

Abandoning Facebook:

Understanding Teens' Perception and Engagement of Online Privacy on Social Platforms

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1. Introduction

In April 2012 Facebook bought Instagram for \$700 million and tried to broaden up (visual) mobile features. In November 2013, Facebook attempted to buy mobile application Snapchat for \$3 billion in order to attract teens (Frier & Womack, 2013). In February 2014 Facebook acquired Whatsapp for \$19 billion (Covert, 2014). Whatsapp was one of the hardest growing online platforms and the most popular messaging app for smartphones, therefore Facebook would have access to huge amounts of (new) data. The acquisitions of Instagram and Whatsapp and the failed attempt of buying Snapchat have something in common: It could help to attract teens, who seem to be not that interested in Facebook anymore (Prigg, 2014). Especially Daniel Miller (2013) and Madden et al. (2013) did research on the possible migration of teens from Facebook, their motives and its relation to online privacy.

According to Daniel Miller (2013), who was part of a European Union-funded research on social media among 16-18 year olds, Facebook is basically “dead and buried” and teenagers are abandoning it and do not even want to be associated with it. According to this study, teens are now using other applications instead, like Twitter, Whatsapp, Instagram and Snapchat, while their parents continue to use the service of Facebook. According to the studies by Miller (2013), Madden et al. (2013) and many (news) articles about the migration of teens, it is because of parents’ activity on Facebook that teens are abandoning Facebook (Epstein, 2014; Kiss, 2013; Miller, 2013).

In an article by Constine (2013) Facebook CEO Mark Zuckerberg stated that Facebook is not cool anymore and that it will never be again. In a discussion at The Atlantic in Washington D.C., he stated that as a company they never tried to be cool and it is not a niche anymore like it was in the beginning. Zuckerberg discussed that now the company is becoming “ubiquitous like a utility”, just like electricity (Edwards, 2013). According to Miller (2013) and the European-Union research in which he participated, there are specific reasons for teens to regard Facebook as not cool anymore. On Business Insider’s Ignition Conference teens explained the main reason is that their parents are on Facebook now (Moss, 2013; Miller, 2013). It is interesting to apply some of the research tactics that were used in Miller’s study for Dutch youth specifically, since the biggest decline (52%) in active Facebook usage was found in The Netherlands. Also the Netherlands has the highest percentage of social

media activity in the EU (Olson, 2013; Quell, 2013).

Related to that, it is discussed how teens are generally moving on to new social platforms, mobile photo-sharing apps and erasable media (Kerpen, 2013). Snapchat for example, can thus be regarded as the perfect service for the right time. It acts in accordance with all characteristics of and for the visual web. Social networks like Facebook, Flickr and even MySpace were already designed for large picture uploads, but new popular teen apps like Snapchat, Instagram and Whatsapp are build around the enormous growth of mobile, which fundamentally changed interaction and information sharing (Rowinski, 2013).

Therefore, the three applications Instagram, Snapchat and Whatsapp first of all represent this tendency of a visual web. Secondly, they show a new way of 'creating privacy' with different designs and settings. Additionally to that, it is interesting to regard the notion of privacy, which addresses the question if it still exists in our current society and how much users and companies really care about it (Macduff, 2011). On Facebook, even the social kind of privacy, related to you contact list is relatively public, since there is profile page (timeline). However, privacy cover more than just the contact list, it is related to the platforms' partners, third-party apps, advertisers, potential employers, the federal government and (for teens) parents. Therefore an application like Snapchat attracts so many (young) people, because it at least gives the *idea* of privacy since snaps disappear, which is the greatest selling point for teens (Rowinski, 2013).

In addition to this idea of privacy for users, the idea of the visual web is an important development in which visual imagery becomes more important than text, is a lot quicker and users don't tire as rapidly. Financially it can also be more advantageous, since visual ads tend to be more lucrative and less obtrusive. Finally the visual web has easier mobile access and therefore it has recently been around so much (selfies, memes etc.) (Orsini, 2013).

Consequently this research will examine to what extent a possible exodus of teens from Facebook is happening. In line with Miller's (2013) study on European (and UK-based) teens, it will look to what platforms Dutch teens are going instead. Important in this research is to see how teens perceive privacy and if these privacy issues are prime motivating factors for their choices of platform usage. Since some critics are questioning the validity of Miller's study – he only used a sample of 40 students – this research would contribute to that study and address the gap how teens perceive and exercise privacy and secondly if this is an issue

for them for deserting Facebook (The Economist, 2014).

As previously stated, the visual web is increasingly overtaking the textual web. Secondly, it fits in the growing mobile market and thirdly it connects with how younger users visually interact with each other and see it as a new way of messaging (Rowinski, 2013). Consequently this research firstly looked deeper into the possible migration of Dutch teens to platforms such as Whatsapp, Snapchat and Instagram. Also it partly replicated the studies by Miller (2013) and Madden et al. (2013) to see if those results that are respectively based on U.S. and UK teens match with those from the Netherlands and to go deeper into the possible reasons and the theme of privacy. This has been done by conducting a survey and focus groups on similar issues that have been used in those two other studies. Furthermore this research looked at teens' online behavior by examining their Facebook and Instagram profiles. Therefore it got teens' notions and perceptions of privacy and it looked deeper into their choices for specific platforms. Finally, the architecture of the platforms of course also played a crucial role, by examining users' behavior.

The scientific relevance of this research is related to idea that while there has been much research ranging from youth in networked societies and 'profile creation' (boyd, 2008) to connecting teens with social media use and privacy issues (Madden, 2013), almost all research is focused on U.S. based youth. This research will provide insights on Dutch teens, since they are the most active group on social media in the EU (Quell, 2013). As presented above the biggest decline (52%) in active Facebook usage by teens was found in The Netherlands, while there was a 16% decline for American teens (Olson, 2013). Additionally, The Netherlands has one of the highest usage rates for Whatsapp (83%) and not a very rate for Facebook Messaging. Also Whatsapp is the most important app for social messaging among Dutch teens in the age of 14-17 (Stichting Mijn Kind Online & Kennisnet, 2013). Only Germany and Spain had a higher percentage of Whatsapp users in February 2014, when Facebook acquired Whatsapp. So Dutch teen are a very interesting group for this research, since they seem on the front line of 'trends', such as leaving Facebook for instant-messaging services (Constine & Cutler, 2014). According to a survey by Survata (2013) usage of Snapchat has tripled among teens in the last year. After Facebook (which is still number 1 amongst 13-17 year old teens), Snapchat 39% and Instagram 38% are used most by teens.

Secondly, this research tried to address another gap in scientific literature. Many studies have been done about teens' online privacy and online identity building (boyd, 2008), but not so much has been written about the motivations of teens for managing privacy settings in a specific way and why certain platforms better connect to their preferences than others. Therefore this research covered the question to what extent teens actually care about privacy, what this concept means for them, how they 'exercise' it online and if this has any influence to their choices of social platforms. This last statement is where the issue of privacy connects to the theme of teens that are (possibly) abandoning Facebook. This combination of elements specifically addresses a gap in existing literature, since it is such a new phenomenon. Often both artifacts are studied separately, which means that teens' online behavior or attitude towards privacy is the main element or the (design of) platforms are the main objective. However, Miller (2013) was the first to connect the sudden interest of youth for other platforms to the issue of different forms of privacy. This study seeks to examine the connection between privacy and youth behavior relating preferences of social platforms in the context of the Netherlands, which will thus provide a new context of this topic, given that most studies in this area pertain to the UK and the US.

Finally, it is relevant that platforms such as Snapchat, Instagram and Whatsapp are enormously growing among this age category, which could be a 'threat' for Facebook. According to a survey by Survata (2013) usage of Snapchat has tripled among teens in the last year. After Facebook (which is still number 1 amongst 13-17 year old teens), Snapchat 39% and Instagram 38% are used most by teens. So the academic relevance thus lies in the field of why teens are choosing these platforms, how they make use of it and what these platforms offer (Kanal, 2014; Survata, 2013). Besides an academic relevance of user motivation, behavior and attitude towards online platforms, it also has relevance for society in the broader sense. This research would especially provide a better understanding of teen mobile behavior and secondly it would elaborate on concepts and consequences of online privacy, that are not only important in the academic field, but also in upbringing and education that suffer with online privacy issues related to teens.

Additionally, it elaborates on how we could divide the public and the private in the current online society, since this has always been subject to social shifts and transformations, generated by technology (Low & Smith, 2006). This also connects to the statements above about parental and school-related education in which public and private

become ambiguous concepts. This study seeks to explore this by looking deeper into the concept of privacy, but also teens's understanding and practical implications. Finally, it helps to understand why the currently biggest social platform Facebook may be losing younger users and what their motivations are related to the Facebook design. This last piece of relevance is particularly related to the business aspect in this paper. The abandoning of Facebook and the privacy-related motivations by teen users were factors that made other online platforms more suitable for youth. It is interesting however, to see that Facebook wants to maintain its power and range by acquiring those companies. Buying Whatsapp for \$19 billion was not just done, because it is the fastest growing messaging service, but also because a lot of those users are teens and specifically, European teens (Constine & Cutler, 2014). Therefore this research covers themes both to (family) communication as to the business aspect of the platforms.

Concluding, according to Miller (2013) privacy could be a major factor for the motivation of usage or abandoning of online platforms, so therefore the two have an important connection. Besides just noticing an online migration, it is crucial to go deeper into the ambivalent concept of online privacy, since it offers insights in motivation for online platform usage, but also for different ways of online behavior and thus a general attitude towards a platform. For giving a clear explanation and answer to all the above concerns, this research will be based around the following research question to examine teens' possible migration of Facebook and its relation to privacy. Moreover it thus represents youth's understanding, engagement and purposes of online privacy:

How do Dutch teens perceive and exercise privacy in the digital age?

This research question addresses the perception and engagement of Dutch teens (in the age category of 13-18) relating to the concept of privacy on specific social platforms that are growing in popularity, such as Instagram, Snapchat and Whatsapp. In the three-step process, the survey served as the starting point and as a descriptive tool to see usage percentages, general thoughts and assumptions. This fed into the design of the discussions with focus groups that present a more detailed overview of motivations and understandings of the concept of privacy and go deeper into the outcomes of the survey. Lastly, a small qualitative content analysis has been conducted to examine teens' online behavior and

privacy management.

The research has therefore been divided in three sub-questions. Firstly, covering the architectural structure of the platforms in relation to the way teens make use of it and make decision to use specific platforms. This sub-question therefore also covers the possible migration of teens from Facebook to the given platforms Whatsapp, Instagram and Snapchat. Secondly, it is crucial to know what understanding of privacy these teens have and how this relates to existing literature and other people's concerns to it. Lastly, this research wanted to connect these findings to the online behavior of teens' on Facebook and Instagram to see if it matches with their understandings and statements about privacy and the platforms that are central objects. Therefore the following sub-questions have been made to get a better division of themes to answer the main question.

1. What is the public-private nature of the social media platforms and its relation to online teen behavior?
2. What is youth's understanding of privacy?
3. How do teens manage their privacy on social media platforms?

The first sub-question will thus focus on the possibilities and structure of the platforms and how this has effects on teens' possible migration and behavior related to online privacy. The second question helps to get a better notion of how Dutch teens regard the concept of privacy. The third sub-question will examine teens' agency in this privacy debate. In terms of the main question, it will look at how teens 'exercise' privacy.

2. Theoretical Framework

2.1. Privacy

First of all, despite the presented order of the sub questions in the introduction, it is different for the theoretical framework. Since privacy is such an important concept and to explain the matter of which it is used in this research, it is crucial to start with it. Existing literature on the concept will be presented with an historical approach at first. Following, it will be discussed in its current relation to social media, which will lead to the privacy situation of teens in relation to their parents and third party access of corporations, advertisers and governments.

2.1.1. Definitions and History

The concepts of public and private have historically been used and researched as a dichotomous pair by both scholars and philosophers. Both terms are seen as social phenomena and generally associated with political, economic, spatial and personal levels. In the political and governmental realm, public refers to all governmental activities, while private logically exist of all non-governmental activity. On an economic level, private refers to individually held money, while public reflects money which is communally held (Ford, 2011). Since it is a dichotomous pair, it is not necessary to constantly name both public and private and therefore most of this research will just focus on the concept of privacy, which is thus the opposite of public-ness.

Although privacy is connected to many fields, it can best be described as “the interest that individuals have in sustaining a ‘personal space’, free from interference by other people or organizations” (Clarke, 2006, p. 3), which means that privacy is a situation wherein “the condition of human life in which acquaintance with a person or with affairs of his life which are personal to him is limited” (Gross, 1967, p. 38). So it refers to a physical or psychological ‘area’ that is restricted in some sense. Simply said it is “the right to be left alone” (Warren & Brandeis, 1890). However, some researchers only described it as the right to prevent personal information from being disclosed (Joinson et al., 2007). Many researchers have tried to create one unified definition for the concept of privacy, but it never fully worked (Parent, 1983; Schoeman, 1984). Therefore in this research the definition of the concept will mostly relate to information and media, but four main functions as stated by Westin’s classic

text (1967) are used for this informational privacy: Personal autonomy (1), emotional release (2), self-evaluation (3) and limited and protected communication (4). Although these four functions derive from 1967, they are still applicable to the way privacy is perceived in the digital age for instance. Additionally those functions simultaneously describe the *privacy concern*; that individuals do not want their personal information in the hands of others (Westin, 1967). This is crucial while referring to the subject of study in this paper, because it seems that online platforms offer different kinds of privacy and that for instance the ‘feeling’ of protected communication is an important element in this

Referring back to the ‘nature’ of the concepts of public and private, this research primarily focuses on the two spatial and personal dimensions. The greatest distinction between spatial publicity and privacy is simply that public spaces are open for (almost) everyone, while private spaces have restricted access (Ford, 2011). Therefore privacy is often related to the domestic sphere with its personal and intimate nature. Yet, privacy should be seen as a social construct and a concept that varies due to values and norms of people. So contrary to the general (adult) notion of a ‘private’ domestic sphere, teens often consider it as a private space for the family, but not for them as individuals (boyd & Marwick, 2011). So, teens sometimes perceive privacy as a notion when their parents are not around. Other people might say the only real privacy is connected to thoughts and thus is present in the mind. Related to that Gavison (1980, p. 423) argued, “privacy is a limitation of others’ access to an individual”. This is really interesting relating to this study, since teens’ privacy in definition is already limited, because they live under their parents’ domestic rules. This research will be looking at the possible limitations of those teens in the online sphere.

2.1.2. The Public Sphere

Despite the earlier statement that this research would not constantly focus on both public and private, since it is a dichotomous pair and thus, the Habermasian public sphere is a crucial starting point in the historical approach of privacy, since it describes the concepts evolution with regards to media. The public sphere derived from an idea that there is a divide between the private and the public life. Habermas described the origins of the public sphere as rather physical, placing it somewhere between the state (the public) and the household (the private). Since there was no print yet, the public sphere consisted of people coming together at cafes for instance. However, only since the first wave of feminism,

women were allowed to join the public sphere ‘and bring ideas into practice’ (Habermas, 1989; Fraser, 1990).

According to Habermas (1996), the public sphere should be reviewed as a “network for communicating information and points of view” and where “the streams of communication are, in the process, filtered and synthesized in such a way that they coalesce into bundles of topically specified public opinions” (Habermas, 1996, p. 287). That means that nowadays every medium relates to one specific network or instrument of the public sphere, producing several public opinions. Regarding that matter, a utopian vision would be that the public sphere would be universally accessible and always considers a two-way flow of communication. (Habermas, 1989; Habermas, 1996), which is again criticized by Fraser (1990), for the original one-sided and masculine-centered approach of it.

However, the modern media could be seen as an instrument of this two-way flow communication in which people are informed about the world and both shape and receive public opinion. However in the modern day, journalists, entertainment and advertisement play crucial roles in this process, which created a shift from a “rational discourse” to a “result of publicity and social engineering in the media” (Habermas, 1989; Dahlgren, 1991, p. 82). This last point is also crucial, while thinking of the revenue models of online platforms. Advertisement for instance plays such a crucial role that data thus has become a commodity. This is contrary to the utopian thoughts of a public sphere in which everyone would equally help to produce a discourse. Therefore the notion of the (digital) public sphere has transformed into a marketplace in which user’s privacy thus turned into a value for third parties.

2.1.3. The Internet as a Public Sphere

Over time the concept of the public sphere has been adopted and adapted, especially relating to changes in technology. Those are often addressing this utopia of the public sphere, which has been critiqued as well, similarly to statements by Dahlgren (1991) above. Warner (2002) claims that a mass public sphere can hardly be still regarded as one. He emphasizes on popular television content, which is partly (or maybe even largely) made by a marketing-apparatus that has systematically and often mathematically been picking up public interest, speech and opinion. Therefore it is not directly a free-speech area – and thus a public sphere –, but more an already produced entity that has been shared publicly,

according to Warner (2002). This important shift also rejects the utopian vision such as Poster's (1997) that the Internet would have the possibility to serve as a public sphere where everyone would be free to participate and re-conceptualize democracy.

However, the influence of surveillance, big data and advertisement has made consumers aware of the existence and importance of their data. Many users are more cautious with it than they were before (Milne & Rohm, 2000). To elaborate on that, the so-called intended public sphere on the web transformed into a place where personal information has turned into a commodity and thus user's actions and information are regarded as useful 'data'. Therefore personal information is beginning to grow into one of the most crucial ethical issues in the information age (Milberg et al., 1995; Joinson et al., 2007). So what once would be a domain of social life in utopian rhetoric changed into a commoditized place where users now worry about their privacy. For this research it is critical to examine to what degree teen users worry about it, since Madden et al. (2013) and Miller (2013) presented that teens do not necessarily care about third party access. However, the importance of online privacy or protected communication (Westin 1967), can be seen as crucial for teen users in relation to their choice of online platform.

2.2. Social media and youth's understanding of privacy

In this part it is important how youth connects the concept of privacy to the given social media platforms. About one in seven people on earth make use of social networking sites, but in the Netherlands this number 65% of the population, which is the highest of the world. Therefore it makes it an interesting object to study. Especially in the age of 16 to 24 there is a high social media penetration and for the age group of 12 to 18 years around 95 percent is making use of social media in some kind (Woollaston, 2013; Akkermans, 2013). However, according to GlobalWebIndex (2013) between Q2 2012 and Q3 2013 there was a 52% decline of active Facebook users amongst 16-19 year olds, which was the highest of the world. Finally, The Netherlands has over 9.5 million active users on Whatsapp (Wokke, 2014). So therefore it is really interesting to see how these Dutch teens react to topics of Facebook migration and issues relating to privacy.

There has been a lot of concern around privacy in relation to social media and cyberspace in general, because there are multiple aspects that bring new problematic consequences for it. Sparck-Jones (2003) has labeled some crucial effects of the information

that we store on the web in relation to privacy. The most important effects that were presented by this research were the permanence of information; the 'invisibility' of data, since we often do not exactly know where data is stored and what is being done with it. Lastly, the accessibility of information became much easier (Sparck-Jones, 2003). Those elements, named by Sparck-Jones (2003), can concern users about their online disclosure of personal information, since it is an act based on trust and a give-away of control (Joinson et al., 2007).

Therefore it seems strange that it has become so normalized to disclose personal information. However Van der Velden and El Emam (2012) explain that this is the so-called privacy-paradox in which there is a "contradiction between people's attitudes towards privacy and their online privacy behavior" (p. 18). According to their research teenagers often manage their setting and change their online social media profile from public into private to have more control about their publications and disclosure online, that is why it also called the control paradox.

Due to this paradox it is crucial for this research to make a distinction between three types of privacy on social platforms, *social*, *psychological* and *informational*. Social privacy describes the way users want to have control over their actual interaction online. Psychological privacy is more about protecting one's thoughts and values and to whom they are shared and lastly informational privacy refers to the collection and dissemination of data online (Burgoon, 1982; Van der Velden & El Emam, 2012). This is a very interesting division, because research states that teenagers are not interested in informational privacy, but merely in social privacy (Van der Velden & El Emam, 2012; Madden et al., 2013; Miller, 2013). This study mostly uses social and informational privacy. In terms of Miller's (2013) research social privacy primarily connects teen's online privacy to parents, as their main reason to abandon Facebook. In practical terms informational privacy refers to third parties that have access to users' online data.

2.2.1. Parents

As presented in the introduction, an important reason for researching this topic is the abandoning of Facebook by teenagers. In an European Union-funded research on social media among 16-18 year olds Daniel Miller (2013) showed how teenagers are deserting Facebook and that they do not even want to be associated with the social platform

anymore. According to this study, the youngsters are now moving on to other applications instead, like Twitter, Whatsapp, Instagram and Snapchat. A big stumbling block for those teens would be that their parents are now making use of Facebook, which relates to the subject of social privacy, stated above. According to him Facebook therefore lost its monopoly over digital space concerning online communication among best teen friends (Miller, 2013).

This is supported by an extensive research by Madden et al. (2013) for PewResearchCenter in which teens are examined in relation to their current status and thoughts towards social media and privacy. While it was already stated that youth itself primarily focuses on social privacy in which friends and parents itself are crucial factors, parents on the contrary are worried about what advertisers can learn from their child's data (Madden et al., 2013). In that same research, parents have been called a "challenging group" for teenagers, for which they have some strategies. In some cases teens are friends with their parents on Facebook and share their entire profile. In other cases teens are friends with them, but have their settings on private for them. Other groups of teens do not want to be friends with their parents on Facebook, because they state it is annoying. Lastly, another strategy for youth is to have two different profiles, one for family and one for friends, which creates a division in their social privacy. As a reason, teens state that friends and parents have different levels of trust that are associated with them on different topics (Van der Velden & El Emam, 2012; Madden et al., 2013). This actually presents a divide within the section of social privacy between friends and family that thus seems to have a different impact.

Parents have many concerns regarding all kinds of privacy of their children, but especially worry about informational privacy and the way 'strangers' can 'abuse' their online content. The youth on the other hand sympathizes with their parents' concern and say they have just other feelings towards the concept of privacy. They claim to be good at managing their social privacy on Facebook for instance, since they are more aware of the settings than their parents (Madden et al., 2013). Tagging is one of those elements in which parents could interfere in their kids' social privacy, without 'getting' the 'rules' of it. Photo tagging however could expose teens in embarrassing situations and could identify them in a way they do not want to. It also has different 'ownership' to the content, since it is sometimes publicly available if the 'one that tags' has a public profile. So as it can embarrass teens, it also

relates to a high level of interaction, which most of them try to avoid with their parents online (Pesce & Casas, 2012; Madden et al., 2013). It is therefore crucial in this research to examine if teens have developed privacy protection strategies to prevent this from happening.

2.2.2. Third Party Access

As mentioned by Van der Velden & El Emam (2012) informational privacy also plays a huge role in the collection of online data. Third party access as a form of informational privacy is the example that Miller (2013) shows in his research. It is argued that teenagers are not particularly concerned about third party access to their data. Madden et al. (2013) show that only 9% claims to be worried about their privacy in relation to third-party accessibility. Though teenagers use privacy settings on social platforms, they share with large groups of friends, but also want to restrict information in some sense relating to their personal privacy (Miller, 2013; Burgoon, 1982). Henly (2013), claims that in relation to that this does not necessarily mean that teens do not care about their privacy. Much rather it can be explained as teenagers being in a process of identity formation in general. This is nothing new, in the past teens showed similar developments, but current online activities generate more privacy consequences. Furthermore, it is stated that teens care about other forms of privacy, such as social privacy, which is already named by Van der Velden & El Emam (2012) above. According to Madden et al. (2013) and Miller (2013) teens thus care more about social privacy (in relation to their parents) than informational privacy (third party access), which supposedly led to the abandoning of Facebook, as discussed in the previous section (Henly, 2013)

Still it is interesting to elaborate on this third party access. Because what exactly is it that many users including parents are worried about and is it justified? In literature it has often been related to the society of control in which control indicates power of some sort. Mechanisms of control have recently been associated with the technological changes in society (Foucault, 1975; Poster, 1990; Deleuze, 1992). Fuchs (2013) described the phenomenon related to Marxist theory as a new digital workplace in which users are exploited by corporations to create “cognitive capital”. This describes the way big online companies such as Google and Facebook use the so-called informational privacy for advertisement purposes to create revenue (Pasquinelli, 2009; Fuchs, 2013). Moreover Cohen

(2008) explains how Facebook created a capitalistic model in which surveillance is the main instrument that helps in the process of the commodification of information privacy. In the digital workplace as Fuchs (2013) names it, users deliver 'free labor' for Facebook by leaving behind their information. As a result, it is possible to manipulate and predict consumer behavior, even on an emotional level (Cohen, 2008; Andrejevic, 2011; Fuchs, 2013).

Besides the consequence of the commodification of information that big corporations and advertisement have access to data, many people also see it as a problem that governments use surveillance instruments online to control people, which more directly relate to a society of control (Deleuze, 1992). According to Miller (2013) the concern about this enormously grew, especially among parents, when it became apparent that the NSA had access to Facebook information. Since 2010 the U.S. National Security Agency has been gathering data about social connections of citizens online. Although they stated it was only for possible terrorist suspects, the NSA had access to big databases of personal information that result into very useful, but sensitive metadata (Risen & Poitras, 2013).

The question related to the topic of this research however is, if teens care about this. A common argument related to this third party access (especially governmental) is the "nothing to hide argument". This argument presents the statement that governments can just intrude an individual's privacy, by data mining and surveillance for tracing illegal activities and crime. The argument relates to an individual who says he or she has "nothing to hide", because no crimes or illegal activities have been committed. This argument touches important elements of the (current) definition and concept of privacy (Mordini, 2008). Solove (2011) additionally argues that the nothing to hide argument eventually says nothing if governments abuse data or damage a person, when that person has done nothing wrong. Also information can be leaked and data could come in the wrong hands, which touches the understanding of privacy (Solove, 2011).

