the actual and potential resources individuals have within their social networks. These resources are determined by characteristics such as trust and shared values among the parties within a network (Coleman, 1988). Unlike asset-based or other forms of personal capital, social capital exists solely within the context of interpersonal relationships and interactions (Wasko & Faraj, 2005). It emerges when people interact and build relationships (Coleman, 1988). Putnam (2000) categorizes social capital into bonding social capital and bridging social capital.

Bonding social capital involves strong ties, typically formed within intimate and homogeneous groups such as family members, close friends, and groups with shared identities or values. This form of capital emphasizes close emotional support and ongoing, intensive social interactions (Donath, 2007). When individuals face challenges or difficulties, those with strong ties are more likely to invest considerable effort and time in providing help and support.

On the other hand, bridging social capital involves weak ties, which are typically formed between individuals in heterogeneous groups, such as colleagues, acquaintances, strangers, or people from different backgrounds and social networks. Bridging capital primarily facilitates information exchange and focuses on the value created through interactions among members of diverse groups connected by weak ties; such ties offer significant advantages in terms of information diversity and exposure to different groups (Ellison et al., 2007).

The internet provides new avenues for individuals to connect and interact with others, allowing them to expand their social networks and develop social capital through various platforms, including social networks, online communities, and forums (Selim et al., 2021). Regarding the relationship between self-disclosure and social capital, previous research has found that the breadth and depth of self-disclosure positively impact

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social capital (Liu & Brown, 2014). However, the present study posits that social capital can also serve as a motivation for self-disclosure and influence self-disclosure behaviors.

Social capital theory indicates that social capital influences the behavior of individuals within social networks (Chen & Sharma, 2013). Specifically, bridging social capital is based on loosely connected, large networks with relatively strict reciprocal relationships (Onyx & Bullen, 2000). In the context of social media, reciprocity leads individuals to believe that their own disclosures will be appreciated by others, who will in return reveal themselves, engage in interaction, and provide assistance when needed. Moon (2000) notes that if individuals receive self-disclosures from their conversation partners, they are more likely to engage in intimate self-disclosure, even with relatively unfamiliar individuals. Thus, through the characteristic of reciprocity, individuals with higher levels of bridging social capital may increase the frequency of their self-disclosures due to the expectation of receiving similar returns from others.

Bonding social capital typically forms within groups with shared identities or values (Donath, 2007). Identity as a bonding resource between social entities influences members' motivation to participate in public activities. When members experience strong social solidarity and identity on social networking sites, they are more motivated to engage in self-disclosure (Chen & Sharma, 2013). Therefore, individuals with higher bonding social capital may increase their self-disclosure frequency due to a higher level of identity recognition with others. Previous research has also found that both bridging and bonding social capital positively predict self-disclosure (Kitsiou et al., 2016; Maksl & Young, 2013). Based on this, we propose the following hypotheses:

H1a: Bonding social capital positively predicts self-disclosure.

H1b: Bridging social capital positively predicts self-disclosure.

Social Capital as Predictor of Social Support

Social capital and social support are closely related; they both describe the benefits individuals receive from social relationships, but they are distinct phenomena. Social capital refers to the overall resources and opportunities obtained through social connections, including information exchange and reciprocity, and emphasizes the connections and interactions

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individuals have within their social networks (Vitak & Ellison, 2013). Social support is the psychological (e.g., emotional care) or practical (e.g., material aid) assistance provided through social relationships (Cohen, 2004; Power et al., 1988). Social support takes various forms, such as emotional, informational, and material support, and is an important resource that individuals rely on when facing difficulties and challenges. While social capital can be viewed as a means to achieve goals, social support can be regarded as a core benefit derived from social capital. Therefore, individuals can use their social capital to obtain social support from others.

The relationship between social capital and social support can be understood as the former providing the foundation and channels for the latter. Specifically, social capital establishes and maintains social networks, allowing individuals to draw on these networks to seek and receive social support (Resnick, 2001). For instance, strong-tie relationships in bonding social capital can offer deep emotional and practical support (Ryan et al., 2008), while weak-tie relationships in bridging social capital can expand individuals' sources of information and access to resources (Putnam, 2000). In the context of social media, social capital enhances individuals' ability to obtain social support through network connections. By engaging in self-disclosure, individuals can make their needs known to others in their network, thereby prompting them to provide appropriate support.

