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Need to Evaluate, Self-Esteem and Presentation of Online Self Among Youth

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ABSTRACT: The study examined whether the Need to Evaluate (NE) determines Self-esteem and online self-presentation among youth and whether these outcomes differ by gender and age group. The Need to Evaluate, an individual difference characterised by a chronic tendency to engage highly in evaluative responding. Using a cross-sectional design with a sample size of 100 youth (45 male, 55 females; 76 adolescents aged 12-19, 24 young adults aged 20-24) residing in the Delhi region, participants completed the Need to Evaluate Scale, the Rosenberg Self-Esteem Scale, and the Presentation of Online Self Scale (POSS), which assess Ideal self, Multiple self, Consistent self and Online Presentation Preference. Contrary to the proposed hypotheses, NE did not significantly predict self-esteem or any of the four online self-presentation subscales. However, self-esteem significantly and negatively predicted Online Presentation Preference, and the regression model for this outcome was statistically significant. Gender also significantly predicted Online Presentation Preference, with female participants reporting higher scores than male participants, but no significant association was found with the three other subscales. Although age group was not a significant predictor of any of the subscales, a marginal trend was observed for Ideal Self. These findings indicate that self-esteem and gender are more consistent correlates of online presentation preference than the high NE. These findings inform self-esteem-based interventions and gender-sensitive digital literacy programs, and highlight participants' unmeasured social feedback, whether their evaluative opinions are affirmed or challenged by others, as a key direction for future research on NE's role in digital self-presentation.

INTRODUCTION:

For many years, philosophers and social scientists have understood evaluation as an important aspect of human beings, to form attitudes and judgments about their environment. While every human being can evaluate, there are differences in their motivation and chronic tendency to do so. This study focuses on a cognitive personality trait known as the Need to Evaluate (NE). It refers to an individual difference characterised by a chronic tendency to engage in evaluative responding, as defined by Jarvis and Petty (1996). In the 21st century, with the increasing rise of digital usage and influences, these cognitive processes have become more complicated. Research suggests that a person's social environment influences their spontaneous thoughts and the way information is processed regarding others (Mildner & Tamir, 2021). Worldview literature further indicates that how people interpret and assess their surroundings contributes to broader systems through which people make sense of reality (Nilsson, 2007) and, the act of evaluating others may become associated with the perception of the evaluators, suggesting a link between social judgment and the self (Skowronski et al., 1998). Chronic self-focused evaluative thought and maintaining hypercritical standards for others are suspected to be harmful for emotional well-being and social connection (Trapnell & Campbell, 1999; Visvalingam et al., 2024).

Furthermore, previous findings suggest that habitually having critical judgments of others reinforces chronic self-doubt, hostility, and heightened loneliness among young adults (Kabir, 2024; Shafiq, Ali, & Iqbal, 2023). Because youth today interact both in offline and online domains, they are highly susceptible to social feedback, which may be problematic for highly evaluative individuals. Disagreement of one's evaluative attitudes with others is a source of psychological discomfort (Matz & Wood, 2005), which may lower individuals' global self-esteem or self-worth (Leary, Tambor, Terdal, & Down, 1995). Consequently, a lowered sense of self-esteem can influence individuals towards more curated digital behaviours, altering their online authenticity (Gil-Or et al., 2015). The present study aimed to examine links between the Need to Evaluate (NE), self-esteem, and different types of online self-presentation that are specifically pertinent to social media use, namely, Ideal Self, Multiple Selves, Consistent Self, and Online Presentation Preference (Fullwood et al., 2016).

Need to Evaluate

In understanding how people think and behave socially, the Need to Evaluate acts as a foundational individual difference. The Need to Evaluate has been studied to some extent with other dispositions and personality traits. For instance, Jarvis & Petty (1996) found that individuals high in the NE were found to have more attitudes towards unfamiliar stimuli, more evaluative thoughts in free-response tasks, and were more likely to hold views and opinions on social and political issues than individuals low in NE. Tuten & Bosnjak (2002) also investigated the relation between the need to evaluate and the Big Five personalities, where a small positive correlation was seen with both extraversion and openness to experience, a slight negative correlation with emotional stability, and no correlation with agreeableness or conscientiousness. Bizer et al. (2004) also explored the implications of this construct on cognitive, affective, and behavioural outcomes in political and social processing. It was found that highly evaluative individuals form stronger, more accessible attitudes guiding their behaviour. Also, Xu et al. (2021) divided NE into distinct motives to have, learn, and express attitudes, showing that these submotives predict different social behaviours, including a person's preferred role during group discussions. Research indicates that high NE is also associated with greater attitude stability over time (Xu et al., 2020). Furthermore, Xu et al. (2023) established that various NE facets predict whether and how consumers seek or generate word of mouth online, indicating that the trait extends meaningfully into the digital interpersonal context.