2.3. Public-Private Nature of Platforms and its Relation to Behavior

This section relates to the way the architecture of platforms and the specific features of devices interact with and possibly create a difference in behavior. This is related to the difference of labor and leisure on online platforms and the characteristics, specific ages or differences in gender involve. Finally it examines how the attitude towards specific posts changes and what that has to do with the design of a platform.

2.3.1. Labor vs. Leisure

In the previous part it was discussed how users' time on Facebook for instance can be described as labor in terms of creating capital for a big corporation (Pasquinelli, 2009; Fuchs, 2009). However, how is this exact division between labor and leisure? Agger (2011) stated that especially since smartphones are available, this division has been blurred and, which means there are no boundaries between public and private anytime, anywhere. He named this phenomenon iTime, since the iPhone popularized the smartphone enormously. As he explains it "people live in iTime", because of the limitless accessibility and "manic connectivity" to the online world (p. 123). As Vanden Abeele et al. (2014) additionally present in this connectivity, youth is also 'ordering' both leisure and labor and thus private and public. Connected friends could be there for intimate self-disclosure as for schoolwork, which explains this ambivalent situation (Agger, 2011; Vanden Abeele et al., 2014).

Smartphones therefore are instruments in the modern day that are almost required for labor purposes, because you are expected to be connected all the time, but it has also integrated lots of entertainment, which makes it sometimes hard to make correct time management. For teens this mobile time feels infinite, where traditional labor had the character of connectivity and dis-connectivity. Therefore teens sometimes choose to make a division between devices related to labor or leisure. As their smartphones are always connected to both, desktops could selectively be used to only do one of them, since they are not as connected as smartphones (Agger, 2011; Madden et al., 2013).

On a platform like Facebook this distinction between labor and leisure also becomes clear in some of the offered options. There are many purposes for creating Facebook groups (public, private or secret), which vary between both labor and leisure. For instance think about Facebook groups that are specifically created for school- or work-related assignments. At the same time groups are also created for personal interest. A second example is the way Facebook pages can be used for many purposes. Sometimes it is used for sharing (leisure) interest, but given the exploding number of social media marketers, it is also a way to connect to customers of a company. Whatsapp can be used in a similar way to divide labor-related contacts and leisure-related contacts. Similarly to texting you can just 'manage' your contacts on Whatsapp and make groups for them, which could have labor- or leisure-related purpose. It thus becomes clear that the architecture of social platforms definitely has some

influence on the management of time and space for which the division between labor and leisure is an important example.

2.3.2. Gender and Age

Both gender and age could be important factors in the use of social network sites and the understanding of the public-private nature of those platforms, because it exposes the differences in data disclosure on the specific platforms. It is reported that gender is an important element in the use of social media and online behavior. As pointed out by Muscanell & Guadagno (2012) men are more likely to use social media for relationship formation, while women much rather use it for the maintenance of relationships. Related to men, women also seemed to be more open in the nature of their posts. Furthermore female users were more likely to use instant-messaging services, while men were more active on social media related games (Muscanell & Guadagno, 2012). Additionally there is a difference in development in online self-disclosure between boys and girls. Valkenburg et al. (2011) point out that that offline and online self-disclosure have a similar trajectory amongst boys and girls. However, girls are generally starting two years before boys in their usage. The way they develop skills that are necessary for online self-disclosure are similar (Valkenburg et al., 2011).

The discussion concerning age and social media usage often relates to the degree of digital literacy. Simply said this refers to the ability to 'read and write' in the digital world, which of course always is influenced by the nature of the platform. Since this digital world brought many new features with it, the definition can be explained in different ways. Therefore it can also be stated as being acquainted with social practices and the conceptions of reading and writing in the virtual world (Lankshear & Knobel, 2008). However, solely encoding and decoding is not totally what this literacy refers to. It is also important to be able to apply this knowledge in the needed context of use, which also makes it a competency or a set of skills. All explanations regarding to literacy can be defined as processing information (Lankshear & Knobel, 2008). This is a post-typographic form of literacy, since it involves so many elements and the web for instance is turning immensely visual. Additionally it is also something that is hard to 'teach' children, since they are the ones growing up with it and thus are more naturally thinking like this (Lankshear & Knobel, 2006; Rowinski, 2013).

For this last statement Prensky (2001) created the concept of digital natives that are natively 'literate' and 'speaking' this language, while the rest could be regarded as digital immigrants. According to him all young people can be seen as digital natives as they grew up immersed in technology, contrary to the digital immigrant who has been exposed to it later in life. This is also critiqued, examining that it is not an entire generation that must be regarded as digital natives. Hargittai (2002) regarded this not as generational, but as a digital divide based on digital inequality. In that context, online knowledge and skill derives from Internet access. A lack of Internet access could be caused by age, race and class. However, Hargittai, also showed that in general younger users (in their teens and twenties) are quicker than older users. Moreover, as almost 95 % of Dutch teens are on social media platforms (Akkermans, 2013), amongst that age group there is probably no real digital inequality related to Internet access in the Netherlands (anymore).

Furthermore, Bennett (2012) presented an updated version of the 'digital divide' concept, in which the generational element plays a specific role. Although, younger people often have lower skills and knowledge than that people would expect, these same youngsters determine the fate of some tech platforms. The demise of Myspace and the enormous growth of Facebook were for example caused by youth's preferences. The adoption or rejection of social platforms therefore derives from expectations and the way they fit with the 'expected' usage of those so-called digital natives (Prensky, 2001; Bennett, 2012; Ng, 2012). This is important for the possible migration of Facebook, since youngsters thus create their own (online) necessities and apps like Whatsapp, Instagram and Snapchat fit with those requirements more than Facebook does.

Therefore it can definitely be said that there is some sort of digital chasm between different generations. This is not necessarily in skills or knowledge, but more in social practices that those digital natives partly create themselves. This means that those younger generations should not be seen as digital natives in the contrast between them and 'digital immigrants' that Prensky (2001) proposed. However, despite their lack of expected knowledge and skills as Bennett (2012) and Ng (2012) stated, the younger generation are the ones that more 'naturally' use new technologies and platforms and 'set up rules' of how to use it (Bennett, 2012). Finally, it is often been said that young people have a different attitude towards privacy and related policies in a way that they are less concerned about maintaining privacy than older people are. However, it is more complicated than this. Youth

have an aspiration for increased privacy as well, but just care about specific forms of (social) privacy (Madden et al., 2013; boyd & Marwyck, 2011).

2.3.3. Retrospective Privacy and the Expiry of Posts

With this backdrop, it is interesting to see that understandings of privacy are constantly changing over time and that time is thus an important factor in the process of perception. Simultaneously, the architectures of different platforms play an important role in this, because they offer settings or designs relating to visibility of data. In a longitudinal research by Bauer et al. (2013), 63 participants were tested on their predictions about privacy preferences for social platforms, which were different from reality. This means that sometimes there was concern about privacy and self-presentation for older posts by the participants. Secondly, their predictions about privacy preferences did not match with their actions. This retrospective privacy is an important issue for understanding “users’ maturing understanding of privacy” on social platforms (Bauer et al., 2013). Because of the widespread popularity of Facebook, users are getting a better notion on privacy settings and protection (Stutzman et al., 2012). An effect of this is that users often want to limit disclosure, at least in retrospect. Therefore it can be said that (at least in retrospective) there is a significant belonging to invisibility or a controlled visibility, which would be created if posts had an expiry date. That could be seen as one of the reasons that Snapchat is so widely adopted, since it allows users to share photos or short clips that “disappear” after a few seconds, which thus gives the user control of its own visibility.

Additionally, Ayalon & Toch (2013) also have been doing research on the longitudinal privacy on social networks. They examined how (much) privacy preferences at participants changed in a period of 24 months. The main argument is that the expiry date of a post is an extremely important factor for users, especially because it could be irrelevant for them or not corresponding with their current perceptions of privacy. On Facebook a possible solution would be to implement a bar for the expiry date of your post while posting it as Ayalon & Toch (2013) presented a mockup for that. This retrospective privacy or longitudinal privacy that has a relation to the expiration of posts is an important factor in social privacy as Facebook’s timeline makes this extra visible by giving attention to your past. Especially for youth discovering its degree and nature of self-disclosure that is a crucial factor in the use of a platform (Ayalon & Toch, 2013; Bauer et al., 2013). Therefore it can be argued again that

an existing app such as Snapchat, is already using this notion of an expiry date in posts. In Snapchat the messages are self-destructive, which brings less of a permanent feeling and has more of a lightweight character (Ayalon & Toch, 2013; Wortham, 2013).

Snapchat is already named a couple of times and it is an important platform for this part, because it has self-destructive messages and therefore no retrospective social privacy. Therefore it meets the concept of the illusion of privacy even more. This means that platforms often seemingly create a private space or a sense of privacy such as the disappearance of content on Snapchat, an option to do privacy settings on Facebook, a 'private profile' or directly send images to friends on Instagram and the separation of contacts and groups on Whatsapp with the possibility to ensure that others will not see when you were last online. This private space only relates to the concept of social privacy, but does not secure the user from data mining at all. Therefore it can better be named the illusion of control, since users try to manage the control of their own information, while it is only ecliptic control, which is similar to the privacy paradox or paradox of control by Van der Velden & El Emam (2012), because platforms only offer users to control their social privacy and not their informational privacy (Zheleva & Getoor, 2009; Wang et al., 2011).

2.4. Teens' Management of Privacy on Online Platforms

As stated by an 18-year old girl in boyd (2008, p. 19), "if you are not on MySpace, you do not exist", which refers to the importance of having an online identity, which now transformed into having a Facebook account. A profile like that generally covers name, age, location, interests, an "about me" section and pictures. The visibility in terms of to *whom* you are showing *what*, is important on social media profiles since it indicates a certain discreteness of an individual towards 'perceived outsiders'. In this matter it has been described as identity performance or identity management, since it leaves a certain deliberate impression. In a way people have more control in the online world than offline, because they can consciously form and create an identity that they think that suits them best (boyd & Ellison, 2008; boyd, 2008).

This all started with the post-WWII democratization and the growing autonomy of teens, which created a form of privacy (Reid, 2012). In a physical way this has always meant the (post-WWII western) teen bedroom, in which the teen has his/her own 'private' life and can be autonomous about it, contrary to the dining room for instance that could better be

describes as a 'public' family room. Having a portable device, such as smartphone that makes them connected all day, at one perspective enhances this feeling of autonomy and privacy, but on the other hand creates a higher degree of control by friends and family (Agger, 2011; Reid, 2012). With a bedroom, teens can author a space themselves, creating their own sense of aesthetic and style, without their parents, therefore it serves as an evolvment of the self. Possessions such as a smartphone have a similar way of self-presentation, 'control' and autonomy (Odom et al., 2012). It is therefore interesting to see if this notion of privacy is visible in teen's behavior on social platforms. Therefore it is insightful to connect these theories to user motivations for social network sites. The motivations are often related to demographics, website visit patterns and discuss how users see self-presentation as an important factor, but regard to different forms of usage, professional or personal (Joinson, 2008; DiMiccio & Millen, 2007).

2.4.1. Codification of Information

Besides examining how teens understand the concept of privacy in online environments, it is critical to examine how they 'manage' it as well. This management can be seen as the online decisions and behavior regarding both the functions of social platforms as the way that is chosen to communicate. Relating this to privacy this partially means how teens make use of privacy settings given by the platforms that they are using. Secondly, it can refer to the direct form of communication that teens use. The latter one refers to a specific form of communication that could be used between teens for self-presentation and creating a private online domain (Durrant et al., 2011). This 'secret language' has been around much longer and was already used in SMS culture by teens to keep messaging short, identified with peers and emancipated from parents. This is not entirely exclusive to teenagers. Similarly, 'secret' codification of information can be found with cultural or sexual minority communities (Remennick, 2003; Kulick, 2000). For this research it helps to apprehend the creation of 'private spaces' by Dutch teens on social platforms. For example this can be done with hashtags, memes or slang in posts on the four given platforms.

2.4.2. Profile- and Privacy Management

Firstly, the current management of privacy by teens can well be understood, regarding research by Madden et al. (2013), stating that teens' perception of privacy is

dependent on the platform they are on. This explains why teens make diverse privacy-related decisions on various platforms. Therefore Facebook is for the most part used for friends, school- and extracurricular activities and is seen by teens as an extension of offline activities. It is still the platform with the biggest number of teenage users, but Facebook is losing popularity. Important reasons are especially drama, pressure of managing an online reputation and family (parents) online. As a solution, some teens even create two different Facebook accounts for having different privacy settings, separating friends from family for example. That is a reason why Snapchat, Instagram and Whatsapp are so appealing to teenagers now. This (faster) way of visual interaction is described by teens as just like texting, so that also holds a relation with the public-private nature of the given platforms as stated in the previous part (Agger, 2011 Rowinski, 2013; Madden et al., 2013).

Furthermore, it has been elaborated by Young & Quan-Haase (2013) who claim that privacy protection strategies derive from a fear of violations and that teens also specifically care about social privacy and not so much about informational privacy of third parties. Of those privacy protection strategies, on Facebook teens mainly have 'private' (only friends) profiles. However, sometimes teens did not know about the visibility of their information, because of tags for instance. Therefore common privacy protection strategies were 'untagging', blocking other users and deleting content (Young & Quan-Haase, 2013). Child & Westermann (2013) show that teens find it hard sometimes to make decisions regarding these privacy issues, because on their profile they want to keep 'boundaries'. Parental friend requests on the platform could cause a difference in privacy protection, of being more cautious and deleting content.

The type of content is therefore also an important element in this research since it reflects 'the boundaries' of what users want to disclose. As this study will look at teens' behavior on Facebook and Instagram it is thus also important to look at the type and purposes of posts on those platforms. Hu et al. (2014) who used an 8-category coding scheme to identify different types of content, showed that selfies and friend related photos on Instagram are most popular. This also characterizes the type of users of which Hu et al. (2014) identified five; the user that posts food, the one that mostly has captioned photos, the one that makes pictures of activities all the time, the one that primarily makes selfies and the one who combines selfies with photos of or with friends. 'Selfies' must be identified as digital self-portraits taken with portable smartphone- (or tablet-)camera (Bruno et al.,

2014). On Facebook other categories could be important, because there are different options than on Instagram, especially sharing is an important feature, which can change the nature of posts, but more importantly, it is a collection of multiple types of content, whereas Instagram only allows users to post photos or short videos. Therefore Cvijikj et al. (2011) initially categorized Facebook posts in photos, videos, status (textual) and links, which creates a clear starting point to examine teens' Facebook profiles. The management of their profiles helps to understand how they make decisions within the platform's architecture based on privacy.

3. Methodology

3.1. Approach

This research primarily has a user's perspective, but tries to combine it with the nature of the given platforms. Dutch teens in the age of 13-18 will be the central subject to research. This paper will examine their behavior and secondly, the potentiality and restrictions of the platforms they are active on. In order to analyze these elements, a methodological triangulation of one quantitative and two qualitative research methods are applied; Firstly, a survey was conducted to get an overall view of users' understandings, preferences and behavior. It must be noted that the survey was primarily descriptive and based on themes that were partially replicated from Miller (2013) and Madden et al. (2013). Focus groups were applied in order to get a more accurate and detailed insight of the user's behavior and perspectives (Gilbert, 2008). It therefore would give a deeper explanation and context to the answers of the survey. Lastly, a small content analysis regarding the Facebook and Instagram profiles of the participants from the focus groups was conducted. However, this did not serve as a main research method. It must be regarded as an additional way of examining users' online behavior in practical terms. However, it tried to juxtapose if participants' statements did match with their online actions.

These methods differ in the way that the survey is generated to get a clear overview of how to approach teens on the subject of this matter. The survey thus served as a way to interpret primarily descriptive results, following a few themes. This was used for the focus groups as a way to start discussion and to connect to the same themes. The focus groups mainly specified overarching opinions, meanings and emotions from the survey's answers. Strauss and Corbin (1998) argue that qualitative research contributes to a deep examination and exploration of the research itself, while it enables the researcher to gain understanding in relation to the complex characteristics of social phenomena, so therefore it was helpful to have a more qualitative view on the initial quantitative data. Finally, the small content analysis served to control participants' statements and understandings about privacy and their social media life on Facebook and Instagram, but it must not be regarded as a main source of data.

3.1.1. Quantitative Methods

According to Gilbert (2008) quantitative research is aimed more at measuring in relation to numbers. A typical example of a quantitative method is the survey in which many respondents have to answer questions that are later averaged and sometimes measured with other statistics. An advantage of this research strategy is the way it can describe things relatively precise without much ambivalence. Secondly, quantitative research suits for summarizing large sets of data, which can help to produce general conclusion that can be a starting point, when triangulating research. However, it is not always representative to test causes and effects, qualitative data can for instance be used to explore a certain topic and to discover associations of respondents. Still there is no absolute difference between quantitative and qualitative, because qualitative elements can be applied to qualitative research, such as sampling specific parts of interviews (Gilbert, 2008).

3.1.2. Survey

As already stated, in this research a survey is used for exploratory reasons and to get better insights in the general themes the participants draw upon. By asking questions and a numerical way of processing this data, surveys let researchers bring together information from specific target populations. The success of the survey will depend on the nature of the questions, the way they are phrased and the order that they are placed in. A questionnaire needs to be designed with respondents in mind, because target groups need to be able to produce answers to a question they understand. Therefore sometimes it is necessary to include additional information, instructions or illustrations of what has to be done (Gilbert, 2008; Yin, 2013). In this research online surveys have been conducted. The advantages of doing them online are that it is easier to reach a bigger crowd over greater distances, the flexibility that it gives of changing elements when things are not understood or unclear and the speed and convenience that it brings in delivering the questionnaires and receiving the results. Moreover with special programs such as Qualtrics, which was used for this research, it helps to ease the process of data entry and the overview of data (Evans & Mathur, 2006).

The survey was partially chosen to replicate the themes and research methods from a study by Madden et al. (2013), which focused on U.S.-based teens in the age of 12-17. A second study led by Daniel Miller, which was European-funded and running in nine different European countries, specifically showed that Facebook was regarded as “dead and buried”

by 16-18 year olds in the UK (Miller, 2013). The survey in this research could therefore be seen as a Dutch version of those studies and more importantly it gave insights in different chosen themes that formed a starting point for the qualitative part of this study.

3.1.3. Qualitative Methods

In comparison with quantitative research, qualitative methods for the most part represent features of communication as interaction within the 'text'. This means the researcher acquires a greater awareness on perceptions of feeling and emotion for instance (Strauss & Corbin, 1998). To get a notion of how Dutch youth perceives and exercises privacy on social platforms, an online survey was thus helpful to explore and discover the general thought, but as qualitative methods focus more specifically on the context and the substance within the content, they are helpful for this analysis to elaborate on it (Shannon & Hsieh, 2005). In addition to Miller's (2013) research and its critics this research wants to provide a deeper knowledge on teens' perceptions and engagement in privacy issues and if this has any influence on the choices for specific platforms. So as already explained, this study does replicate the themes and research methods of both Miller (2013) and Madden et al. (2013), but it wants to be more than that by addressing gaps in their researches, combining it to other literature and presenting a Dutch perspective.

3.1.4. Focus Groups

Focus groups are group interviews or group discussions with a small group of participants that usually is around five people (Morgan, 1997). Similarly to in-depth interviews, the group of participants is expected to express their views about a certain topic that is presented by the researcher. A facilitator that could be the researcher leads the discussion in which preferably all participants have an equal share. A few key elements of the focus group are that the facilitator needs to show interest in all participants, but should not be a participant himself, which means the researcher should not see it as a discussion in which he can take part as well. Finally, the facilitator should make an estimate of the appropriate level of moderating the discussion, which could be quite hard, because the right touch of control has to be found in the group discussion. Focus groups serve extremely well for testing topics from surveys for instance (Gilbert, 2008). A focus group should take place

in an environment that feels safe and secure for the participants and since the focus groups in this research were done with teenagers, this is even more important (Stewart, 2007).

The focus group interviews were created out of the results from the survey that was distributed first. Therefore the focus group interviews should be regarded as intensification on the survey's results. And since both were ordered in themes, the survey questions were also an inspiration for leading the focus group discussions with questions. Initially there were eleven participants for the interviews, but eventually only nine of them were present on the day the interviews were held and because they were planned to do in groups, it was proceeded. In advance, two groups of teens were already made. They were selected on age, since that is a vital aspect of this research.

3.1.5. Qualitative content analysis

Shannon and Hsieh (2005) have stated that qualitative content analysis mainly reviews the elements of interaction and communication within a text. Moreover, it gives a deeper knowledge about the meaning of the contextual factors and events within the given content. However, in order to make comparisons or relations between certain elements, you need to categorize the data. However, as Melville et al. (2009) point out, it is really hard to completely describe the sentiment in some content, such as social media posts, because some of it can include jokes, sarcasm, hashtags, slang etc. Therefore it was best to choose for a manually organized structure, because that would come closest to the participants' content on Facebook and Instagram. Of course this is arbitrary and possibly biased, but it would stay more true to its nature. Moreover it is important, that in this paper the qualitative content analysis must be regarded as an additional and 'supplementary' method for examining element of participants' specific online data.

3.1.6. Triangulation and Mixed Methods Approach

So this research will be structured, following a triangulated approach of mixed methods. A triangulation is generally seen as a combination of methodologies in order to research the same subject and produce more richness or a more balanced picture of the data (Denzin, 1978; Cohen & Manion). A combination of quantitative and qualitative research has been conducted. It has been used to increase the accuracy of the findings and to give more approaches to one specific topic. The aim of this mixed methods approach is to

present complementarity in which a more accurate view of the phenomenon can be demonstrated (Gilbert, 2008; Marti & Mertens, 2014). An interesting question is if the methods have to be integrated, combined or mixed, when doing the research. That is a combination of elements again, since in this research the survey serves as a starting point from which the focus groups could be led. Eventually for a small comparison of what has been said to what has been *done*, the qualitative content analysis serves as a minor tool (Gilbert, 2008).

So in that way it is possible to mix data types and let one method serve the other. Eventually, the methods were thus used complementary as well as combined. However, using both quantitative and qualitative data can sometimes be problematic since numerical data is mixed with textual data (Driscoll et al., 2007). Therefore the survey results were quite descriptive and only sometimes statistically analyzed. Extensive numerical results are namely hard to relate to the contextual focus group data. Therefore the qualitative results must be regarded as a contextualized extension of the survey. However, sometimes the two could be connected, because of the similarities in themes and questions. Still, this research did not have the purpose of combining those two methods for the sake of creating a better generalizability or representation. Sometimes it is of course interpreted, as stated by Sandelowski (2000, p. 254) that the mixed methods approach “will inevitably be informed by the researcher’s viewing position, which shapes what techniques will be combined and how and why they are combined”. It needs to be understood as a thematic process in which the focus groups present a dynamic extension of the survey results.

3.2. Operationalization

The survey should be regarded as the starting point of the research, which brought up useful data for having the focus groups and the additional small content analysis of the platforms. The data that was produced by the initial survey served as a guideline for creating the structure of the focus group interviews. Both these methods were mainly used to examine the participants’ ‘feelings’, ‘opinions’ and ‘knowledge’ relating to online privacy and the chosen platforms Facebook, Instagram, Whatsapp and Snapchat. For researching the participants’ actual behavior, Facebook and Instagram were chosen as platforms for a small visual content analysis. Whatsapp and Snapchat would unfortunately not cover an accurate image of the participants’ usage, since the messages presented to the researcher would

always be artificial, which will later be explained in the 'limitations' section. Finally, this content analysis will be connected to the options, functions and settings of both platforms, emphasizing the architectural design of both platforms.

3.2.1. Demographics

For all research methods, it was necessary to collect data of Dutch teens in the age of 13-18. As already stated in the introduction, there has been done some research about this topic already with U.S. in relation to social platforms. A major research by Madden et al. (2013) did surveys and focus groups with American youth regarding social media and privacy and Miller (2013) did a similar study to U.K. based youth in a slightly different age category. Therefore Dutch youth is chosen specifically, since it is not yet been researched and there would be no language barrier between the researcher and the participants whatsoever. The justification of the age group 13-18 also relates to the two researches that were mentioned earlier. In the study by Madden et al. (2013) for PewResearchCenter, teens in the age of 12-17 are chosen and divided in two different groups, the younger teens (12-13) and the older teens (14-17). The latter are more likely to share information on social media than the younger group (Madden et al., 2013). Secondly, teens in the age category of 13-17 are abandoning Facebook in largest numbers. Comparing January 2011 with January 2014, Facebook saw a decline of 25.3% in that age group in the U.S., while the total number of users grew (Matthews, 2014). Lastly in Miller's research (2013), participants were in the age of 16-18.

Therefore, in this research teens in the age of 13-18 are chosen to be participants. Firstly, because the group that would share most, falls in this category and secondly because it still relates to Miller's research, who also has 18-year olds in his research. The survey had the option of filling in the age of 12, but nobody was, so that was left out of it and for the focus groups teens were specifically chosen on their age category. The average age of participants filling in the survey was 15.06 years old.

All participants, for the survey, focus groups and qualitative content analysis attended the same high school, Sint-Janslyceum in 's Hertogenbosch, The Netherlands. Since it is not the purpose of this research to generalize the findings for an overview of *The Netherlands*, it was not necessary to have participants from all over the country. However, apart from age, gender and education were important elements for collecting the

participants. For all three research methods a relatively even number of male- and female participants was needed. With a total of 159 participants the survey had 47% male participants and 53% female participants. However, 1 person was not active on any social media platform, which made that participant unusable for the results and was therefore excluded from the results. This brought it to a total of 158 participants that met the restrictions of getting usable results. Both focus groups initially had 5 male participants and 6 female participants in total, but two of them were not able to join, so that number ended up in 4 male participants and 5 female participants. For the content analysis the number of 5 male and 6 female participants was applicable as well, since the accounts of the all initial focus group participants were used.