As noted above, both bonding social capital and bridging social capital in social media can help individuals access resources for social support. We propose the following two hypotheses:

H2a: Bonding social capital positively predicts social support.

H2b: Bridging social capital positively predicts social support.

Social Support as a Key Mechanism

In the process of how self-disclosure affects psychological well-being, social support is a key factor (Luo & Hancock, 2020). Social support encompasses the help and advantages perceived, provided, and received by individuals during interactions with others (Ryan et al., 2008), covering both perceived and actual support.

Previous research has found that using social media can enhance social support (Ellison et al., 2007), and self-disclosure on social media is a key pathway to obtaining social support (Derlega et al., 1993). Only after

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individuals engage in self-disclosure and express their emotional or material needs can others recognize those needs, understand the individual's difficulties, and provide appropriate support (Wang et al., 2015). On social media, those who seek help through self-disclosure can publicly state their needs, while supporters can share experiences and provide tangible or intangible assistance through comments, likes, and other quick responses (Gray et al., 2013). Beyond receiving help, individuals who disclose can also gain higher levels of social support through the perceived attention and concern from others regarding their needs (Lu & Hampton, 2017).

Based on previous research on the beneficial impact of self-disclosure on social support (Huang, 2016), we propose the following hypothesis:

H3: Self-disclosure positively predicts social support.

The Impact of Self-Disclosure and Social Support on Psychological Well-Being

Previous research indicates that social support can enhance positive emotions and alleviate negative feelings, thereby exerting a direct and positive effect on individuals' psychological well-being (Cohen & Wills, 1985), which is a core feature of mental health that encompasses both hedonic happiness (the presence of positive feelings and the absence of negative feelings) and eudaimonic happiness (the cognitive evaluation of life) (Deci & Ryan, 2008). Operationally, psychological well-being is often viewed as a broad concept, including positive indicators such as self-esteem, social welfare, and life satisfaction, as well as negative indicators like depression, loneliness, and anxiety (Liu et al., 2019).

Earlier research has found that individuals who receive more social support often exhibit higher levels of psychological well-being (Ko & Kuo, 2009; Siedlecki et al., 2014; Yıldırım & Tanrıverdi, 2021). The positive impact of social support on psychological well-being can be explained by two mechanisms. The first is the buffering mechanism, which suggests that individuals experiencing life stress may feel helpless due to their inability to cope (Garber & Seligman, 1980). Social support can provide material assistance or emotional care, helping individuals alleviate stress and prevent excessive reactions (Cohen & Wills, 1985). The second perspective posits that the effects of social support can be beneficial at any time, not just

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during stressful periods (Thoits, 1985). Social support can enhance positive emotions and increase self-worth while also helping alleviate negative emotions such as loneliness and depression, thereby improving psychological well-being (Turner & Turner, 2013). In summary, social support promotes positive emotions and mitigates negative emotions.

Previous research on social support and psychological well-being focuses primarily on specific aspects of psychological well-being without simultaneously considering the effect of social support on both positive emotions (such as life satisfaction) and negative emotions (such as loneliness). In the present study, we analyze the impact of social support on both positive and negative dimensions of psychological well-being. Based on the above analysis, we propose the following hypotheses:

H4a: Social support positively predicts life satisfaction.

H4b: Social support negatively predicts loneliness.

Moreover, scholars have yet to determine whether the impact of self-disclosure on psychological well-being is direct or indirect. Some studies (Hossain et al., 2023) observed a direct and significant effect of self-disclosure on psychological well-being, while other research (Kim & Lee, 2011) found no direct effect of self-disclosure on psychological well-being. Previous studies indicate that self-disclosure can engender social support, which in turn enhances psychological well-being, suggesting that social support may act as a mediator between self-disclosure and psychological well-being.

Considering the complexity of self-disclosure's impact on an individual's psychology, the unresolved question remains whether social support mediates the relationship between self-disclosure and both the positive and negative aspects of psychological well-being. Some studies have suggested that a higher frequency of self-disclosure among social media users is associated with an increased likelihood of receiving social support from others, which in turn enhances well-being. However, according to Kim and Lee (2011), while honest self-disclosure positively impacts social support, it does not directly affect well-being. Social support may therefore mediate the relationship between self-disclosure and psychological well-being.