Habitually forming critical evaluations of the people around oneself can foster chronic self-doubt and is associated with symptoms of depression and anxiety (Kabir, 2024). This pattern is seen in research on other-oriented perfectionism, where it was found to be linked to greater hostility towards others (Visvalingam et al., 2024) and, among Gen Z young adults, to higher loneliness (Shafiq et al., 2023). Another finding by Trapnell & Campbell (1999) also reports that rumination-focused models of self-consciousness likewise link chronic self-focused evaluative thought to psychological distress. Based on these theoretical links, the present study examines whether a heightened NE is associated with lower self-esteem, and whether self-esteem, in turn, dictates how individuals present themselves online.

Self-Esteem

The Leary's Sociometer Theory (1995) states that self-esteem is an internal psychological mechanism to measure the level of social acceptance rather than an end itself. For those highly evaluative youths, the mental disturbances caused by their extra-observation of the objects and situations around them often lead them to doubt their own judgements when faced with social disapproval, thus suffering a decline in self-esteem and self-concept clarity. In present-day research, self-esteem with regard to the youth population is rarely studied in isolation and is often linked to self-concept clarity and Social Comparison Orientation. Fullwood et al. (2016) examined the relationship between self-concept and adolescents' online behaviour, showing that low self-concept clarity is a positive predictor of unstable self-esteem. Vogel et al. (2015) also studied the effect of social comparison orientation and self-esteem and found that those youths with higher social comparison orientation suffer significant detriments to their self-esteem. Research by Mann & Blumberg (2022) indicates that there is a strong correlation between global self-esteem and authentic online self-presentation, linking lower self-esteem to greater preoccupation with "feared" possible selves and closely monitoring their digital social status. Drawing on self-compassion literature (Neff, 2003) suggests that chronically self-critical youth develop a fragile sense of self-esteem and are more dependent on external validation. For youths functioning across physical and digital spaces, low self-esteem consistently correlates with more curated online behaviours, which include the presentation of an idealised or false self and a measurable decline in online authenticity (Gil-Or et al., 2015; Michikyan et al., 2014). Another study found that factors such as self-esteem and loneliness do not depend on how much or in what way people use social media, the reason being that social media offers a wide variety of content and use (Thomas & Mathew, 2026).

Online Self- presentation

Online self-presentation involves the strategic curation in which an individual shares aspects of their self to represent a particular image. Drawn from Goffman's (1959) theory of impression management, Fullwood et al. (2016) categorised online self-presentation into the Ideal Self, Multiple Selves, Consistent Self, and Online Presentation Preference. This categorisation resonated with Michikyan et al. (2014), who similarly distinguished between real, ideal, and false forms of self-presentation on Facebook among emerging adults. These specific types of self-presentation have been highly linked to psychological variables such as Social Anxiety, Self-concept clarity, and the Need for Social Approval based on past findings. Gil-Or et al. (2015) investigated the phenomenon of the "false Facebook-self and found that there is a higher chance of presenting the false Facebook-self with individuals with lower self-esteem and a lower trait authenticity. This study furthermore presents that these traits are lower among individuals with anxious and avoidant attachment patterns. On the other hand, studies examining the types of self-presentation with trait Authenticity show that maintaining a Consistent Self correlates positively with self-concept clarity and life satisfaction (Yang & Brown, 2016; Fullwood et al., 2016). Additionally, past research has extensively linked reliance on the Ideal Self with Impression Management. Haferkamp et al. (2012) found that women, as compared to men, use social platforms for impression management and posting idealised photos. This behaviour is performed mostly for comparison and, as reported by Manago et al. (2008), for peer approval. Although presenting an idealised digital persona offers short-term boosts to social capital, these often induce self-presentation fatigue over time (Yang & Zhang, 2022).

Despite this literature, the specific pathway connecting the NE, self-esteem, and the four distinct dimensions of online self-presentation identified by Fullwood et al. (2016) remains unexamined among Indian youth. The present study addresses this baseline gap in the literature by employing a quantitative, cross-sectional design.

