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Instagram use of Finnish teenagers: A qualitative inquiry concerning their privacy and sharing habits

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Abstract

Social media (or social networking sites, SNSs) has become a dominant part of the web and created new possibilities for people to share their thoughts and their lives with others. It's also the primary choice for many for communication. Social media creates virtual social contexts which have enabled new forms of social lives and communication.

Instagram is one of the most popular SNSs. Instagram focuses primarily on photo and video sharing in an online social networking environment. Though all aged people engage in utilizing social media services, teens form a large number of these users and are noted for being in the forefront with new SNSs and with new functions in SNSs. Teens are avid social media users and they are active in organizing their social media content to match their needs.

This study focuses on teens' Instagram habits and aims to find out why Finnish teens use Instagram, what they share in Instagram and what their privacy views are in Instagram. The present study was conducted as a qualitative research using a questionnaire and interviews. For both, the questionnaire and the interviews, ninth graders aged 15 and 16 from Oulun normaalikoulu -comprehensive school participated. For the questionnaire 21 students participated and for the interviews 5 students were interviewed.

The study revealed that teens use Instagram mostly to kill time and to see what their friends are doing. They are not sharing content frequently but instead like to scroll through content and engage in 'liking' and commenting on others' posts. When they do share content they mostly share pictures of themselves and occasionally e.g. scenery or travel photos. Most of these teens are not settled for using just one Instagram profile but instead they like to maintain multiple profiles. They have different purposes for these profiles and they share different types of content for these profiles.

These teens are not concerned for their privacy in Instagram. They aren't concerned who can see their content and what Instagram does with the content they share, concerning third parties etc. They do take actions with occurrences that they feel threaten their privacy, though these occurrences don't happen often. Mostly these teens like to keep their profiles private and they aren't keen on phishing for likes or followers.

These teens find Instagram somewhat outdated with some of its functions and in many occasions they favour newer SNSs, usually Snapchat.

Keywords

social media, SNS, teenagers, teens, privacy, Instagram, sharing habits

Supervisor

PhD, post doctoral researcher Heidi Hartikainen

Foreword

I want to thank Oulun normaalikoulu -comprehensive school and all the teachers who helped me carry out this present research in their school with their students. And of course a big thank you to all the students who volunteered to participate in this study.

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1. Introduction and research questions

“Social media (often referred to as social networking sites, or SNSs) can be broadly defined as the websites and applications that enable users to create and share content with networks (i.e., friends, followers, etc.) they construct for themselves” (Pittman & Reich, 2016). SNSs have become a reigning part of the web and a dominant choice for communication (Talib et al 2014). The reasons for this are the cost efficiency of global and local communication and the addictive nature of sharing content in real-time (ibid). Another noteworthy feature of SNSs is that they create a stage for users to share their thoughts and ponderings without having to gather an actual audience (Apau, 2011. As cited by Talib et al., 2014).

Teens are highly engaged in using social media platforms (Grinter et al., 2006). They are said to be most active users of social media and most active adopters of new social media platforms (Boyd, 2007). In addition, while adults usually focus mainly on maintaining already existing relationships, teens use social media to learn new things, which could be potentially useful for them, and to make new friends and to maintain current friendships (Ito et al., 2009; Muscanell & Guadagno, 2012). Teens like to maintain large social networks and their highest motivation for social media use is communication (Barker, 2009; Arjan et al., 2008). Social media creates a virtual social context and has brought new ways to communicate and share thoughts and everyday lives with friends (Ellison et al., 2007; Jang et al 2016).

One of the most significant changes social media has brought for the lives of teens is a new way of representing themselves to the outside world (Ong et al., 2011). It has been studied that socialization plays a very important and influential role in childhood and adolescence, and social media use can have major effects on self-esteem and psychological well-being especially on teenagers (ibid). According to Jang et al. (2016) social media does indeed create and offer a virtual social context that offers multiple different possibilities for social interaction. The situations, experiences and social norms this context creates for teens can greatly shape their view of the world by directly affecting teens’ social behaviour and upbringing (Jang et al 2016).

Even though users tend to post less in Instagram than for example in Twitter, Instagram posts have a longer lifeline than tweets, meaning that people come back to them more likely even after a long time (Highfield, 2015 as cited by Sheldon & Bryant, 2016). This may be because image-based SNSs are viewed more personal and intimate than text-based SNSs (ibid). SNSs have the power to mitigate or empower certain aspects of our emotional life (Pittman & Reich 2016) It is suggested that social media users who use image-based SNSs feel happier and less lonely than they would presumably otherwise feel (Ibid). Images help people to actualize a real social presence of another person (Sundar, 2008). A photo of a friend’s face, or a photo of a friend doing something indicates to the person’s brain that this friend is actually present (ibid). While text-based social media communication offers the immediacy that is needed to emulate real-life conversations, it lacks the intimacy a real-life conversation has when one can actually see the person she/he is talking to (Pittman & Reich, 2016). Image-based SNSs fill the gap by offering visual simulations to the brain (ibid). Furthermore, posting

videos that offer movement and sound of the other person fills this gap even more (ibid).

In 2015 Instagram was listed as the fastest growing SNS worldwide (Wagner, 2015). By 2017 Instagram had doubled its user base, growing it from 400 million to 800 million users (Wade, 2017). In 2012, 90% of Instagram users were under 35 years old (Duggan & Brenner, 2013). In a recent survey in 2018 with American teenagers, Instagram and Snapchat seemed to be almost equally popular, with 83% of teens opening Snapchat at least once a month and 82% of teens opening Instagram at least once a month (Leswing, 2018). It is argued that younger people are more attracted to using image-based SNS like Snapchat and Instagram, because they feel that they have more privacy using these SNSs (Karhoff, 2016). However, when users sign up for Instagram, their profile is automatically public and all of the content they share is visible to all other Instagram users and even non-users. Every Instagram user can view, comment and like content shared in a public profile. The use of hashtags, location markings and friend tags enhance the public visibility of these profiles (Elgersma, 2017). This creates concerns for privacy as even a stranger can gather a lot of personal information about a person who has a public Instagram profile (Talib et al., 2014). With access to content a user has shared publicly there is a possibility to link bits and pieces from multiple SNSs together in order to gather information on a user, and thus there is a risk that this content is exploited for committing fraud, identity theft or other cybercrimes (ibid). Many users are not aware of these privacy risks in social media and hence cybercrimes and frauds are reported more frequently (Yassin, 2010 as cited by Talib et al., 2014).

This research focuses on Finnish teenagers aged 15 and 16, their Instagram sharing habits, social habits, views on privacy and motives for Instagram use. I feel there are a lot of issues and matters to be learned about teenagers' Instagram and social media behaviour. What are teenagers sharing in Instagram? Are they sharing content from their personal lives or public content, e.g. memes? Who do they follow in Instagram and social media and why? Why do they use Instagram and other SNSs in the first place? Do they have public or private profiles in Instagram? Do they have multiple profiles, e.g. one public and one private?

My research questions are as follows:

- 1) What are the primary reasons Finnish teenagers are using Instagram?
- 2) What are Finnish teenager' views on privacy in Instagram?
- 3) What are the sharing habits of Finnish teenagers in Instagram?

The research was carried out as qualitative research that included conducting a questionnaire and interviews with teenagers from Oulu in Finland. The participants were ninth graders from Oulun normaalikoulu –comprehensive school. First, data was collected from twenty-one students using a questionnaire followed with five students taking part in interviews. The interview data is concerned as the main part of this research.

This thesis is structured as follows: chapter 1 presents a brief introduction to the social media, Instagram, teens in social media and initial research agenda; chapter 2 presents earlier research about social media focusing on teens and Instagram; chapter 3 presents the qualitative methods used for conducting this research; chapter 4 presents the findings of the questionnaire and the interviews combined with discussion related to earlier research and finally chapter 5 presents the answers to the research questions with introduction of additional findings.

2. Earlier research

In this chapter earlier research on SNSs, Instagram and privacy is reviewed starting from an introduction on Instagram, and moving on to discuss the predictions and motives for Instagram use, teens' Instagram and social media habits and privacy risks in social media.

2.1 Introduction to Instagram

Instagram is an image-based social media that focuses on video and photo sharing. According to Frommer (2010) Instagram is an online service, used primarily with mobile devices, that enables users to create and share video and photo content in an online social networking content. One of the basic ideas with Instagram lies in the usage of hashtags which are marked with a #-character (Sheldon & Bryant, 2016). The main idea in using hashtags is that it makes it easier for people to look for content they might be interested in. A hashtag can be any word one could think of. It can relate to something shown in the picture or to something mentioned in the description text of the picture. It can also be totally random and not related to anything at all. Users can come up with limitless number of hashtags on their own. Users can use numbers, letters and limited set of special characters when creating hashtags. Instagram offers easy to use modification tools for photos called filters. With filters users can change the colour palette, resolution, contrast and lighting of their photos. In Instagram users can follow other users and other Instagram accounts and the content that these followed users post will make up the basic feed users see when they open Instagram. As of 2018 users can now also follow hashtags directly. Users can also tag other Instagram users and mark the location where the photo or video was shot. Although hashtags allow users to gain wider audiences using popular tags, tagging can also be seen as an engagement and contribution in social media communities (Marcus, 2015 as cited by Sheldon & Bryant, 2016).