Relating to the education, the Sint-Janslyceum is a high school with three different levels of education; VMBO (lower vocational education), HAVO (higher general secondary education) and VWO (pre-university education). Most participants were from the HAVO. This mix of educational levels is chosen in relation to Hargittai's (2002) digital divide and digital inequalities, in order that there is a clear representation of all levels and not just higher educated students. However, there were no participants from VMBO and most of the participants were from HAVO. It was not intended to be a representational study per se, but it can be seen as a limitation that the educational level was above average.

3.2.2. Time Frame

All participants (159) took the survey at April 17th, 2014. For this research an agreement with the school was made that some classes could make it during lessons. The average time for taking the survey was around 10 minutes per person. The focus groups took place at April 22nd, also during lessons, which was arranged with school. They both lasted for around 1 hour. The first focus group (with younger participants) took a little bit shorter than the second focus group. For the content analysis, there was no specific time frame chosen, but a maximum of ten posts per person per platform. However, it was chosen to choose content from before the 1st of May 2014. Sometimes, ten posts referred back to six months ago and sometimes it was only a few weeks. That depended on the participants.

3.2.3. Survey Operationalization

The survey was created April 13th 2014, but almost all responses were recorded on

April 17th, because it was thus distributed (online) at high school “Sint-Janslyceum” in ‘s Hertogenbosch, The Netherlands. As already mentioned, the survey had a total of 159 participants, because the minimum to make it a good sample was around 150 participants. The questionnaires were distributed online and made on a computer. The survey consisted out of 39 parts, of which some were having multiple statements on which the participants had to answer to what extent they agreed or disagreed with it. Themes in the survey varied from youth’s understanding of privacy, their opinions about parents or third parties having access to their data, their relations with friends and their management of profiles, but this will be elaborated in the method of analysis section. For many questions it was needed to answer the question for Facebook, Whatsapp, Instagram and Snapchat so that the platforms could be compared. Also the themes were based on the subquestions, which would make it easy to divide the data thematically and relate it back to the main question.

The analytics software program SPSS helped to create descriptives and small analyses of the survey data that were easy to connect to the theory, because the questions were already presented thematically. Therefore variables like activity on platforms and duration for instance presented the popularity of each platform, which could be related to Miller (2013) and Madden et al. (2013). Also the ‘coolness’ of platforms was an important variable, since it related to possible migration and the participants’ attitude towards the platforms. Finally the perception of privacy on the platforms and the related privacy protection were crucial variables for examining a perception of privacy in relation to the platforms’ public-private nature. Finally the participants’ understanding of the privacy settings was also a main variable that could be related to theory and the second sub-question.

3.2.4. Focus Groups Operationalization

Focus groups can help to explore accessing detailed information, user’s thoughts and behavior. Limitations of this type of research are that it can be prone to bias, while researchers can help getting participants in a certain direction and secondly, the results are not (directly) generalizable, but more focusing on detailed information on a certain event or problem (Boyce & Neale, 2006). The focus groups had to serve for the purpose of extending the view that originated from the survey. So it offered more insight on the question how Dutch youth perceives privacy and how they manage settings and uploading content.

The focus groups were divided in two parts, based on age. The first one consisted of N (13), B (14), A (15) and T (15) and the second one of D (16), E (16), J (17), B (17) and D (18). They were divided on age to let them feel more comfortable and to discuss things more easily. It was also crucial for the research, because some analyses were made out of the division of age. They were asked questions based on the online survey, but as a facilitator the researcher tried to guide a discussion instead of asking questions to each participant individually. This worked out better for the second (older) group, because they were more voluble. Most participants of the focus groups actually also filled in the survey. Both focus groups interviews were held on the 22nd of April 2014 at the building of the Sint-Janslyceum (their high school) in 's Hertogenbosch, The Netherlands. This place was chosen because it was neutral and natural for them and besides that an easy place to get them as two groups together. They sat in front of me with a table in between, because that in relation with their own environment could make them more relaxed and secured (Stewart, 2007).

As shortly stated in the survey operationalization, the survey was already divided in themes, based on the sub-questions. The focus groups questions or the way the discussion was led, was both related to the questions from the survey and the initial results from it. The research concepts that were thus central in the focus groups first of all related to the partially replicated researches by Miller (2013) and Madden et al. (2013). However, the questions needed to be logical in relation to the (order of the) sub-questions and their relation to the main question.

Therefore it firstly was important to ask their favorite platforms, while this would instantly connect to the two researches named above. After that, it was immediately related to differences in age and gender and possible changes in attitudes for both types, since this refers to concepts of digital literacy and social behavior. Another main subject in the focus groups was the way specifically Facebook is perceived and how it is used, since this would help to examine possible opinions about online social migration and its relation to age and privacy. The next big theme, parents, came from Miller (2013) and Madden et al. (2013) as well and referred back to theory about social privacy and teens' online management of time and space.

After that, specific platforms were less important in the focus group questions. It mostly related to privacy as a concepts and youth's understanding of it, which is a sub-question as well and directly relates to the main question. Finally the last big theme was

third party access and the control users have in this. They were questioned about who they thought that could access their data and why they do not have to pay for all the online services they are using. Furthermore they were pointed at the different kinds of third party access, so the access by governments, tech companies and advertisers. In the focus group it was interesting to hear both their knowledge and their opinion about this, since this would explain their understandings of this kind of privacy, as well as the way they 'manage' it.

The goal of the focus groups was thus to gain deeper insights on similar questions to the survey. First of all, it would help in partially replicating Miller (2013) and Madden et al. (2013) and secondly, it gave the possibility to see how they would react to that while being in discussion with each other. Therefore the questions were not introduced to the participants as a regular interview, but sometimes more as statements. Therefore the order in both interviews turned out to be not entirely the same, because the focus groups discussed the topics in different ways.

3.2.5. Content Analysis Operationalization

First of all it needs to be stated again that the content analysis part was not used as a main research method, but more as a way to relate the findings of the survey and focus groups to the actual profiles on Facebook and Instagram. Still it was important for observations to relate to privacy setting, since this would examine if participants' statements about their privacy management would match the reality. Secondly, their posts were also subject to research, since it would help to understand how they deal with social privacy. Therefore the content analysis section is mostly related to sub-question and central theme of management of privacy on platforms. Therefore a model was chosen to categorize posts.

The creation of these categories does not only define a sense of belonging to a specific group and point out similar observations, but it also helps to see make a comparison between different observations that were found in the survey and focus groups. The purpose of these categories is thus to describe a phenomenon, to increase comprehension and to create knowledge about the question how Dutch youth engages on social platforms (Elo & Kyngäs, 2008). This is organized in eight categories with different themes, replicated from a research on what we Instagram by Hu et al. (2014):

1. Friends: This category represents users with friends in the picture. For this category there have to be at least two human faces on the photo.
2. Food: This category speaks for itself. This could be pictures of food, recipes cakes, drinks etc.
3. Gadgets: This category is about electronic devices, but also about cars and motorbikes etc.
4. Captioned Photo: This relates to pictures with embedded texts, such as memes.
5. Pets: Animals, such as dogs or cats as main elements of the picture.
6. Activities: Outdoor and indoor activities in which 'places' play an important role. Examples are concerts and landmarks.
7. Selfie: Self-portraits on which the human face is the main object of the picture.
8. Fashion: Shoes, clothing, brands that are the main object of the picture.

For photo posts on Facebook the same categories can be applied, but since Facebook offers the possibility to post many other (kinds of) content, additional information and categories are needed. So first of all this relates to the post type: status, photo, link or video. Secondly, there are additional post categories to describe the content more precise: Information, designed questions, statements, advertisements and competitions (Cvijikj et al., 2011). Additionally Kaufmann & Buckner (2014) argue that the purpose of posts could also be conversational/discussion starter or promotional. Lastly, on Facebook tagging and sharing were also a great importance, since it directly relates to subjects of privacy, presented in the theoretical framework section.

3.3. Method of Analysis

Since there was a mixed methods approach of both quantitative and qualitative data, it was a hard task to find a fitting method of analysis for the entire research. However, a thematic approach was chosen so that the survey would fit into thematic approaches and would be able to be combined with the focus groups and the small content analysis. The survey data was therefore used mostly descriptive, but had some small analyses as well that would fit to the overall themes. The themes originated from the sub-questions and covered online behavior, the nature of platforms in relation to privacy, the concept of privacy and youth's understandings of it and the management of social platforms in relation to privacy. Those were the overarching themes, with of course minor themes such as different kinds of

privacy, social and informational. Also important were factors like age and gender that had influence on those themes. In light of these themes the results of the focus groups could be connected to the descriptives and small analyses of the survey.

3.3.1. Method of Analysis: Focus Groups

For the focus groups there were specific steps in the method of analysis. Of course the first thing was to transcribe both sessions. After transcribing and reading through all the data, it needed a specific way of analysis that would match the survey and the theory. Therefore the aim was to have a descriptive or interpretative approach that would also build on theory (Tesch, 1990). Kvale (1996) names three different ways of interpretation that were all used, analyzing the focus groups in this research. Firstly, self-understanding was an important element in which the research would attempt to formulate what the participants meant. Secondly, common sense and general knowledge was used to place participants' statements in a wider context. Lastly, theoretical understanding was used to place it in the broader theoretical perspective of the themes as described in the operationalization.

Since qualitative data tends to be messy and discursive, the order of the questions was approximately categorized in the themes that were posed in the operationalization (Miles, 1979). However, still key themes needed to be marked and connected to make it a whole. On the second place, the focus groups needed to be compared, because they were based on age, which is an important element in this study as well. After categorizing the main concepts and related theory needed to be connected to the results from the focus groups. This was done manually and was thus already relatively easy, because of the ordering of the questions. It could also be done manually, since there were only two focus groups and the perspectives and the approach was already 'determined' by the survey results. Themes could therefore be identified and became apparent with open coding. And since each theme was already related to a theoretical background, the categorization of findings could instantly be connected to theory and the sub-questions.

3.3.2. Method of Analysis: Content Analysis

As it is already stated, the content analysis was no major research method, but helped to give insights, especially on the theme of privacy management. A content analysis was thus used to categorize and identify themes in which frequency was more important

than with the focus groups. The analysis was then linked to 'outside variables' such as gender and age to see if there were any remarkable findings that would help to clarify teens' management of social platforms (Robson, 2002). The categories for Instagram and Facebook were found in articles with similar (more extended) approaches, so therefore they were chosen to help in the categorization. This was a manual process, because it is then easier to recognize sarcasm, jokes, hashtags and current trends for instance (Melville et al., 2009), which is crucial when researching new media platforms.

So for Facebook and Instagram important criteria were how the participants managed their privacy settings and what they actually posted. The data was collected from the eleven original participants of the focus groups on the 2nd of May 2014. This data comprised the ten latest posts on Facebook and Instagram, at least if they had ten separate posts. It has been examined if those posts are pictures, pieces of text, shared content or posts from friends. Besides the recognition of sarcasm, jokes, hashtags etc., there were no analytical tools used in this analysis, because the number of posts was not that high and the categories were not that extensive that it would take too much time. This resulted in a few descriptive phenomena that could be compared to each other and the variations on those phenomena needed to be addressed. This could be done relating it to theory, which was harder than with the survey and the focus groups, because the content analysis was not ordered on themes from this research, but most of it could only fit in the one specific element about management of privacy and the related context of tagging and sharing.

4. Analysis

4.1. Expectations

Before the survey, focus groups and content analysis were conducted; there were expectations and preliminary premises deriving from the theoretical framework. The methods in this research served to test these assumptions and come up with new angles to discuss the topic. To do this, the analysis has been divided in the earlier mentioned themes, namely 'online behavior', 'the nature of platforms in relation to privacy', 'privacy and youth's understanding of it' and finally 'management of social platforms in relation to privacy'. Firstly, starting with the Dutch angle for this research, it was expected that (almost) every teen would be active on at least one social platform, since Akkermans (2013) showed that almost 95% of Dutch teens is active on social media. Secondly, it was expected that Dutch teens would be not as active on Facebook anymore, because GlobalWebIndex (2013) showed a decline between Q2 2012 and Q3 2013 of 52% in active Facebook usage amongst 16-19 year olds, which was of course also underlined by Miller's research (2013), relating to youth from the UK.

Regarding to youth's usage and preferences on different devices and the given four platforms Facebook, Whatsapp, Instagram and Snapchat. As observed in many recent articles, the growth of mobile is extremely high, especially relating to social media platforms and of course Whatsapp, Instagram and Snapchat are mobile-based applications. Since January 2013 also Facebook's mobile usage surpassed desktop usage for the first time (Smith, 2013) and in February 2014 the total of smartphone and tablet usage in the U.S. became more than desktop usage for the first time. This cannibalization was in the line of expectation as the web was already growing to be more mobile over the last few years (O'Toole, 2014; Cha & Chan-Olmsted, 2012). According to Madden et al. (2013) in their PewResearchCenter article, especially teens are spending most of their time on their phone instead of desktops or tablets. Therefore it was expected that teens would use phones for web usage the most by far.

As already described, recent literature and news articles leaded by Daniel Miller and PewResearchCenter showed that teens (from the U.S. and the U.K.) are leaving Facebook for apps such as Whatsapp, Instagram, Snapchat and Twitter (Madden et al., 2013; Miller, 2013). As this is actually one of the core reasons for writing this research, the motivations

and behavior of the youth will be elaborated later. However, those researches and many other articles created the assumption that teens are actually migrating from Facebook. So that was expected from doing this research with Dutch teens as well. This is followed by the subtheme of social migration in which the assumptions of teens leaving Facebook for other social platforms is expanded. Given the articles that were already mentioned, expectations were that there is certainly a matter of social migration involved around youth on the web. Subsequently, possible reasons for this migration are checked. According to Miller (2013) and Madden et al. (2013) the biggest influence for teens to abandon Facebook is that their parents became active on it is well. Therefore, firstly it is checked on which social platforms the participants' parents are actually active. Given the information from those two articles, it was strongly believed that the majority of parents would be active on Facebook. Secondly, maybe even more parents were expected to be active on Whatsapp, since the platform is doing extremely well, especially in Europe, being the most used messaging service by far and also widely adopted by parents (Petrovan, 2014).

The second big theme involves privacy and youth's understanding of it. The concept of privacy is very broad, historical and complex and especially in relation with social media involving in certain discussions. Therefore it is mainly interesting to see how teens place themselves in this discussion. First of all that means that means how teen would describe privacy. Given the articles about the topic of privacy in relation to social media, it is mostly linked to concepts such as surveillance and digital labor. For shortly recapturing these concepts, both are linked to each other and relate to power and the commodification of information. With modern 'surveillance' on those social platforms, corporations create "cognitive capital", which means that personal data is worth money (Pasquinelli, 2009; Fuchs, 2009). This is underlined by Cohen (2008), who claims that users 'give away' data to platforms like Facebook that make use of it by commodifying that information. In terms of power, this interaction can also be regarded as 'digital labor' for those platforms (Cohen, 2008). Recently more researches showed that people are concerned about their data in hands of advertisers or big corporations or because of government surveillance programs, such as NSA (Moth, 2014).

However, what are the expectations of what teens will think about this? Do they even care and does it have something to do with their possible migration of Facebook? According to the PewResearchCenter article and the Miller research they do not so much

care about privacy relating to third-party access to their data, but more about what their parents can see of them (Madden et al., 2013; Miller, 2013). That is why the parts in this theme about privacy were ordered in three subtheme's of firstly youth's understanding of privacy, secondly their feelings towards their parents being active on social platforms and lastly their opinion and knowledge regarding third party access. From the existing literature the expectations were that they would not worry about third party access to their data, nor would it have any influence on their possible migration from Facebook. However, in the line of the articles youth would care about their parents' activity on the social platforms (especially Facebook) and would even see it as a cause for abandoning Facebook.

The third theme, about youth's management of the given social platforms, is split in two minor themes relating to teen's online habits relating to age and secondly their styles of communication based on age. The online habits refer to the way they manage contacts and settings on the social platforms. Of course this is different for Facebook, Whatsapp, Instagram and Snapchat, but according to Madden et al. (2013) generally teens share more personal information than they used to do. However, older teens tend to share more than younger ones. Furthermore it is examined what kind of photo they share and if it matters how many likes you would get for it. Again, in the PewResearchCenter article it appeared that teens do share a lot, but generally keep their profile private. Secondly, it was important for them to get as many likes for a post as they could get (Madden et al., 2013). Therefore it was expected that the participants would share much of their personal information, but within their own 'private' profile, simultaneously the main purpose for many of the shared content would be to get many 'likes'.

4.2. Online Behavior

For this theme and the sub-themes the findings from the survey and focus groups will now be discussed. When possible, this will be done by first presenting descriptive data from the survey and then emphasized and contextualized findings from the focus groups

4.2.1. Devices

Related to social media usage and the nature of teens' online activity the survey firstly concentrated on the possession of devices. 81.0 % (128 respondents) had their own computer, while 39.8%(63 respondents) owned a tablet. As expected out of the results

presented by Madden et al. (2013) every respondent owned a (smart)phone of which a great majority had an iPhone or Samsung Galaxy, the most popular smartphones (Mintz, 2014). Also the rate of usage was in line with expectations, showing that 84.8% (134 respondents) uses their phone more than tablet or computer. Only 12.6% (20 respondents) claimed to use their computer most out of these three and 3.2% (5 respondents) chose tablet.

Expanding on that, the participants of youngest focus group all used every platform on their phone, because computers were generally seen more for serious stuff, such as schoolwork. This is elaborated by Agger (2011) who claimed that the smartphone changed everything. According to the author it changed the boundaries between public and private, because it made people online anywhere at anytime. Moreover, the phone plays a bigger role in the presentation of the self, which sometimes combines these two elements of leisure and labor (Agger, 2011; Vanden Abeele et al., 2014).

Therefore it is interesting that these younger teens make a clear division for using devices with different purposes and make their own division of time with it. Besides that J (15) and A (15) did not have their own computer. They felt like tablets and computers are not really meant for social media. Tablets for instance were regarded perfect for doing games, watching video content, or searching through music, which relates to the 'medium-specificity' of the devices. In that concept it is strongly believed that each particular medium interacts in its own unique way with users, environment and content (Farman, 2007). In the second focus group there were some differences between the usage of platforms on phone or desktop. D (18) and E (16) said they both use their phone for Facebook and hardly check it on their computer, but J (17) and B (17) claimed they use it more on their computer, lastly D (16) said he uses it on both media.

Similar to the first group, in the second focus group the phone was the most preferred medium. E (16) said she only used her computer for homework, same as D (18). However, J (17) and B (17) said that their phone and computer usage probably would be even. B (17) exemplified this by saying that he uses his phone all day long, but when he comes home from school, he turns on the computer and that will stay on for the rest of the day. So relating to this strict division of leisure and labor that the younger focus group showed, a few of the older teens did not particularly care as the computer was not regarded as something solely for 'serious stuff' or school work (Vanden Abeele et al., 2014).

4.2.2. Platforms

Secondly, since this research paper looks at the four different social media platforms Facebook, Whatsapp, Instagram and Snapchat, it was vital to see how many of the respondents of the survey were on those platforms. Averages are measured to get a better insight of teens' preferences. As shown in table A1 Whatsapp was the most popular with 157 respondents (99.4%) that are active on this platform. On second, 140 respondents (88.6% of the total) answered to be active on Snapchat. Third was Facebook, having 119 respondents (75.3%) on the platform and last, Instagram with 107 respondents (67.7%) active. Choosing between the platforms, 96% of the respondents uses Whatsapp mostly out of the four platforms.

The first focus group also began with asking them on which platforms they were all active. All four of them answered to be on Facebook, Whatsapp, Instagram and Snapchat and two of them named additional platforms as Twitter, Telegram and Skype. In the second focus group everyone had a profile on the four given platforms Facebook, Whatsapp, Instagram and Snapchat as well. All four of them had a Twitter account too. They did not make active use of every platform, but could be seen more as passive users for some platforms. For all five of them Whatsapp was the most popular social platform, in terms of spending time on it.

This number of Facebook users is similar to that in the research from Madden et al. (2013), which is around 76%. However, the popularity of Whatsapp in relation to its popularity in the U.S. can be named remarkable, but in the Netherlands it is by far the most popular messaging app, having more than 9.5 million active users in March 2014 (Wokke, 2014). Mark Zuckerberg explains that Facebook wanted to anticipate on this enormous growth of one of the most popular messaging app and said it is worth maybe even more than the \$19 billion it paid (Bort, 2014). Furthermore, Snapchat is already more popular amongst teens than Facebook, which is not exactly in the on expectation. Both Madden et al. (2013) and Miller (2013) describe it is becoming really popular and an 'alternative' for Facebook, being a much faster and more direct, instant photo sharing app. However, it was not expected to be bigger as Facebook already. At the same time an article on Mashable by Karp (2013) who is a 13-year old girl living in NYC already described that none of her peers are on Facebook anymore, but that Snapchat is turning really popular.

4.2.3. Gendered use

In the survey the appreciation of social platforms was also examined related to gender to see if there was any difference between boys and girls in the survey. With the help of SPSS firstly, averages were measured of both boys and girls as shown in table 1.

Table 1.
Mean ratings of Appreciation of Social Platforms related to Gender

	Boys (N = 75)		Girls (N = 83)	
	M	SD	M	SD
Facebook	2.84	1.48	2.67	1.56
Whatsapp	4.32	0.76	4.36	0.82
Instagram	3.57	1.11	4.18	0.89
Snapchat	3.39	0.83	3.99	0.97

Note. Appreciation was measured on a 5 point likert scale. 1 is not much appreciated and 5 is very appreciated.

To examine if any of the means showed a significant difference to one another, a T-test for independent samples was conducted. Boys and girls rated Instagram significantly different ($t(119) = -0.393$, $p < .05$, 2-tailed). There were no significant differences in appreciation between boys and girls on the other platforms. These results suggest that Instagram would be a platform that is more designed for girls than the other three.

Similarly, in the focus groups the matter of gender and age in relation to appreciation of specific platforms was discussed. T (15) and A (15) were really sure about this and A (15) gave the example that We Heart It is pre-eminently a platform for girls. T (15) brought up the example that his sister uses Instagram way more to post photos. While existing literature points out that there used to be more girls on social networking sites than boys, the number is relatively even since 2010 (Lenhart et al., 2010; Madden et al., 2013). However, in literature there have definitely been found some differences between girls' and boys' behavior online. It seems that girls in both offline and online environments generally are starting earlier (10-13 years) with self-disclosure, which then stabilizes after. The same trajectory for boys was found to start two years later. Moreover it has been stated that women seem to be more focused on "interpersonal communication" online, while boys are more engaging in task-focused activities. For social platforms this means, girls are more

likely to pay attention to the maintenance of contact relations, while boys are seeking for new contacts (Valkenburg et al., 2011; Muscanell & Guadagno, 2012).

4.2.4. Age

The survey also looked at the difference in age for using social platforms to see if there was any difference in appreciation for the four given platforms in relation to age. It was especially interesting to see the difference between younger and older users. With the help of SPSS, frequencies and percentages were measured to show on what platforms specific age groups are active as shown in table 2.

Table 2.
Descriptive statistics for number of participants active on the four given social platforms, categorized by age

	<i>N</i>	Facebook		Whatsapp		Instagram		Snapchat	
		<i>N</i>	%	<i>N</i>	%	<i>N</i>	%	<i>N</i>	%
13-year-old	13	4	30.8	13	100	11	84.6	13	100
14-year-old	50	35	70.0	50	100	38	76.0	45	90.0
15-year-old	42	30	71.4	42	100	28	66.7	39	92.9
16-year-old	25	23	92.0	24	96.0	13	52.0	19	76.0
17-year-old	24	23	95.8	24	100	15	62.5	21	87.5
18-year-old	4	4	100	4	100	2	50.0	3	75.0

Note. Total *N* = 158

To examine if the average appreciation of the youngest and oldest groups per platform significantly differs, a T-test for paired samples was used. This presented that there is a significant difference between 13- and 18-year-olds in appreciation for Facebook ($t(15) = -2.912$, $p < .05$, 2-tailed). The averages show that the appreciation for Facebook of 13-year-olds ($M = 0.92$, $SD = 1.61$) is lower than that of 18-year-olds ($M = 3.50$, $SD = 1.29$). Similar results were found for Snapchat. There is a significant difference between 13- and 18-year-olds in appreciation for Snapchat ($t(14) = 4.217$, $p < .05$, 2-tailed). The averages show that the appreciation for Snapchat of 13-year-olds ($M = 4.15$, $SD = 0.69$) is lower than that of 18-year-olds ($M = 2.33$, $SD = 0.57$). Whatsapp and Instagram were not appreciated significantly different. These results suggest that Snapchat is primarily appreciated by younger users, while Facebook is clearly not appreciated as much as the other platforms by the youngest users.

Also in the focus groups the matter of age differences in relation to using and liking a specific platform was discussed. The second (older) focus group did not think gender was a crucial factor in using social media platforms, but for them age definitely was. As an example B (17) pointed out how Hyves (local Dutch social network) became popular amongst younger teenagers when it still existed. E (16) added that the younger teens are using Twitter way more than they are. B (17) explained that at a certain age of 15 everyone moved from Twitter to Facebook and that he moved as well, because if everyone is moving it is not interesting anymore “to tweet on your own, that is why it is called *social* media”. B (17) and J (17) said they even used to Twitter for planning to meet each other or to go out. B (17), D (16) and E (16) all created a Facebook account at the age of 15, J (17) at 14 and D (18) already had a profile when she was 12, but she did not really use it back then.

According to the participants of the first focus group, age was also a major factor in relation to social media usage. A (15) said that maybe it is not that people in different age categories use different platforms, but they definitely use it in a different way. She exemplified this by saying how younger Facebook users (younger than they as a group were themselves), use Facebook more for the games on their app center, instead of using it for contact with other people. All four of them made a Facebook account when they were 12, also partly because of those games and secondly because their parents were already on it, which made them interested in it. This is contrary to what Miller (2013) suggest in his research stating that young persons were starting to leave “when their parents sent them friend requests”. According to the focus groups it is way more paradoxical, stating that their parents were a big influence for them to be on the platform, but similarly could be a reason for them to leave it, which will be elaborated later (Miller, 2013). As N (13) said: “Without making a Facebook account, you can not start playing the games”. Also T (15) explained that his dad initially only made use of LinkedIn and then created a Facebook account as well, which interested him as well. However, he adds “(...) together with Twitter, Facebook is the platform that I use fewest nowadays.”