Rationale of the study:

It is a matter of fact that the high prevalence of social media usage among the youth is well-documented, with current psychological findings focusing more on surface-level metrics like screen time and posting volume, while leaving a critical gap in the literature regarding the deeper cognitive traits that motivate and sustain such behaviour. There is an urgent, important necessity to examine the underlying cognitive personality traits that influence digital well-being. Previous studies on the Need to Evaluate have been understood as an adaptive trait that helps individuals form quick attitudes and have cognitive clarity. On the other hand, in a pervasive digital environment, a continuous drive and a tendency to judge and categorize everything can become a severe psychological burden. This study reorients the academic lens towards the maladaptive outcomes of this trait, specifically examining how an intense evaluative drive internalises to cause a direct decline in global self-esteem.

Moreover, contemporary literature fails to link these internalised evaluative pressures to the multidimensional ways youth manage digital personas. When hyper-critical cognitive faculties degrade an individual's self-esteem, individuals often mask their true identities to reduce fear of external peer appraisal. This study addresses this gap by analysing the psychological mechanisms driving youth to sacrifice consistent self-presentation for compensatory inauthentic shields, including idealised or multiple selves.

Furthermore, the manifestation of identity curation and digital coping mechanisms is not uniform among all young people, emphasising the need to empirically explore how these variables differ by gender and across distinct developmental stages. This variation is grounded in Erikson's (1950) theory of psychosocial development, which considers adolescence and young adulthood as distinct periods of development. Adolescents explore and develop a sense of self or role confusion, actively experimenting with roles and self-presentation, whereas young adults move into forming intimate relationships, and failures result in isolation, shifting their focus towards more stable, authentic relationships. This distinction offers a developmental rationale for hypothesizing that adolescents are more likely to rely on Ideal Self, Multiple Self, and Online Presentation Preference, whereas young adults are more likely to show a stronger Consistent Self. Analysing how this pattern varies by both gender and age group will help identify which specific groups suffer most from digital distress and presentation fatigue. By tracing the exact link between cognitive hyper-evaluation, low self-esteem, and fractured online identities, these insights will help foster genuine digital resilience, design targeted digital literacy, and develop an optimised psychological support system to fit the actual pressure contemporary youth face.

Objective

1. To examine whether Need to Evaluate predicts Self-Esteem among youth.

2. To investigate whether the Need to Evaluate and Self-Esteem significantly predict the adoption of specific Types of Online Self-Presentation (Ideal Self, Multiple Selves, Consistent Self and Online Presentation Preference).
3. To examine whether there are significant gender differences in online presentation styles among youth.
4. To examine whether there are significant age differences in different online self presentation styles.

Hypotheses

H1: A higher Need to Evaluate will significantly predict lower Self-Esteem among youth.

H2: Need to Evaluate and Self-Esteem will significantly predict Online self-presentation across the dimensions: a) Consistent Self, b) Ideal Self, c) Multiple Self, and d) Online Presentation Preference.

A. Need to Evaluate, and lower self-esteem will positively predict "Ideal Self", "multiple selves," and "Online Presentation Preference"

A. Need to Evaluate and Self-esteem will negatively predict "Consistent Self" presentation.

H3: There will be significant gender differences in online self-presentation styles, with female youth scoring lower on Consistent Self and higher on Ideal Self, Multiple Selves, and Online Presentation Preference compared to male youth.

H4: The variation in age will significantly predict the types of online self-presentation.

METHODOLOGY

Sample

The study included 100 participants (45 males and 55 females) residing in the Delhi region, India, aged between 12 and 24 years ($M = 17.42$, $SD = 3.06$). Participants were recruited using a convenience sampling technique. Eligibility criteria required participants to be between 12 and 24 years of age, reside in the Delhi region, and be active users of at least one major social media platform (e.g., Instagram, Facebook, or Snapchat). Individuals who reported a previously diagnosed severe psychiatric condition that could substantially interfere with the accurate completion of the self-report measures were excluded. Following data screening, incomplete responses, responses that contained substantial missing data, or did not meet the eligibility criteria were removed, resulting in the final sample used for analysis.

