



## SELF-DISCLOSURE OF GENERATION Z HEAVY SOCIAL MEDIA USERS IN BALI

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### Abstract

*The digital era keeps evolving, particularly in terms of communication technology and internet usage. It is predicted that around 80% of Indonesia's population will have social media accounts by 2026, with the majority of users being Generation Z. The close relationship between Generation Z. Social media has given rise to the term "heavy social media users," referring to individuals who engage with social media for more than four hours a day. This study analyzes self-disclosure among Generation Z heavy social media users in Bali. The research adopts a quantitative approach, using a survey method. The population of this study consists of Generation Z individuals who are heavy social media users and reside in Bali. Nonprobability sampling, specifically purposive sampling, was used with predefined criteria. The findings indicate that while Instagram is the most frequently used social media platform by Generation Z, this group tends to engage in self-disclosure more on Twitter and TikTok, with an average of 10-12 times per day. Generation Z users distinguish between positive and negative self-disclosure, where positive disclosures are made public and accessible to many. In contrast, negative disclosures remain private and hidden from the broader social media audience.*

**Keywords:** *generation; heavy users; self-disclosure; social media*

### INTRODUCTION

In the present time, also known as the digital era, technological developments continue to occur, especially in communication. The internet and social media have become one of the main highlights of this digital era. The use of social media continues to expand, ranging from the economic, business, political, educational, and cultural sectors (Hafiar et al., 2018; Juned et al., 2015; Kolay, 2016; Samuel & Setiawan, 2018). Based on data

Article History: Received: 30-11-2024. Accepted: 20- 12- 2024. Published: 30- 06 - 2025



forecast from Goodstats, by 2026, 81.82% of Indonesia's population is expected to have social media accounts. This number has doubled compared to the data from 2017. The data also shows that the average age of social media users in Indonesia is above 18 years old, with an average usage time of 3 hours per day (Annur, 2020; Digital 2021: Indonesia, n.d.; Yonatan, 2023). Based on this data, it can be concluded that most social media users belong to Generation Z, the generation born between 1995 and 2010, also known as the digital native generation. The dominance of Generation Z as the main users of social media is occurring in Indonesia and globally. In 2021, data showed that the largest population of Generation Z in Indonesia was found in West Java Province, followed by East Java in second place, and Central Java in third (Idris, 2021; Pamela, 2022; Putra, 2016; Widi, 2022).

The data above shows that Generation Z will play an important role in society in the future, as the next generation in Indonesia. Many academics are increasingly conducting Generation Z studies, particularly in communication studies. Generation Z is being examined about the use of social media for the development of the creative economy, in organizational communication studies concerning leadership styles and employee performance, and even in feminist studies on the roles of Generation Z women (Irena & Rusfian, 2019; Irena, Lydia & Sari, 2020; Putranto, 2018).

This study is a continuation or development of previous research related to the patterns of self-disclosure among Generation Z, who are heavy social media users (Sari et al., 2023). Self-disclosure is a part of interpersonal communication that can help build closer, more intimate relationships. It can be defined as the conscious act of revealing personal information to others. Self-disclosure serves the purpose of building relationships, which can be explained through the social penetration theory. The level of intimacy involved in self-disclosure is linked to the outcomes of a relationship; therefore, self-disclosure is also closely related to trust, intimacy, and interpersonal solidarity. In its development, discussions about self-disclosure have also been linked to computer-mediated communication, communication that is facilitated by computer devices. A fundamental aspect to understand about self-disclosure on social media is that individuals are not anonymous but have identifiable identities. A social media account typically displays a profile picture and other personal information such as date of birth, place of residence, education level, occupation, and more. This is supported by the fact that social media is generally used to stay connected with friends and family, rather than to initiate contact with strangers. (Utz, 2015)