It has been studied (Marcus, 2015 as cited by Sheldon & Bryant, 2016) that Instagram is used more by users who want to promote themselves and be seen and heard by a wider audience than for example Facebook, which is more focused on maintaining and building social relationships. This is also supported by the fact that one the most popular type of content shared in Instagram are "selfies" (ibid). Selfies are photos which users take of themselves (ibid). Selfies are one the most straightforward ways of self-promotion (ibid). Selfies are a popular type of content shared in social media overall and they have also been linked to social media driven narcissism (Weiser, 2015).

Instagram is a service designed specifically for mobile device use. It has a web version that can be viewed with laptop and desktop computers, but this version is limited with its functions. Therefore users need a mobile device to access all the features of the service. Some might see this a limitation but it has been studied that mobile devices are actually the most popular platforms on which users use social media services (Lunden, 2014). Then again it could be argued whether this is actually the cause or the symptom.

2.2 Predictions and motives for Instagram use

It has been studied already in 1974 (Katz et al.) that individual attributes have a major effect on person's interest in their media selection. According to Rubin and Rubin (1982) person's physical health, satisfaction with their life, economic status and social activity are the factors that determine users' needs and interests concerning media use. It has been studied by Sheldon (2008) and Whiting and Williams (2013) that the most common need related to social media usage is the need to maintain social relationships. Other needs users satisfy with SNSs are for example finding information, passing time, entertainment, relaxation, convenience, expression of opinion and knowledge about others (Whiting & Williams, 2013).

Teens seem to be quick adaptors of new social media formats before they gain wider popularity but on the other hand they are also followers of social media trends. Users might for example switch their activity for a new app, which is supposedly suited for communication better than an app they previously used, not only because of its functions, but also because of its popularity. Teens don't usually abandon previous or other social media apps they use, but rather strive to benefit from selected aspects of different apps creating a bundle of apps, where every app has a function correlated with the user's specific need. (Quan-Haase and Young, 2010.)

Gender and social activity seem to be the best attributes to predict whether a user might create an Instagram profile or already be an Instagram user. Gender seems to be the best predictor for Instagram use and women seem to be more likely to be Instagram users than men. Women also seem to be more interested in maintaining their social relationships than men. This is shown in their liking and commenting activity, which is more active than with men. Women also like and comment to give the other person a feeling that they care. The more socially active a person is the more likely it is that this person uses Instagram. Generally speaking people are usually most interested in SNSs that are most popular. (Sheldon & Bryant, 2016.)

In a study done with 239 participants, aged from 18 to 52, Sheldon and Bryant (2016) studied the basic motives for Instagram use. Their study showed that the most common motives for using Instagram is gaining knowledge about others or engaging in surveillance type of activity. This includes following friends, seeing their posts and liking their posts but also actively searching for posts by their friends and other people. 35,85% of the participants responded positively to these motives. This indicates that a lot of people use social media to keep up with what their friends but also with other people who might not be on their friend list. Documentation was recognized as the next most common factor. This motive was supported by 9,76% of the answers by the participants. Documentation stands for documenting important life events, remembering meaningful events and sharing these events with others. It is studied that when people want to store a special moment in their lives in social media, they will more likely capture the moment in an Instagram picture than post a textual update such as a tweet about it (Highfield, 2015 as cited by Sheldon & Bryant, 2016). Instagram is also seen as a safe place to back up the photos one wants to store. Coolness, becoming popular and self-promoting was supported by 7,88% of the participants' answers (ibid). Creativity, showing creative skills and finding people with common interests was supported by 6,03% of the participants answers. (Sheldon & Bryant, 2016.)

One of the main goals for Instagram users is to gain as many likes as possible for the posts they share or to gain as many followers as possible (Sheldon & Bryant, 2016). Both of these factors relate to validating users' status and popularity among their friends

and social media communities they're a part of (ibid). Having a lot of followers and lots of "likes" in one's posts makes the user feel like he or she is popular (ibid). The need to feel that others see you and value you are parts of basic human needs (Greenwood, 2013).

The motives for using a lot of hashtags are related to the "coolness" factor. Users want to be perceived as being "cool" by others and thus might spend a lot of time figuring out what hashtags they want to use. They might also spend a lot of time finding the right photos to use, editing the photos and finding the best filters for the photos. This also relates to the creativity factor, as users want to show others their creative abilities, in addition to the "coolness" factor. (Sheldon & Bryant, 2016.)

Users who are more active in communicating with family and friends want to use more popular social media platforms, thus indicating a positive correlation between interpersonal interaction and the coolness factor. These users also want to gain social reinforcement for their creative skills through obtaining likes and comments for their posts. The surveillance factor is also positively related to high interpersonal interaction as people who are more active in interacting with people also want to see what other people are doing. More socially active users like to use Instagram for documenting their activity such as travelling, seeing their friends, etc. Users who are not satisfied with their life are more likely to use Instagram to gain popularity, acceptance and to try to appear "cool". (Sheldon & Bryant, 2016.)

2.3 Teens' Instagram and social media habits

Teens are highly engaged in social media use (Boyd, 2007; Ito et al. 2009). A study by Feng and Xie (2014) suggests that female teens are usually more frequent users of social media than male teens. Age seems to correlate with the time spend using SNSs, as older teens seem to use SNSs more than younger teens (ibid).

Teens use social media to share content of their everyday lives but also to gain social acceptance, reinforce social ties, make up new social connections and to learn new things (Feng and Xie, 2014). For teens, social media is a place where they can represent themselves (ibid). This is also supported by the fact that teens post mostly selfies in social media (Jang et al., 2015). Teens are very quick to jump aboard into new SNSs and platforms in order to meet their fast changing needs and priorities (Boyd, 2007; Agosto et al., 2012). According to Zaphiris and Sarwar (2006) teens tend to utilize multiple different social media platforms because different platforms offer different options and tools, and teens like to exploit the best features of each platform. Communicating with friends and other people is seen as the peak motivator for teens' social media use (Barker, 2009).

Teens are more active than adults in handling their social media content so that it meets their needs. Teens also interact with more in social media people than adults. Teens interact with other people than just their friends and thus show more diverse social activity in social media than adults. Teens are more interested in making new connections and new friends through social media than adults who are more interested in keeping up and maintaining already existing social groups and social connections. (Jang et al., 2015.)

According to Jang et al. (2015) teens actually tend to post less content in Instagram than adults but instead engage more in both receiving likes and comments and liking and

commenting. This commenting and liking behaviour clearly indicates that teens are very active Instagram users, more active than adults, regardless of sharing less content than adults (ibid). Teens also use more hashtags than adults (ibid). The reasons for using a lot of hashtags is to attract more viewers for the content and expose the content to as many people as possible (Jang et al., 2015; Ames & Naaman, 2007). Over half of teens' posts in Instagram seem to relate directly to themselves and teens tend to post more often selfies than any other type of pictures (Jang et al., 2015). It is studied that the primary focus of teens' Instagram usage is self-expression (ibid). The reason why teens post mostly content from their daily routines and themselves in Instagram is because teens are usually tied up with their parents' decisions on what their days comprise in addition to their daily routines, e. g. travelling For that reason teens tend to mostly use tags associated with mood, emotion, following and liking in their photos than adults who use more larger scale tags such as arts, design, travelling, nature, etc. The reason why teens use a limited set of tags, mostly related to follow, like, mood or emotion topics, might be because teens interact in a more enclosed system than adults creating this kind of "echo chamber effect" (Jang et al., 2015).

Teens are sharing more personal information about themselves in their profiles and in the content they share than adults (Jang et al., 2015). Teens reply to comments they've received in much shorter time than adults (ibid). One reason for this is because teens like to keep Instagram notifications active in their mobile devices (ibid). Teens like to utilize these social media features to enhance communication and interaction activities (ibid). Why this behaviour is more common with teens than adults is simply because teens understand better what social signals these features represent thus teens are considered to be more tech savvy than adults. (Agosto et al., 2012; Jang et al. 2015). Teens are studied to be quicker adaptors of new and "better" social media platforms (Quan-Haase & Young, 2010). They are also quicker to take advantage of new and unique features of both new and old platforms than adults (ibid)

Teens also share more "reposts" (content shared originally by others) than adults who mostly share user-generated content (UGC) (Jang et al., 2015). Sharing UGC is linked to a need of achieving self-actualization (Shao, 2009). Adults might engage more in posting UGC since adults usually possess more clear identities and better self-confidence than teens and possibly feel more at ease with sharing UGC (Jang et al., 2015).