Tools used:

Need to Evaluate Scale (NES; Jarvis & Petty, 1996)

The Need to Evaluate Scale was used for the present study to measure the chronic cognitive tendency to engage in attitude formation. The Need to Evaluate Scale was developed by Jarvis and Petty (1996). It consists of 16 items. The NES possesses high internal consistency with Cronbach's alpha coefficients ranging from .82 to .87. Additionally, the scale exhibits robust convergent validity, indicated by its positive correlations with the Need for Cognition, and strong discriminant validity, as it remains statistically distinct from cognitive traits like the Need for Cognitive Closure (Jarvis & Petty, 1996).

Rosenberg Self-Esteem Scale (RSES; Rosenberg, 1965)

The Rosenberg Self-Esteem Scale was employed for the study to measure global self-worth. This scale was developed by Rosenberg (1965). It is a 10-item unidimensional scale that evaluates both positive and negative feelings about the self. It is a 4-point Likert scale. This scale has a high internal reliability, with Cronbach's alpha coefficients typically ranging between .77 and .88. The scale also has an excellent construct and concurrent validity, with a positive correlation with other measures of psychological well-being and self-concept, as well as its negative correlations with depressive symptoms and social anxiety (Rosenberg, 1965; Schmitt & Allik, 2005).

The Presentation of Online Self Scale (POSS; Fullwood et al., 2016)

The Presentation of Online Self Scale (POSS) was used to evaluate the specific dimensions of digital identity curation. The POSS was developed by Fullwood et al. (2016). The scale consists of a 21-item questionnaire that effectively measures four distinct sub-factors of digital personas: the Ideal Self, Multiple Selves, the Consistent Self, and Online Presentation

Preference. The POSS is a reliable tool across all of its subscales, with Cronbach's alphas ranging from .70 to .82. The construct validity of this scale is established through exploratory and confirmatory factor analysis (Fullwood et al., 2016).

Statistical Analysis

All data were coded, cleaned, and analyzed using IBM SPSS Statistics (Version 28). Preceding analysis, the data were screened for completeness and eligibility, and responses with substantial missing data or those not meeting the study's inclusion criteria were excluded from the final analysis. Descriptive statistics and Cronbach's alpha coefficients were computed for all study variables. A simple linear regression analysis was performed to examine whether Need to Evaluate predicted self-esteem (H1). Four multiple linear regression analyses were conducted to investigate whether Need to Evaluate and self-esteem jointly predicted the four dimensions of online self-presentation (H2). Independent-samples t-tests were conducted to examine whether gender (H3) and age group (H4) significantly differentiated each dimension of online self-presentation. Statistical significance was set at $p < .05$ for all analyses.

RESULTS

The descriptive statistics for the study variables are presented in Table 1.

Table 1 Simple Regression Analysis Predicting Self-Esteem from Need to Evaluate

Outcome — Predictor	B	SE B	β	t	p	Model R ² (p)
Self-Esteem — NE	-0.03	0.11	-.03	-0.32	.754	.001 (.754)

Note. NE = Need to Evaluate. $df = 1, 98$. 95% CI for B [-0.23, 0.17]. Observed power at $\alpha = .05$ was .06.

Hypothesis 2: Need to Evaluate and Self-Esteem Predicting Online Self- Presentation

Table 2 Multiple Regression Analyses Predicting POSS Subscales from Need to Evaluate and Self-Esteem

Outcome / Predictor	B	SE B	β	t	p	Model R ² (p)
Consistent Self						.018 (.414)
NE	0.20	0.16	.13	1.24	.217	
Self-Esteem	-0.07	0.16	-.04	-0.44	.660	
Ideal Self						.006 (.745)
NE	0.03	0.15	.02	0.23	.821	
Self-Esteem	-0.10	0.14	-.07	-0.73	.470	
Multiple Selves						.018 (.408)
NE	0.03	0.18	.02	0.15	.880	
Self-Esteem	-0.23	0.17	-.13	-1.33	.186	
Online Presentation Preference						.074 (.024)
NE	0.15	0.16	.09	0.96	.340	
Self-Esteem	-0.39	0.15	-.25	-2.58	.011	

Note. NE = Need to Evaluate. B = unstandardized coefficient; SE B = standard error; β = standardized coefficient. df = 2, 97 for all models.