The act of self-disclosure must begin with understanding one's strengths and weaknesses. To facilitate this self-understanding, Joseph Luft and Harrington Ingham introduced the Johari Window, a conceptual model that divides self-awareness into four areas. The first is the open area, which includes information about oneself that is known to the individual and others. The second is the blind area, which consists of information that others are aware of but the individual is not. The third is the hidden area, referring to information known to the individual but intentionally kept from others. Lastly, the unknown area includes information that is unknown both to the individual and to others (Devito, 2019)

Self-disclosure has five dimensions, namely:

- a) Amount refers to the quantity of self-disclosure. It can be measured by the frequency with which an individual reveals themselves to others and the duration or amount of time spent disclosing personal information.
- b) Valence refers to the positive or negative nature of self-disclosure. An individual may reveal aspects of themselves that are pleasant or unpleasant, praising their qualities or criticizing themselves.
- c) Accuracy/Honesty refers to the precision and truthfulness of an individual when engaging in self-disclosure with others.
- d) Intention refers to the extent to which an individual chooses to disclose what they want to share, including their level of awareness and control over the information they decide to reveal to others.
- e) Intimacy refers to the level of closeness an individual has with others, which allows them to share the most personal and intimate details of their lives. These things might be considered impersonal or even false if shared with others outside that close relationship (Ma et al., 2016).

Heavy social media users spend more than 4 hours daily on social media sites and applications. According to a report from Civic Science, the age group most likely to be heavy social media users is between 18 and 24, which corresponds to the Generation Z age group (Heavy Social Media Users vs. General Population, 2018).

Self-disclosure through social media has transformed the traditional paradigm of interpersonal relationships and communication. Research findings show that self-disclosure conducted online via social media demonstrates intimacy and enhances connection or bonding between individuals. People feel entertained when reading their friends' status updates on social media, experience positive relationships with their friends, and strengthen the connection between them (Ma et al., 2016; Sari & Irena, 2020).

Results from previous research conducted with Generation Z respondents in Jakarta showed that the main social media platform used by Generation Z is Instagram. Self-disclosure on this platform is carried out consciously, with personal topics shared only with close friends on social media (Sari & Irena, 2020). Based on this previous research, a follow-up study was conducted to examine self-disclosure among heavy social media users from Generation Z in Bali. This study is part of a broader series of research on Generation Z and their patterns of self-disclosure across various urban areas in Indonesia.

Based on the explanation above, this study was conducted with Generation Z respondents residing in Bali, with the primary aim of describing the self-disclosure behaviors of Generation Z as heavy social media users. The heavy social media users targeted in this study are Instagram users. This focus was chosen because Instagram remains a favorite social media platform among Generation Z, and according to data, the number of Instagram users in Indonesia reached 106.72 million as of February 2023 (Dihni, 2021; Rizaty, 2023).

The research problem in this study is formulated as follows: "What is the description of self-disclosure among Generation Z heavy social media users in Bali?" Therefore, this study aims to analyze and describe self-disclosure among Generation Z heavy social media users in Bali.

**METHOD**

This study uses a quantitative approach with a survey method. Quantitative research is based on the philosophy of positivism and is used to study a specific population or sample. This quantitative method is considered scientific because it adheres to scientific principles such as concrete or empirical, objective, measurable, systematic, and rational (Bajari, 2017; Rakhmat & Ibrahim, 2017). The researchers decided to use this approach because the quantitative method is considered the most appropriate for obtaining answers to the research problem regarding the description of self-disclosure on social media among Generation Z heavy social media users. To generalize the self-disclosure patterns, an objective measurement is needed from a sample that can represent Generation Z heavy social media users.

The method used in this study is the survey method, utilizing a questionnaire instrument validated through a pre-test phase. The survey method involves an investigation aimed at obtaining information. These facts arise from observable phenomena and seek factual explanations related to social, economic, or political institutions within a group or region. The survey method conducts simultaneous investigations of multiple individuals or units through a census or a sample (Creswell, 2014).