Based on the potential indirect effects suggested by previous research, we propose that social support may mediate the relationship between self-disclosure and positive emotions and the relationship between self-

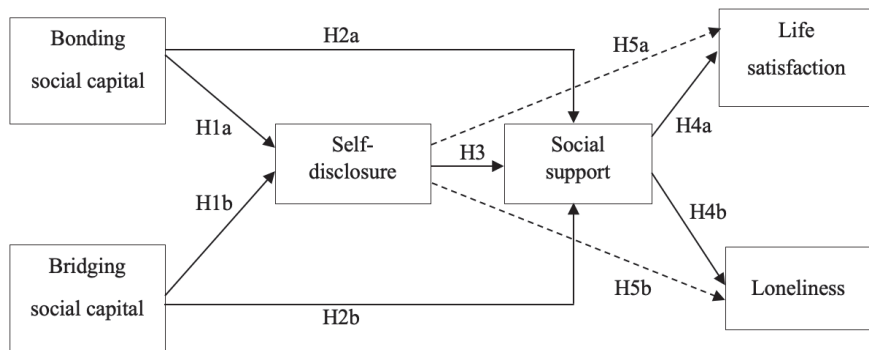
disclosure and negative emotions. Thus, the final two hypotheses are as follows:

H5a: Social support mediates the relationship between self-disclosure and life satisfaction.

H5b: Social support mediates the relationship between self-disclosure and loneliness.

Figure 1 illustrates the analytical framework for our hypotheses.

Figure 1. Analytic Framework of Self-Disclosure on Social Media and Psychological Well-Being



Notes: Dotted arrows represent indirect effects in a mediation relationship

Method

Data collected to test the hypotheses were gathered from the 2023 Taiwan Communication Survey (TCS). The TCS is a long-term research project commissioned by Taiwan's Ministry of Science and Technology that conducts annual surveys across the island. It aims to track shifts in media consumption behaviors and communication practices among the region's 23.5 million residents in response to rapid advances in information and communication technologies. The specific survey on which this study was based was conducted from June to September 2023, targeting residents aged 18 or above with household registration in Taiwan and regular residence at the survey address. To ensure sample representativeness, probability-proportional-to-size sampling was employed based on the latest Taiwanese census data, taking into consideration a variety of demographic characteristics such as population density, age, gender, educational level, and occupation.

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Trained interviewers conducted the surveys face-to-face. Of the 7,735 addresses sampled, 2,075 surveys were successfully completed, resulting in a response rate of 29.65%. In terms of gender, 1,018 (49.1%) respondents were male and 1,057 (50.9%) were female. The age of the respondents ranged from 18 to 93, with a mean age of 49.25 ($SD = 17.33$). Concerning educational level, 41.6% of respondents had earned a bachelor's degree or above, 47.3% had graduated from a junior college or senior/junior high school, and 11.1% reported primary school or below.

Measurement of Key Variables

As shown in the empirical model, the key variables of this study consist of self-disclosure, bonding social capital, bridging social capital, social support, life satisfaction, and loneliness. Specifically, both bonding and bridging social capital are hypothesized to predict self-disclosure, which may elicit social support and thus enhance life satisfaction and reduce loneliness.

I. Self-Disclosure

Adapted from previous studies (Chen et al., 2016; Cheung et al., 2015), three items were used to measure self-disclosure. Respondents were asked to self-report the frequency of disclosing distress and life problems on social media platforms such as Facebook, Instagram, and LINE: (1) "How often do you talk about your problems on social media?" (2) "How often do you talk about your stress on social media?" (3) "How often do you reveal your sorrows on social media?" The response categories ranged from 1 (*never*) to 4 (*often*). A principal component factor analysis suggested that the items were grouped into one factor ($eigenvalue = 2.43$; $explained\ variance = 80.82\%$). Therefore, the three items were averaged to form a composite measure called "self-disclosure" ($M = 1.50$; $SD = 0.62$; Cronbach's $\alpha = .87$). The higher the score, the more frequently respondents disclosed feeling down or experiencing life issues on social media.