Hypothesis 3: Significant Gender Differences in Online Self-Presentation

Table 3 Independent-Samples t-Tests Comparing POSS Subscales by Gender

Outcome	Male (SD)	M	Female (SD)	M	t	df	p	Mean CI]	Diff.	[95%	Cohen's d
Consistent Self	2.97 (0.85)		2.87 (0.73)		0.66	98	.510	0.10 [-0.21, 0.42]			0.13
Ideal Self	3.08 (0.67)		3.09 (0.75)		- 0.05	98	.959	-0.01 [-0.29, 0.28]			-0.01
Multiple Selves	2.77 (0.89)		2.69 (0.86)		0.47	98	.643	0.08 [-0.27, 0.43]			0.09
Online Presentation Preference	2.35 (0.68)		2.76 (0.81)		- 2.74	98	.007	-0.42 [-0.72, -0.11]			-0.55

Note. n = 45 male, 55 female. Equal variances assumed for all comparisons (Levene's $p > .05$). Mean difference = male – female.

Hypothesis 4: Age Group Predicting Online Self-Presentation

Table 4 Independent-Samples t-Tests Comparing POSS Subscales by Age Group

Outcome	Adolescent (SD)	M	Young Adult (SD)	M	t	df	p	Mean CI]	Diff.	[95%	Cohen's d
Consistent Self	2.98 (0.79)		2.70 (0.73)		1.58	98	.118	0.29 [-0.07, 0.65]			0.37
Ideal Self	3.16 (0.71)		2.84 (0.69)		1.94	98	.055	0.32 [-0.01, 0.65]			0.46
Multiple Selves	2.74 (0.88)		2.67 (0.85)		0.37	98	.713	0.08 [-0.33, 0.48]			0.09
Online Presentation Preference	2.61 (0.78)		2.47 (0.79)		0.75	98	.454	0.14 [-0.23, 0.50]			0.18

Note. n = 76 adolescents (12–19 years), 24 young adults (20–24 years). Equal variances assumed for all comparisons (Levene's $p > .05$). Mean difference = adolescent – young adult. The low power for most comparisons reflects the pronounced imbalance between group sizes.

DISCUSSION

The present study examined whether the Need to Evaluate (NE) predicts self-esteem and the four dimensions (Consistent Self, Ideal Self, Multiple Self, and Online Presentation Preference) of online self-presentation identified by Fullwood et al. (2016) among Indian Youth, and whether these styles of presentation differ by gender and age group. Opposite to what was expected, NE was not related to self-esteem and was unrelated to all four POSS subscales, both at the bivariate level and within regression models where self-esteem was entered alongside as a predictor. Of all four subscales, only Online Presentation Preference was significantly predicted by self-esteem, and not by NE; also, gender significantly predicted these same subscales, with females scoring higher than males.

Need to Evaluate and Self-Esteem

Contrary to expectations, NE did not significantly predict lower self-esteem, as shown in Table 1, $\beta = -.03$, $p = .754$; accounting for less than 0.1% of the variance, where the model explained essentially no variance ($R^2 = .001$). The absence of the relationship is notable in light of the mechanism it was meant to test, since chronic evaluation was expected to create interpersonal friction, through the discomfort of having one's opinion challenged by others (Matz & Wood, 2005) which according to sociometer theory (Leary et al., 1995), should lower self-worth. A probable reason is that this design could not test a key conditional mechanism. H1 predicted a direct relationship between need to evaluate and self-esteem. The underlying theory behind this prediction points to a specific condition. It is the disagreement or rejection of one's opinions by others, not the disposition to evaluate itself, that triggers psychological discomfort (Matz & Wood, 2005). A person high in NE, if their views are accepted, met with indifference, or simply go unexpressed, there would be little reason for their self-esteem to suffer. The present study measured only the trait-level tendency to evaluate and did not measure whether participants' evaluative judgments were actually shared, accepted, or rejected. It is possible, then, that the relationship proposed in H1 may only emerge under this more specific condition, which the broader test used here was not sensitive enough to detect. This aligns with the broader patterns of evidence discussed above, which showed that a chronic evaluative or judgmental disposition carries a psychological cost mainly in situations marked by hostility, criticism, or interpersonal disconnection with others (Kabir, 2024; Visvalingam et al., 2024; Shafiq et al., 2023), rather than simply a feature of the disposition of its own.