The population is the generalization area consisting of subjects or objects with certain qualities and characteristics, which are determined by the researcher to be studied, and from which conclusions will be drawn. Meanwhile, the sample is a portion of the population's size and characteristics. Therefore, the sample taken from the population must truly be representative. About this study, the population consists of all Generation Z individuals who are heavy social media users and reside in Bali. Generation Z in Bali grows up in an environment that blends traditional cultural values with the influences of digital technology and globalization. As a generation raised in the digital era, they have wide access to various social media platforms and technologies (Mahmud, 2024).

The sample itself is divided into sampling techniques and sample size. The sampling technique used in this study is purposive sampling, a method within non-probability sampling. This technique involves selecting individuals based on specific criteria that the researcher sets according to the research objectives. Those in the population who do not meet these criteria are excluded from the sample (Rakhmat & Ibrahim, 2017). The requirements for respondents are born between 1995 and 2010, spend more than 4 hours a day on social media, reside in Bali, and are Indonesian citizens (WNI).

The sample size used in this study follows expert opinion, which states that a suitable sample size for research ranges from 30 to 500 samples. If the population in the study is large, the researcher can take a sample from that population instead of studying the entire group (Sugiyono, 2013). Since the population size in this study is unknown, the researcher uses the Lemeshow formula to determine the appropriate sample size (Setiawan et al., 2022). Based on that formula's calculation, the minimum required sample size is 96. However, to enrich this study, the researcher collected 115 samples as data for the research.

Since this study uses a quantitative method, data analysis is done using statistical analysis. The statistical analysis is performed on data obtained from the distribution of questionnaires. The statistical test used in this study is descriptive statistical analysis, which involves presenting data as graphs and tables. The researcher classifies the data, starting

with a general description of respondents based on age and gender, followed by statistical classification based on statement items for each dimension according to the concept operationalization table (Nisfiannoor, 2013).

Table 1. Concept Operationalization

| Variable        | Dimension        | Indicator             | Scale                 |
|-----------------|------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|
| Self-Disclosure | Amount           | Frequency (with whom) | Interval scale/Likert |
|                 |                  | Duration (time)       | Interval scale/Likert |
|                 | Valence          | Positive content      | Interval scale/Likert |
|                 |                  | Negative content      | Interval scale/Likert |
|                 | Accuracy/Honesty | Accuracy              | Interval scale/Likert |
|                 |                  | Honesty               | Interval scale/Likert |
|                 | Intention        | Scope of information  | Interval scale/Likert |
|                 |                  | Awareness             | Interval scale/Likert |
|                 | Intimacy         | Information detail    | Interval scale/Likert |

(Source: Sari & Irena, 2020)

## DISCUSSIONS

The respondents of this study are heavy social media users from Generation Z, born between 1995 and 2010, often referred to as the digital native generation (Berisha, 2020; Putra, 2016). The sample size obtained in this study consists of 115 respondents aged between 16 and 26 years. Most respondents are 20 years old, totaling 35 individuals or 30.4%. The most widely used social media platform is Instagram, with a penetration rate of 99.1%, followed sequentially by TikTok, Twitter, Facebook, and YouTube.

This study aims to analyze and describe self-disclosure among Generation Z heavy social media users in Bali. Self-disclosure is measured through five key dimensions: amount, valence, accuracy/honesty, intention, and intimacy. These dimensions provide a comprehensive framework to understand how Generation Z reveals personal information on social media platforms, particularly in frequency, emotional tone, truthfulness, intentional control, and level of personal depth (Ma et al., 2016). Based on the concept operationalization outlined in Table 1, each dimension consists of two indicators, with each indicator further developed into two to three statement items. The analysis begins with the amount dimension, focusing on the frequency (with whom) indicator. This indicator explores with whom Generation Z tends to share personal information or engage in self-disclosure on social media. The first statement item used to measure this is: "I share about myself (activities, feelings, etc.) through social media (e.g., Instagram Story/Feed, Twitter/Facebook status, TikTok videos, etc.) with all connected friends." The findings are as follows.