Teens are more likely to edit or delete the content they have shared in Instagram than adults (Jang et al., 2015). They might manipulate content in order to achieve as much likes and followers as possible (ibid). Teens might also delete or manipulate content afterwards if they feel the given post didn't receive enough attention or likes (Jang et al., 2015; Agosto et al., 2012. Madden et al., 2013). Boyd (2007) argues that this is because the attention teens get from receiving likes and comments to their posts creates feelings of self-worth and self-validation. Content that doesn't receive, in the users opinion, enough likes or comments isn't seen "cool" which is why teens might feel the need to delete this content (Jang et al., 2015). Teens think that if they keep only the most popular posts in their Instagram it creates a perception for others that they are popular and "cool" (ibid). In addition, teens use the word "follow" frequently in their Instagram bio texts (ibid). They might promise to follow you back if you first follow them. This behaviour indicates the desire to gain more popularity and to reach more followers (ibid).

Teens like to mention "third users", users who are not the original content poster, when they are commenting on their friends' posts in Instagram whereas adults engage in that

type of behaviour much less. In fact, "...less than quarter (23.0%) of the comments in teens' photos were directed toward the original photo poster". 77% of the comments teens post in Instagram are directed to "third users". This clearly indicates that teens like to use commenting as a way to widen their social communities. Teens' comments are also shorter than adults', but they contain more emotional and social content compared to adults' commenting. (Jang et al., 2015.)

In recent years a phenomenon called 'Finstagram' has made the headlines. Finstagram profile is a secondary Instagram profile in addition to users main or 'real' profile. The name of the phenomenon comes from fake Instagram profile. This phenomenon is common with teens, especially with teenage girls. Finstagram profiles are usually private and with nicknames which won't give away their real identities. Their "real" Instagram profile can be either public or private. Teens are more careful with who they accept as followers on their Finstagram profile compared to their main profiles. Followers in their Finstagram profiles usually comprise of a small circle of their closest friends. Teens then feel more free to share content they wouldn't want to share on their main profile. It's the shallow and superficial nature of Instagram that has created this phenomenon. Teens feel pressure to look perfect in Instagram and they feel the need to make their profiles looking perfect. In the end the agenda is to garner likes and comments, in other words, acceptance. With their Finstagram accounts teens don't feel the pressure to look so perfect and the number of likes don't matter that much. Therefore, teens can post silly, funny or embarrassing pictures freely without worrying about looking perfect or how many likes and comments they receive. These are pictures that are deemed too unattractive or don't suit the perfect feed of the main profile. Another aspect is the amount of effort and time it takes to post this perfect content to the main profile. Teens might spend considerable amount of time first taking a perfect photo then making a selection out of a large number of these photo candidates. After this the picture has to be edited, possibly first approved by a friend and made sure that no one else is already posting it if e.g. it's a group picture. Finally, a caption has to be made up and the actual posting of the picture has to be done in the right time of the day, to receive as many likes and comments as possible. All this indicates that teens are very aware that Instagram is a place where you show only the best and possibly edited, modified and filtered side of yourself. (Eaton, 2018; Hubby, 2017; Shah, 2017.)

2.4 Privacy risks in social media

Privacy can be described as a person's right to control in what extent his/her personal information is shared with others and how and when this happens (Westin, 1968). SNSs usually ask users for their personal information and a permission to use this information. Most SNSs require users to fill in personal information such as name, email, location and date of birth. This raises the question for privacy. For what purpose do these SNSs collect this data? (Lewis et al. 2008.)

All SNSs have some sort of statement about privacy issues, usually called privacy policy (PP). Its main purpose is to inform the user which third parties can utilize users' information and what level of information protection does the SNS offer for the user. "Privacy policy is a principle of actions adopted by an individual or organization in protecting their own/users' information and acts as a guideline for the users who wish to share their information" (Talib et al. 2014).

Besides the major benefits of communication and real time online presence, SNSs exhibit vast privacy risks. A risk can be defined as a likelihood of harm happening to

the user when encountering a threat (Livingstone & Smith, 2014). Harm being either objective or subjective negative outcome for the user (ibid). Early studies about teens' engagement in SNSs have indicated that despite bringing educational perspectives for teens' lives and expanding their social life spectrums, SNSs also possess privacy risks (Flichy, 2006; Livingstone, 2002).

Instagram's PP offers only partial information security protection since the responsibility is also in the users' actions whether they share their profiles or content in public or private. In a study conducted by Timm and Duvén (2008) PPs do not usually state that social media sites will be held responsible on who gets access to the content and information shared by users on their services. According to Talib et al. (2014) users don't usually read PPs at all. Most users accept PPs without reading them or trying to understand their meanings (ibid). The reason for this is that generally users hate to read lengthy and dry texts such as these PPs (ibid). According to Nowak and Phelps (1995) users' privacy risks are very high when users are unaware that advertisers or marketers are collecting their personal data or when they are unaware what their information is used for. It has been suggested that PPs should be simpler in order to get people to read them (Talib et al., 2014). Talib et al. (2014) even suggest a graphic format for a PP or perhaps even other formats such as a video format.

According to Talib et al. (2014) SNS users cannot completely rely on social media sites protecting or securing users' content from third parties. Their study also claims that there is no significant difference on how much SNS users rely on the protection offered by social media sites. Meaning that there are just as many users who fully trust SNSs to protect their data as there are users who don't trust them. Most social media users are aware that it's at least partly up to themselves to make sure that their privacy is protected. The way users share content, the type of content they share and overall privacy settings users use all affect their level of privacy. Furthermore, with SNSs such as Instagram, users can link different social media accounts together and post content to multiple sites at once. This type of behaviour increases and spreads security risks as different SNSs have different PPs, and sharing and privacy options. (Talib et al., 2014.)

In a study with 356 respondents, where most of the respondents (88.5%) were 18-24 years old, 80% corresponded using SNSs frequently. 88.7% of the respondents who stated that they use SNSs pointed out that they have their social media profiles shared only privately. 67.4% of the respondents stated that they are aware that SNSs sell their private information to third parties. 62.9% of the respondents indicated that they use Instagram. Out of that quantity 62% acknowledged that Instagram has a PP and 61% indicated they use Instagram's PP as a guide on how and what to share. 61.4% of the respondents cared about who can view their profile and the content they share and find out their location. Over half of these respondents answered positively when asked whether they think PPs contain redundant information and lengthy hard to understand text. 90% agreed that the text in PP should be presented in a more attractive and easier to read form. (Talib et al. 2014.)

Choosing to keep your profile in public settings, meaning everyone can see your profile, or choosing to share content publicly in social media, can expose you to great privacy risks. For example, users' locations can be figured out fairly easy by keeping track on the information a user is sharing Location tags and other information a user is sharing can unveil user's location. Sometimes this can be done by simply looking at the content that was shared, e.g. a picture or a video. (Talib et al. 2014.)

There are individuals and organisations who gather user information from social media for either legal or illegal purposes. Illegal purposes being for example identity thefts and legal purposes for example advertising e.g. commercial emails (Talib et al. 2014). In addition, advertisers and other third parties can also exploit data mining techniques which enable them to gather even larger and more profound information of SNS users (Lohr, 2012; Westin, 2003). Advertisers and online marketers use this data to create and aim individually targeted ads. The collected information is usually based on recent user activity (Hoy & Milne, 2010). For example what sites the user has been visiting, what pages the user has liked or followed, what type of content the user has been posting or has there been a change in the users relationship status? (ibid). As teens have become more avid users of social media, online advertisers and marketers have become increasingly interested in reaching teens through different SNSs (Bóveda-Lambie & Hair, 2012). Marketers have noticed that using SNSs enable them to collect important consumer information about teens (ibid).

Online marketing and data collecting through social media creates multiple privacy concerns for teens (Lenhart & Madden, 2007). It's been studied that compared to adults teens are not as aware about online privacy issues (ibid). When contacted by an unknown person through social media, teens might feel scared or intimidated (ibid). This behavior can also lead to online stalking or cyberbullying (Trepte & Reinecke, 2011). As with adults teens can receive unwanted commercial emails or be victims of identity thefts and crimes, but teens can also become victims of advertising that isn't appropriate for their age (Youn, 2005. Moscardelli & Divine, 2007). It has been studied that when consumers become aware of online privacy and privacy risks they will take actions such as removing their personal information from a service providers database (Son & Kim, 2008).