4.2.5. Activity in Terms of Duration

As stated in theoretical framework, having an account on one of those social media platforms does not imply the (type of) activity and duration on the platform. There are different levels of activity relating to social platforms, especially for Facebook. Researches

shows that more than 60% of American teens once took a break from the platform and that 20% once used the site, but now longer use it. Moreover, the same article presents that almost a third of active teens and young adults in 2013 said that they were planning to use Facebook less in the upcoming year (Rainie et al., 2013).

As shown in table A2 respondents of the survey claimed to be active on Whatsapp the longest out of those four, with an average between 3 and 3.5 hours a day. Facebook 'performed' the worst and even respondents that said to have a Facebook account did not make use of it. The average of using Facebook was slightly above 0.5 hour a day. Instagram's user activity was a bit higher and more around 1 hour a day. Snapchat's activity could be placed second, as the average time spent on Snapchat laid around 1.5 hours a day with some peaks of respondents answering they use the platform around 5, 6 or even more than 6 hours a day.

4.2.6. "Coolness" and Social Migration?

Lastly the survey focused on how "cool" they thought the given platforms are. As shown in table A3 Whatsapp significantly scored highest, followed by Snapchat, Instagram and at the last place Facebook, for which hardly any respondent answered "really cool". To examine if the 'coolness' for different platforms significantly differs, a T-test for paired samples was done. It showed that there is a significant difference in 'coolness' for Whatsapp and Facebook ($t(157) = -5,000, p < .05, 2\text{-paired}$). The averages showed that the rating for Facebook ($M = 3.78, SD = 1.33$) is significantly lower than the rating for Whatsapp ($M = 4.36, SD = 0.80$). Similarly, Facebook and Instagram differed in 'coolness' significantly ($t(157) = -4,952, p < .05, 2\text{-paired}$) and Facebook and Snapchat ($t(157) = -2,682, p < .05, 2\text{-paired}$). The averages show that ratings for Instagram ($M = 4.40, SD = 1.27$) and Snapchat ($M = 4.13, SD = 1.03$) are significantly higher than for Facebook ($M = 3.78$). There were no significant differences between the average score of 'coolness' between Whatsapp, Instagram and Snapchat. This suggests that the Dutch teens from the survey think Facebook is less cool than the other given platforms.

The differences between the focus groups were quite remarkable. As we can see in the following, the younger focus group clearly agreed with this and explained why. Some participants of the older focus group were totally confused about the motives of the younger group for disliking Facebook. For deeply examining the current status of Facebook among

this age group, they were asked if it is generally seen as 'corny' or 'not cool'. A (15) answered that that was not directly the case, but young people are moving to new social media much faster. As a reason for this abandoning she gave the explanation that if "too many old people are on a platform, you know you have to leave". This is in line with the researches by Miller (2013) and Madden et al. (2013), who both claim that teens are migrating from Facebook to other platforms. Miller specifically points out parents (and thus 'older people') as the main cause for the abandoning the platform. Additionally, Madden et al. (2013) describe that some younger people quit, because of the 'drama' on the social platform. This aims at the way teens constantly have to pay attention to self-presentation and online relations, which has been described as "very stressful" (Madden et al., 2013).

Furthermore Facebook was seen as a platform for "older people", as stated by N (13). By older she meant people around the age of twenty. T (15) said he thought it really suitable for people who know each other from elementary school and want to keep in touch. A (15) stated that in her circle nobody really posted that much on Facebook and that the older people post "bulks of text". This could indicate a difference in generations as trends of 'the new web' have been described as mobile, visual, private, free and open, which are combined by Snapchat (Rowinski, 2013). The adoption and naturalistic use of this is related to the concept of the digital native that maybe point out a gap in generations. This term was widely introduced by Prensky (2001) to describe young people that are deeply literate and engaged in technology as they grew up with it. Although this term is being misused for an entire generation according to Bennett (2012), it generally still indicates a division in technology skills, knowledge and interest between different age groups, which can be described as "digital divides" (Prensky, 2001; Bennett, 2012). Therefore the "bulks of text" that are named by A (15) can indicate a difference between a textual and visual generation. Additionally, it was interesting to go deeper into this meaning of "older people", A (15) meant people in the age category around 40 in this particular example. She confirmed that Facebook is not really interesting for her age group anymore, contrary to the generation of people around 40, which is in line with Miller (2013) and Madden et al. (2013). Also, relating this to the concept of a possible digital division, Facebook possibly did not keep up with the preferences of a digital generation.

The second focus group however had a different opinion about this subject contrary to the researches by Miller (2013) and Madden et al. (2013). They were asked about the

intended audience of Facebook (in relation to age). After a small discussion in the group they mostly thought about the legal age to create a Facebook account, which would be around 12 years old according to them. However, they did not necessarily think that Facebook had a specific target group related to age. Therefore the outcomes of the first focus group were presented to them. So the participants were asked if they thought Facebook would be a bit corny, old-fashioned or 'not cool'. E (16) completely disagreed and did not know why younger teens thought it was kind of boring to be on Facebook. B (17) argued that if everyone would be on Instagram and that would be the most popular platform, he would spend most of his time on there, but if everyone would move to another photo-sharing platform, he would do it as well. He added to that he did not think Snapchat was a really interesting platform, but that he is on it, because everyone else is on it. This exemplifies the clash between the two focus groups and maybe a discussion on a whole other level. In contrary to what especially Miller suggests, that teens are migrating from Facebook, because their parents are on it, these older teens joined Facebook when everyone in their social circle started using it. As B (17) points out, the *social* aspect of social media might be the most important factor.

Since Facebook still seemed quite a popular platform among this second focus group, the participants were asked what their opinions about Facebook were. D (18) answered that she did not really know. She was just on it because of contacts in the country of her descent, Romania. B (17) said that in a way he really needs it right now. He claimed to use it for following the news and having contact with international friends. Furthermore it helped him for his own business, but he rejected elements such as 'poking' somebody. J (17) said he also used it for both long distance friendships and to follow the news. In total he thought he usually is on Facebook two hours a day. E (16) did not use it as much as the two boys, but she used it to see what other people are doing. The small newsfeed section on the upper right in the Facebook design slightly annoys her, because you almost see everything continuously. D (16) claimed to use Facebook merely for entertainment, such as funny pages that share pictures or videos. This is in line with the expectations deriving from the literature about gendered use of social media. The male participants were more looking for tasks as especially B (17) and J (17) claimed to use it for following the news for instance, while the female participants were more interested in maintaining relationships (Muscanell &

Guadagno, 2012).

4.3. Privacy and Youth's Understanding of it

4.3.1. The Concept of Privacy

For examining the understanding of the concept of privacy amongst the participants, both focus groups were asked about their own definitions and understandings of the complex concept of privacy. In the younger focus group B (14) and N (13) explained that privacy for them is something you keep for yourself, something that nobody else should need to know. "You keep it for yourself and nobody should mind that business". T (15) said that it just means "time for yourself" to him and the other three agreed with that. Additionally, A (15) said that people sometimes put everything online "even if they go to the bathroom", according to her this could happen when you have a private conversation on Whatsapp, but it should not be something you need to post on Facebook or Twitter.

They instantly related the concept of privacy to their understanding of privacy in the online world. Especially, the answers of B (14), N (13) and A (15) explain why Facebook is least private to them out of the four given platforms, as stated in the previous part. Given the 'expiry date' of a post and maybe even the concept of retrospective privacy in which users are concerned about ever existing self-disclosure. Apps such as Instagram, Whatsapp and especially Snapchat are way faster and let you believe your old posts are 'forgotten'. Facebook, regarding its 'timeline' is doing exactly the opposite, which could be something that especially this younger users dislike (Ayalon & Toch, 2013; Bauer et al., 2013).

The second focus group also related privacy mostly to the online world, but gave some additional insights. D (16) was the first to instantly refer to the online world again and said that he would define privacy as "something that other people should not know, about what you are doing on Whatsapp or something similar". E (16) added that she thought privacy means something different to everyone and that there are different levels of it. Therefore it is something that you want to have over yourself. J (17) completed that by saying that it also has something to do with your own security and limits to other people. B (17) had nothing to add to that, but D (18) said it is hard to describe what it exactly is, because according to her, nothing is private anymore nowadays. This resulted in a small

discussion among the participants in which B (17) told he also is a hacker and hacked the school system a couple of times, which he also declared to the school.

E (16) added that people also get a wrong image of what is private and what is not nowadays. She gave the example of Snapchat on which you think content will be deleted after a few second, but it is not. So as the participants not seem to *care* about this, they do seem to have knowledge about this illusion of privacy that platforms such as Snapchat create. This illusion of privacy refers to the way users are hiding their data from the public while the platform itself or third parties still have access to their data (Zheleva & Getoor, 2009; Rowinski, 2013). The second focus group seemed really realistic about this, but as will become apparent later in this chapter, they seem to care less about it than the direct (and illusive) form of social privacy.

The next series of questions in the survey were more aimed at examining the feeling of privacy on each social platform separately. Table A4 is about the statement that personal privacy is enough protected on the given platforms (Facebook, Whatsapp, Instagram, Snapchat). For Whatsapp this feeling was generally the best, considering only one-tenth of respondents disagreed or strongly disagreed with that. For Facebook most people disagreed with the assertion, there was even a significant part that strongly disagreed with the statement that Facebook protects personal privacy enough. For Instagram and Snapchat the scores were quite divided and quite close to neutral, but for both platforms most respondents answered that they agreed with the statement that their privacy was protected well enough. Stated by Miller (2013) this is not the reason for possible migration to other platforms, as they do not want to make a statement about mass surveillance or the commodification of their data by corporations such as Facebook. Clearly it is about a different kind of privacy, since teens are also active on (or moving towards) platforms such as Whatsapp and Instagram that are acquired by Facebook (Miller, 2013; Cohen, 2013).

Secondly, their own feeling and knowledge about the privacy settings were asked with the statement “I’m quite familiar with the privacy settings of this platform”, again related to Facebook, Whatsapp, Instagram and Snapchat. And once more, answers were pretty divided and on average close to neutral and agreeing with the assertion. Average scores of feeling familiar with the privacy settings are presented in table 3.

Table 3.

Mean ratings of Feeling Familiar with the Privacy Settings of the four given Social Platforms

	Familiar with settings	
	M	SD
Facebook	3.18	1.21
Whatsapp	3.25	1.22
Instagram	3.40	1.24
Snapchat	3.15	1.14

Note. Feeling familiar with the privacy settings was scored on a 5 point likert scale.

1 is not familiar and 5 is very familiar.

Instagram was the only platform that scored highest on agreeing, instead of neutral. Then the respondents were asked to order the platforms on their level of privacy. Table A5 shows that Facebook clearly scored lowest and Whatsapp highest, which means that the respondents feel like Facebook is the least private and Whatsapp the most private platform. Instagram and Snapchat were relatively close to each other, but still Instagram scored a little higher than Snapchat.

For the focus groups this theme was presented in a slightly different context. At home T (15) makes clear that privacy would mean that he would go to his room to have some time alone. N (13) and A (15) further confirmed that by agreeing that you create your own private world at home with your parents. It applied to all of them that privacy in relation with their parents would be the most important thing. Referring back to the online world and this metaphor of going to your own bedroom in your parents' house, the participants were asked what platform would be most suitable for this. All four of them answered that Whatsapp and Snapchat would definitely be used for this and that Facebook and Instagram were for completely different purposes in their opinion, which is expected giving the illusion of privacy (Zheleva & Getoor, 2009).

This led to a question and following (connected) theme if the participants see the given social platforms as a way to 'create a private world', such as going to your room at home in the physical world. This phenomenon was explained by Reid (2012) and Odom et al. (2012), stating that the post-World War II teenage bedroom serves as an instrument of autonomy and creating your own space, which is similar to the possession of a smartphone. E (16) determinedly stated that this did not apply to her, but maybe the question needed some more elaboration. B (17) explained there is definitely a big difference between the offline and the online world, by saying you "enter a new world with different limitations and

where can be said way more". So he thought people would definitely act differently in the online world. E (16) wondered how he saw that as a 'private space', on which B (17) replied that he does not necessarily see it as a private space, but more as a "different world". D (18) wondered if B (17) also thought there is more privacy on there, on which he replied that he thought that there is more privacy or maybe anonymity online or at least you can act more anonymously. According to B (17) a platform like Ask would fit best in this typification of the concept of creating a private world with complete autonomy. Snapchat would be the most connecting to it out of the given four platforms in this research, but E (16) added that people can still make a screenshot of you on Snapchat and that they can thus still abuse your social privacy (van der Velden & El Amam, 2012).

4.3.2. Parents' Influence

Regarding the popularity of the platforms among the respondents' parents, the participants reported that most parents have accounts on Whatsapp (of 145 respondents), followed by Facebook (98 respondents), Instagram (25 respondents) and Snapchat (24 respondents). Looking deeper into the activity on social platforms of the respondents' parents, parents are mainly active on Whatsapp (48% of the respondents claimed this), followed by Facebook (38%), Instagram (1%) and Snapchat was not even chosen. It was also relevant to see if parents are in the contact lists of the respondents on those social platforms, since this helped to examine parents' possible 'involvement' in privacy levels, which will later be elaborated. For Whatsapp 144 out of 145 respondents said parents were in their contact list, for Facebook this number was 83 out of 98 respondents. Of course there were fewer parents active on Instagram and Snapchat, still it was remarkable to see that 9 out of 25 respondents said their parents weren't in their contact list on Instagram and even 17 out of 24 weren't in the contact list on Snapchat. Thereupon the respondents were asked how they felt about their parents being on those social media platforms. As shown in table A7 most respondents claimed to be neutral at this point, Whatsapp was the only platform on which respondents answered that it is nice to have your parents in your contact list. For especially Instagram and Snapchat the responses were more negative. However, as presented by the abovementioned results, often parents are not in their child's contact list on those two platforms. Still these results are not entirely matching Miller's (2013) conclusion that teens are leaving Facebook, because their parents are 'friending' them and

that they are moving to Snapchat and Whatsapp to communicate with “close friends”, since parents are in the teens’ contact lists as well.

Since, the previous questions about the respondents’ parents on the given social platforms did not really give an answer on the nature of ‘interaction’, it was interesting to see how parents make use of the platforms in relation to their children. Firstly, respondents were asked if they feel like their parents generally want to check them on social media platforms.

The greatest part disagrees or is neutral related to the statement that their parents want to check them on social media platforms, which counters both researches by Miller (2013) and Madden et al. (2013) who state that teens are abandoning Facebook, because their parents being active on the platform (Miller, 2013). This also applicable when we look at coherence more specifically. In general the respondents of the survey show that they do not have the feeling that their parents control them. Also when looking more specifically to the correlation between age and the feeling of being controlled, it shows that there is a minor negative correlation ($r = -.13$, $p = .13$), which is not significant. This suggests that there is no difference between younger and older teens related to this.

In the focus groups however, it seemed there was a small difference. In the focus groups section the respondents, especially in the younger age groups, partly rejected this premise. Still most respondents agreed with the statement that they take parents or teachers (if they are in their contact list) into account when they post something on social media. Also a small majority of them claimed other people’s opinions have influence on what they post online. Lastly, they are quite determined – almost a 100 out of 159 agrees or strongly agrees – that they can choose who can see their posts on social media platforms.

In the focus groups Facebook also had a big share, because it was one of the key elements in this study to replicate studies by Miller (2013) and Madden et al. (2013). N (13) said she did not really have an opinion about it, because she is never on it. A (15) said she is on it less than she used to be, because “it is boring”, because of ‘older people’ that are on it. T (15) added that he hardly ever posts anything himself, but that he is still on it to see and ‘like’ what others are doing. B (14) and A (15) also responded by saying that of course you can ‘guard’ your profile by changing the privacy settings, but still family is on it and they will most certainly not understand some things you would post. So at first, their family was a

huge factor in getting them interested in Facebook, but after a few years it got annoying that they could see so much of the participants' personal life. A (15) and B (14) completed that by stating that sometimes their parents for instance have pictures (of them) in which they get tagged and that is something that really irritates them. This last result was already expected and in line with literature by Pesce & Casa (2012), stating that tagging 'intrudes' someone's identity, because it has different ownership and therefore sometimes is publicly available, which can embarrass teens. Also remarkable was the difference between the results of the survey and the opinions in this first (younger) focus group, regarding parents' activity on social media and the general attitude towards Facebook. The younger focus group complements Miller's (2013) study more, while Miller used participants in the age of 16-18.

Since parents or 'older people' seemed quite a large issue for the younger focus group, the subject needed a bit more specificity. All participants claimed their parents were on Facebook, except for those of N (13), so it was interesting to see what they personally thought of this, since Miller (2013) and Madden et al. (2013) claimed it is a big issue for teens. B (14) said that she finds it really annoying that when she posts something on her Facebook profile her mother and grandmother always place a comment, which she said she thinks is especially annoying regarding her grandmother. A (15) stated her father always tags her in pictures and that this really annoys her. Finally T (15) said that he did not really care. He does not pay attention to it and does not read it, when it happens. Those answers were interesting, but it raised new questions to the nature of the content their parents (or grandparents) post on Facebook. T (15) clarified that his father also posts 'enormous stories' on his timeline, describing his entire day. B (14) added that her mother posts many pictures online of her when she was little and that she tags B in it, which she finds quite embarrassing. The difference between Facebook and Whatsapp related to the contact with their parents is that on Facebook they would rather not speak to their parents and on Whatsapp it is mainly about general stuff, such as bringing certain groceries. This has everything to do with the structures of the platforms and the digital division in age. This means that Facebook's possibilities related to social practices of both younger and older generations often do not match. Teens generally pay way more attention to social privacy and Whatsapp is more designed to maintain that privacy, because nothing will publicly be available and everything is ordered in conversations or groups (Bennett, 2012).

Since it seemed that parents played a prominent role in their online lives, it was

crucial to see if parents also used social media platforms as ways of control. They all said their parents did, which could be one of the main reasons Facebook why Facebook was generally seen as the least appealing platform out of the given four, also concerning the survey results. T (15) explained that his Twitter and Facebook were connected to his parents' email addresses and that if he would post something late at night when he should be supposed to sleep, his parents would immediately see, but he added that despite it could be seen as a way of control for them, it did not really bother him. A (15) said that her dad also says she has to sleep if he sees that she is still online on Whatsapp. T (15), N (13) and B (14) directly added that they always block their parents at night to make sure they will not see their 'online status' on Whatsapp. N (13) also said that her parents used her sister's Instagram account as a way of controlling her. On Snapchat possibility for control is way less as T (15) explained, because you can pick to whom you send your messages and it only lasts for a few seconds, so related to that "it is the most convenient". Therefore they would all feel most 'private' on both Whatsapp and Snapchat. However, it is interesting in terms of the 'teenage bedroom' metaphor how teens are actually managing online space and that time plays a huge role in this. The management of time becomes an enormous factor, given the connectedness that Agger (2011) describes. Additionally it is a way in which teens can unfold their way of managing time and space in the online sphere, which gives them a greater sense of control (Odom et al., 2012).

The same procedure was done for the second (older) focus group. They were asked about the given social media platforms in relation to their parents, especially aiming at Facebook. Except for B (17) and D (16), all other parents of the participants at least had a Facebook profile. B (17) said that his father had a Facebook account, but did not make use of it. For D (18), E (16) and J (17) it was no problem their parents have accounts on Facebook. This is contrary to the younger focus group and the studies by Miller (2013) and Madden et al. (2013). Additionally, E (16) and J (17) responded they think it is "funny" and that there are no things on there their parents are not allowed to see, which means their parents fit in their 'social privacy' zone, which does not feel as 'intruding into their social lives' as it did with the younger focus group (van der Velden & El Emam, 2012; Vanden Abeele et al., 2014).

The participants claimed their parents mostly use Facebook to see other people's lives and to stay updated on family-related content. Because they seemed quite positive about their parents' attendance on Facebook, the participants were asked if their parents

use social media platforms as a way of control regarding to them. D (18) and E (16) looked like they were almost confused about this question and E (16) said “no not at all!” D (18) said they were not allowed to and laughed about it. This is completely opposite from what the first focus group stated, but this could be one of the reasons for the difference between the two focus groups. The older group felt completely autonomous about their own content, without their parents intruding it, while the younger focus group felt ‘harassed’ or embarrassed in their social privacy (Westin, 1967; boyd & Marwyck, 2011).

Therefore the question was more specified into their parents’ optional control on Whatsapp, to see when they had been online lastly, while the younger focus group had strategies for this time management and avoiding parents’ control. E (16) said she turned that off, but B (17) argued that it is annoying to put that function off, because then you cannot see it from other people either. Expanding on that, Whatsapp thus has a ‘last seen’ function that you can turn off. This last seen function refers to the bar above the conversation in which it is normally shown when the person has been online. This resulted in a small discussion between B (17) and E (16), in which E (16) claimed she finds it really annoying if someone expects her to answer on Whatsapp, when she has been online. B (17) argued that it could be quite handy for group assignments, because if you need someone right away, it helps if you can see if this person is online. So the only way of control would relate to their friends and peers and has more to do with a certain expectation. In this age category, the participants claimed their parents are not using social media to control them. However, there is thus some control in their social privacy, but more about an ‘expected answer’, which relates more to friends than to parents. Also the discussion about turning this function on or off was really interesting, because it almost defines a new paradox of control, in which you have to give up a bit of privacy to receive someone else’s (Wang et al., 2011; van der Velden & El Emam, 2012).

Although the participants did not think their parents use social platforms for controlling them, it was interesting to see if there would a platform that they would still describe as something that really belonged to them. So what social platform would really be designed for their age group to create that metaphorically teenage bedroom that was already discussed (Reid, 2012). All participants answered that this would definitely be Snapchat. B (17) added that there also is an app called ‘Ask’, on which you can ask ‘friends’ whatever you want anonymously. According to B (17) this is a very regional thing, while it

was not popular on their own school, but he knew that it was quite booming on two other schools in the same city. Since this question was also related to 'creating a private space' as at the first focus group, it was also interesting to see to what extent Facebook feels as 'private' or 'anonymous' in the participants' eyes. According to them, it depends on your own privacy settings, but E (16) and B (17) added that other people can put content of you online as well and that you can be tagged in photos. D (16) argues that you can change those settings too, so that your permission is first asked. Again, tagging or posting on one's profile was seen as way of getting in a situation of interfering in social privacy and a change in ownership (Pesce & Casas, 2012). Finally, in line with the survey, the first focus group and both researches by Miller (2013) and Madden et al. (2013), Snapchat was seen as a platform, best relating to the current teen generation. An important combination of reasons for this are the expiry of posts on social media and the illusion of control relating to social privacy that it gives (Zheleva & Getoor, 2009; Ayalon & Toch, 2013; van der Velden & El Emam, 2012).

4.3.3. Third Party Access

The general assumption from the studies by Miller (2013) and Madden et al. (2013) was that teens would definitely care about parents in relation to privacy. However, the expectations were that they would not (as much) care about third party access, contrary to their parents, who supposedly care a lot about it and worry about it in relation to their children. Therefore the next step was to examine possible threats to third party possession of teens' data and the relation to teens' privacy. Firstly, it is interesting to look at the results from the survey. On a five point likert scale the participants scored little above average ($M = 3.83$, $SD = 1.16$), it seems that respondents would care if the government would see everything they do on social media. This is of course hypothetical, but contrary to Miller (2013) and Madden et al. (2013), who claim that teens do not concern about that type of privacy. However, more than 20% was also neutral towards this statement. In the focus groups this result will be nuanced, in which it will become apparent that younger teens do not care at all and older ones only care to a certain extent, but are quite fatalistic about it.

As table A6 shows a small majority in the survey answered that they trust companies like Facebook with their personal data, however there was hardly anyone that strongly agreed with that statement. Finally the respondents were also quite neutral against the

assertion that they would be worried about their data in the hands of advertisers. The answers were almost evenly split about one third claimed to be neutral. This differs somewhat from the research by Madden et al. (2013) and Miller (2013), as they claim that teens are not very concerned about third-party access to their data. However, findings in Madden et al. (2013) research also show that 40% of teen social media users are 'very' or 'somewhat' concerned about it, which is actually something that derived from the focus groups in this study as well (Madden et al. 2013).

Connecting the experiences from the focus groups with interpreted answers from the survey, it seems that teens are just not quite sure how to answer this question, because they do not exactly know *what* this third party access actually implies and *why* the data would matter to those third-parties. Therefore they seem more indifferent about it, while that is not necessarily true. A substantial difference between the findings of this research and the PewResearchCenter was that according to their results, younger teens seem to care more than older teens (Madden et al., 2013), while especially the focus groups in this research showed that older teens saw more possible dangers and eventually were more doubtful towards third party access, as will be shown in the focus group parts.

Although they did care about third party access slightly, 'social privacy', which is in relation to friends, family and acquaintances, was way more importance for them. Therefore the reason for the small migration of teens from Facebook to other services such as Whatsapp, Snapchat and Instagram, especially amongst younger users is definitely not to make a statement against mass surveillance or big corporations. Since many teens are aware Facebook is the owner of Instagram and Whatsapp for instance and especially the younger group seemed pretty indifferent about Facebook using their data, it can be said that in line with Miller's article, the migration is not triggered by any principle or statement, but by a lack of interest towards the platform (Miller, 2013). According to the younger focus group this is due to Facebook's dullness, which is caused by a feeling that it is a platform for older people that are not necessarily parents as we see in the focus group results.