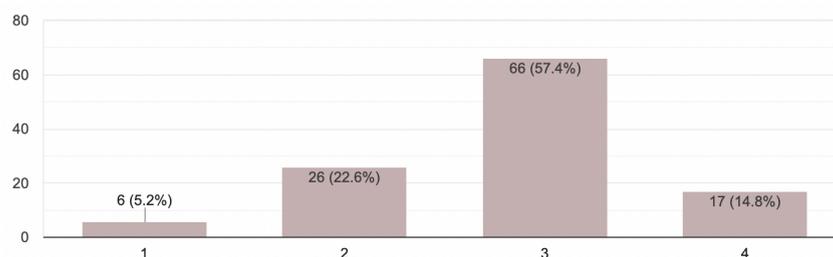


Figure 1. Amount Dimension – Frequency Indicator of Item 1  
(Source: Research Data Analysis Results, 2023)

The graph above, in Figure 1, shows that most Generation Z respondents, who are heavy social media users, disclose personal information to all of their connected friends on social media. A total of 83 respondents, or 72.2%, responded positively to the first statement. To further support findings within the frequency indicator, the second item analyzed is “I share about myself (activities, feelings, etc.) through social media (e.g., Instagram Story/Feed, Twitter/Facebook status, TikTok videos, etc.) only with close friends (using features such as Instagram’s Close Friends or a second private account).” Based on the Johari window model, this behavior reflects self-disclosure within the open area, which is information known to the individual and others. By using features like Instagram’s Close Friends or private accounts, Generation Z users share personal information intentionally and selectively, maintaining control over their audience while still engaging in expressive and intimate communication. This indicates self-awareness and strategic sharing behavior among digital natives (Devito, 2019).

The data shows that Generation Z tends to disclose personal information more frequently to close friends than to all connected friends on the internet. This finding aligns with previous literature, which states that self-disclosure is closely related to trust, solidarity, and intimacy among individuals. It suggests that Generation Z values deeper, more meaningful connections and prefers to share personal details within trusted circles, reinforcing the importance of selective sharing in building stronger interpersonal relationships on social media (Austine, 2022; Husna & Mairita, 2024). Generation Z carries out this selective self-disclosure by utilizing Instagram’s Close Friends feature; some even maintain a second Instagram account set to private. The private mode allows account owners to control who can view or access their social media content easily. If the account owner does not want to grant access to specific individuals, they can reject follow requests from those people. This level of control helps Generation Z manage their online privacy while actively engaging on social platforms.

After understanding to whom Generation Z prefers to disclose themselves, the researcher explored the extent of self-disclosure in terms of duration or time spent. The following items, items 3, 4, and 5, are presented sequentially in pie chart form to illustrate how frequently Generation Z shares their daily activities and feelings on social media. The social media platforms analyzed include Instagram, Twitter, and TikTok. These visuals help provide a clear picture of daily self-disclosure habits across different popular platforms this generation uses.

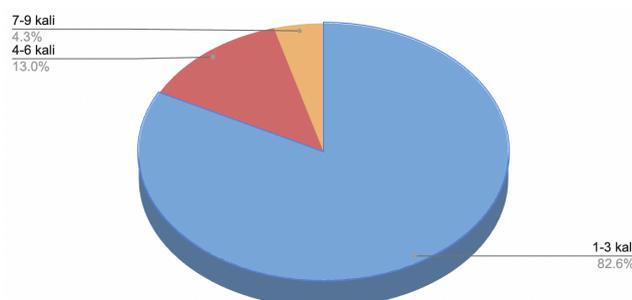


Figure 2. Amount Dimension – Duration Indicator of Item 3  
(Source: Research Data Analysis Results)

Among the three social media platforms measured, most respondents stated that they engage in self-disclosure only 1–3 times daily, despite being heavy social media users. Specifically, 82.5% of respondents on Instagram, 87.8% on Twitter, and 87% on TikTok reported this frequency. However, a small portion of respondents, 1.7% on Twitter and 1.7% on TikTok, disclosed themselves as many as 10–12 times per day. Following this, the measurement of self-disclosure continued with the valence dimension. This dimension refers to whether individuals share positive or negative information about themselves, including praising or belittling themselves (Merlin & Fitriani, 2019). The valence dimension consists of two indicators: positive content and harmful content, each containing two statements.