In a study by Lenhart and Madden (2007) 43% of teens who use social media have been contacted by an unknown person through a SNS. 17% of teens using social media have "friended" a person who they have never met in real life (ibid). 66% of teens use privacy settings in social media in order to limit outsiders accessing the content and information they share in their profiles (ibid). In a study with 9 to 19 year-olds Bryce and Fraser (2014) found out that young people do feel that sharing your personal information online is a possible privacy threat. The primary reason why young people still decide to share their information so openly is because they feel that it is necessary to do so in order to develop and build real social relationships and networks online (ibid). It's considered a vote of confidence to share at least some of your personal information openly (ibid). Feng and Xie (2014) pointed out in their study that teens who are from a family with high educational level seem to be more interested in taking care of their online privacy.

Another privacy aspect in social media is a behaviour called monitoring. In social media people can update their locations, share an update of their current mood or feelings, or share anything that interests them. In some SNSs, depending on the privacy settings of the users, these actions can be visible to friends' friends and these friends' friends can also like and comment this content. Users might also, for example, be able to view friends' friends' followers and friend or follower lists. In that way users leave footprints or records of their actions in social media that can be tracked and analysed by outsiders. This data is searchable and traceable by others such as advertisers and other third parties. (Feng & Xie, 2014.)

If teenagers feel that their online privacy is somehow threatened, they will most likely take actions to protect their personal information (Mohamed & Ahmad, 2012;

Moscardelli & Divine, 2007; Feng & Xie, 2014). Teens who spend more time in SNSs are more plausible to try to take actions to protect their personal information online (Feng & Xie, 2014). Older teens and especially girls are more likely to practice this type of behaviour (ibid). Even though teens who spend more time in SNSs are more likely to take these actions, in general spending more time on social media does not correlate in having more concerns about online privacy (Feng & Xie, 2014; Moscardelli & Divine, 2007). Older teens might indeed gain more knowledge about online privacy, but on the other hand they are also more engaged in actions which aim to widen their social connections and thus expose them to potential privacy risks (Lenhart & Madden, 2007). Teens who feel that they have to take actions to protect their online privacy will most likely first adjust privacy settings in their SNS profile or on their individual posts in SNSs (Bulgurcu et al., 2010; Moscardelli & Divine, 2007; Mohamed & Ahmad, 2012). Other actions teens might take to protect their online privacy could be deleting a profile from a SNS, presenting false information on their profiles or posts, or limiting or even ending social connections (ibid). This behaviour has been studied in more detail by Feng and Xie (2014) with 622 teenage respondents who use SNSs.

“76 percent of teen SNS users reported that they have ever deleted people from their network of friends’ list, 48 percent of teen SNS users informed that they have ever removed their names from photos that have been tagged to identify them, 53 percent of teen SNS users noted that they have ever deleted comments that others have made on their profiles or accounts, 62 percent of teen SNS users indicated that they have ever deleted or edited something that they posted in the past, 27 percent of teen SNS users reported that they have ever posted fake information like a fake name, age or location to help protect their privacy, 57 percent of teen SNS users indicated that they have blocked people, and 30 percent of teen SNS users noted that they have ever deleted or deactivated a profile or account.” (ibid)

These numbers show that the three most common actions teens take to protect their online safety and privacy are deleting people from their network, deleting or modifying something they have posted earlier or blocking people (ibid). According to Jang et al. (2015) teens tend to act afterwards to privacy risks rather than limiting their overall activity online or the information they share online beforehand.

3. Research methods

The data collection process for this thesis was threefold: When starting this research, a literature review was conducted in order to map out earlier research concerning motives for Instagram use, teens' social media habits, privacy risks in social media and teens' views on social media privacy. The literature review was used to narrow down the research questions for this thesis, and to prepare for empirical data collection. The empirical portion of the research was conducted with qualitative research methods. First, a questionnaire was conducted in order to map out the status quo of teenagers' social media use in Oulu. Then semi structured interviews with teenagers were carried out, in order to gain as rich picture of the situation as possible. The data from the questionnaires and the interview were coded using thematic content analysis, and the results were contemplated and analysed in relation to the earlier research data: Does this data reveal any new findings or new views on any given subject? Do these views verify the results earlier research has found or do they offer new perspectives?

The following chapters describe the research methods in more detail.

3.1 Literature review

When starting this research, a literature review was conducted in order to map out the earlier research concerning motives for Instagram use, teens' social media habits, privacy risks in social media and more specifically teens' views on social media privacy. Preliminary idea for the research was already contemplated somewhat before the literature review, but the final research questions were created only after the literature review was completed.

The literature review focused on Instagram and social media matters specifically from the perspective of teenagers. However, on some of the themes it was hard to find research which was done focusing on teens alone. In those cases it was decided to look into studies which were in more general level preferably still at least focusing on the perspective of young people.

In order to conduct a successful literature review one has to map out relevant search terms for the process (Alderman, 2014). This includes listing all the possible terms related to the topic of the research and finding all the synonyms for these terms (ibid). One also has to keep in mind that when searching material from large databases which might not have science specific search options, many terms have different meanings in different fields of science (ibid). Indeed, in this research many of the used search terms, at least used alone, could lead to other scientific fields maybe not concerning the field of science this research is based on. I felt that using advanced search options and a combination of relevant search terms was the best option to avoid this problem.

The material was gathered using the following keywords: "teens", "teenagers", "adolescents" joined with "social media", "SNS", "Instagram". Following definitive keywords were used: "sharing habits", "privacy", "privacy policy", "PP", "privacy risks", "motives", "predictions". Multiple different combinations of these search terms

were used. The material was searched and gathered from Google Scholar and Oula-Finna.

The gathered material not only helped to find out what was already known about teens' social media behaviour, but also what still hadn't been so much looked into and could be further researched.

3.2 Qualitative research

Qualitative research aims to conduct itself to a scene or context after which it tries to understand or make sense of it (Tracy, 2013). These scenes are smaller than in quantitative research, but the aim is to go deeper into these scenes than in quantitative research is possible, due to its bigger quantities (ibid). In this research the aim is to find the small cues in the context of social media and teens in Oulu, Finland, and then try to look into broader themes and compare the findings to previously done research.

Qualitative research is defined by three major concepts: self-reflexivity, context and thick description. Self-reflexivity defines the way the researcher approaches the research. This means that the background and personal qualities of the researcher affect the way he or she sees and approaches a research. The mind of the researcher is seen as a research instrument. The concept of context can be described as finding a meaning from the smaller cues and understanding their meaning in a broader context. The idea of thick description is that one has to dive deep into a scene or a case first and only after that make grander well analysed statements. This is related very much to the concept of context, since without a context smaller cues can be interpreted to stand for almost anything. Since the subject of this research is very common with everyday life of everyday people, it is presumable that also the interviewer has his own views on the subject from his personal life which can affect the way the research is approached and conducted. The given experience and interest the researcher has for the subject through his personal life has its pros and cons. The cons could be that the manners and habits the researcher has for the subject blinds the researcher from noticing some cues in the research. The pros being that since the researcher has personal experience of the subject, he can more easily relate to and dive along into the answers the teens are giving him in the interviews. (Tracy, 2013.)

When doing qualitative research concentrating on the essential and not going after for quantity is emphasized. This less is more approach sets emphasis on planning. This is underlined especially when the researcher has little or no previous experience in doing qualitative research. Since in this research the data gathering will be done by doing questionnaires and interviews, it is important to plan the questions so that they aim to gather only relevant data by asking only the crucial questions. However, trying to make qualitative interviews more into open or semi structured casual conversations rather than strict structured questionnaires is suggested as is doing research in lively and engaging settings. (Brinkmann, 2012.)

It was decided that qualitative research was best suited for this research because interviewing seemed like the best way to get a deeper understanding on how and why teens operate in Instagram. The agenda was to get teens' own words and views as freely as possible about their behaviour in Instagram and about Instagram in general.

3.3 Participant selection and research permits

The empirical part of the research was done with teenagers from Oulun normaalikoulu - comprehensive school, aged fifteen to sixteen who go to the ninth grade of the Finnish comprehensive school.

Twenty-one respondents were part of the questionnaire comprising of seven males and fourteen females. These respondents were part of another university project I was involved in. This project was done in the fall of 2017 and was done with its own research permit. It was a practical and convenient way for me to gather data in the side while still focusing on the main agenda of the project. Gillham (2008) calls this kind of participant selection a “convenience sample”.

The main part of the empirical research data was gathered by conducting interviews. Five respondents participated for the interviews, comprising of three males and two females. A research permit from the school was obtained which allowed me to carry out the interviews in the school premises with the students. The original plan was to get all five respondents from the same group of teens who took part in the questionnaire, but ultimately three out of that group participated in the interviews and the last two interviews were done with classmates of these teens who did not participate in the questionnaire. This was due to some confusion about whether these aged teens actually needed permits from their parents to participate in this research and some of the teens who initially volunteered to be interviewed, refused at the last moment.