In the focus groups the first theme to be treated related to third party access was the way companies and advertisers make use of users' privacy. The participants of the first (younger) focus group were not sure if they could also 'manage' their settings for privacy settings in relation to third party access, but they thought that otherwise those companies

would be able to see it anyway. A (15) said that she thought that maybe it already becomes clear by the advertisements that are placed on Facebook for instance. Therefore they were asked if they would care if those companies or advertisers would use their data. All participants would not care until a certain level. The most common answers, for example given by T (15) was that they are probably already making use of the data, but he did not notice it, so he did not care. A (15) added that she does not know those people personally, which made her a bit indifferent about it. The only thing B (14) said she would care about would be if those companies would spread her telephone number to people who want to call her with regard to advertisement. So it becomes clear that these results slightly differ from the survey in which participants showed a relatively neutral perspective towards this issue. This focus group would be more in line with Miller (2013) and Madden et al. (2013), but brings a new perspective to it. Namely, these younger teens seem very fatalistic about it in two ways. First of all, it refers to an “it is happening anyway”-attitude, positioning himself or herself as just one meaningless individual that is lost in the crowd. Secondly, these younger teens seemed to see their data as single pieces of disconnected data, instead of the important metadata that it brings (Mathes, 2004).

Then the participants of the younger focus group were asked if they would care if the government would have access to all their ‘private’ data via those social platforms, as it would be part of third party access. At first they were confused about this question, because, as A (15) asked “what would the government want to do with our data?” She did not think anything on social media would be so important that governments would be interested in it. Therefore the situation with the NSA that was leaked by Edward Snowden (Kelley, 2014) was explained and they heard about it and knew some things about it already. Still, they did not care, because they said they “do not know those people” and they do not know them, so why would they care? About searching for criminal activities A (15) said that you are dumb anyhow if you do that on social media. Because they did not seem to have any concerns at this point, the question was changed into the fictitious example that they could choose to pay for social media for not giving up any private data, but everyone would rather have the situation as it is right now. A (15) asked: “I wonder what would be so important that you would have to do that”. To conclude they confirmed that social privacy is way more valuable to them than privacy in relation to corporations or governments (informational privacy), which can best be described as the “nothing to hide argument” for justifying the

invasion of privacy for the sake of illegal/criminal activities (Mordini, 2008; Solove, 2011).

The next step was to go deeper in the accessibility of data by big corporations such as Facebook for the older focus group. At first they were asked what data they thought the given social platforms were allowed to use to examine their knowledge. J (17) initially thought those platforms could only use data from your friend list or email address to recommend new friends. D (16) added that this data is also crucial for advertisement. E (16) wondered if you could ask a platform if they delete some of your data, but B (17) answered that this is most definitely not the case. He claimed to read some of the privacy statements by the platforms and said that when you sign up, you agree with giving them ownership over your data on that platform. E (16) was still confused why they would want to use that data, but first it was interesting to see if they actually cared about corporations using their data. E (16) and D (18) said that they thought it was more important what their friends can see of them. J (17) stated that as an individual you do not really feel or see the consequences, except for some advertisement, while with friends or acquaintances you really think about what they are allowed to see and what they are not. E (16) also added that you do not really feel the consequences. So the results were in line with Miller (2013) and Madden et al. (2013) and again, also the older focus group showed they regard data as disconnected pieces instead of the metadata behind it.

Therefore the question was asked differently to see to what extent they would care about informational privacy, same as with the younger focus group. So if it would be done differently in a way that you as a user have to pay for a social platform, but the platform would not have access to you data, would the participants pay for it? E (16) would do definitely do it, but it would depend on the price, but for 5-10 euros a year she would. D (18) however, said she would not do it, because she “had nothing to hide”. J (17) and B (17) were also skeptic, but more because of everyone having easy access to all data on the Internet, so the price and the legal records would definitely influence their decision. Of course this is true right now, especially regarding the situation with the NSA. A few noticeable examples are the U.S. Patriot Act and the Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Act that allow government institutions to collect data from organizations (Tokmetzis, 2014). Therefore their skepticism is also understandable. Also, the nothing to hide argument was quoted again, but now it had some opponents as well. Some of the participants did not feel totally convenient by knowing

third parties can use their data and their informational privacy is 'threatened' (Solove, 2011; van der Velden & El Emam, 2012).

This resulted in the abutting topic of different forms of privacy. This focus group already mentioned they were less concerned about family-related privacy than the first group. However, they slightly cared about it, but less than with privacy issues related to friends and acquaintances. Therefore the question was asked again, but differently and relating to other examples such as government-, corporation-, or advertisement-connected privacy issues. D (16) said that he found privacy in relation to his parents more important than third party access, because he wondered what those third parties then would want to do with his data. B (17) examined that it feels "less direct", because it is further away from you as an individual. With friends or family you would notice the consequences of a violation of your privacy immediately, while with the government it is less tangible, but that does not make it less troublesome. J (17) made it more a discussion of the government as a judge between the online and the offline world, naming the example of a girl that said she was going to bomb the school, but that it is really hard to define it is serious or not. However, B (17) actually pointed out the reason for that lack of interest in third party access related to teens' privacy and that division between informational and social privacy that is also presented by Madden et al. (2013) and Miller (2013).

Since it turned into a rather abstract discussion, the participants were asked again what they thought about parents, governments and corporations entering their online privacy, because the subject was now more closely elaborated. D (18) appeared to think those question were quite pointless as she was not sure what information could be so important that you cannot share it and "if you do not commit a crime", why would there be something to "hide"? She gave some examples of cameras in public places that follow you all the time as well. The question was more focusing on principles, but she did not care about it, which again specifically relates to the nothing to hide argument (Solove, 2011). B (17) examined that currently it is not a big problem for him, because we are in a stable political situation for instance, but of course this could change, which would make it a different situation. So it could be a problem if the data would belong to the wrong people and then of course he would care more than he cares about it in relation to his social privacy. This is already a slightly different approach than the nothing to hide argument, since B (17) showed

with this statement that hypothetically it could be an influence that you would notice immediately, just as social privacy is right now.

Finally they were tested on their knowledge and simultaneously their feelings regarding the process of generating revenue for the given platforms, which at this point are only Facebook and Snapchat, since Facebook acquired Whatsapp in February 2014 and Instagram in 2012 (Covert, 2014). So the younger focus group was asked why they actually do not have to pay for these services? A (15) answered that they already receive their money. T (15) added that they get money when someone signs up, but then he did not really know where it would come from, but “there has to be something”, otherwise a company like that would not be worth billions. N (13) said that downloads might be the things they get there money from. A (15) added that it would probably come from advertisement, because so many people would see the ads. Then she named the example of Albert Heijn’s bonus card and that some people really bother getting more “spam”. B (14) said that it is quite annoying if they would use it for “spamming” you with advertisements. In the end they were asked if they knew about Facebook acquiring Whatsapp and Instagram and trying to do that with Snapchat as well. N (13) and T (15) came up with the answers themselves and thus already knew. So they were asked why Facebook would buy these platforms. They did not think the extra data would be really useful. They could not imagine how Facebook would use this. A (15) said “I have no idea what you would do with all that information”.

So what was the purpose of acquiring them? They all agreed it had to be to generate more revenue, but they did not exactly know how. Although, T (15) added that they might be trying to buy all competing companies to be the biggest corporation on earth, which can of course be one of the motivations. This younger focus group showed some knowledge and understanding about the services their using, but they did not really come to the point of it. Since, they are actually one of the main reasons for buying those platforms themselves. As research showed that younger users are not using Facebook as frequently anymore and are moving to services such as Whatsapp, Instagram and Snapchat and the data of those younger users is very valuable (Rowinski, 2013; Covert, 2014).

Finally, the second focus group was also questioned about their knowledge and opinions about the corporations behind the four given platforms. To make a connection with the privacy issues they were asked why they are not charged for the platforms. J (17) they

already earn enough with advertisement and D (18) thought downloads also generated revenue. E (16) added that games such as CandyCrush most certainly are also sources of income. They did not really care about those possible ways of generating revenue, but they all found the advertisements really “annoying”. Lastly, they were tested if they knew Facebook acquired Whatsapp and Instagram and tried to acquire Snapchat. D (16) and E (16) immediately stated that Facebook bought Instagram and Whatsapp, but then they were asked why Facebook would want to buy those platforms. D (16) said “to generate more money”, which is of course a legitimate reason, but why those two specifically? J (17) claimed that those are growing the fastest right now and it also gives Facebook access to even more data on which he was not entirely sure what they would want to do with it. When they were asked about this situation of Facebook and Google trying to be “the biggest” in what they are doing, E (16) said that likewise “you do not want a country to be reigned by one person”. B (17) replied that of course you can easily say that it is “not good”, but as an entrepreneur he would want and act the same, because you want your venture to grow. So it was interesting to see that in a way the participants saw a possible danger in the market monopolization that the Internet currently brings (Haucap & Heimeshoff, 2014).

4.4. Teens’ Management of Social Platforms

4.4.1. Contacts

For the participants’ online habits, the survey firstly looked at relationships with other people on Facebook, Whatsapp, Instagram and Snapchat, which can be translated into ‘friends’, ‘following’ or just persons in their contact lists.

With SPSS a frequency table is conducted that shows the vast majority of respondents has less than 400 friends on Facebook, even with quite a high percentage between 0 and 100 friends, while the average amount of friends for the age group 12-17 that was reported in a research from March 2014 was 521 per person (MarketingCharts Staff, 2014). However, according to Madden et al. (2013) the average amount of friends amongst teens is 425.4. The article showed that older teens (in the age of 14-17) and girls on average have more friends. The amount of Facebook friends and its meaning is subject to age and ethnography for instance, but it is part of a process of creating identity and managing (online) social life. Furthermore Facebook especially serves as a tool for

“encouraging peripheral friendships” and as a place where “weak ties” play a major role compared to the offline world (Barkhuus & Tashiro, 2010; Ingram, 2011).

The next step was to examine the type of ‘friends’ or people they are following on social media. There was no unique social platform chosen, but just asked about the percentage of people that they never met in the physical world on social media in general. A big majority (more than two third) answered that this was only between 0 and 10 percent. Next, the participants were asked how many contacts in their lists on social media are actually brands or companies. A big plurality responded that this number was between 0 and 10 percent, while only a really small portion of respondents said that this was more than 10 percent. Furthermore table A8 presented that for every given social media platform the biggest group of their contacts consisted of friends. So it is clear that despite the “weak ties” and the peripheral friendships that are important on Facebook, the teen participants use the four given social platforms especially as an extension of their offline friendships and contacts, which is underlined by Tosun (2012), who says that Facebook is an extension of the offline world in expressing the “true self” and mostly maintaining relationships of all different kinds.

In the content analysis of the Facebook and Instagram profiles it became clear that there was a difference in age between the amounts of contacts on both platforms. On Facebook the older participants on average had more ‘friends’, which is in line with what they stated in the focus group, that Facebook (next to Whatsapp) is the main social platform they use. The younger participants had less friends and activity on Facebook, but generally they had more ‘followers’ on Instagram. Not only they had more followers, their followers were also more active in commenting and ‘liking’, compared to the older (16-18) group. At B (14) and N (13) almost half the number of their followers liked photos they posted. This could be an effect of the style of the content that will be elaborated later. According to Bakhshi et al. (2014) pictures with faces in it, engage us more and are “powerful channels of non-verbal communication”. They are more likely to receive likes and comments and it does not matter how many faces are in the picture.

4.4.2. Settings

After that, the survey focused more on the respondents’ actual behavior on the given social media platforms in relation to privacy issues and online posting. First of all, more than

half of the respondents that has a Facebook account, has a 'private' account on which (at the most) only friends can see what they post. For the following question they were asked how hard they thought it is to manage privacy settings on each given platform. Average scores of difficulty related to privacy management are presented in table 4.

Table 4.

Average scores of Difficulty Related to Privacy Management on the four given Platforms

	Privacy management	
	M	SD
Facebook	3.31	1.28
Whatsapp	3.84	1.13
Instagram	3.93	1.17
Snapchat	3.72	1.10

Note. Difficulty related to privacy management was scored on a 5 point likert scale.

1 very difficult and 5 is very easy.

Generally the respondents find it not extremely hard to manage their online privacy settings. Facebook scored lowest and was seen as the hardest one for managing privacy settings. Next was Snapchat, followed by Whatsapp, which were both already regarded as relatively easy and on top as the easiest platform to manage privacy setting is Instagram. When referring to the content analysis that was conducted with the participants of the focus groups, it becomes clear that most participants set their Instagram account on private. A reason for Instagram being considered as 'simple' for doing privacy settings, is that the platform only offers two real options: a public and a private profile. Secondly, it is also possible to send 'private photos' to someone in your contact list via Instagram Direct (Feinberg, 2013).

That brought up a new point of discussion, the way they have to manage their privacy settings. First they were asked if they ever read the privacy settings from the four given platforms, but no one ever did. However, they did know how to manage their settings, which seemed quite important to them. T (15) said that both his Facebook and Instagram account are private (only friends) and that he also used Instagram's option to directly send messages to specific contacts of his list. All four of the participants did not have a public profile on Facebook; they only shared with friends and even sometimes had custom setting for some pictures. A (15) was the only one with a public Instagram account. B (14) explained that she had a private Instagram account, because otherwise random people would be able

to follow her and post 'weird things' on her profile. Contrary to that, A (15) responded that a picture of your food for instance is not that personal and that would be something that could be shared with everyone. T (15) elaborated by saying that it is quite weird if someone from completely somewhere else in the country is following you.

Finally the respondents in the survey were also questioned about possible help for managing these privacy settings. More than 80% does not ask for any help regarding help for privacy settings, which is in line with Bennett (2012) stating that their digital literacy for some elements is very high. One of those elements is privacy protection, related to social privacy (Young & Quan-Haase, 2013). If they do ask for advice, they will choose parents, siblings or friends for their knowledge. This outcome fits in existing literature about the ambiguous definition of digital natives that naturally have digital knowledge that is necessary to understand information in any way it is presented (Ng, 2012; Lankshear & Knobel, 2008). In the current multimediated way of presenting information, those digital natives are able to switch between platforms and understand how information is presented to them and how they have interact with the platform to present their data the way they want to (Lanham, 1995; Lankshear & Knobel, 2008).

In the small content analysis that was conducted, the Facebook and Instagram accounts of the participants of the focus groups were examined. Regarding the settings on their profiles, it became clear that in managing settings there were no significant differences. None of the 11 participants had a completely public profile on Facebook. Only two of the participants left some of their timeline posts on public and of most of them of course had a public profile picture and / or cover photo. Probably because that does not automatically change when set your profile on private. It is however possible to only show a thumbnail of your profile picture (Facebook Help Center, 2014). 5 out of 11 participants had a public Instagram account, but it must be taken into account that two of them J (17) and D (16) did not really use Instagram and respectively had only 5 and 2 pictures online. So that means that a big majority of actively using teens had a private profile on Instagram, which is line with the results from the survey.

4.4.3. Styles of communication

Related to that, respondents were asked about the nature of their posts online. The results from the questions from the survey on this topic showed that they would be more

likely to post something positive than something negative on the platforms. The results show that all platforms are generally more suitable for them to post positive, rather than negative content. However, Facebook ended up being the most suitable for having positive instead of negative posts. This is related to the fact an online profile is more visible and thus more appropriate as a self-branding place. Facebook as self-branding place means that is not only used as a place to develop an online identity, but also it is a tool for online self-presentation and self-promotion (van Dijck, 2013). Whatsapp was the only platform that had neutral as the top answer of this question. Snapchat was close to that, but still chosen to be more suitable for positive posts. Table 30 shows the answers of a question related to the nature of the posts on those platforms as well. The statement reads “I would be more likely to post something personal than impersonal on the given platform”. Facebook and Whatsapp were again the most obvious. Facebook would be chosen least for posting something personal, while Whatsapp would be the most likely. Instagram and Snapchat were quite close to each other. More than a third chose ‘neutral’ related to Snapchat, which also could have something to do with the nature of the posts on that platform.

While examining the Facebook and Instagram accounts from the focus groups participants it became clear that negativity was hard to be found on their social media profiles. There were a few examples on both Facebook and Instagram among the teens. B (15) had a Facebook post about feeling bad that she had to reset her iPhone, but at the same time this was a functional post, because she lost all of her contacts and asked people to help her and give it back in private messages. Secondly, D (18) posted a picture on Instagram of #bringbackourgirls referring to the schoolgirls that were kidnapped in Nigeria. This was an online campaign that was started by celebrities and followed by millions of other users, such as D (18) (Vis, 2014). With this picture she shows her compassion to the events and she tried to promote and get attention for this. This was also an example of a captioned photo, which was one of the few.

Additionally, there was a list of yes/no/not applicable questions that also had something to do with the content that is published online on those platforms by the respondents. More than a third has ever lied about information such as age or gender on social media platforms, which matches with the results by Madden et al. (2013), but is contrary to Young & Quan-Haase (2013) who argue that this strategy of anonymity for privacy could be counter-productive and lead to unnecessary confusion and doubts about

the validity of posts. Furthermore, it was necessary to go deeper into their sharing activities. Almost every respondent answered to share pictures of him- or herself online, more than two-third claimed to share the name of their school online and around 80% said to share their home city on social media, which is about the same number as sharing their date of birth and interests. Fewer respondents said to share their email address and phone number. A little bit more than one third share their email addresses and less than one fifth answered to share their phone number on social platforms.

4.4.4. Categorization of Posts

In this sub-theme the results of the small content analysis are presented, since it helps to understand teens' management on social platforms in relation to privacy. The results must be seen as (minor) additional data to the previous results of the survey and the focus groups.

4.4.4.1. Instagram

In the small visual content analysis, participants' answers from the survey and focus groups were thus compared with their online behavior on Facebook and Instagram. As presented in the methodology section, the posts by the participants were divided in eight main categories for photos (Hu et al., 2014): (1) Friends, (2) food, (3) gadgets, (4) captioned photos, (5) Pets, (6) activity, (7) selfies and (8) fashion. For Facebook there were a few additional categories and purposes, but those will be elaborated in the next section.

(1) Friends were quite a popular theme amongst the participants. On average, the older participants had more pictures with friends than the younger ones. Secondly, many photos with friends were combined with the category of 'activity'. In practical terms, B (15) for instance had four out of ten pictures with friends on her Instagram on festivals and birthdays. B (14) only had two pictures with friends and N (13) had four pictures with friends, but all without specific activity. Remarkable was that three of these pictures were 'selfies', with friends, which are not regarded as selfies in this research. A (15) did the same thing and had three 'selfies' with other persons in it, which made them friend pictures, but they were not related to any activity. S (15) had three pictures with friends of which only one was taken, while being on a school trip in Germany and thus an activity. T (15) had six pictures with friends out of his last ten Instagram posts, especially related to going out. D (18) had

eight of ten pictures with friends on her Instagram account. They were mostly with one other friend, while having activities such as festivals, kingsday and babysitting. D (16) only had two pictures, but one of them was with a friend during NYE, which is also an activity. E (16) had two out of ten pictures with friends, without any activity. So this category had quite a high percentage, which was in line with Hu et al. (2014), on which it was the second-most popular category just after 'selfies'.

As presented by Hu et al. (2014) 'selfies' were thus the most popular category. Much has been written about what selfies mean in popular culture nowadays. It was named word of the year in 2013 by Oxford Dictionaries. The selfie can be seen as a current way of saying "hello this is me" as a "smartphone self-portrait" and the word has been popularized by the growth of social media (Oxford Dictionaries, 2013; Franco, 2013; Bruno et al., 2014). Especially the younger participants made many selfies in comparison with the older ones. B (15) had five out of ten selfies on her Instagram. These selfies were however combined with other categories. There was one selfie with a Vogue t-shirt and magazine, which also makes it a fashion post. There were two selfies with pets and one while being on holiday. B (14) had only one selfie and N (13) had three selfies, two while explicitly having holiday activities. A (15) had four selfies without any explicit activities or other overlapping categories. T (15) had three selfies and one was taken while being on holidays. J (17) did not really make use of Instagram, so he only had five pictures, but all of these pictures were selfies in relation to activity, which did not become clear from the pictures itself, but more from the comments by him under his posts. E (16) only had one selfie. Contrary to Hu et al. (2014) the selfie is not the most popular category, but the second-best, right after the friends category. What became clear is that a majority of users had a great majority of friend related posts *and* selfies, which is defined by Hu et al. (2014) as a specific category that represents a cluster of users who care about friends as much as about themselves.

Activities as mentioned in the previous sections were quite popular, but were sometimes overlapping with posts related to friends or selfies. B (15) for instance shared pictures of her on a festival, N (13) had pictures of her and friends on holidays, S (15) had a picture of him with friends at a school trip in Germany and T (15) also shared pictures of him on holiday. D (18) had pictures while being on winter sports, but also at kingsday, J (17) explicitly noted activities as comments and hashtags, such as a soccer match and (birthday)parties and D (16) had one picture of him while having a NYE party. There was one

notable Instagram account regarding to activities. B (17) namely used his Instagram primarily for landmark pictures in different cities in The Netherlands. In the last few weeks of checking his Instagram account he had 27 pictures related to landmarks of six different cities, which made him the only one not sharing any people in his Instagram posts. Less posts were related to food or food-related products. B (14) shared one picture of her breakfast and A (15) had one picture of homemade food as well. B (17) shared two pictures of chocolate milk and Cointreau and D (16) had only two pictures on his Instagram profile, but shared on picture of energy drinks referring to the weekend. E (16) had an old Instagram account that she did not use for posting anymore, but only for following other. However she had old pictures starting from 70 weeks ago of which most were food-related posts. Six out of ten posts were categorized as food, mostly of self-baked cake and dinner. So E (16) was the only one who could be defined as a 'foodie' that mostly shares food-related photos (Hu et al., 2014).

The least popular categories for the participants on their Instagram accounts were thus related to pets, fashion, captioned photos and gadgets. Pets and fashion were still relatively popular. Fashion has been heavily influenced by the rise of social media in recent years. Especially fashion bloggers (also on Instagram) have sometimes taken over the ways of reaching consumers (Kontu et al., 2013). However, Hu et al. (2014) show that this is a very specific category, which is not in the common top five user clusters. The analysis of the participants' data showed that B (15) had only one fashion-related photo, a selfie with Vogue magazine, B (14) had two fashion-related pictures, of which one was also a picture of the new Vogue magazine with a Vogue t-shirt. The other post was a picture of her shoes, which was part of a 'challenge' or contest named #aprilchallenge on Instagram. On day 4 she 'had' to post a black and white picture of her shoes. They were the only ones however to explicitly post about fashion on Instagram.

There were a few pet photos as well, but not in all of them the pet was the central object. However there were more than expected, since Hu et al. (2014) showed it would be the least popular category. B (15) for instance posted a selfie with a giraffe and a selfie with a dog and N (13) had two posts of pictures with herself on a horse. S (15) was the only with quite a lot pet photos on his Instagram. He namely had four pictures of his cat as central object in the post. There were very few captioned photos. B (14) posted lyrics by of her favorite song, because it was again part of the #aprilchallenge, A (15) posted lyrics by Drake,

because she loved the song and D (18) had the #bringbackourgirls post, which includes a caption. Lastly, there were no gadget-related posts at all on the participants' Instagram account, which made it the least popular category, contrary to findings by Hu et al. (2014) in which it became third.

Finally, both groups, but mainly the youngest focus group, did not have much textual content written with the photos. This also includes hashtags, which were used very little. However, this is in line of what T (15) said in the focus group, that he does not want to be followed by someone from somewhere else in the country or world, which he would even find 'weird'. It seems that making yourself 'findable' is not what these teens are looking for. This is underlined by the results from the survey (table 16 and 17) in which a majority of participants said that most of the people in their contact lists were friends in the physical world as well, which can also be seen as a privacy protection strategy that is in line with findings by Young & Quan-Haase (2013).

4.4.4.2. Facebook

On Facebook, the specific options that the platform offers were interesting as well. As stated in previous sections, 'tagging' for instance is an instrument to draw (a) person(s) into a conversation, photo album or other post, but it can also intrude someone's privacy and it changes the ownership of content on Facebook (Pesce & Casas, 2012). Also sharing is an option that appears on an individual's timeline, but has someone else's 'ownership'. The type of post can also differ on Facebook, since it could be a status (textual), photo, link or video for instance. This content can exist of information, designed questions, statements, advertisements and competitions, but also the purpose can sometimes clearly differ in being informational, conversations (discussion starter) or promotional (Cvijikj et al., 2011; Kaufmann & Buckener, 2014). Therefore the Facebook analysis is mainly categorized on the type of post, the options it uses and the purpose it could have.

Out of the eleven participants, as stated in the methodology section, ten posts were selected, just as with the Instagram posts. In total out of the 110 posts, 55 were photos, 24 status updates, 18 videos and 13 links. This was already in line of expectation given the numerous articles about the 'visual web' in which youth like to operate (Rowinski, 2013). Contrary to Instagram for Facebook it was less important to see what the content exactly was, it was more important to see which of Facebook's options were used, especially

focusing on tagging and sharing. Secondly, the difference between male and female participants and age groups was an interesting element to take in consideration. The photos that were posted on the participants' timelines were evenly matched for both genders and age groups. Male participants tend to post more videos, whereas female participants are more interested in statuses. The biggest difference could be found in posting links. Out of the 50 male posts there were 11 links, while out of 60 female posts there were only 2 links. An important notion with this division between male and female participants was that on average the female age was younger (15.2 years old) than the male age (16 years old). This could indicate a difference in reputation management, as older teens tend to post less about themselves personally, because they sometimes worry about their online reputation in relation to school and (future) jobs (Madden et al., 2013).

The second interesting thing was how the participants make use of sharing and are tagged in other posts. There was also a significant change in this bit. 32 out of 50 posts were shared posts from the male participants. Especially the older male participants J (17) had many shared posts and B (17) only had shared posts, but he already explained in the focus group section that he uses Facebook partially for business purposes, which made his Facebook look more 'professional' than personal. For the female participants this number of shared posts was only 10 out of 60, which is a huge difference. As stated in the above section, this indicates a difference in reputation management, and a difference in what the image they want to display online, which is less personal, since the ownership of many posts is not from themselves originally (Pesce & Casas, 2012; Madden et al., 2013).