II. Social Capital

The measures of social capital were adapted from the Internet Social Capital Scales (Williams, 2006) and comprised six questions. On a five-point Likert scale, respondents were asked to indicate their agreement with the following statements: (1) "When faced with difficulties, I can find

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someone I trust to help solve my problems”; (2) “When I encounter intimate personal problems, there is someone I feel comfortable talking to”; (3) “When I feel lonely, there are several people I can talk to”; (4) “Interacting with other people makes me want to try new things”; (5) “Interacting with other people makes me interested in what people unlike me are thinking”; and (6) “Talking with other people makes me curious about the world’s happenings.”

A principal component factor analysis of these items with varimax rotation led to a two-factor solution, accounting for 74.31% of variance. The first factor was comprised of items 4 to 6, reflecting weak social ties between the respondents and people around them (*eigenvalue* = 2.28; *explained variance* = 37.92%). A composite measure we call “bridging social capital” was computed by averaging the three items ($M = 3.48$; $SD = 0.79$; $\alpha = .84$). The second factor consisted of items 1 to 3, which reflected strong social ties (*eigenvalue* = 2.18; *explained variance* = 36.39%). These items were averaged to form a composite variable called “bonding social capital” ($M = 3.77$; $SD = 0.70$; $\alpha = .81$). Higher scores indicate larger social capital.

III. Social Support

In measuring this variable, we focused on the emotional and informational dimensions of social support in this study. Six items derived from Lin et al. (2021) and Nick et al. (2018) were used: (1) “When faced with difficulties, some people on social media would be on my side with me”; (2) “When faced with difficulties, some people on social media would comfort and encourage me”; (3) “When faced with difficulties, some people on social media would express interest and concern in my well-being”; (4) “When faced with difficulties, some people on social media would give me useful advice”; (5) “When faced with difficulties, some people on social media would provide me with helpful information”; and (6) “When faced with difficulties, some people on social media would tell me where to find help if I needed it.” All six items were measured on a five-point Likert scale, ranging from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 5 (*strongly agree*). A principal component factor analysis suggested a one-factor structure (*eigenvalue* = 4.07; *explained variance* = 67.81%). Therefore, a composite measure of “social support” was constructed by averaging all six items ($M = 3.56$; $SD = 0.67$; $\alpha = .90$). The higher the score, the stronger the social support respondents perceived obtaining on social media.

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IV. Life Satisfaction

The survey items of life satisfaction were adapted from Heatherton and Polivy's (1991) scale. Respondents were asked to rate their level of satisfaction with three aspects of life on a five-point Likert scale: "In general, I am satisfied with my (1) life, (2) job, and (3) social life." The response categories ranged from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 5 (*strongly agree*). A principal component factor analysis confirmed a one-factor structure (*eigenvalue* = 2.08; *explained variance* = 69.20%). The three items were averaged to create a composite measure of "life satisfaction" ($M = 3.56$; $SD = 0.59$; $\alpha = 0.78$). Higher scores indicate greater satisfaction.

V. Loneliness

Finally, respondents were asked to rate their feeling of loneliness on a five-point scale (1 = *not lonely at all*; 5 = *very lonely*). This item was derived from the "Personal Values" section of the questionnaire base of TCS. Respondents reported an average loneliness score of 2.31 ($SD = 0.77$), which means they were slightly less lonely than the theoretical average.

Media Use Variables

Since the present study investigates self-disclosure on social media, respondents' traditional media use and social media use were also surveyed and analyzed. Traditional media use counted the number of days per week on which respondents watched television ($M = 4.81$; $SD = 2.79$) and read newspapers ($M = 0.74$; $SD = 1.93$). Social media use refers to the number of days per week that respondents used the following social media platforms: LINE ($M = 6.14$; $SD = 2.18$), Facebook ($M = 4.29$; $SD = 3.16$), YouTube ($M = 4.23$; $SD = 2.96$), and Instagram ($M = 2.01$; $SD = 2.97$).