Initially I held a brief introduction for this group of teens in the school and handed out permit papers to be signed by their parents. By following instructions from the Finnish National Board on Research Integrity (2019) it was figured that these teens were old enough to make this decision without their parents involved, since teens aged fifteen or over fifteen are allowed to make a decision whether or not they want to participate in a research by themselves, thus making these permit papers unnecessary. So in the end all parents were still informed about the research either by them receiving the research permit paper or me and the interviewed teen making a phone call to them, even if this wasn't necessary according to the Finnish National Board on Research Integrity (2019). All the permits were then done by spoken word with both the parents and the teens themselves. It was underlined that this participation was voluntary and the teens could at any point stop the interview if they wanted to. The interview data contains no names or even ages.

3.4 Questionnaire

The questionnaire was carried out in the beginning of this study to find out on a very perfunctory level what SNSs teens in Oulu use, how much time they spend using social media and what they do there. According to Gillham (2008) most of the questions in this questionnaire fall under the category of behaviour. This means that the teens evaluated their own behaviour in the context of social media, although there were also factual questions e.g. about what SNSs these teens use.

Gillham (2008) suggests using closed questions for subjects that have a factual answer, e.g. “Which newspapers do you read at least once a week?”, and open questions for subjects which require the respondents' opinion or beliefs. These type of questions aim to find out what people do or at least what their own views are on what they do. (Gillham, 2018) In this research, the questionnaire used mostly closed questions to help

the data handling. A con was that some of the questions were about these teens' beliefs of their behaviour and closed questions might have steered their answers. The idea was that the questionnaire would shed some light on teens' social media use in Oulu and would give some direction and limitations for the interviews.

A pro about using a questionnaire, instead of doing interviews, is the fact that it saves time (Gillham, 2018). Handing out 21 questionnaire papers and getting them back a few days later was indeed a lot more efficient, time consuming-wise, than e.g. doing 21 interviews. Questionnaires also allow the respondent to choose the time on his/her own, when to complete the form.

The cons of doing a questionnaire is that usually people fill in questionnaires in a hurry, without giving too much thought to the answers; and the researcher also doesn't get to motivate or steer the respondent in any way, but it is assumed that the respondent knows the answers and understands the questions right (Gillham, 2008). Keeping these attributes in mind, the questions were planned as simple as possible and as short as possible, to mitigate the possibility of the teens misunderstanding the questions and not getting frustrated when filling in the questionnaire. (Gillham, 2008). In addition, as suggested by Gilham (2008), questionnaires are used best in tandem with other methods, in this case the interviews, to get most value out of them.

The questionnaire is attached as appendix A.

3.5 Semi-structured interview

Interviews done in qualitative research are usually semi-structured. In semi-structured interviews the interviewee has a set of themes and guideline questions on which she/he bases the interview. This allows certain freedom and flexibility for the interview which is suited for qualitative research. (Brinkmann, 2014.)

In this research, the interview questions were formulated based on earlier research on the subject. The interview questions were divided under four main themes: overall social media and Instagram use, sharing habits in Instagram, privacy in Instagram and socialization in Instagram. These themes were overlapping somewhat and in section 3.7 it is explained how this was handled with open coding. The interview layout has quite a lot of guideline questions for each main question. This was partly because of the novice status of the interviewer, making sure that nothing important wasn't forgotten during the actual interview, to have follow up questions etc.

The interviews were carried out in semi structured manner with a special concentration and focus on the fact that the interviewees are teens. Since interviewing teens can be more challenging than interviewing adults, getting to interview some of the same teens that were somewhat familiar with the interviewee is viewed as a helpful factor in resulting more fruitful and more talkative interviews with the teens (Bassett et al., 2008).

According to Brinkmann (2014), qualitative research interviews, even how open and conversational they may be, still differ from everyday conversations in so that they are still arranged for the purpose of the researcher gaining and collecting research data. With interviews researchers are able to gain data on the interviewees' views and experiences of a certain phenomenon (Kvale & Brinkmann, 2008 as cited by Brinkmann, 2014). Such is the case in this research, as with the interviews the

researcher gathers data about the views of the interviewees on their own activities and not data on the actual activities.

Interview research differs from other types of qualitative research in so that the research situation in an interview context is almost always more controlled than in other type of research and usually the researcher herself/himself is the one who is overpowering in control. This is also why the interviewee shouldn't approach the respondent just as an object from which information is derived from. Emphatic and humane ways are advised in conducting a successful and fruitful qualitative interview. Interviewing is more than just asking the questions you have written on a paper. The interviewee has the power to emphasize, to motivate, to steer, to hold back or to expand the conversation. (Tracy, 2013.)

Since these interviews were done in a school environment it was especially important to focus in conducting the interviews in an emphatic way, making sure that the situation isn't too controlled and steered. The interviews were approached as freely as possible to make the interviewees feel like the interviews weren't part of their school work and it was underlined that there were no right and wrong answers. The school environment was clearly not the most relaxed place for the interviews but I tried to make the interviews as relaxed as possible, motivating the teens to speak their mind as freely as possible.

When the topic of the study is a very specific group or a part of a population, such as in this research, interviews are a very good way to get to the bottom of the topic and then comparing the results to other studies which can be much more extensive. Interviewer can ask the respondent to confirm or to deny or to expand or specify matters. The interviewer can also test and verify or decline cues, hunches and hearsay through the respondent. (Tracy, 2013.)

Teens were encouraged to expand and specify their answers as much as possible, which sometimes required quite a bit of motivating and even steering. A good interviewer takes into account her/his own role in the interview (Tracy, 2013). A self-reflective interviewer understands that his/her own role might affect how the actual interview builds up and also how the results end up (ibid). I could see that even though three of these teens had been working with me before, they were still a little bit nervous in my company and probably would be by any adult, especially in a school environment. I tried to take this into consideration by trying to show them example by using a lot of spoken language and trying to act as unofficial as possible.

The interview guideline is attached as appendix B.

3.6 Special considerations when interviewing teens

Interviewing teens can be more troublesome than interviewing adults and it's potentially filled with challenges (Bassett et al., 2008). When teens are not interested, they will give short and vague answers in a research interview (ibid). The teenagers who participated in these interviews were participating voluntarily so they were mostly quite interested in the subjects and most of them were quite talkative.

Bassett et al. (2008) noted in their research that when discussing with teens casually before or after an actual recorded research interview, teens were very much more open and talkative. They noticed that "turning the red light on", meaning placing a recorder

visibly on a table and informing the teens that everything from now on will be recorded, had an intimidating effect for the teens (ibid). In order to avoid this the interviewer can try to mitigate the significance of the recording or the recording process by trying to keep the conversation casual, keeping their appearance and body language relaxed, placing the recorder away somehow or even letting the teen get familiar with the recorder or the recording process (ibid). They also suggested not using a very formal opening statement when starting the interview, but instead they advised to use more casual intros with teens (ibid). The agenda of this research was explained very casually to the teens and it was underlined very clearly that this interview has no right or wrong answers and that the topics in the interview are mostly pretty casual. I also did my best to keep the atmosphere very casual and tried to underline this if the teens seemed troubled with some topic or question. Even though I placed two mobile phones on the table for recording I tried to do it quite casually without placing too much attention on them and it didn't seem that the teens were intimidated by the recorders.

Finding a suitable location for doing interviews with teens and children is more challenging than with adults (Bassett et al., 2008). The location must be private so that teens feel comfortable speaking about their personal experiences but it also has to be publicly visible when an adult is interviewing an underaged teen. (ibid). In this case the interviews were done in the school library, which is a big open room, with the librarian always present.

Bassett et al. (2008) noticed in their research that asking teens questions casually about themselves before the actual interview helped to engage teens more in-depth in the actual interview at least momentarily. Also telling the teens something about yourself and engaging in the answers they give, helps to build trust between the interviewer and respondent, which is crucial in conducting a successful interview with a teen (ibid). Finding a cultural link to the research subject was found to be very helpful in engaging teens in the conversation (ibid). I tried to be as social and talkative as possible with the teens before the interview and I think it made a difference in setting a relaxed atmosphere and getting the teens loose and at ease with talking with me, since some of them seemed a bit nervous in the beginning. I also tried commenting on their answers if we e.g. had similar experiences of Instagram.

Expressing empathy towards the interviewed teen and his/her answers is advised in order to motivate the respondent to answer as comprehensive as possible (Naar-King & Suarez, 2011). Validating teens answers and giving new perspectives can also be a helpful tool to motivate them to talk more about the given subject (ibid). Questions need to be formulated in a way that they do not sound judgemental but instead curious (ibid). When confronting resistance or negative behaviour it is advised to stop and reflect on the situation and not to try to force the respondent to answer a question that brought out these negative feelings (ibid). It's also advised to not present a counterargument but instead emphasize and express understanding for the teens' reactions and try to support the teens' decisions (ibid). Overall the interviewer should have a neutral stance on all the subjects discussed. (ibid). I tried to be as empathic as I could without trying to steer them too much in any direction. The questions were formulated with a lot of iteration with an aim to get them to sound as non-judgemental or -steering as possible. I didn't really confront negative behaviour or resistance, but instead some situations where the some of the teens didn't have too much to say. In those situations I didn't try to force them to speak more but instead I tried to motivate them by offering new perspectives or for example trying to steer them in some direction to test a hunch.