Related to tagging, the results between male and female participants were opposite as well. Male participants were tagged in 7 out of 50 posts, while the female participants were tagged in 21 out of 60 posts. Related to the focus group these results matched with the findings from the focus groups in which the younger participants claimed they found it really annoying that parents tagged them in photos, especially in which they were younger themselves, as could be seen by A (15) and N (13) for instance. The younger participants were in total also more frequently tagged in posts than the older ones. This could mean a difference in reputation management. It was already mentioned by one of the participants in the focus groups, that you could also manage these tags for Facebook. This means that the user has to approve tags, before they become visible on their profile. Because as parents

want to become 'a part' of profile boundary of teens, and they sometimes see it as annoying or even a reason to leave Facebook (Miller, 2013), this can be seen as an intrusion of privacy (Child & Westermann, 2013; Madden et al., 2013). The older group showed more awareness of reputation management and thus of privacy protection strategies related to the type of information that was visible for friends (Young & Quan-Haase, 2013).

Generally most participants used both their Facebook account for conversational or informational posts. The younger group seemed to have more social purposes with their posts as most posts related to their own experiences or representing themselves. However, overall most posts were related to social purposes, activities, selfies, or group pictures, same as on Instagram. Sometimes these social activities were also functional, such as birthday wishes or happy holiday wishes. There were very few designed questions. There was one question for help with a lost contact list by B (15) and a question in which S (15) was tagged about a family dinner. It was remarkable that in a way a big majority of those shared pictures and videos, which were posted especially by the (older) male participants, were in a way promotional. As the content originally has been posted by another Facebook page or media institution, it helps to promote them (and the content of the post itself) if it is shared. There were also very few clear statements or real 'discussion starters'. Generally the most remarkable difference was based on both gender and age. Whereas female participants especially posted visual images of themselves, friends and activities, the (older) male participants shared more photos, videos and links related to news, 'funny pages' such as "best vine videos" and competitions. Related to their privacy settings there were no remarkable differences.

5. Discussion and Conclusion

5.1 Discussion

Firstly, going back to the themes that were analyzed in the results, it is important to have the same structure, which was ordered on the basis of the subquestions. So the first sub-question was about the relation of the public-private nature of the given social media platforms Facebook, Whatsapp, Instagram and Snapchat to online teen behavior. This seemed quite complex since devices, gender and age were additional elements that played a crucial role in the understanding of it.

Devices and platforms are ways to divide time in relation to labor and leisure for the teens. Since their mobility they are always connected and therefore labor and leisure are intertwined. Only the younger teens said they separately use devices, as they told that the computer was only for school-related work. For this question it is also important to keep in mind that these teens are so-called digital natives, or at least present a gap, which represent a digital divide, because children are not simply literate by just growing up in an age of Internet (Prensky, 2001; Hargittai, 2002; Bennett, 2012).

However, this was exemplified by the different use of platforms. Especially on Facebook teens were amazed and sometimes annoyed by their parents' use of the platform, writing bulks of text or sometimes tagging them in family photos, which for them was seen as intrusion of their privacy (Child & Westermann, 2013; boyd & Van Marwyck, 2011) Teens seemed more interested in 'privately' (in their circle of friends) share social experiences and visual content. There was also much attention for instant-messaging and not necessarily for keeping up an online profile and identity, which was described by the younger group of participants as something for 'older people' who want to have contact with the so-called weak ties or to maintain peripheral friendships (Barkhuus & Tashiro, 2010).

This could also explain the so-called migration of teens from Facebook to other platforms such as Whatsapp, Instagram and Snapchat as depicted by Madden et al. (2013) and especially Miller (2013). This was also underlined by the survey from which seemed that younger users, are not on Facebook as often and do not think Facebook is as 'cool' as the other platforms. However, this online social migration did not seem to apply to older teens (16-18), which is the same age as Miller (2013) used for his research. So that is an important difference with his findings. The older teens in the focus groups were actually amazed that

younger teenagers thought Facebook is something 'boring' for 'older people'. However, it is remarkable that the same teens in that age category (16-18) went on Facebook themselves only two years ago, because before they were mostly on Twitter, which was shown in the focus groups. The survey showed that all ages (13-18) and most of their parents were active on Whatsapp. Parents' activity on Whatsapp was something youth did not find annoying, turned out from the focus groups. This is probably, because Whatsapp offers a clear division of contacts, no profile management and it is similar to text-messaging, but then faster, more visual and sometimes in groups, which is ideal for (young) people having contact within their nearest social circles.

Secondly, for youth's understanding of privacy it is important to refer to the division of the concept of privacy into social and informational privacy (Van der Velden & El Emam, 2012). As parents are generally concerned about their child's privacy, which became apparent by the theory and focus groups, they do not seem to know that teens actually do care about privacy but just on a different kind, as was already stated by Miller (2013). The parents worry about their children's informational privacy, which can be explained as third party access, while teens are generally more concerned about social privacy protection strategies that relate to friends and family (Young & Quan-Haase, 2013).

Miller (2013) stated that teens were moving to other platforms, because of their parents, which did not entirely corresponded with this research. Older teens generally did not seem to care much about their parents being active on Facebook, but especially younger teens had problems with parents or other relatives tagging them in 'awkward' pictures. Tagging could therefore be an important form of intrusion of privacy (Pesce & Casa, 2012). Therefore some teens had managed their privacy setting in such a way that they first have to approve a tag. That is also exemplary for the current situation of youth. They create a so-called illusion of privacy or illusion of control, by understanding and managing the privacy setting well. At the same time they relatively lack knowledge about informational privacy and possible consequences. The small content analysis of their Facebook and Instagram profiles similarly presented that teens know how they have to make their accounts private (Zheleva & Getoor, 2009; Wang et al., 2011).

Thirdly, the previous sections already related to teens' management of privacy and posts on social media platforms in the way that the findings showed that teens do care about their social privacy. On their Instagram and especially Facebook accounts it was found

that a majority had private (only friends) settings and that they sometimes have specific privacy protection strategies to maintain that privacy, such as the way to approve a tag on Facebook. Furthermore the social circle in which they claimed to operate was interesting to see. Similarly to Barkhuus & Tashiro (2010) the older participants (and especially male) claimed in the focus groups that they thought Facebook was very useful for 'weak ties' and peripheral friendships. Their behavior online was also less 'personal'. B (17) and J (17) for instance had a majority of shared content on their profiles, of which many links. The younger (female) participants shared more statuses and photos of friends, activities and themselves (selfies), which became apparent from the content analysis. Therefore it could be interpreted that there is a difference in reputation management between gender and age on Facebook and Instagram.

So to finalize, there were different levels of analysis in this research. First of all, let's answer the question if teens are moving away from Facebook? This answer is twofold; younger Dutch teens seem to think Facebook is not that interesting, but they see it as something for 'older people', for which an age of 20 was already perceived as old in the younger focus group. The younger teens do not necessarily want to keep up a profile and feel more comfortable on platforms such as Whatsapp and Snapchat. Contrary to Miller (2013) and Madden et al. (2013) the older teens (16-18) did not agree on this. Although they used Whatsapp more, they did not think Facebook was boring or for older people than themselves. They just used it in a different way than Whatsapp. Less like a messaging service and more like a service for keeping updated on news and friends' activities.

Madden et al. (2013) but especially Miller (2013) specifically point out that teens are leaving Facebook because of parents' activity on the platform. However, the focus groups and survey showed that this is only partially true. The younger teens stated that their parents or grandparents sometimes embarrass them on Facebook, especially with tagging them or posting on their profiles. Secondly, they said that parents sometimes use social platforms to control them, which was not entirely in line with the survey. In the survey there was not a significant correlation between age and the feeling that parents want to control them. In general all participants of the survey did not really perceive a feeling of control on social platforms by their parents. This is contrary to the focus groups in which the younger groups gave the example of Whatsapp on which parents try to see what time they were online to check if they are sleeping. The older group (16-18) on the contrary did not mind

their parents on social platforms at all. Secondly, they did not feel controlled by them at all, which is different than Miller (2013) and Madden et al. (2013) showed.

However, teens in all ages did care about and engage in online privacy, it just depended what kind. Both age groups in the focus groups showed how important social privacy was for them. The younger teens showed how big the influence of their parents' access was, similarly to Miller (2013) and Madden et al. (2013) and the older teens related this social privacy more to friends and less to parents. Informational privacy, of which third party access is a huge element, was not a big issue for the participants. They did not see the importance of their data, because they did not have the full understanding of what happens with it. Secondly the participants of the focus groups saw their data as disconnected individual pieces instead of the metadata behind it. Also they used the "nothing to hide argument" (Solove, 2011) to show that it would not matter to them if third parties like governments would use their data, because they had not been related to any criminal activity. However, some of them understood that their data was used for advertisement on those platforms, but those advertisements were not necessarily perceived as an intrusion of their privacy, but 'just' described as boring.

5.2. Conclusion

The central theme of this paper has to be understood as the understanding, perception and engagement of privacy by Dutch teens. This is connected to Facebook migration and the possible connected growing popularity of platforms such as Whatsapp, Instagram and Snapchat. The answer to the main question how Dutch teens perceive and exercise privacy in the digital age is ambiguous, but it can be stated that Dutch teens have a great importance for social privacy in which they like to share and message in a 'private online environment'. Contrary to their parents, they are generally less interested in informational privacy, which relates to third party access. The perception and the way teens 'exercise' the concept of privacy is very much related to each other and is reflected in the way that they have all kinds of protection strategies.

This research connected the way Dutch teens perceive and exercise privacy to the migration of Facebook. From that it can be concluded that parents and other relatives play an important role for especially younger teens to not use Facebook as much as the other platforms. However, older teens did not seem to care about this at all, which was contrary to

the researches by Miller (2013) and Madden et al. (2013) that were partly replicated. Those articles formed the main line in the theory that was used, which was complemented with theory about different kinds of privacy, the illusion of control online, privacy protection strategies, the management of time and space in the digital age. Those main theories were primarily connected to the relationship between teens, parents and third parties. These theories seemed suitable with the purpose of this research and the eventual outcomes.

The methods that were used followed the structure of the two replicated articles by Miller (2013) and Madden et al. (2013) as well. The themes in the survey and focus groups were influenced by the structure that those two articles used. However, this research elaborated on teens' understandings of privacy and focused more on their management of time and space. Therefore the small content analysis was a small supplement to the survey and the focus groups to show the basics of their behavior in privacy settings and posting, which gave additional insights to the survey and focus groups.

5.3. Limitations

The first limitation of this research was related to the demographics of the survey. The purpose was to have participants from all education levels that were active on the high school. However, the survey failed to record answers by participants from VMBO (lower vocational education). Secondly, it was the intention to have participants in the age group of 12-18, but there were no answers recorded from 12-year-olds. Therefore it can be argued that the survey had no representative sample, since not all educational levels were covered and one specific age was missing. Furthermore, the recorded answers only consisted of answers from participants coming from one school in 's Hertogenbosch, which does not necessarily makes it a representative sample for The Netherlands. However, that was not the purpose of the survey. It was used with the intention of 'feeding' the focus groups and delivering useful descriptive data that could be used for the other methods.

Still, this brings up another limitation, of the connection between quantitative and qualitative data, which can be subject to bias, since the combination between quantitative and qualitative data is made based on interpretation. However, the survey and focus groups were similarly ordered in themes, which made them easier to connect. Moreover, it definitely provided advantages as well, since the qualitative data gave a deeper understanding of the survey data. The other way around, the quantitative data helped to

create the subject of discussion in the focus groups. In practical terms however, it also turned out that the survey and focus groups not always connected as they were expected. That could be attributed to the way the setting differs. In a focus group participants were of course in groups, in a different physical setting and with a discussion leader, which of course influenced the discussion and thus the data.

Related to the small content analysis of participants' platform usage, there were a few limitations as well. The social platforms Whatsapp and Snapchat could not be used, because those results would end up being artificial. So instead, only their Facebook and Instagram profiles were used as objects for research. The results would be artificial, since participants would then have the possibility to choose the content they would send to the researcher, because both platforms are entirely based on instant-messaging. This would not have created an accurate image of participants' usage of those platforms. Additionally, a limitation that covers all research methods, is that participants were not asked or specifically controlled on the removal of posts or deleting of tags online. This means their privacy protection strategies rely on their statements in the survey, focus groups and what they posted online. The connection between what they already deleted was hard to be made, but strongly related to the expiry date of posts and the way they manage privacy. Finally, which was not a huge limitation to the research per se, was that the researcher had to become friends with participants to see their actual content. This raised questions about the accessibility of the social media profiles of the researcher and the related possible danger of credibility. This actually serves an important question in this digital age and the academic field of doing research on such digital platforms.


5.4 Further Research

For further research it could be important to thoroughly try to research participants' usage of Whatsapp and Snapchat and try to capture it in a similar content analysis or experiment. Secondly, more research is definitely needed for teens' usage of Facebook. It does not completely become clear if all teen users are *leaving* Facebook or just not yet make use of it. Therefore more accurate research in multiple countries around the world is needed about possible Facebook migration and the motives for it. Moreover the relation to parents on social platforms needs more clarity, because Miller (2013) for instance claims teens are moving from Facebook to platforms such as Snapchat and Whatsapp, because of their

parents. However, this research showed that Whatsapp is not only the most popular platform for teens, but also among parents in The Netherlands.

Further research also definitely has to go deeper into survey data and analyze differences and similarities between groups, since this research raised important questions related to age groups, gender and educational levels. Interpretedly, the focus groups showed, there were differences between the younger teens and older teens related to the attitude towards Facebook. Other ways of research that are more related to the actual usage of the platforms could address some gaps in this research as well. In practical terms this means that experiments for Whatsapp and Snapchat in combination with extensive surveys, could help to understand the features of those platforms that create interest and popularity.

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Appendix A:

Survey Tables:

Table A1.

Number of participants active on the four given Social Platforms

	All (N = 158)		Boys (N = 75)		Girls (N = 83)	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Facebook	119	75.3	57	76.0	62	74.7
Whatsapp	157	99.4	74	78.7	83	100
Instagram	107	67.7	43	57.3	64	77.1
Snapchat	140	88.6	65	86.7	75	90.4

Table A2.

Average Duration of Activity on Platforms, measured in Hours

	Duration	
	M	SD
Facebook	0.61	0.89
Whatsapp	3.26	2.56
Instagram	0.77	1.07
Snapchat	1.18	1.39

Note. N = 158

Table A3.

Average Judgement scores of Coolness per Platform

	Coolness	
	M	SD
Facebook	3.78	1.33
Whatsapp	4.36	0.80
Instagram	4.40	1.27
Snapchat	4.13	1.03

Note. Coolness was scored on a 5 point likert scale.

1 is not cool and 5 is very cool.

Table A4.

Mean ratings of Perceived Privacy Protection on the four given Social Platforms

	Perceived Privacy Protection	
	M	SD
Facebook	2.85	1.15
Whatsapp	3.71	0.91
Instagram	3.53	1.04
Snapchat	3.44	1.13

Note. Perceived privacy protection was measured on a 5 point likert scale. 1 is very little protection and 5 is very much protection.

Table A5.

Mean ratings of Judgement of Privacy per Platform

	Judgement of Privacy	
	M	SD
Facebook	2.46	1.47
Whatsapp	3.41	0.80
Instagram	3.13	1.34
Snapchat	3.00	1.03

Note. Judgement of privacy was measured on a 4 point scale. 1 is least private and 4 is most private.

Table A6.

Average scores of trust in social media related to privacy categorized by age

	N	Social Platforms	
		M	SD
13-year-old	11	2.73	1.19
14-year-old	46	2.93	1.81
15-year-old	37	3.05	0.94
16-year-old	23	2.91	1.08
17-year-old	24	2.71	1.16
18-year-old	4	2.75	0.96

Note. Trust in social media related to privacy was measured on a 5 point likert scale. 1 is least sense of trust and 5 is highest sense of trust.

Table A7.

Mean ratings of opinion about parents being active on a social platform

	Parents of Social Platform	
	M	SD
Facebook	3.14	0.84
Whatsapp	3.75	1.02
Instagram	2.78	1.23
Snapchat	2.68	1.22

Note. Opinion about parents being active on a social platform was scored on a 5 point likert scale. 1 is not nice at all and 5 is very nice.

Table A8.

Average scores of Main Contact Groups in 'Friend Lists' of the Participants per Platform

	Facebook		Whatsapp		Instagram		Snapchat	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Friends	94	74.6	154	97.5	90	82.6	142	100
Family	23	18.3	4	2.5	5	4.6	0	0
Acquaintances	8	6.3	0	0	9	8.3	0	0
Celebrities	1	0.8	0	0	2	1.8	0	0
Remaining	0	0	0	0	3	2.8	0	0

Appendix B:

Focus group 1:

N (13): female

education: HAVO: Higher general secondary education

Place of residence: 's Hertogenbosch, The Netherlands

B (14) female

education: HAVO: Higher general secondary education

Place of residence: 's Hertogenbosch, The Netherlands

A (15) female

education: VMBO: Preparatory secondary vocational education

Place of residence: 's Hertogenbosch, The Netherlands

T (15) male

education: VWO: Pre-University Education

Place of residence: 's Hertogenbosch, The Netherlands

Focus Group 2

D (16) male

education: HAVO: Higher general secondary education

Place of residence: 's Hertogenbosch, The Netherlands

E (16) female

education: VWO: Pre-University Education

Place of residence: 's Hertogenbosch, The Netherlands

J (17) male

education: HAVO: Higher general secondary education

Place of residence: 's Hertogenbosch, The Netherlands

B (17) male

education: VWO: Pre-University Education

Place of residence: 's Hertogenbosch, The Netherlands

D (18) female

education: HAVO: Higher general secondary education

Place of residence: 's Hertogenbosch, The Netherlands

Questions Focus Groups

English translation under original Dutch questions:

Wie heeft er mee gedaan aan de online vragenlijst die sommige klassen al hadden gemaakt?

Who participated in the online survey that some classes already filled in?

Wat vonden jullie ervan? Was het makkelijk te doen?

What did you think of it? Was it easy?

We gaan het hebben over de uitkomsten van die vragenlijst en jullie algemene kijk op bepaalde social media platforms en jullie omgang met online privacy.

We are going to discuss the results of the survey and your general view on social media platforms and your engagement in online privacy.

Wat zijn voor jullie top 5 social media platforms?

What are your top 5 social media platforms?

Denken jullie of merken jullie om je heen dat hier verschillen in zitten met betrekking tot leeftijd of tussen jongens en meisjes?

Do you think there are differences in appreciation related to age or gender?

Facebook

Heeft iedereen Facebook? Op welke leeftijd ben je op Facebook gegaan?

Does everyone have a Facebook account? On what age you made a Facebook account?

Wat vind je van het medium?

What do you think of Facebook?

Gebruik je het meer op telefoon / tablet / computer?

On which device do you use Facebook mostly? Phone / Tablet / PC?

Voor wie is Facebook naar jullie mening bedoelt?

For whom is Facebook meant as a platform?

Is Facebook al een beetje ouderwets oubollig, niet cool meer?

Is Facebook already old-fashioned, or not cool anymore?

Veel van de leerlingen hadden in de vragenlijst geantwoord dat ze wel een Facebook hebben, maar er geen of bijna geen gebruik van maken, hoe zit dat bij jullie?

Many of the students answered in the survey that they have a Facebook account, but do not

often make use of it, is that the same for you?

Ouders / Parents

Van wie zitten zijn of haar ouders ook op Facebook?

Whose parents are on Facebook as well?

En wat vind je hiervan?

What do you think of this?

Hoe maken zij gebruik van Facebook? Anders dan jullie?

How are they making use of Facebook? Different from you?

Is er een verschil tussen je ouders die op Whatsapp zitten of als ze op Facebook zitten?

Is there a difference between parents on Whatsapp and on Facebook?

Heb je het gevoel dat je ouders je willen of kunnen controleren op social media en dan vooral Facebook?

Do you feel like parents want to control you on social media, and especially Facebook?

Hou je hier rekening mee?

Do you take this into account?

Behalve Whatsapp, wie z'n ouders zit op instagram of Snapchat?

Besides Whatsapp, whose parents are on Instagram or Snapchat?

Zie je deze platforms meer als platforms voor jullie leeftijdscategorie?

Do you generally see these platforms more as specified for your age category?

Hoe voelt dit gevoel van controle of persoonlijke privacy bij deze twee platforms?

How is this feeling of control or personal (social) privacy on these two platforms

Privacy

Wat betekent privacy voor jullie eigenlijk?

What does privacy mean for you?

Het wordt ook wel omschreven als persoonlijke vrijheid of maken van eigenruimte of het zelf bepalen wie informatie over ons krijgt.

Sometimes privacy is described as personal freedom, making use of personal space, or the agency in deciding who can see your data.

Gebruik je social media voor deze persoonlijke vrijheid of eigenruimte?

Do you use social media for his feeling of personal freedom or private space?

Welk social media platform is hier eigenlijk het handigst voor?

What social media platform is most suitable for this?

Hebben jullie het privacybeleid van de platforms die jullie gebruiken wel eens gelezen?

Did you ever read the privacy statements for social media platforms?

Hebben jullie een idee hoeveel gegevens ze van jullie mogen gebruiken?

Do you know what of your data they can use?

Wat vind je hiervan?

What do you think of this?

Zou je liever betalen en geen privacy opgeven dan nu niks betalen en wel je privacy opgeven?

Would you rather pay and not give access to your data, instead of paying nothing and giving up your privacy (how the situation is right now)?

Welke vorm van privacy is eigenlijk belangrijker? De privacy in je sociale kring / familiekring?

Dus het creëren van eigen ruimte ten op zichte van ouders of vrienden. Of je vrij kunnen bewegen zonder dat de overheid dit ziet of bedrijven dit kunnen zien?

Which form of privacy is more important? Social privacy related to friends and family, so the creation of private space regarding to them? Or having privacy related to third party access?

Hoe doen jullie privacy settings op social media? We beginnen met Facebook.

How do you manage privacy settings on social media? Let's start with Facebook.

Vraagt iemand wel eens advies voor privacy settings, zo ja aan wie?

Do you ever ask for advice in relation for privacy settings and whom?

Data

Waarom hoeven jullie eigenlijk niets te betalen voor die apps?

Why do you actually not have to pay for those apps?

Wie denk je dat jullie data allemaal te zien krijgt? (Verwijs naar NSA Amerikaanse overheid).

Vind je het erg?

Who do you think that has access to your data? (Relate to NSA and American government).

Do you care?

Ondanks dat jullie er op zitten kwam er uit de vragenlijst naar voren dat veel kinderen het toch vervelend vinden als de overheid / bedrijven zoals facebook / of adverteerders jullie

data kunnen zien. Welke van deze vinden jullie sowieso het ergst.

Even though you are on the platforms, many other scholars did find it annoying that third parties such as governments / companies like Facebook / advertisers have access to your data. Which of those do you think is most problematic?

Uit de vragenlijst kwam naar voren dat de leerlingen vinden dat de privacy / data het best beschermd wordt op Whatsapp en het minst goed op Facebook. Waarom is dit? Of hoe kijken jullie hier zelf tegenaan?

The results from the survey showed that scholars thought privacy / your data is best protected on Whatsapp and least protected on Facebook? Why do you scholars chose this? How do you think about this?

De volgorde van de platforms was dan ook van minst privé naar meest privé:

1. Facebook
2. Snapchat
3. Instagram
4. Whatsapp

Zijn jullie het hier mee eens? Hoe komt dit?

The order of platforms regarding to privacy from least private to most private was:

1. Facebook
2. Snapchat
3. Instagram
4. Whatsapp

Do you agree with this? Why is this?

Wie deelt hier zijn telefoonnummer op social media? Denk je dat deze toch te achterhalen is? Waarom?

Who shares his or her telephone number on social media? Do you think this detectable anyhow? Why?

Bedrijven / Companies

Hebben jullie een idee of Instagram nog een eigen bedrijf is of dat het overgekocht is en zo ja door wie?

Do you have any idea if Instagram is an individual company or is it acquired? If yes, by whom?

Zelfde geldt voor Whatsapp?

Same for Whatsapp?

En ook Snapchat probeerde ze te kopen.

Waarom zouden ze dit proberen te doen denk je?

Facebook also tried to buy Snapchat, why did the company try that?

Wat vind je er van dat één bedrijf probeert zo veel mogelijk in handen te krijgen?

What do you think about one company trying to get so much power?

Appendix C:

Content Analysis

Coding Sytem Instagram:

1. Friends: This category represents users with friends in the picture. For this category there have to be at least two human faces on the photo.
2. Food: This category speaks for itself. This could be pictures of food, recipes cakes, drinks etc.
3. Gadgets: This category is about electronic devices, but also about cars and motorbikes etc.
4. Captioned Photo: This relates to pictures with embedded texts, such as memes.
5. Pets: Animals, such as dogs or cats as main elements of the picture.
6. Activities: Outdoor and indoor activities in which 'places' play an important role. Examples are concerts and landmarks.
7. Selfie: Self-portraits on which the human face is the main object of the picture.
8. Fashion: Shoes, clothing, brands that are the main object of the picture.