Statements 6 and 7 that were used to measure the valence dimension is “I share positive things about myself (creations, innovations, works, etc.) through social media (e.g., Instagram Story/Feed, Twitter/Facebook status, TikTok videos, etc.)” and “I express my happiness by posting on social media (e.g., Instagram Story/Feed, Twitter/Facebook status, TikTok videos, etc.)” The results of these statements are illustrated in the figures below.

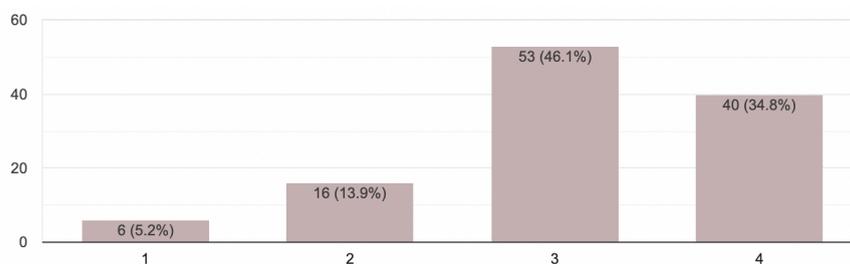


Figure 3. Valence Dimension – Positive Content Indicator of Item 6 (Source: Research Data Analysis Results)

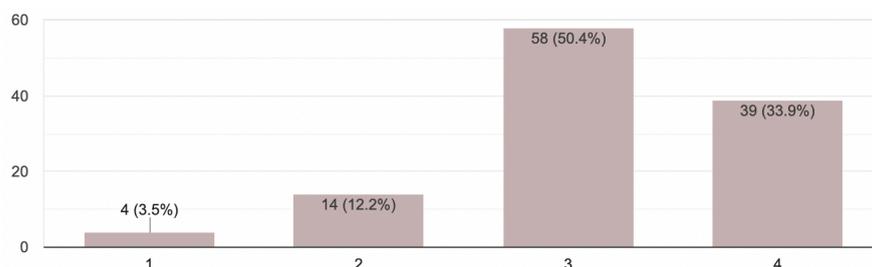


Figure 4. Valence Dimension – Positive Content Indicator of Item 7 (Source: Research Data Analysis Results)

Figures 3 and 4 show that Generation Z enjoys sharing positive aspects about themselves, such as their creations, achievements, and others. A total of 80.9% or 93 respondents agreed with this statement. Similarly, when feeling happy, Generation Z often posts their joy on social media, with 84.3% or 97 respondents responding positively to this behavior in item 7. This positive self-disclosure occurs across various social media platforms, including Instagram, Twitter, Facebook, and TikTok. Next, items 8 and 9 measured the valence dimension’s negative content indicator. Through sharing positive content,

Generation Z fosters positive relationships with their friends and strengthens connections between them (Evita et al., 2023; PrakashYadav & Rai, 2020)

Statement 8 reads, "I share negative aspects about myself (failures, misfortunes, etc.) through social media (such as Instagram Story/Feed, Twitter/Facebook status, TikTok videos, etc.)," while statement 9 says, "I express my sadness by posting on social media (such as Instagram Story/Feed, Twitter/Facebook status, TikTok videos, etc.)." Data shows that although Generation Z tends to highlight positive aspects of themselves, they choose not to share negative information about their lives, such as failures, misfortunes, and feelings of sadness. Specifically, 82.6% or 95 respondents stated that they do not share their failures or misfortunes on social media, and 64.4% or 74 respondents also expressed that they do not show their sadness by posting content on social media.