According to Naar-King and Suarez (2011) if the interview includes sensitive, risky or heavy subjects, it is advised to start with more light topics and build and explore into the heavier subjects later. This way the interviewer can build the respondents confidence and the trust between the interviewer and the respondent (ibid). Given that the subject is the interviewee himself/herself all of this also helps the respondent to feel like he/she is an expert on the subject (ibid). Since teens are usually just building up their confidence, this is an important matter not to be overlooked (ibid). It's an essential part of constructing a successful interview with a teen (ibid). The interview was constructed in a way that it started with the most casual and general questions and although it didn't include particularly heavy or sensitive subjects, questions concerning teens' privacy and social behaviour were placed as the last subjects of the interview.

When giving a teen a feeling that she/he is somewhat in control of the conversation the interviewer will most likely be accepted with open arms (Naar-King & Suarez, 2011). This way the respondent will more likely be willing to engage more in the conversation and especially in more difficult subjects (ibid). Still when interviewing such young people the interviewer might have to supply some support and in a way "connect the dots" for the respondent (ibid). If the conversation takes a sudden turn from the teens initiative this shouldn't be prevented even if the matter is somewhat irrelevant, since the main agenda is to keep the respondent motivated to keep talking (ibid). The overall approach for the interviews was to try let the teens speak up and lead the conversation as much as possible. I tried to keep the conversations as focused as possible without really interrupting the interviewee. In some situations I needed to steer the conversation a bit back on track, but those situations were very few. If we seemed to be running out of time I tried to hint to teens that we are running out of time and maybe try to get them to shorten the answer a little bit or to stay on track.

3.7 Data analysis

Analysing qualitative research data differs quite a lot from analysing quantitative research data. Biggest difference compared to quantitative research is that qualitative research data usually consists of written textual material. For that reason, the researchers own preconceptions can lead the research in to very subjective directions. These preconceptions can come from the earlier research data the researcher has read or from some earlier personal experiences. (Metsämuuronen, 2006.)

With qualitative research data, one usually has to do some sort of transcribing before doing the actual analysis of the data (Metsämuuronen, 2006). Transcriptions can be done either precisely word to word or more freely by transcribing only the necessary parts (ibid). With this research data it was decided that the interviews are written out openly without doing word to word transcribing. Because of the open and conversational nature of the interviews it seemed more competent to work this way and transcribing word to word seemed unnecessary in this case.

When analysing qualitative research data the researcher has to keep in mind who is speaking. What is the speaker's relationship with the given matter? Also other matters such as possible humour and irony in the respondents' answers has to be taken into consideration. Understanding what the interviewee is really saying, what she or he really means or even reading between the lines is the essence of analysing qualitative interview data. The researcher also has to consider whether the interviewee is being honest with her/his answers. If it seems the interviewee is not being honest the interviewer has to then contemplate and ask why. (Metsämuuronen, 2006.)

When analyzing this interview data I felt I was on top of it, in terms of understanding these teens' humor and the meaning of their answers. I felt these teens were really honest and straight forward with their answers and I didn't really have to ponder these issues of honesty and reading between the lines.

In this research the research data was analysed using thematic content analysis. This method focuses on finding themes and categories from the gathered data (Burnard et al., 2008). These themes and categories are collected using open coding (ibid). The idea behind open coding is to go through the transcribed interview data and to try to sum up what different sections are essentially about (ibid). After that the researcher can try to find links between different themes and sections (ibid) After these phases the results were compared with earlier research. The questionnaire data was analysed more straight forward than the interview data since it includes mostly closed questions. Since the quantity of the questionnaire is relatively small, only 21 respondents, it can't be really taken as quantitative research. The closed question answers were calculated and gathered thematically as was the interview data. Then the findings were gathered and combined with the interview data to give some perspective of overall social media habits and matters compared to Instagram habits and matters.

4. Findings and discussion

In this section the findings of the questionnaire and the interviews are presented and discussed in relation to earlier research. The respondents of the questionnaire were not individualized as I felt the questions and answers didn't possess any individualising attributes which would've given more value to the findings. Concerning the interviews, the data is individualized by numbering the respondents, and using gender as an individualising attribute: The three male interviewees are marked as **M1**, **M2** and **M3** in the text. The two female interviewees are marked as **F1** and **F2**.

4.1 Device and social media use (questionnaire & interviews)

The questionnaire revealed that most of the respondents (14 respondents, ~67%) do not use a computer daily. Two (~10%) respondents answered that they use computer only under one hour daily while three (~14%) respondents replied using a computer from one to four hours daily. Two respondents mentioned using a computer more than four hours daily with one female respondent (~5%) using a computer over eight hours daily and one male respondent (~5%) using a computer from five to eight hours daily. It can be stated that computer use with these teens is quite low. In comparison, only one respondent (~5%) answered not using a mobile phone daily. Most of the users (18 respondents, ~86%) answered using a mobile phone from one to four hours daily with three respondents (~14%) using a mobile phone from five to eight hours daily. A bit surprisingly most of the respondents (18 respondents, ~86%) answered not using a tablet computer daily. When talking about everyday use of technology, mobile devices, explicitly mobile phones, seem to be the first choice for these teens.

Almost all of the respondents (19 respondents, ~90%) answered using social media daily and only one respondent (~5%) answered not having daily activity in social media (for this question one respondent did not answer anything). Most respondents (15 respondents, ~71%) answered using social media from one hour to four hours daily. Three respondents (~14%) answered using social media from five to eight hours daily and one respondent (~5%) even answered using social media over eight hours daily. When taking into account the fact that most of the respondents do not use computer daily, it is likely that they mostly access social media by mobile devices, as previously studied by Lunden (2014). Although these teens' answers about daily social media use exceeds their estimates of their daily mobile phone use. Supporting this presumption of these teens using social media mostly with mobile devices is the fact that a fair amount of SNSs are designed primarily for mobile devices and the computer versions of these apps usually lack some features. Such is the case with Instagram for example. The high social media activity of these teens supports earlier studies, conducted as early as 2006 by Grinter et al. and 2007 by Boyd, about teens being active users of social media and highly engaged in social media use.

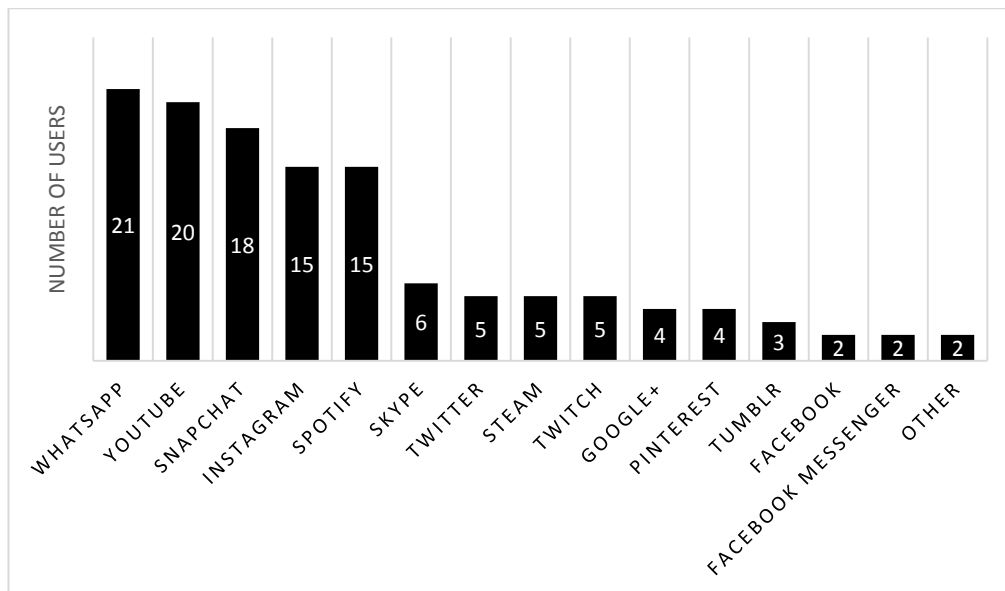


Figure 1. Popularity of different SNSs among teens according to the questionnaire with 21 respondents.

Figure 1 shows a clear top five in SNS usage among the questionnaire participants. WhatsApp is the most popular SNS as all respondents answered using it. All but one (~95%) respondent answered using YouTube making it the second most popular SNS. However, with the limited nature of this questionnaire, one might need broader investigation on these teens' YouTube usage, since the use of YouTube for these teens might only mean watching videos without using the actual social media functions. The third most popular SNS was Snapchat with 18 (~86%) respondents replying using it. Instagram is the fourth most popular SNS along with Spotify, with approximately 71% (15 respondents) of respondents using both. All other SNSs, after the top five most popular, were evidently less popular.