Need to Evaluate, Self-Esteem, and Online Self-Presentation

H2 is partially consistent with expectation; self-esteem, rather than NE, significantly predicted online self-presentation, one out of the four subscales. As shown in Table 2, for Consistent Self, Ideal Self, and Multiple Selves, none of the three subscales reached the predicted significance, and the overall models explained almost no variance ($R^2 = .006-.018$). This lack of significant findings aligns with Fullwood et al.'s (2016) original conceptualisation of these three subscales, which centres on self-concept clarity rather than on self-esteem. Self-esteem and self-concept clarity are related but empirically distinct constructs, so it is plausible that these three subscales are more strongly tied to self-concept clarity, which was not measured in this study.

The overall model for Online Presentation Preference was significant, $R^2 = .074$, $F(2, 97) = 3.86$, $p = .024$, and self-esteem was a significant predictor, $\beta = -.25$, $p = .011$, meaning youth with lower self-esteem reported a stronger preference for online over face-to-face interaction. This result is consistent with earlier work linking low self-esteem to more curated, control-affording online behaviour (Gil-Or et al., 2015; Ellison et al., 2007) and aligns with the sociometer theory (Leary et al., 1995), since the online environment allows greater control over self-presentation and reduces the immediacy of social rejection. NE, on the other hand, was not a significant predictor within this same model, $\beta = .09$, $p = .340$, which mirrors the pattern observed earlier. A preference for the more controlled, asynchronous nature of online interaction seems a more plausible response to a history of having one's opinions challenged than to simply tending to hold opinions. However, this conditional pathway could not be tested without data on participants' actual social feedback experiences. Taken together, these results suggest that self-esteem, rather than NE, is the more consistent predictor of online self-presentation in this sample and that its influence is reduced specifically in the preference for online interaction rather than the authenticity or idealization of what is presented once online.

Gender Differences in Online Self-Presentation

As shown in Table 3, a significant gender difference was exclusively found for Online Presentation Preference, where female participants scored higher ($M = 2.76$) than male participants ($M = 2.35$, $p = .007$). Gender, however, did not significantly differentiate the other three subscales (all $ps > .50$). The significant effect on Online Presentation Preference aligns with Ma's (2022), uncovering that gender moderates the relationship between social-networking-site use and self-esteem-related outcomes, and may reflect broader, well-documented gender differences in how people engage with others online. These results are consistent with Tiggemann and Slater (2013), whose research indicates that frequent Facebook use among adolescent females is linked to elevated body image concerns, potentially making curated online spaces more attractive to females. The lack of gender effect on Ideal Self, Multiple Selves, and Consistent Self, however, suggests that these three facets are most closely tied to self-concept clarity than to demographic dimensions in Fullwood et al.'s (2016) framework, and may not vary systematically by gender in this population, even though a preference for online interaction itself does. These

patterns suggest that gender shapes how much youth prefer online interaction specifically, rather than how they present themselves once they are there.

Age Group Online Self-Presentation Variation

As shown in Table 4, age group did not significantly differentiate any of the four POSS subscales, contrary to what was expected. However, there was a borderline trend regarding the Ideal Self subscales ($p = .055$), suggesting that young adults ($M = 2.84$) tend to score lower than adolescents ($M = 3.16$). This fits with Fullwood et al.'s (2016) findings that younger adolescents were more likely than older adolescents to present an idealised and inconsistent online self. Ultimately, this points to a subtle but real developmental shift, in which idealised self-presentation eases somewhat with age. This reasoning aligns with Erikson's (1968) theory, which was introduced earlier: the Identity versus Role Confusion stage emphasises that adolescents go through active identity exploration and so may sustain a more idealized online self, whereas young adults' orientation towards Intimacy versus Isolation may influence the more stable, consistent self-presentation implied by this trend. However, since only one out of the four subscales showed a slight effect, this developmental framework receives minimal support. The fact that this trend fell just short of statistical significance is likely due to pronounced imbalance in group sizes (76 adolescents vs. 24 young adults), which weakens the study's statistical power for this comparison, rather than a lack of an actual effect. This suggests that age-related change in online self-presentation may exist but is likely modest, and confirming it will require future studies with more evenly distributed age groups. Taking a broader view of the results, self-esteem and gender proved to be much more consistent correlates of online self-presentation in this sample, rather than the chronic tendency to evaluate. Specifically, these factors strongly predicted Online Presentation Preference, the one that measures a person's preference for online over face-to-face interaction rather than how authentic or idealised their online persona actually is. These results suggest that the role of NE in digital self-presentation needs to be reconsidered. Moving forward, researchers should investigate how social feedback, such as whether their evaluative views are affirmed or challenged by others, could moderate or influence this dynamic.

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