These findings align with previous literature reviews stating that the process of self-disclosure should begin with understanding an individual's strengths and weaknesses. To better understand oneself, Joseph Luft and Harrington Ingham introduced a concept known as the Johari Window, which is divided into four parts: the open area, the blind area, the hidden area, and the unknown area (Devito, 2019). The research findings reveal that Generation Z selectively manages their positive and negative self-disclosures on social media, where positive aspects are shared openly and become part of the open area, known to many people. In contrast, negative aspects remain hidden and become part of the secret area, not disclosed to the broader social media audience.

In the next dimension, accuracy/honesty, the focus is on measuring the precision and truthfulness of individuals when they disclose personal information to others (Merlin & Fitriani, 2019). To calculate the accuracy indicator, there are two items: "What I write in my social media 'Bio' is true about myself" and "I share information about myself as truthfully as possible through social media (such as Instagram Story/Feed, Twitter/Facebook status, TikTok videos, etc.)." The results revealed the following findings.

Both in statements 10 and 11, it was found that Generation Z accurately discloses themselves through their social media bios and posts on Instagram Stories/Feeds, Twitter and Facebook statuses, and TikTok videos. A total of 84.3% or 97 respondents agreed or strongly agreed that they write their social media bios truthfully, reflecting who they are, and 71.3% or 82 respondents stated that what they upload on social media truly represents themselves.

This finding aligns with a statement that self-disclosure in computer-mediated communication is not anonymous but rather tied to an identity (Utz, 2015). This is reflected through profile pictures and additional personal information such as date of birth, residence, education level, occupation, and so forth. Generation Z, as heavy social media users, accurately discloses various personal information through social media.

To complete the accuracy/honesty dimension, the honesty indicator was measured using two items: "I share things that truly happened to me (never sharing false stories) through social media (such as Instagram Story/Feed, Twitter/Facebook status, TikTok videos, etc.);" and "I honestly share my preferences on social media (preferences refer to things like political choices, hobbies, favorite artists/public figures, etc.)." The following are the results regarding the honesty indicator.

The results show that most Generation Z share things that truly happened to them on social media. As many as 85.2% or 98 respondents agreed and were honest in disclosing themselves to the social media audience. However, an anomaly was also found where 14.8% or 17 respondents admitted to having shared dishonest information or false stories about themselves on social media.

Similar to item 12, item 13 also shows positive results, with 85.2% or 98 respondents admitting that they honestly share their preferences on social media. These preferences include political choices, hobbies, and favorite artists or public figures. This result indicates that Generation Z tends to be honest in performing self-disclosure to their audience on social media.

The fourth dimension, intention, consists of two indicators: breadth and awareness. The first indicator, breadth, refers to how extensively individuals disclose information about themselves. To measure this indicator, two items were used: “I share a variety of information about my activities on social media (variety refers to the wide range of activities shared, such as daily routines, food, places visited, etc.),” and “I share a variety of information about my preferences on social media (variety refers to the wide range of preferences shared, such as political views, hobbies, favorite artists/public figures, etc.).” The following are the results of this measurement.

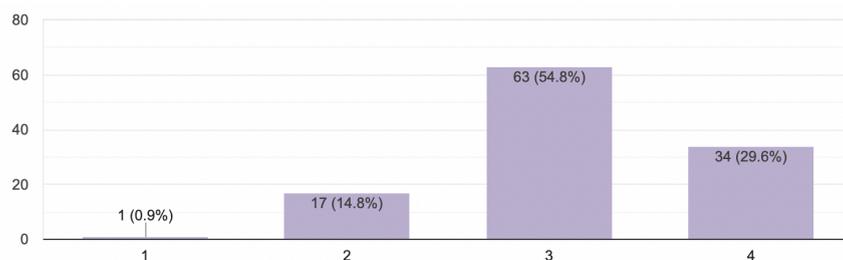


Figure 5. Intention Dimension – Scope of Information Indicator of Item 14  
(Source: Research Data Analysis Results, 2023)

Compared to each other, Generation Z, which uses social media intensively, shows a wider variety in disclosing information about their activities than their preferences. However, both indicators reveal positive results. There are 84.4% or 97 respondents who share diverse aspects of their activities on social media, such as daily routines, food intake, and places they visit. Slightly different from item 14, 76.5% or 88 respondents disclose a wide range of their preferences on social media, including political choices, hobbies, and favorite artists or public figures.