The popularity of SNSs concentrating on communication (WhatsApp and Snapchat) can be explained with the peak motivator for social media use which is communicating with friends to which most respondents (19 respondents, ~90%) answered positively as can be seen in Figure 2.

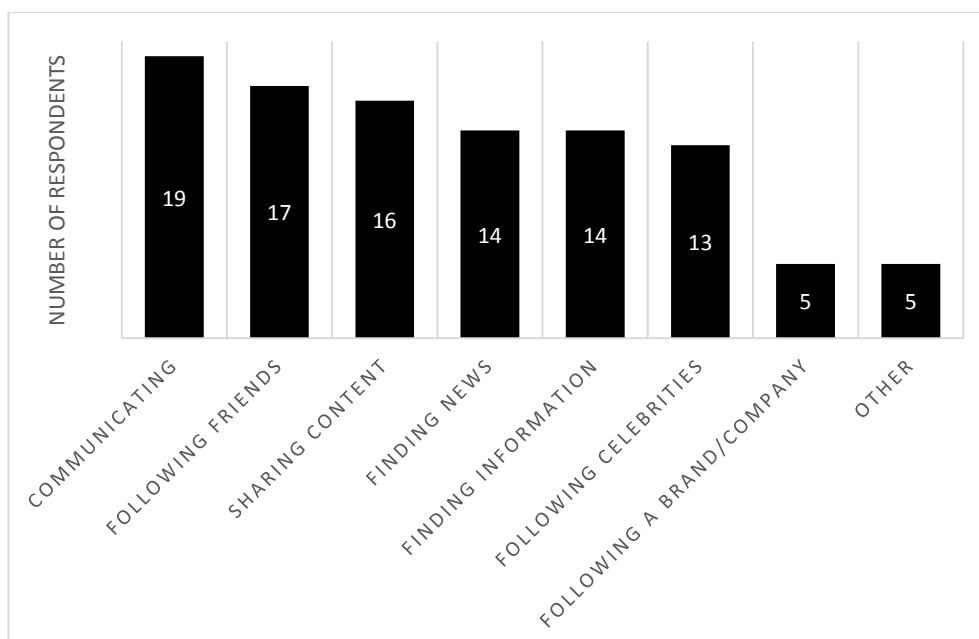


Figure 2. Reasons for teens' social media use according to the questionnaire with 21 respondents.

Interviews gave similar results with all five respondents using Snapchat and WhatsApp in addition to Instagram. All respondents mentioned that Snapchat is the number one platform for communication with WhatsApp being the second choice. M1 uses WhatsApp only if a person doesn't first respond in Snapchat:

"If I have to reach a friend, I usually first send a message using Snapchat. But if I know that this friend doesn't use Snapchat or if he/she doesn't reply quick enough, then I use WhatsApp." (M1)

F2 answered using WhatsApp mainly because its group chat functions are better than Snapchat's. M1, F1 and F2 all answered that they have Facebook accounts, but they rarely use them. F2 only uses Facebook because of her family and relatives who like to use Facebook to wish her a happy birthday or to congratulate her on some other occasion. The low popularity of Facebook within the interviews and the questionnaire unified with the answer from F2 about her using Facebook only because her family and relatives, indicates that Facebook is an SNS of an older generations. Teens' use of multiple SNSs for their different strengths support earlier findings by Zaphir and Sarwar (2006) and Quan-Haase and Young (2010) with similar results. These findings also hint that teens do indeed favour newer SNSs just as Boyd (2007) and Agosto et al. (2012) have suggested.

These results indicate that communication plays an important role with these teens' social media use with the high popularity of WhatsApp and Snapchat. These results about communication being the most important motivator for teens' social media use are in line with earlier studies by Barker (2009) and Arjan et al. (2008) with the similar results. This high communication activity also supports results by Sheldon (2008) and Whiting and Williams (2013) whose studies indicated that maintaining social relationships is the peak motivator not just for teens but in general for social media use.

Figure 2 shows that sharing content and following and observing what other people are sharing in SNSs were the next most popular reasons for social media use, after communication, with seventeen (~81%) respondents choosing these as their reasons of use in the questionnaire. Finding news and finding information both came close with fourteen (~67%) respondents choosing it as a reason for their social media use. Following a celebrity was the next most popular reason for social media use with thirteen (~62%) respondents. Following a brand or a company and other reasons were clearly less popular answers with only five (~24%) respondents choosing them as reasons for their social media use. These other reasons were sharing music, killing boredom, scrolling through memes, finding make-up-related tutorials and doing something else that wasn't described.

4.2 Motives for Instagram use (interviews)

Finding knowledge about others was the most popular motivation for Instagram use in a research with 18 to 52-year-olds by Sheldon and Bryant (2016). This included following and finding knowledge about other people than just the users' friends (ibid). The findings in this questionnaire, with communication being the number one reason for teens' social media use and knowledge about friends and others being the secondary reason for teens, seem to go in line with these earlier researches by Barker (2009), Arjan

et al. (2008), Sheldon (2008), Whiting and Williams (2013) and Sheldon and Bryant (2016).

All interviewees indicated that the top reasons why they use Instagram are first and foremost to kill time and secondly the possibility to follow friends and see what their friends are doing:

“It’s almost like a reflex; if I don’t pick up my phone to check for example WhatsApp messages, I’ll open Instagram and browse through the main feed” (M1)

This somewhat supports earlier research by Sheldon and Bryant (2016) about gaining knowledge about others and surveillance being the highest motives for Instagram use for people of any age, even though for these teens killing time is the primary motivator. Compared to peak motivators of all SNSs, which according to the questionnaire and previous studies by Barker (2009) is communication, Instagram habits seem to differ. F2 mentioned that, compared to Snapchat, Instagram is a better place to check whatever things one might want to observe, because the shared content is permanent. She also mentioned that it’s easier to find the profiles of friends and other people in Instagram, since usually everyone can be found by conducting a search with their real name in addition to their nicknames, unlike in Snapchat where users only have their nicknames shown. These findings indicate that these teens like to mix and use different SNSs because of their different features. This is in line with the findings made by Zaphir and Sarwar (2006) and Quan-Haase and Young (2010) about teens utilizing multiple social media platforms in order to exploit the best sides of each different platform.

All the interviewees like, comment and share content in Instagram. Everyone mentioned that they scroll through Instagram content daily and ‘like’ daily. M2, M3, F1 and F2 all post comments daily, while M1 does this a bit more rarely. M3 and F1 noted that initially they have created an Instagram profile because their friends were already using it. This supports the findings by Quan-Haase and Young (2010) about teens being avid followers of social media trends.

This next part focuses on the interviewees’ main activities in Instagram. For M2 and F2 Instagram use is mostly about killing time. M2 couldn’t really underline any main activities:

“Instagram use as such isn’t that interesting. It’s sort of a habit that comes from your backbone, to look at all the pictures and so on... It’s absolutely a way to kill time...You just for example listen to some music and look at pictures from Instagram without really paying too much attention.” (M2)

For F2 following friends, celebrities and activist pages are part of her Instagram habits in addition to killing time. However, F2 mentioned that she has cut down following celebrities because she knows that the content they share is modified and edited to look perfect and she doesn’t want this content to distort her perception of regular life and people:

“I’ve tried to cut down on following celebrities (in Instagram...There’s been a lot of talk about not buying in to what celebrities share in Instagram, because it’s all so modified. So I’ve kind of tried to save myself and my mental health from all that.” (F2)

M1 and F1 answered that content sharing is the most important part of their Instagram use. M1 noted that without the possibility of commenting and liking, content sharing wouldn't be interesting.

“The possibility to share content is the biggest thing. But of course, without the possibility to like, to comment and other things like that, it (sharing content) wouldn't be useful at all. You wouldn't know if anyone's even viewing or how many are viewing and how many of them actually like what I'm sharing.” (M1)

This finding supports previous findings by Jang et al. (2015) which indicated that teens value commenting and liking behaviour possibly even more than actual content sharing. M2, F1 and F2 mentioned that Instagram has an unwritten rule, at least for their age group, in which a user must comment on a person's next post if that person has recently commented on his/her post.

“If a person comments on your photos, you comment back on his/her photos, it's just something that comes from your backbone. It's sort of an agreement.” (M2)

F1 mentioned that it's fun to share content about her life because it makes her profile seem like an open diary that others can observe. For M3 socialising is the most important aspect of Instagram use, but he mentioned that without people actually sharing content none of the other aspects of Instagram would matter, e.g. following celebrities, which he also considers to be one main aspect of his Instagram use. It's interesting to notice that for M1 these habits work quite the opposite with content sharing being the number one activity. M3 noted that even though the initial social contacts are found and initialized in Instagram the actual conversations move straight away to Snapchat. He also noted that Snapchat is better for killing time since it's more interesting to talk with people than it is to scroll through pictures and comments.