Results

Frequency analysis of the self-disclosure items presented in Table 1 indicates that among survey respondents in Taiwan, self-disclosing behaviors were rather infrequent. On a four-point Likert scale where lower values indicate lower frequencies, 65.6% of the respondents had never revealed sorrows on social media ($M = 1.42$; $SD = 0.64$), 65.0% never

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talked about stress ($M = 1.43$; $SD = 0.65$), and slightly more than half (50.2% to be precise) never discussed personal problems ($M = 1.66$; $SD = 0.78$). The composite measure suggested that the average frequency of self-disclosure among the respondents was 1.50 ($SD = 0.62$), falling between “never” and “rarely” in terms of the scale items. Collectively, these findings pointed to a rather low frequency of self-disclosing acts on social media in Taiwan.

Table 1. Measurement and Descriptive Statistics of Self-Disclosure

Self-Disclosure Items	Never	Rarely	Sometimes	Often	Mean (SD)
1. How often do you talk about your problems on social media?	784 (50.2%)	581 (37.2%)	149 (9.5%)	49 (3.1%)	1.66 (0.78)
2. How often do you talk about your stress on social media?	1,016 (65.0%)	444 (28.4%)	87 (5.6%)	16 (1.0%)	1.43 (0.65)
3. How often do you reveal your sorrows on social media?	1,026 (65.6%)	438 (28.0)	84 (5.4%)	15 (1.0%)	1.42 (0.64)
Composite measure	—	—	—	—	1.50 (0.62)

Notes: $N = 1,563$

Table 2. Descriptive Statistics of Bonding Social Capital, Bridging Social Capital, Self-Disclosure, Social Support, Life Satisfaction, and Loneliness

Variables	N	Mean	SD	Median	Range	Cronbach’s α
Bonding social capital	1,987	3.77	0.70	4.00	1–5	.81
Bridging social capital	2,050	3.48	0.79	3.67	1–5	.84
Self-disclosure	1,563	1.50	0.62	1.33	1–4	.87
Social support	811	3.56	0.67	3.83	1–5	.90
Life satisfaction	1,480	3.56	0.59	3.67	1–5	.78
Loneliness	2,072	2.31	0.77	2.00	1–5	—

Notes: The descriptive statistics of bonding and bridging social capital, self-disclosure, social support, and life satisfaction were calculated based on their composite measures; Cronbach’s α was not applicable to loneliness since it was measured by one item

The descriptive statistics of all key variables (i.e., bonding social capital, bridging social capital, self-disclosure, social support, life satisfaction, and loneliness) are presented in Table 2. Pearson’s correlations between these key variables were analyzed using IBM SPSS 25.0. As Table 3 shows, all pairwise correlations were statistically significant except the correlation between self-disclosure and life satisfaction. Notably, the latent

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variable with the strongest correlation with self-disclosure was bridging social capital, reaching .25 ($p < .001$), followed by social support ($r = .24$, $p < .001$) and bonding social capital ($r = .16$, $p < .001$). However, the correlation between self-disclosure and life satisfaction was insignificant, while the correlation between self-disclosure and loneliness was weak and positive ($r = .09$, $p < .001$). Meanwhile, social support was positively correlated with life satisfaction ($r = .15$, $p < .001$) and negatively correlated with loneliness ($r = -.09$, $p < .05$). These results imply possible indirect effects between self-disclosure and both life satisfaction and loneliness, with social support serving as a mediator. The significant correlations also provided the grounds for subsequent model testing with structural equation modeling (SEM).

Table 3. Pearson’s Correlation between Bonding Social Capital, Bridging Social Capital, Self-Disclosure, Social Support, Life Satisfaction, and Loneliness

Variables	1	2	3	4	5	6
Bonding social capital	—					
Bridging social capital	.38*** (1,974)	—				
Self-disclosure	.16*** (1,529)	.25*** (1,558)	—			
Social support	.27*** (805)	.33*** (811)	.24*** (811)	—		
Life satisfaction	.37*** (1,441)	.12*** (1,474)	-.01 (1,253)	.15*** (688)	—	
Loneliness	-.25*** (1,986)	-.07** (2,048)	.09*** (1,560)	-.09* (811)	-.41*** (1,479)	—

Notes: Variables coded or recoded as follows: Self-disclosure ranged from 1 (*never*) to 4 (*often*); bonding social capital, bridging social capital, social support, and life satisfaction ranged from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 5 (*strongly agree*); loneliness ranged from 1 (*not lonely at all*) to 5 (*very lonely*). *** $p < .001$; ** $p < .01$; * $p < .05$; figures in parentheses are sample sizes

We conducted SEM with AMOS 23.0. Table 4 presents the results of our confirmatory factor analysis. Specifically, the measurement model achieved acceptable model fit, with the average variance extracted indices of all latent variables greater than the recommended cutoff value of .50 and all composite reliability indices greater than the recommended cutoff value of .70 (Fornell & Larcker, 1981). These results suggest that the model has satisfactory reliability and convergent validity.