Self-disclosure is an element in interpersonal communication that can enhance closeness, intimacy, and the depth of relationships. Generation Z, active on social media, can build relationships by sharing various aspects of themselves with different levels of depth, per social penetration theory. Furthermore, the second indicator of the intention dimension is awareness, which refers to the extent of an individual's consciousness in controlling the information they choose to share with others. (Utz, 2015)

Two items are used to measure this indicator: “I consciously share my activities on social media (activities such as daily routines, food, places visited, etc.)” and “I consciously

share my preferences on social media (preferences such as political choices, hobbies, favorite artists/public figures, etc.).” The results are as follows.

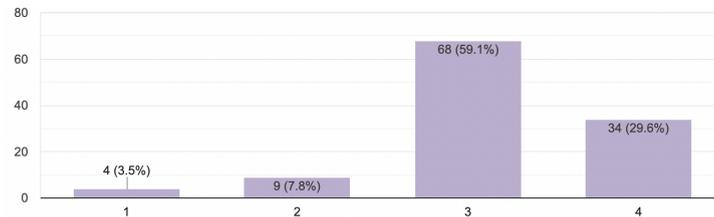


Figure 6. Intention Dimension – Awareness Indicator of Item 17  
(Source: Research Data Analysis Results)

The images above show that Generation Z, as heavy social media users, are conscious of controlling the information they share with others, whether it concerns their activities or preferences. A total of 93% or 107 respondents stated that they consciously share their personal activities on social media, such as daily routines, food, and places they visit. Similarly, 85.7% or 102 respondents also consciously disclose their preferences on social media. This finding aligns with self-disclosure, which is defined as the conscious sharing of information with others by an individual.

The last dimension to be measured is intimacy, which refers to the level of closeness an individual has with others that allows them to reveal the most intimate details of their life, things considered impersonal, or even lies by others (Merlin & Fitriani, 2019). In the intimacy dimension, there is only one indicator, which is the level of detail in the information shared. This is measured through two statement items: “I share detailed information about my activities on social media (activities such as daily routines, food, places visited, etc.),” and “I share detailed information about my preferences on social media (preferences such as political choices, hobbies, favorite artists/public figures, etc.).” The results from the questionnaire are as follows.

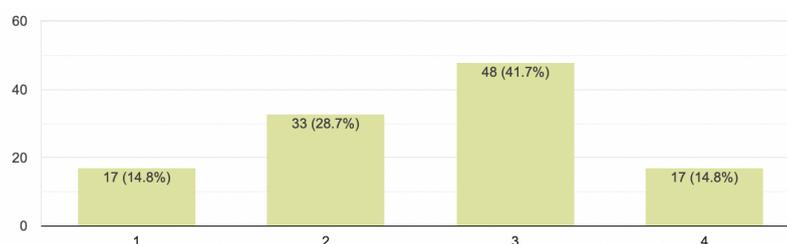


Figure 7. Intimacy Dimension – Information Detail Indicator of Item 18  
(Source: Research Data Analysis Results)