B (15) female:

Facebook: mobile uploads, profile pictures and cover photos public, the rest private

Instagram: private

Facebook:



Paaspop (festival) photos: Photo / Tagged / Social

Functional post about losing contact list: Status

Post about resetting iphone: Status

Lady Gaga concert: Photo / Social

Bibi the movie year in review Facebook: Video / Social

Photo with friends: Photo / Social

Multiple Gala photos: Photo / Tagged

Shared best vine video: social: Video / Shared

Study trip posts: Status / Social

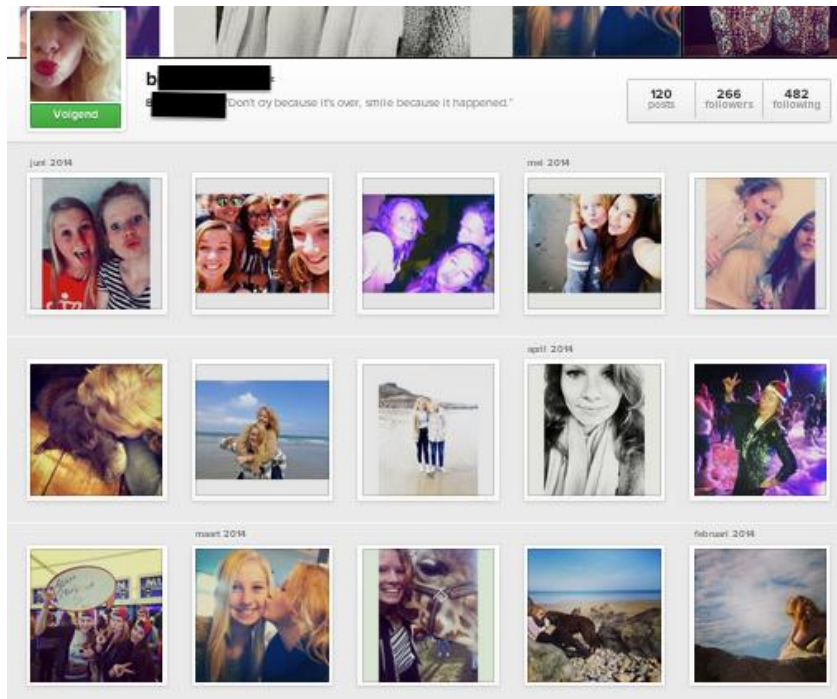
Breakfast Food Picture: Photo / Food

5 photos (2 tagged)

3 status

2 videos (1 shared)

Instagram:



Happy Holiday selfie: 7

Festival selfie #paaspop2014: 6 / 7

Festival picture with friends #paaspop: 1 / 6

Photo with friends during someone's birthday: 1 / 6

Selfie with Giraffe: 5 / 7

Selfie with Dog in France 5 / 7

Photo of herself in Andalucia: 6

Selfie (VOGUE): 7 / 8

Old picture (throwback) with mother: 1

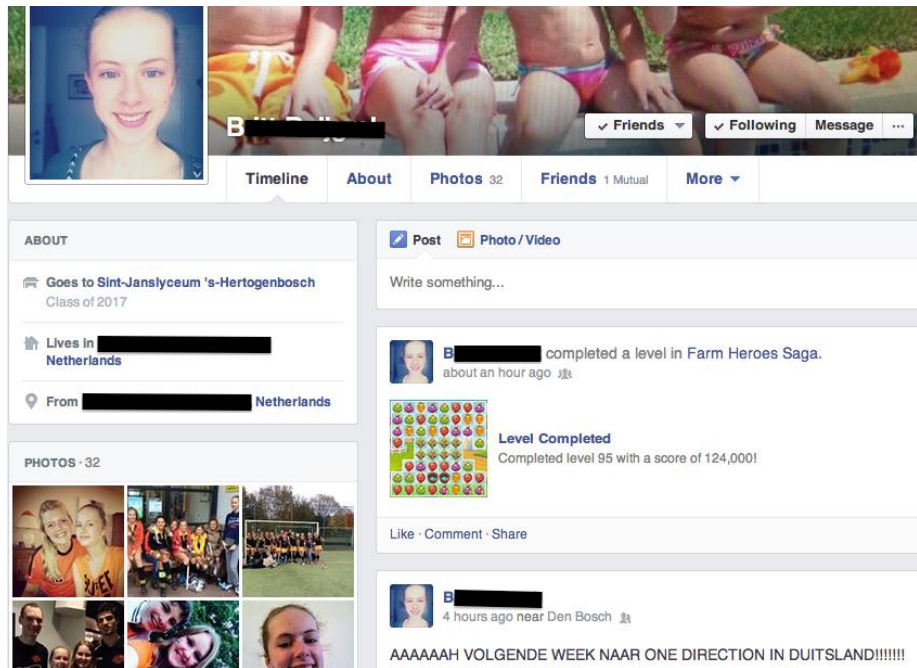
Photo with friend wearing the same sweaters: 1

B (14) female:

Facebook: Most of it is private, but not the profile picture, cover photo and games. Also impossible to add as friend.

Instagram: private

Facebook:



Tagged in a photo with a friend and two basketball players: Photo / Tagged

Tagged in a message saying she attended a high tea: Status / Tagged

Birthday messages from friends: Status (messages from others)

Tagged in photos with friends celebrating kingsday: Photo / Tagged

Shared vine video: Video / shared

Shared "fun in your name photo": Photo / Shared

Photo without brace: Photo (selfie)

Holiday text post about her plans: Status

Shared lachen gieren brullen photo: Photo / Shared

5 photos (2 tagged 2 shared)

3 status (1 messages from others, 1 tagged)

1 video (1 shared)

Instagram:

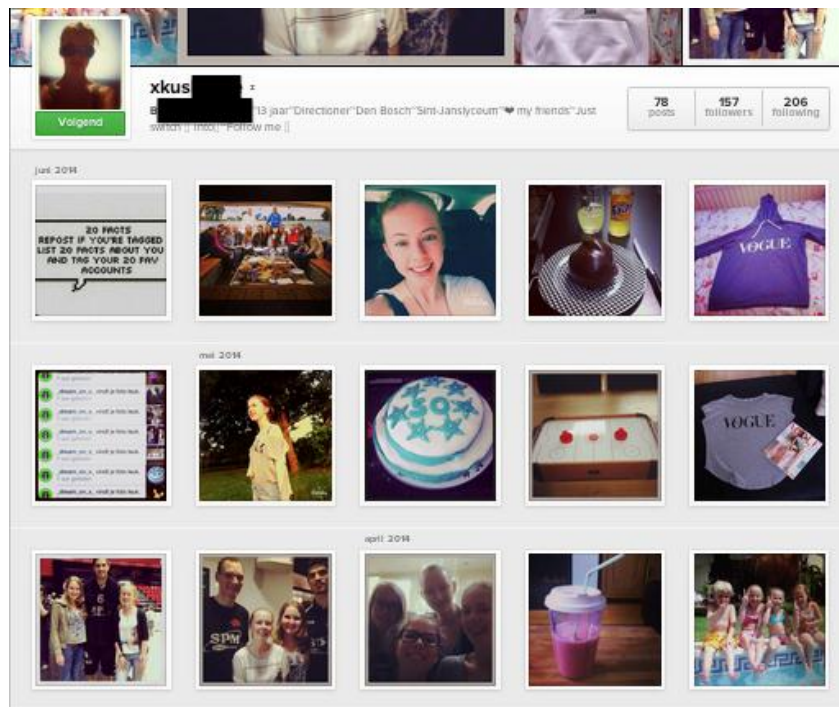


Photo of vogue t-shirt with magazine saying: Yes its here <3 #voguetee #love #new: 8

Photo with basketball player and friend: With @taiwesley, tnxx for the picture: 6 / 7

Photo with 2 basketball players and friend: 6 / 7

Picture with three friends saying: With chicks (and tagging them): 7

Photo of her breakfast drink, text: mmmmmmh nice breakfast, #raspberry #pear #applejuice: 2

Picture of her and other kids at pool, text: Day 10 #throwback #aprilchallenge: 1

Picture of one direction (band) single, text: Day 7 #favoritesong #aprilchallenge: 4

Picture of her shoes, text: Day 4: #blackandwhite #aprilchallenge social (instagram 'rules'): 8

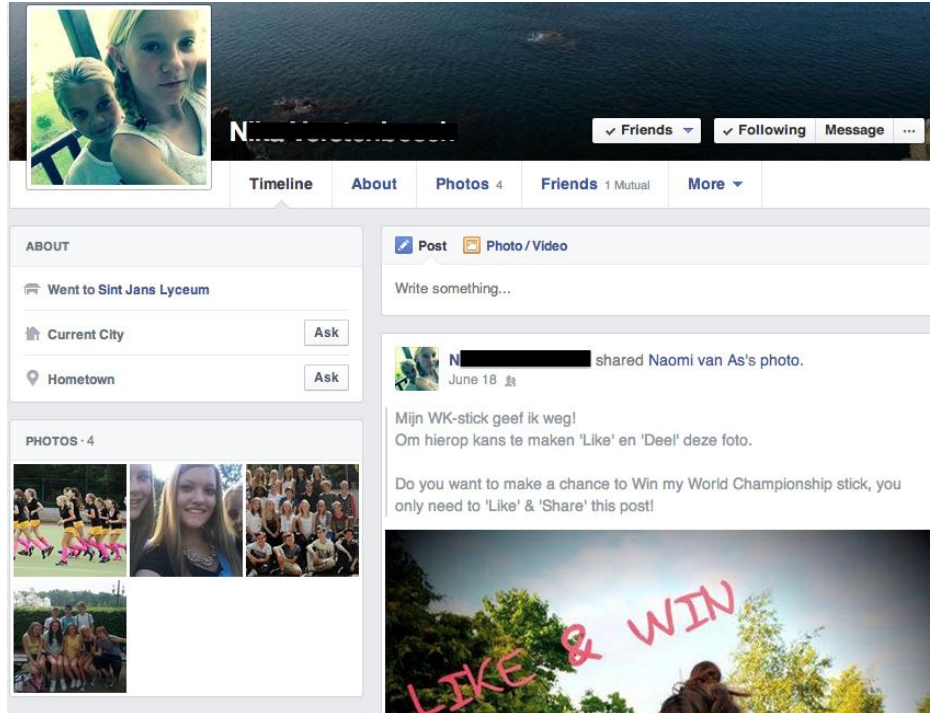
Picture of her perfume, text: Day 4: #parfum #ourmoment #aprilchallenge: 8

N (13) female

Facebook: Everything private, except for profile pictures.

Instagram: Private

Facebook:



Tagged in text post by a friend saying that they had a great day, social. Status / Tagged

Tagged in text post by friend saying that she had a great weekend: Status / Tagged

Changed profile picture (selfie): Photo

Changed profile picture (selfie with friend): Photo

Picture and text post with family saying they had a great Christmas: Photo

Changed her profile picture: Photo

Tagged in pictures she made for a friend's birthday: Photo / Tagged

Changed her profile picture (selfie): Photo

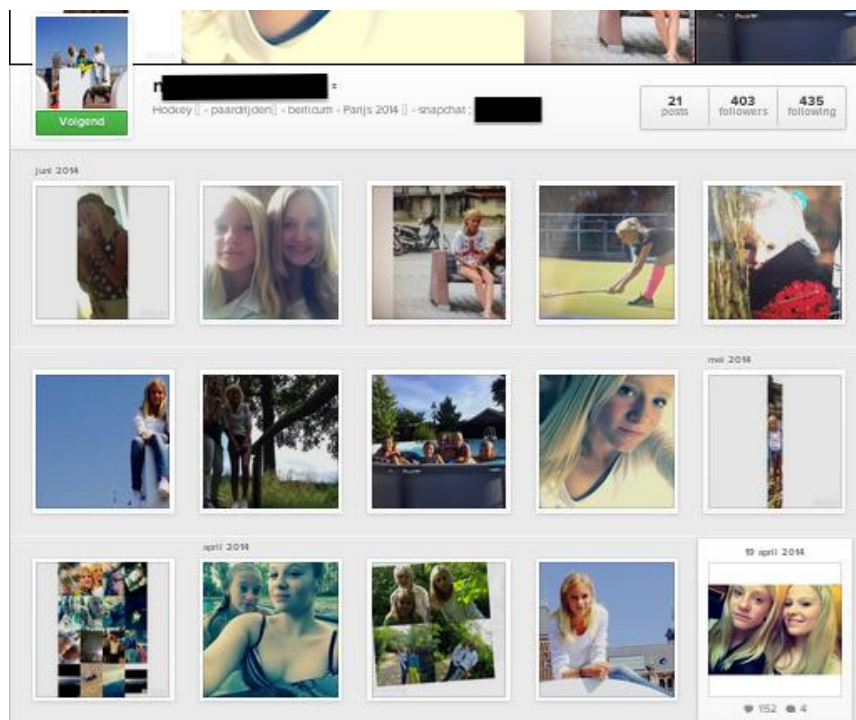
Message in which she says that Collin de Vries is following her: Status

Changed profile picture (selfie): Photo

7 photos (1 tagged)

3 status (2 tagged)

Instagram:



Collage picture of holiday in Turkey: 6

Photo with two friends: 1

Photo with sister: 1

Selfie with friend, text: <3 <3: 1 / 7

Collage group pictures: leuk dagje gehad (Amsterdam location on): 1 / 6

Selfie in Amsterdam: 6 / 7

Selfie with friend, text: Met mijn chick <3: 1 / 7

Collage pictures of herself on horse: 5

Picture of her on horse: Fijn op liefste Terra gesprongen: 5

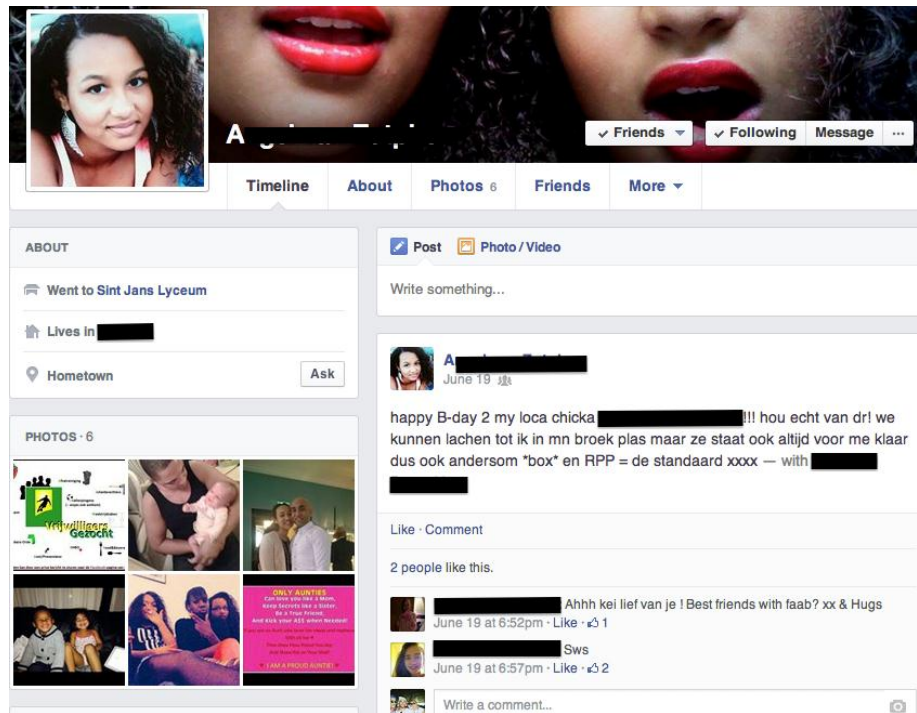
Selfie (crown): 7

A (15) female

Facebook: Mostly private, profile pictures public and some old timeline posts. (remarkable, had 2 Facebook profiles, an old one that she did not use anymore)

Instagram: Public

Facebook:



Text message “Word half autie, m’n toetsenbord spaced”: Status

Post for game requests: Link

Shared a video: Video / Shared

Tagged in a post that is looking for volunteers: Status / Tagged

Picture with friends in Cannes: Photo

Tagged in family pictures: Photo / Tagged

Shared a political video about black pete: Video / Shared

Shared video from a page with weird videos: Video / Shared

Sharing photo from drake quotes: Photo Shared

Sharing youtube link (song): Link / Shared

Tagged in photo with her dad: Photo / Tagged

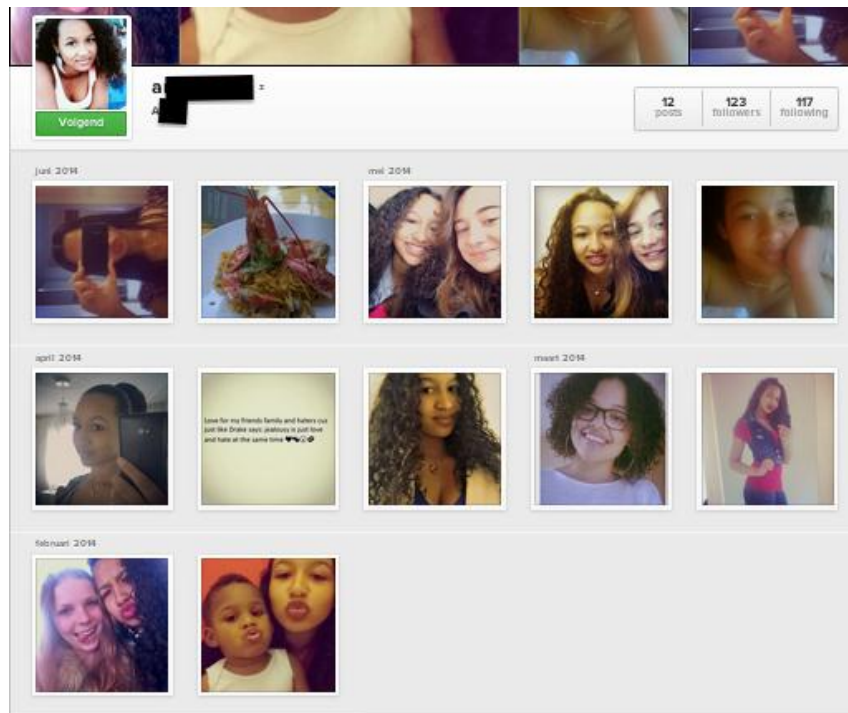
3 photos (2 tagged)

2 status (1 tagged)

4 videos (all shared)

2 links

Instagram:



Selfie, text: first time with donut lol: 2 / 7

Lyrics by Drake, text: soso lobbyyy <3: 4

Selfie, text: een dag dat m'n haar zit: 7

Picture of cousin, text: happy birthday to my cousin: 1

Selfie, text: wdw?: 7

Picture of food: 4x choco <3 home made: 2

Picture with friend: W/ Jasmijn <3: 1

Picture of drawing: 6

Selfie with friend: Selfie in de les noh, liever werk je: 1 / 7

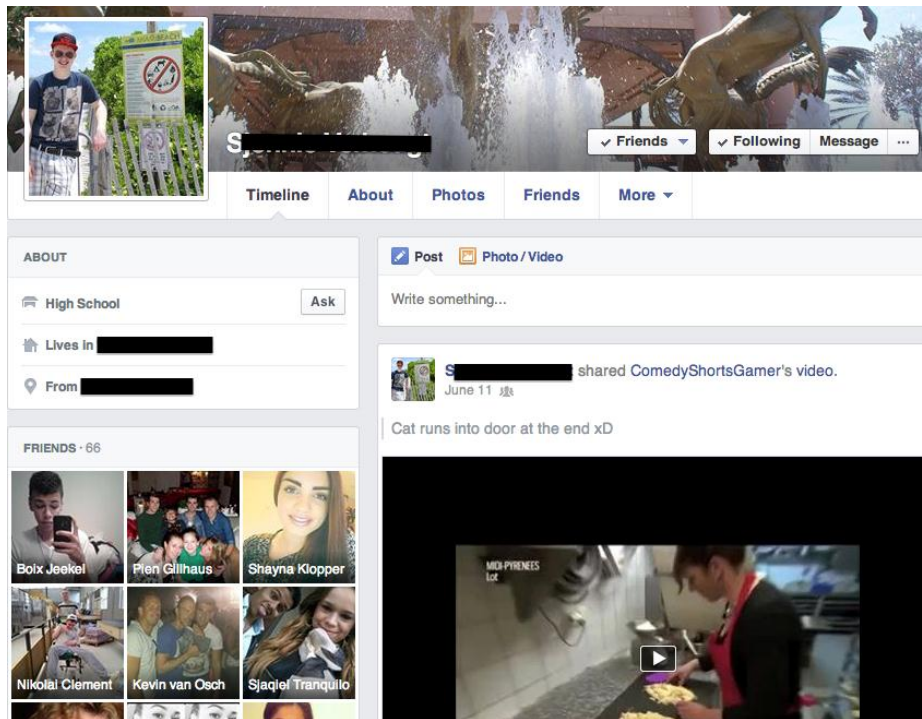
Selfie with brother: mooierd: 1 / 7

S (15) male

Facebook: Private profile, except for profile pictures, cover photos, 2 mobile upload, and shared vine videos.

Instagram: Private

Facebook:



Shared best vine video with cat: Video / shared

Shared best vine video with cat: Video / Shared

Shared picture of cat with hat: Photo / Shared

Shared another picture of animals for carnival: Photo / Shared

Shared video: Video / Shared

Shared amazing and shocking video: Video / Shared

Shared best vine video: Video / Shared

Tagged in a question, if he comes over for dinner: Status / Tagged

Changed cover photo: Photo

Changed profile picture: Photo

Shared a FB game: Link / Shared

4 photos (2 shared)

4 video (4 shared)

1 status (tagged)

1 link (shared)

Instagram:

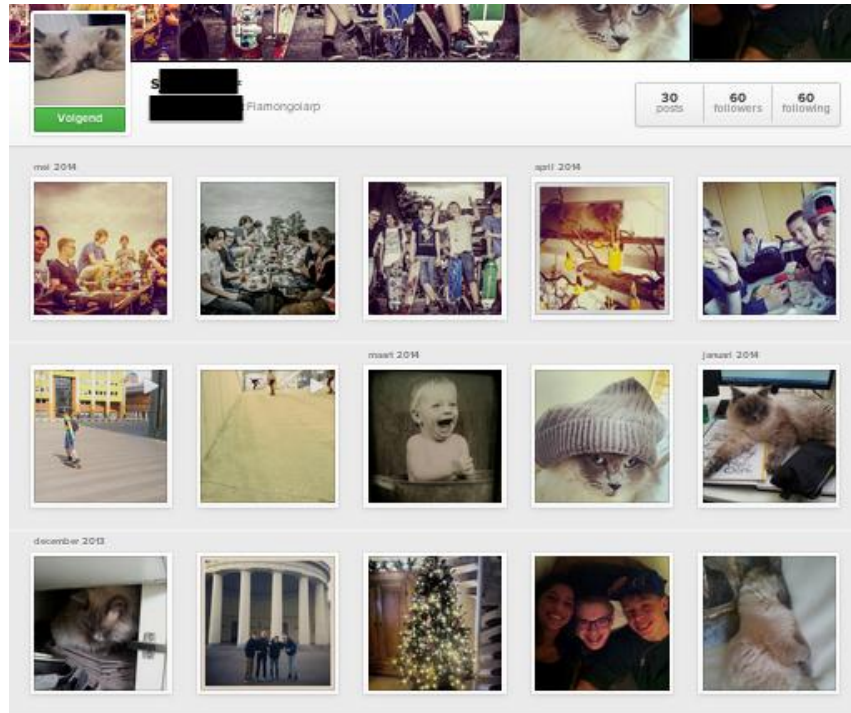


Photo of cat, text: Happy easter!: 5

Photo of friends and random person: Lille ft. Dikke vrouw in Mc: 1

Friend with skateboard video: @yannickboer met z'n coole trucje: 1

Friends with longboards video: 1

Baby picture, no text: 7

Photo of cat with hat: Gangster pappie: 5

Photo of cat in front of computer: 3 / 5

Photo of cat in closet: nee ik zit goed hier: 5

Photo with friends in German city: Was leuk in Aken met ...: 1 / 6

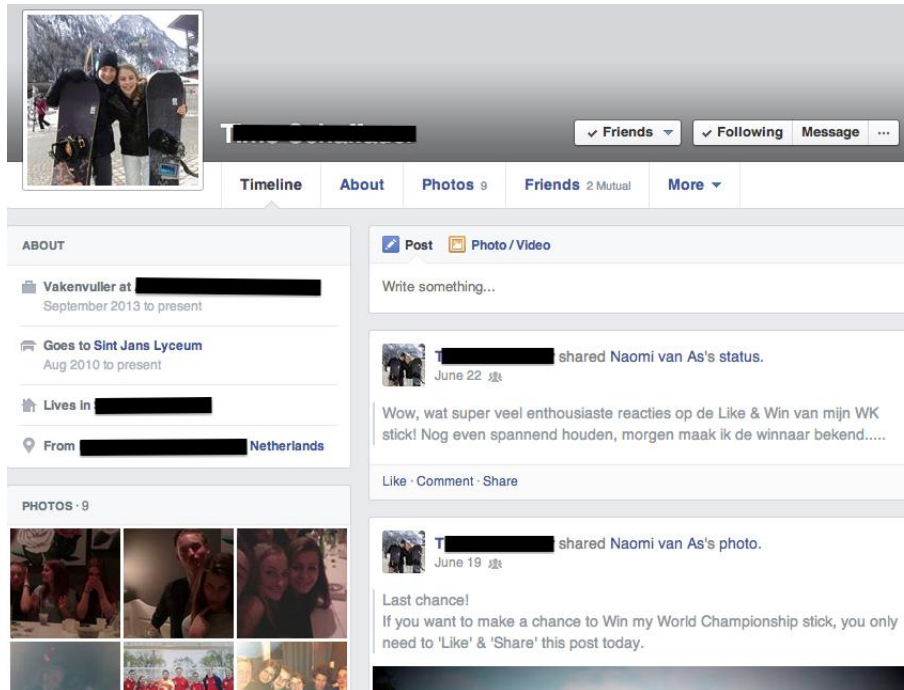
Photo of Christmas tree: Hoe vinden jullie hem? #Christmas #christmastree: 6

T (15) male

Facebook: Quite some things on public, some photos, videos and likes

Instagram: Public

Facebook:



Birthday wishes: Status (messages from others)

Tagged in friends photo of drinking: Photo / Tagged

Text message about his birthday: Status

Tagged in text and photo message about field hockey: Photo / Tagged

Shared 'funny' picture: Photo / Shared

Shared best vine video: Video / Shared

Shared 9Gag photo: Photo / Shared

Shared a picture of page: Photo / Shared

Shared a fundraising picture of baby with brain tumor: Photo / Shared

Pictures of winter holidays skiing: Photo

7 photos (2 tagged / 4 shared)