Table 4. Composite Reliability and Average Variance Extracted Measures of All Latent Variables

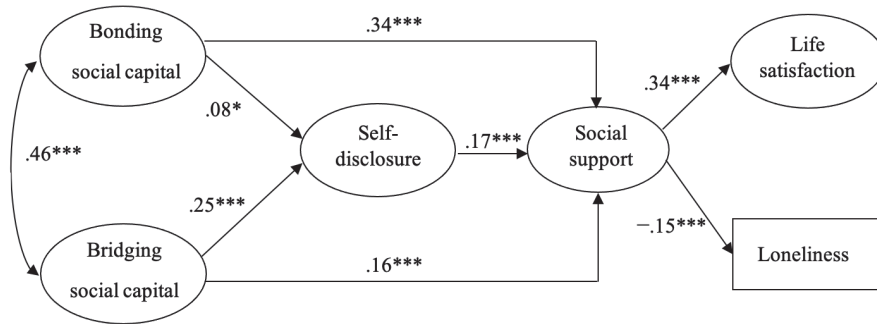
Latent Variables	Items	Factor Loadings	CR	AVE	Model Fit
Bonding social capital	Capital1	.74	.83	.61	$\chi^2 = 746.18$ df = 114 $\chi^2/df = 6.55$ RMSEA = .05 NFI = .94 TLI = .93 CFI = .95 IFI = .95
	Capital2	.79			
	Capital3	.82			
Bridging social capital	Capital4	.82	.85	.66	
	Capital5	.81			
	Capital6	.81			
Self-disclosure	Disclosure1	.87	.92	.78	
	Disclosure2	.85			
	Disclosure3	.94			
Social support	Support1	.66	.91	.64	
	Support2	.79			
	Support3	.77			
	Support4	.92			
	Support5	.88			
	Support6	.77			
Life satisfaction	Satisfaction1	.89	.84	.65	
	Satisfaction2	.67			
	Satisfaction3	.84			

Notes: CR = composite reliability; AVE = average variance extracted; RMSEA = root mean square error of approximation; NFI = normed fit index; TLI = Tucker-Lewis index; CFI = comparative fit index; IFI = incremental fit index

The overall model fit of our SEM model was assessed with the χ^2 statistic, the root mean square error of approximation (RMSEA), and incremental fit indices such as the normed fit index (NFI), the Tucker-Lewis index (TLI), and the comparative fit index (CFI). We observed an $\chi^2(135)$ of 574.76 ($p < .001$). Since χ^2 is sensitive to sample size, the ratio of χ^2 to df was calculated as an additional evaluation criterion. An χ^2/df ratio of 4.26 was obtained, which is below the recommended threshold of five (Wheaton et al., 1977). We obtained an RMSEA of .04, which met the cutoff value of .05 or lower for good model fit (Bollen, 1989). Our model had an NFI of .96, a TLI of .95, and a CFI of .97, all of which approach the maximum value (1.00). Together, these results indicate an acceptable model fit. Overall, the model explained 9.0% of the variance in self-disclosure, 25.6% in social support, 11.2% in life satisfaction, and 2.2% in loneliness.

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Figure 2. Structural Model of Variables Predicting Life Satisfaction and Loneliness



Notes: As loneliness was measured by one item, it was represented as an observed variable in the model. Bonding social capital, bridging social capital, self-disclosure, social support, and life satisfaction were represented as latent variables; *** $p < .001$; * $p < .05$

Figure 2 presents the structural model with the estimated coefficients. H1a and H1b, which predicted the positive relationship between bonding and bridging social capital and self-disclosure, were supported. Bonding social capital was a significant and positive predictor of self-disclosure ($\beta = .08, p < .05$), and bridging social capital also positively predicted self-disclosure ($\beta = .25, p < .001$). These findings imply that social media users with higher bridging and bonding social capital tend to disclose stress and life difficulties more frequently.