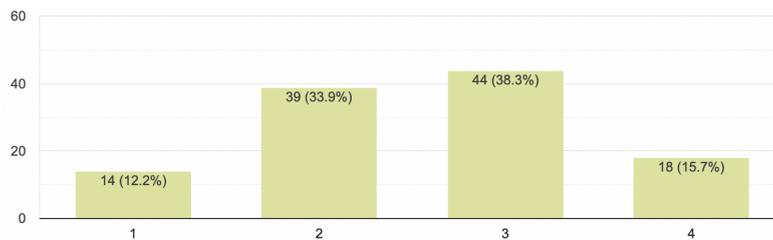


Figure 8. Intimacy Dimension – Information Detail Indicator of Item 19  
(Source: Research Data Analysis Results)

Generation Z users who are active on social media tend to disclose detailed information about their personal activities and preferences through these platforms. It was found that 56.5% or 65 respondents agreed with this statement. However, nearly half of the respondents indicated that they do not disclose detailed information about their activities on social media. Regarding preferences, 54% or 62 respondents shared detailed information about their preferences on social media, which also means that a significant portion do not share their personal preferences in detail through these platforms.

Here is the summary table of the research based on the discussion results provided:

Table 2. Summary of Research Results

|   |   |
|---|---|
| <b>Population</b>                                       | Generation Z are heavy social media users (born 1995-2010)  |
| <b>Sample</b>   | 115 respondents, aged 16-26 years old   |
| <b>Majority Age</b>                                     | 20 years old (35 respondents, 30,4%)  |
| <b>Most Used Social Media</b>                           | Instagram (99,1%), followed by TikTok, Twitter, Facebook, and YouTube   |
| <b>Amount (Frequency &amp; Duration)</b>                | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 72.2% share information with all their friends on social media</li> <li>• The majority engage in self-disclosure 1-3 times a day</li> </ul>  |
| <b>Valence (Positive &amp; Negative Content)</b>        | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 80.9% share positive things such as achievements and creations</li> <li>• 84.3% express happiness through their posts</li> <li>• 82.6% do not share failures or misfortunes</li> <li>• 64.4% do not share feelings of sadness on social media</li> </ul> |
| <b>Accuracy/Honesty (Accuracy &amp; Honesty)</b>        | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 84.3% write their social media bios accurately</li> <li>• 85.2% are honest in sharing their stories and preferences</li> </ul>   |
| <b>Intention (Scope of Information &amp; Awareness)</b> | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 84.4% share a variety of activities (daily life, food, locations)</li> <li>• 93% are aware of the information they share</li> </ul>  |
| <b>Intimacy (Information Detail)</b>                    | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 56.5% share their activities in detail</li> <li>• 54% share their personal preferences in detail</li> </ul>  |

(Source: Research Data Analysis Results, 2023)

This summary outlines the key findings of the research and can be used as a reference or for further report development.

## CONCLUSION

This study describes how Generation Z heavy social media users express themselves or engage in self-disclosure through social media platforms. These platforms include Instagram, TikTok, Twitter, Facebook, and YouTube. Although Instagram ranks as the most used social media platform among Generation Z in this study, it was found that 1.3% of Generation Z disclosed themselves on Twitter and TikTok 10-12 times, while on Instagram, the highest frequency was only 7-9 times, reported by 4.3% of respondents. Furthermore, Generation Z tends to disclose more to close friends rather than to all connected friends. They utilize Instagram's private mode and may even create a second account to allow for freer self-disclosure.

The research also found that Generation Z differentiates between positive and negative self-disclosures on social media. Positive content is shared openly and made visible to many people, while negative content remains hidden and is not disclosed to the social media audience. Rather than posting personal failures or misfortunes, they prefer to share positive content such as creations, innovations, achievements, and other expressions of happiness.

Self-disclosure in computer-mediated communication is not anonymous but rather tied to an identity. Generation Z heavy social media users disclose various personal information accurately and honestly through social media, both in their bios and on their social media pages about their activities and preferences. Through social media, they can also build relationships by sharing themselves at different levels of breadth, as described in social penetration theory. Finally, in their self-disclosure on social media, they are also aware of controlling the information they share with others, whether it concerns their personal activities or preferences. This awareness means that the information they share is not always detailed.

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