1 video (shared)

2 status (1 messages from others)

Instagram:

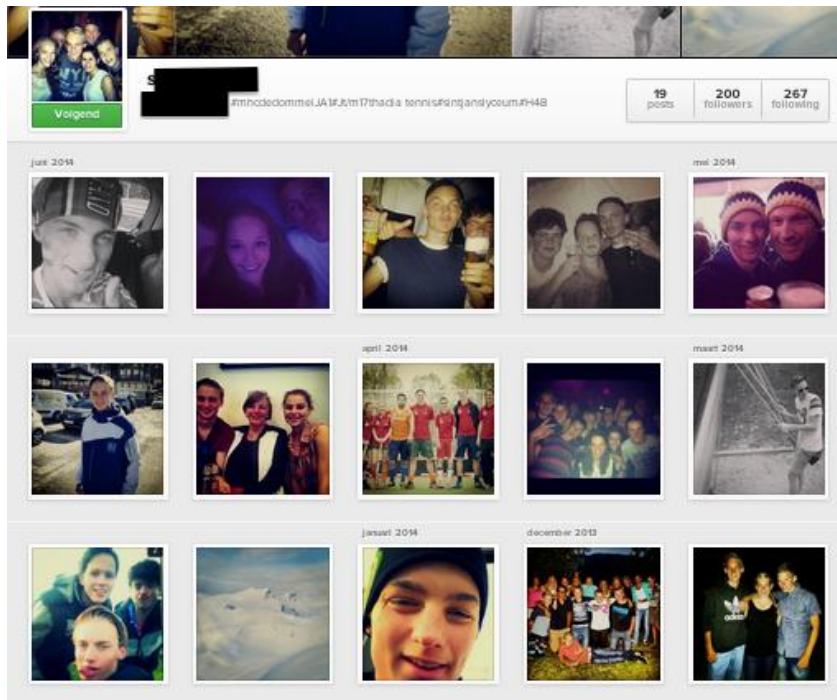


Photo with Dutch Field Hockey international: Daar sta je dan naast Valetin Verga,
Nederlands hockey international: 1 / 6

Group picture with friends going out: #feestje: 1

Photo of himself on schommel: 7

Group selfie with friends: Gekke vrijdagmiddag chillings met ...: 1 / 7

Winter snow mountain landscape on skiing holiday: Wat kan skiën mooi zijn: 6

Selfie while on skiing holidays: wintersportselfie: 6 / 7

Group picture on summer holidays: Jaja Wat een tijd was dat #vakantie#2013: 1 / 6

Photo with two friends: #vakantie#oostenrijk#2013: 1 / 6

Selfie with friends: With badass Ricardo: 1 / 7

Photo of himself in tuxedo: #smoking #gala #sint-janslyceum: 7

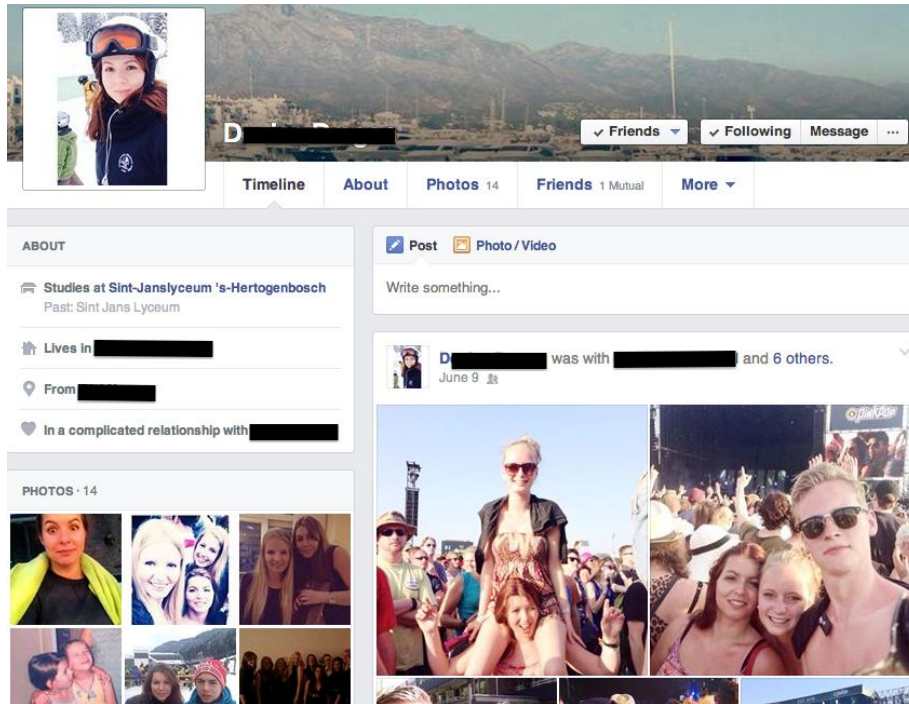
Group picture: studiereis Tsjechië was dol: 1 / 6

D (18) female

Facebook: Private, except for profile picture, cover photo and tagged places.

Instagram: Public

Facebook:



Tagged in a message about having activities with friends as holidays and festivals: Status /

Tagged

Photo with friend: Photo

Picture of flowers and family member tagged: feeling loved <3: Photo / Tagged

With friends at a restaurant: Gezellig brunchen (everyone tagged): Photo / Tagged

Happy birthday wishes: Status (others messaging)

Winter holidays photo with brother: Photo

Tagged in map location message, holidays: Location Status / Tagged

Tagged in 6 photos of friends carnival: Photo / Tagged

Tagged in pictures and message in Bulgaria: Photo / Tagged

Changed profile picture, skiing holiday: Photo

7 photos (5 tagged)

3 status (1 other's messaging / 2 tagged)

Instagram:

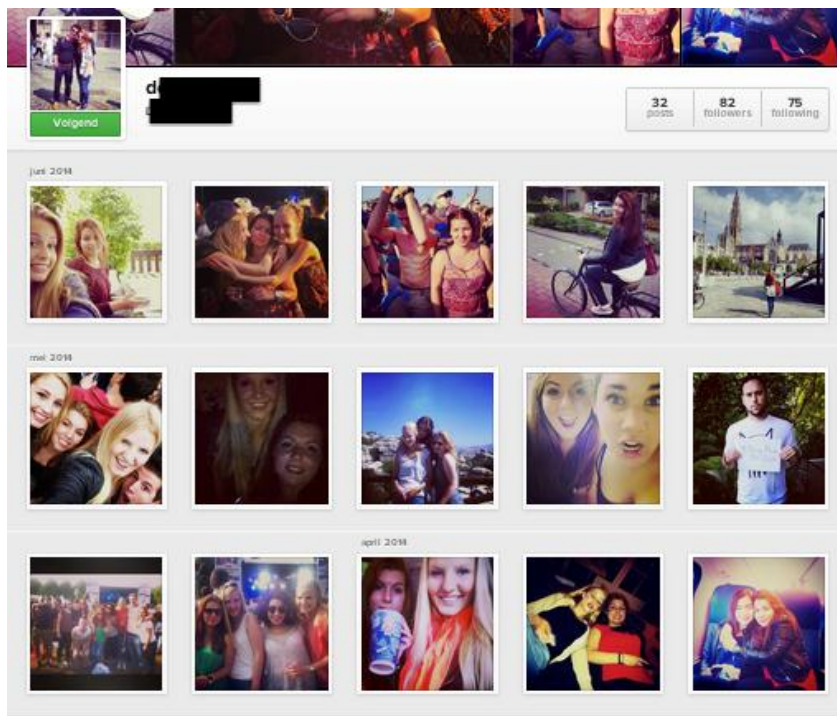


Photo of someone else with message: #bringbackourgirls: 4

Group picture at festival: 1 / 6

Selfie with friend at festival: Met Valerie <3 : 6 / 7

Group picture with friends at festival: 1 / 6

Picture with friend: Koningsdag: 1 / 6 / 7

Photo with friend: "babysitten": 1

Photo with friend: hugging emoticon: 1 / 7

Photo of landscape sunset: Life is messy, love is messier: 4 / 6

Photo with friend: 1 / 7

Photo with friend: 7

J (17) Male

Facebook: Private, only 2 photos on public, but timeline posts and shares are visible

Instagram: Public (only 5 posts)

Facebook:



Shared photo for big Easter Egg: Contest Photo / Shared

Birthday Wishes: Status (others messaging)

Tagged in message that he won contest for carnival tickets: Contest Status / Tagged

Shared post by omroepbrabant: Link / Shared

Shared post of carnival contest: Contest Link / Shared

Shared a link via someone (telegraaf): Link / Shared

NY post with wishes: Status

Shared Koning voetbal app: Link / Shared

Changed his profile picture: Photo

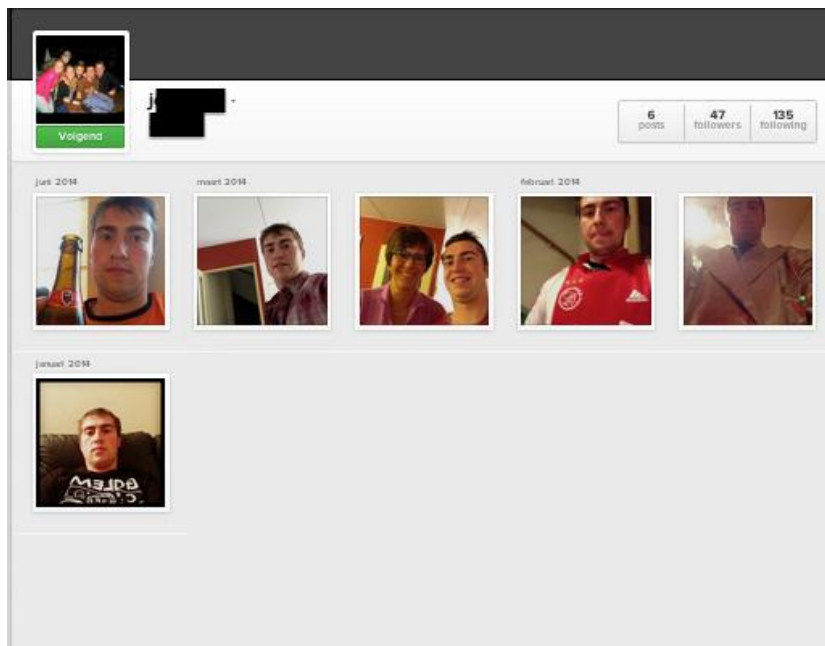
Shared picture of contest for soccer match: Contest Photo / Shared

3 photos (2 shared)

3 status (1 tagged / 1 others messaging)

4 links (4 shared)

Instagram:



Selfie: klaar voor oma 80 verjaardagsfeest #familie # fun: 6 / 7

Selfie with mother: Samen met m'n mam voor feestje trainer: 6 / 7

Selfie in ajax jersey: Ready to go to Ajax – Red Bill Salzburg :'): 6 / 7

Selfie: Ready for elfsteruren: 6 / 7

Selfie: Klaar voor personeelsfeest: 6 / 7

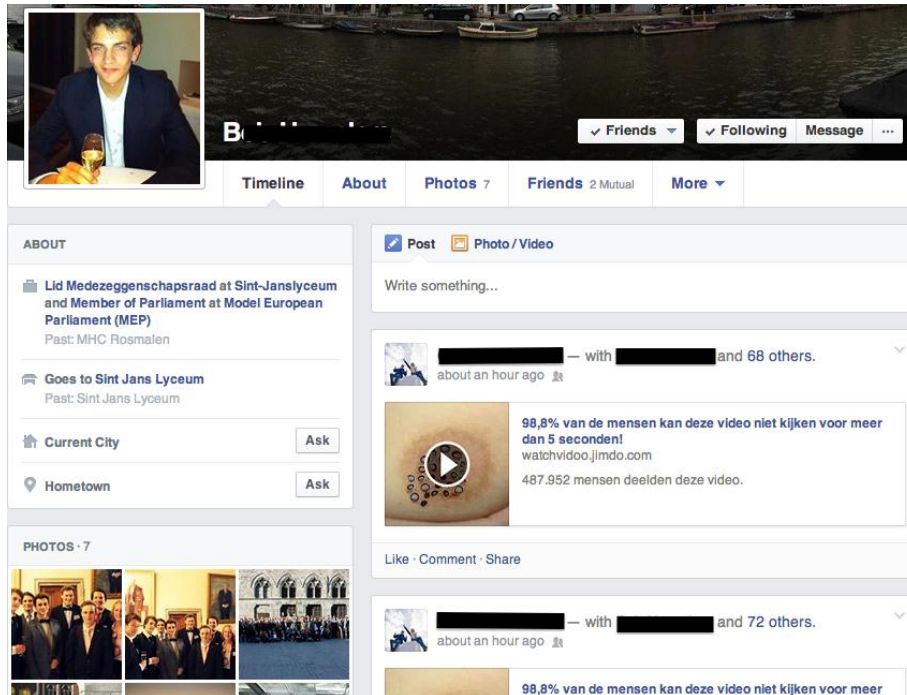
Does not have more

B (17) male

Facebook: Private, except for profile picture cover photo, some shares and posts on timeline

Instagram: Private

Facebook:



Shared Aljazeera link: Link / Shared

Shared uitzending gemist link about Anne Frank: Link / Shared

Shared KLM commercial and tagged KLM in it: Link / Shared

Shared NRC link: Link / Shared

Shared videos about Amsterdam / Holland: Video / Shared

Shared a 3opreis picture of tourists on 30 april (old qday): Photo / Shared

Shared video's of "heart touching commercials" : Video / Shared

Shared a uitzending gemist link about wage inequality: Link / Shared

Shared a kingsnight Amsterdam video: Video / Shared

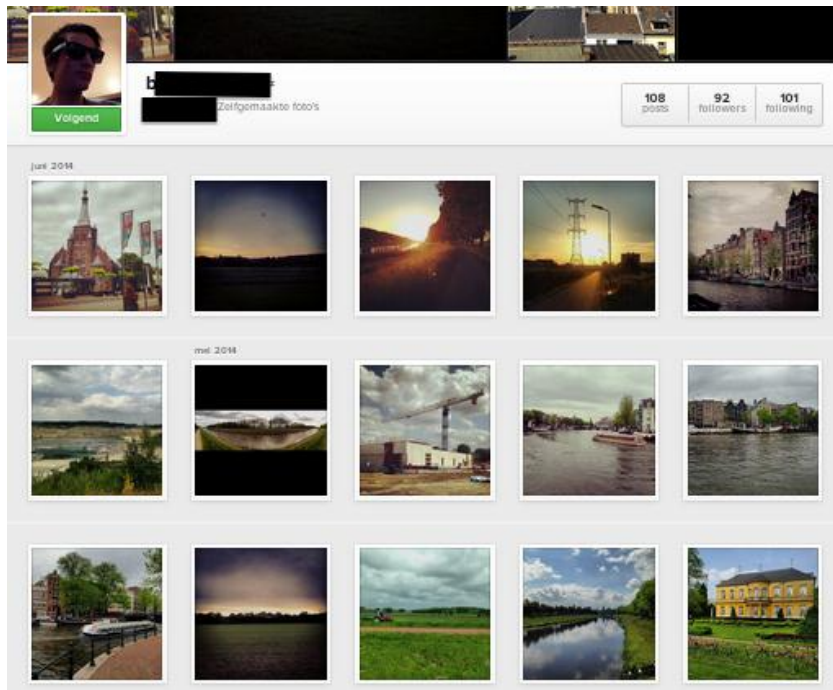
Shared a picture of Moroccan guy selling tea related to Wilders incident: Photo / Shared

2 photos (2 shared)

3 videos (3 shared)

5 links (5 shared)

Instagram:



Mostly uses it for surrounding photos, no selfies, sometimes clusters of pictures, that's why its better to name them in groups:

Two pictures of view in Valkenburg, one of café in Valkenburg: 6

Three pictures of Thorn: landscape: 6

13 pictures of Zierikzee: landscape: 6

Two pictures of Deltawerken: landscape: 6

Picture of a seal: animals: 5

Four pictures of Utrecht: 6

Two pictures of Amsterdam: 6

Picture of Cointreau: 2

Picture of Chocolate milk: 2

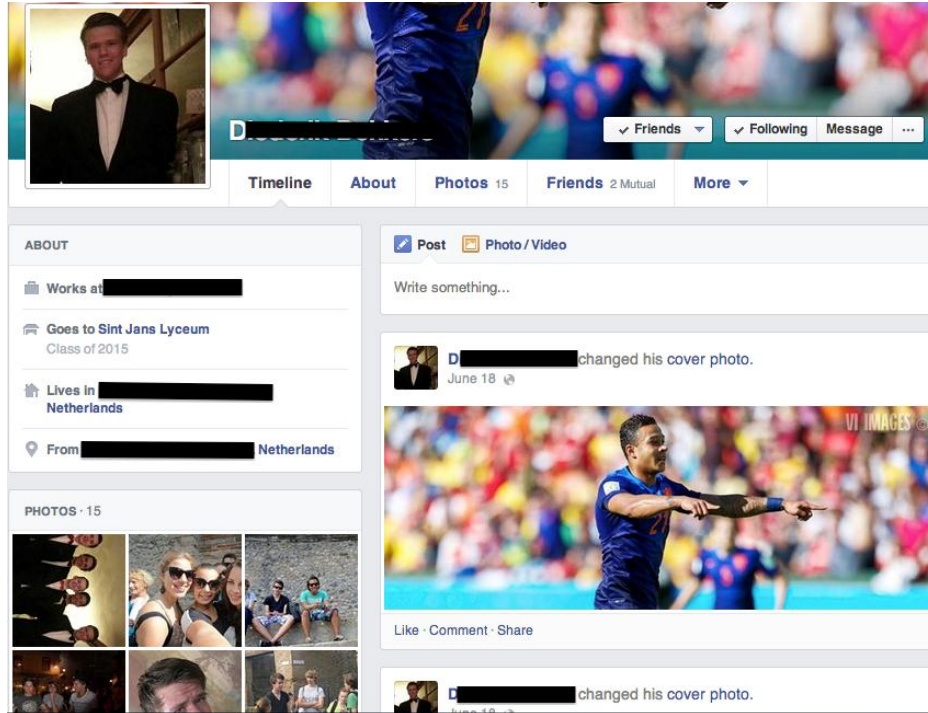
Picture of Kingsday 2014 in Den Bosch: 6

D (16) male

Facebook: Private, except for profile picture / cover photo and some old timeline posts

Instagram: Public (but only 2 posts)

Facebook:



Shared a game link: Link / Shared

Shared a political video clip: Video / Shared

Changed cover photo: Photo

Changed profile picture: Photo

Tagged in Gala post: Photo / Tagged

Shared Ajax picture for contest: Contest Photo / Shared

Tagged in family birthday post: Status / Tagged

Shared a voetbalzone video: Video / Shared

Tagged in holiday post: met de boys naar Renesse: Status / Tagged

Birthday posts: Status (others messaging)

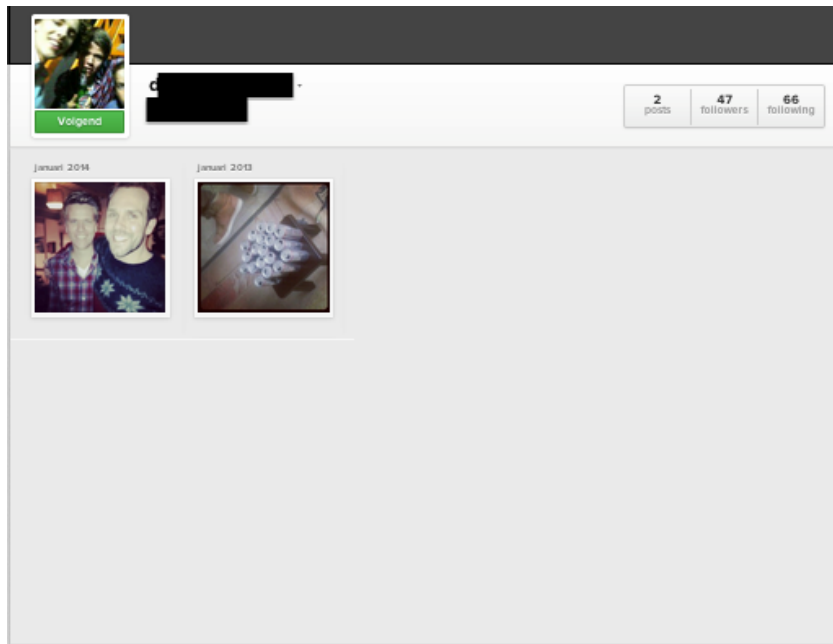
4 photos (1 tagged / 1 shared)

2 videos (2 shared)

3 status (2 tagged, 1 others messaging)

1 link (1 shared)

Instagram:



Only 2 pictures:

Selfie with cousin: #nieuwjaar #neef: 1 / 7

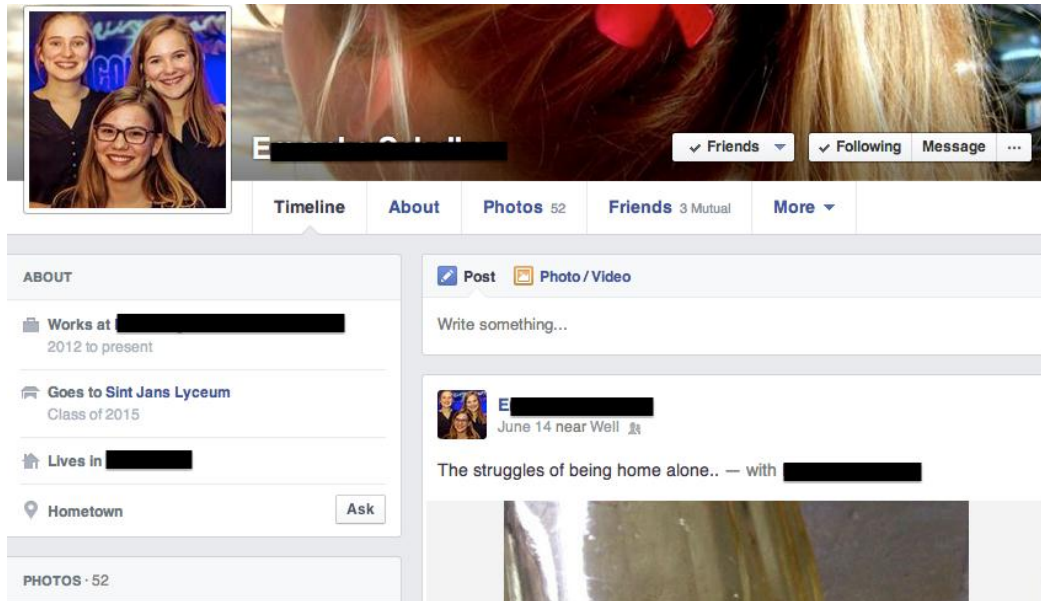
Photo of energy drinks: 5

E (16) female

Facebook: Not entirely private, profile pictures, cover photos and timeline pictures on public, and additional timeline posts and likes

Instagram: private

Facebook:



Sushi en horror: tagged other persons: Photo / Tagging

Picture of cake: Herfstvlaai mag het hele jaar: Photo

Tagged in group picture by café: Photo / Tagged

Shared picture by music group: Photo / Shared

Shared picture of music group: Photo / Shared

Invitation by café: Status / Tagged

Picture with boyfriend in Valencia: Photo

Desert with family dinner tagged: Photo / Tagged

Video of friend: Video / Tagging

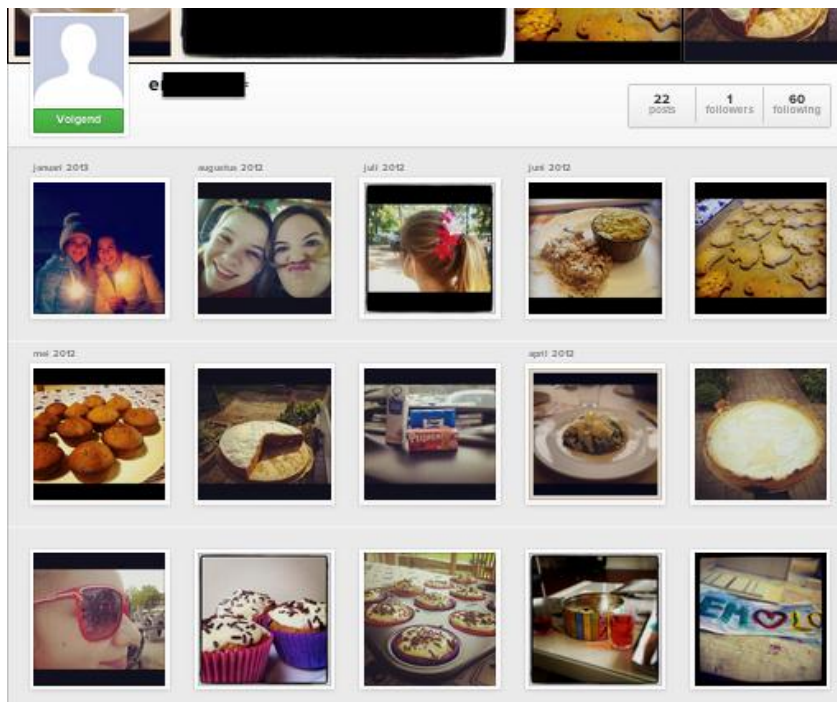
Eating Sushi (tagged friends): Photo / Tagging

8 photos (2 tagged 2 shared)

1 status (tagged)

1 video

Instagram:



Only old pictures, she does not have followers, only uses it for following people (photos start from 70 weeks ago).

Selfie with friend: 1 / 7

Selfie with friend: 1 / 7

Photo of back of her head: 7

Photo of her food: 2

Photo of self-made cookies: 2

Photo of self-made cakes: 2

Photo of self-made cake: 2

Photo of groceries: 2

Photo of dinner: 2