H2a and H2b examined the respective effects of bonding and bridging social capital on social support. As shown in Figure 2, bonding social capital was significantly and positively related to social support ($\beta = .34, p < .001$). Bridging social capital was also significantly and positively associated with social support ($\beta = .16, p < .001$). Therefore, H2a and H2b were supported, as was H3, which explored the effect of self-disclosure on social support. The analysis showed that self-disclosure had a significant and positive effect on social support ($\beta = .17, p < .001$). These results suggest that the more social capital a social media user has, the more social support he or she can expect to receive and that higher frequencies of self-disclosure lead to more social support.

H4a and H4b, which proposed social support as a positive predictor of life satisfaction and a negative predictor of loneliness, were also supported. The result showed that social support had a significant and positive effect on life satisfaction ($\beta = .34, p < .001$) and a significant but negative effect

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on loneliness ($\beta = -.15, p < .001$). In other words, the more social support the respondents received, the more satisfied they would become with their life and the less lonely they would feel.

Finally, H5a and H5b hypothesized the mediating role of social support in the association between self-disclosure and life satisfaction and loneliness, the two dimensions of psychological well-being. Two separate mediation analyses were performed using the Hayes' (2022) PROCESS Macro (Model 4). We employed a bias-corrected bootstrapping procedure with 5,000 bootstrap samples to estimate parameters and determine statistical significance. As shown in Table 5, concerning the direct effect, self-disclosure was significantly and negatively correlated with life satisfaction ($\beta = -.079, 95\% CI = [-.157, -.001]$); that is, higher frequencies of self-disclosure were associated with lower levels of life satisfaction. Meanwhile, the indirect effect of self-disclosure on life satisfaction via social support was significant ($\beta = .036, 95\% CI = [.018, .058]$). That is to say, as social media users disclosed themselves more frequently, they tended to receive more social support, which in turn made them more satisfied with their life. An additional Sobel test also confirmed the significant mediation path through social support ($z = 3.68, p < .001$). The results of both the bootstrapping method and the Sobel test supported H5a. Moreover, self-disclosure alone was significantly and positively related to loneliness ($\beta = .200, 95\% CI = [.100, .301]$). The more frequently one disclosed stress and personal problems, the lonelier one became. Further, the indirect effect of self-disclosure on loneliness through social support was significant ($\beta = -.043, 95\% CI = [-.074, -.016]$). To put it differently, as the frequency of self-disclosure increased, the discloser tended to receive more social support and become less lonely. An additional Sobel test confirmed the significance of this mediation path at the .01 level ($z = -3.12, p < .01$). Hence, H5b was also supported.

These mediation results consistently highlight the crucial role of social support in mediating the relationship between self-disclosure on social media and psychological well-being, with clear directionality. Specifically, social support positively predicts positive aspects of well-being, such as life satisfaction, and negatively predicts negative emotions, such as loneliness.

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Table 5. Effects of Self-Disclosure on Life Satisfaction and Loneliness, Mediated by Social Support

		<i>B</i>	<i>SE (boot)</i>	[LLCI, ULCI]
Direct Effects	Self-disclosure → life satisfaction	-.079	.040	[-.157, -.001]
	Self-disclosure → loneliness	.200	.051	[.100, .301]
Indirect Effects	Self-disclosure → social support → life satisfaction	.036	.010	[.018, .057]
	Self-disclosure → social support → loneliness	-.043	.015	[-.074, -.016]

Notes: LLCI = lower limit confidence interval; ULCI = upper limit confidence interval; 5,000 bootstrap samples were used to generate 95% bias-corrected confidence intervals

Discussion and Conclusion

Self-disclosure of what Kuo (2008) refers to as a “highly personalized” type was not prevalent, with the average frequency among surveyed Taiwanese respondents falling between “*never*” and “*rare*.” More than half of respondents never revealed personal problems, stress, and sorrows on social media. These results are consistent with previous research conducted in Japan (Asai & Barnlund, 1998) and mainland China (Chen, 1995), suggesting that culture plays a significant role in shaping respondents’ self-disclosing behaviors. In a society where face-to-face interaction among close ties offline is considered not merely superior but of paramount importance, these results are understandable. Respondents in Taiwan appeared to share negative emotions, intimate and personal predicaments, and sorrows only with their loved ones or with those they trust offline.

Nevertheless, respondents with more social capital, especially bridging capital, were more likely to disclose their stress, sorrows, and predicaments. That is, social capital influences the degree to which social media users voluntarily disclose themselves when feeling down or experiencing setbacks in life. It is worth noting that bridging social capital derives mainly from one’s weak ties and that social media platforms extend this kind of tie to the digital realm; disclosures of negative feelings or personal problems on social media thus broaden the reach of such messages to wider networked connections and online-only friends.

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Consistent with previous research (Wang et al., 2015), the results regarding H3 show the beneficial effect of self-disclosure in obtaining social support as a result of self-disclosing acts, which make others aware of one's stresses, difficulties, and problems. In the context of making a disclosure of life problems on social media, to share a problem reduces its burden.

Furthermore, social support leads to positive psychological outcomes. To be specific, it is positively related to life satisfaction and negatively related to loneliness. Results of the SEM clarified the directionality of social support's effects on positive and negative aspects of psychological well-being. As anticipated, social support positively results in positive outcomes by enhancing life satisfaction. On the other hand, it is negatively related to negative outcomes by reducing loneliness. Together, these results contribute to the literature by highlighting the important role of social support in predicting psychological well-being.

Additionally, the mediating role of social support in the linkage between self-disclosure and psychological well-being (both positive and negative) was demonstrated in the SEM results. Concerning direct effects, self-disclosure alone is negatively associated with life satisfaction and positively associated with loneliness. However, when the mediation effect of social support was considered, this study found that self-disclosure leads to positive social support, which in turn positively predicts one's life satisfaction and negatively predicts loneliness. These results validate the effects of self-disclosure on psychological well-being as indirect, underscoring social support as a key mechanism as proposed by Luo and Hancock (2020). According to these researchers, self-disclosure does not directly impact psychological well-being but does so indirectly through key mechanisms such as perceived connectedness, perceived authenticity, and social support. In this vein, our findings not merely validate the mediation effect of social support but also clarify its directionality, taking into consideration both positive and negative dimensions of psychological well-being. These are theoretically important findings because they deepen the understanding of the nature of the association between self-disclosure and psychological well-being.

Our findings also have practical implications. The study demonstrates that disclosing one's life difficulties and negative emotions on social media is a feasible way to generate social support. On a voluntary basis and with adequate privacy protection measures in place, social media users may

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disclose themselves to initiate interactions with other users, exchange social support, enhance psychological well-being, and help overcome life difficulties.

In conclusion, revealing one's personal information and emotions on social media to people, both known and unknown, is an integral part of internet culture (Kim & Dindia, 2011). However, as the results of the present study suggest, the extent to which one reveals such stresses, problems, and sorrows is subject to cultural influences. It was rather uncommon to observe self-disclosing behaviors among Taiwanese respondents, while contradictory evidence was found in North America and Europe, whose residents demonstrated greater willingness, depth, and width of self-disclosure (Asai & Barnlund, 1998; Chen, 1995; Trepte & Reinecke, 2013). To further explore culture's influence on self-disclosure behaviors and understand why social media users living in individualism-oriented versus collectivism-oriented cultures hold different views of the behavior, a cross-cultural comparative study would be desirable. This is a promising direction for future research.

Several limitations of the present study warrant notice. While SEM was used to examine the hypothesized links of the studied variables, significant results do not imply causal relationships. For instance, it is possible that the more often respondents disclose their personal emotions, the more social capital they will build. Therefore, caution is advised when interpreting the results. In addition, the measurement of the negative valence of psychological well-being relied on a single item; multiple items should be attempted in future research. Finally, future scholars may consider a wider variety of psychological well-being variables than life satisfaction and loneliness to advance the exploration of self-disclosure's positive impact on well-being. Such variables may include self-esteem, optimism, and joy concerning the positive aspects (Chida & Steptoe, 2008) and psychological distress, anxiety, and depression regarding the negative aspects (Liu et al., 2019).

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