With these interviewees sharing content and socialising seemed to be their peak activities in Instagram. Even though for M3 socialising is the peak activity of his Instagram use, he combines Snapchat with his Instagram use by initially creating social connections in Instagram and relocating the actual conversations to Snapchat. In that sense Barker's (2009) findings about communication being the peak motivator for teens' social media use, which is supported by the questionnaire results of this study, aren't supported by these teens' Instagram habits. Sheldon and Bryant's (2016) findings about surveillance and gaining knowledge about others being the peak motivator for Instagram use with people aged from 18 to 52 go somewhat in line with these findings.

According to M2 Instagram profile should a representation of a person letting others know what kind of a person is behind the profile and what's this user into. He also thinks that the initial aim is to get people to like you.

“For me Instagram use is mostly affiliated with trying to get people to like me.” (M2)

F2 talked about Instagram profile being like a commercial or an ad where people try to promote themselves to other users. She thinks that users only share and post content that they want others to see about them. In her opinion the initial aim in Instagram is to give a perfect image to others. This means that the content they share is considered very carefully before it's posted.

“Instagram used to be mostly about sharing pictures. But nowadays it’s more like a, how would I put it. If there was a commercial about you, your Instagram profile would be the commercial about you. You only share stuff that you want people to see about you. There’s been a lot of talk about Instagram bloggers and such, whose lives seem so perfect when looking at their Instagram profiles. But the truth is that people share only the type of content that they want other people to see. The pictures are edited and they are so false...It used to be about sharing something when you came across something nice but nowadays everything is so premeditated.” (F2)

She underlined that giving this perfect image isn’t that important to herself. These comments support the findings by Feng and Xie (2014) about teens using social media to represent themselves and to gain social acceptance.

Only M3 and F1 said that they keep Instagram notifications on in their mobile phones. F1 noted that she only keeps notifications on about comments that she receives but not e.g. for new likes. M3 keeps notifications on but he thinks that most of these notifications are unnecessary, e.g. notifications about new likes. M1 and F2 noted that they visit Instagram so frequently during the day that they don’t really need to keep notifications on to be up to date on what’s happening in Instagram.

“I don’t really care (about Instagram notifications), because I use Instagram so often anyway that unless someone sends me a message during the night when I’m sleeping, I will see the message in approximately half an hour.” (M1)

These findings go somewhat hand in hand with the finding by Jang et al. (2015) about teens keeping notifications on and reacting to comments, new followers, etc. fast. Even if not all of these teens keep notifications on in Instagram they still support the findings that teens tend to react to comments, new followers, etc. fast, because they use Instagram so often during the day.

4.3 Sharing habits in social media (questionnaire & interviews)

The questionnaire had one open question about sharing habits in social media. This question wasn’t focused on Instagram, but in social media generally. Five respondents, three males and two females, left this field blank. There were sixteen respondents comprising of four males and twelve females for this question.

The most popular type of content teens share in social media, according to the questionnaire, are selfies. This finding goes hand in hand with the findings by Jang et al. (2015) about selfies being the most common type of content teens like to share in social media. Ten respondents (~63%) share selfies in social media. Eight out of twelve female respondents and two out of four male respondents share selfies. The other half of male respondents share internet memes and random pictures and videos, not specified precisely. One of them also shares pictures of his hobbies, while another one shares his own music, internet memes and other random pictures and videos. These findings support the findings by Jang et al. (2015) who found out that over half of the content teens share in social media is related to themselves.

For the female respondents the second most popular shared content is nature and scenery photos, with seven out of twelve respondents sharing this type of content. Three females share food related content. Three females also share pictures of other people, such as their friends and one female respondent shares pictures of her with her friends. All this type of content is related to their daily routines. These findings support the similar findings by Jang et al. (2015) who suggested that content related to teens' daily routines is the second most popular type of content, after selfies, shared by teens. One female respondent shares miscellaneous videos in Instagram and YouTube which she shoots and edits herself.

Only two respondents (females) out of sixteen answered the open question why they share this type of content. Both respondents share selfies and nature pictures. One shares pictures of other people and miscellaneous videos while the other one shares food related pictures in addition to selfies and nature pictures. Both of them share this type of content simply because it's fun but the other one also shares content because she likes to look back and remember specific dates when she did something special. This finding corresponds to the findings by Sheldon and Bryant (2016) about documenting being the second most common motivator for Instagram use by people aged from 18 to 52.

With the interviews I was able to get more specific answers about teens' Instagram sharing habits and the next part focuses on those results.

Sharing frequencies. The interviewees sharing frequencies varied quite a lot. M1 shares content to his music related profiles monthly, but to his personal private profile he posts content very rarely. At the time of the interview the last post he had made with his personal profile was almost one year ago. M2 shares content once a week for his only profile while M3 shares content once every two or three weeks, mostly to his main profile:

“I share content probably once every two or three weeks. I do share for both of my accounts, but lately I haven't been so active anymore with my private account. So I would say that I mostly share content on my so-called main account these days.” (M3)

The female respondents were a bit more active with their sharing habits. F1 shares content every day for her personal private profile but for her main profile she shares content a lot less, only once or twice a month:

“I probably share something every day for my private account but on the official account not so much. At the moment, I probably have five pictures on my official account and eight hundred pictures on my private account. So there's a slight difference, haha.” (F1)

This sort of sharing habit most likely relates to the interview findings related to their Instagram profiles, which will be opened more in depth in section 4.4.1, where the respondents mentioned that it's more relaxing to post content to their personal private profiles instead for their so-called main profiles. This behaviour of sharing less content to the so-called main profile and more content to the profile which is followed by a smaller circle of friends was also found to be the case in earlier studies relating to the Finstagram-phenomenon (Eaton, 2018; Hubby, 2017; Shah, 2017). F2 said that she usually shares content about once a month, but when she's on a holiday she might share

content every day or at least a few times a week. She also mentioned a need to maintain a balance with her sharing frequency:

“You don’t want to share content too often but you also don’t want to share content too rarely. If you share too rarely then you get unfollowed, because there’s never any posts from you. But then again if you share too often, people might not want to see your posts all the time.” (F2)

She didn’t specify on which profile she shares content more often, but only noted that the fancier and thought out photos go to the main profile. Clearly these teens seem to engage more in liking and commenting more than sharing their own content just as earlier research by Jang et al. (2015) suggests.

Creating content. M1 and M3 don’t spend much time taking a picture or shooting a video for Instagram. It’s usually the first or the second picture that ends up in Instagram. F2 usually takes about ten pictures and chooses the best one out of those. M2 might spend a lot of time in front of the mirror taking lots of selfies to choose from:

“I do spend quite a lot of time in front of the mirror (when taking selfies)...With friends though, we’ve kind of learned how to take the best pictures.” (M2)

In his opinion teens don’t want to look faulty in Instagram and that’s why he spends a lot of time getting that perfect selfie. Also F1 might spend hours in front of a mirror when taking a selfie or taking pictures with her friends, which again indicates the desire to look as perfect as possible in Instagram:

“Sometimes it takes a lot of time for me to take a picture that is good enough to be shared, because I’m really precise about it (the photo) being good enough. And sometimes it probably takes hours for me to take photos with my friends or my sister, and then to choose, from probably a hundred photos, which one to share.” (F1)

She mentioned that nowadays when you can add multiple photos within one Instagram post, it’s easier to share content since you don’t have to choose just one photo anymore. These findings are clearly related to feelings of self-worth and self-validation as mentioned in Boyd’s study (2007) as teens try to achieve as much attention as possible with these perfect selfies. These finding also support the findings by Eaton (2018), Hubby (2017) and Shah (2017) related to the Finstagram-phenomenon, which is argued to be born out of the fact that teens don’t want to look faulty in Instagram. Then again, when comparing these answers with the findings by Boyd (2007) about teens wanting to maximize their “coolness” factor, the results are quite mixed since three out of five of these respondents didn’t seem to stress too much about how perfect their pictures look like.

Shared content. M1 and M3 mostly share pictures of themselves. They wanted to underline that these pictures aren’t selfies, but instead pictures taken by others of themselves. M3 mentioned that these pictures are usually taken somewhere else than at home and are shared on his so-called main profile. M1 shares these pictures, which he describes being mostly humorous pictures of himself, also on his so-called main profile while on his music related profiles he mostly shares videos where people can hear clips of his music. Sometimes he shares additional scenery photos on his so-called main profile. He feels that he isn’t really picturesque and feels that selfies in general are

usually a bit embarrassing. M2 might sometimes share selfies but also he shares pictures taken by others of himself. Usually these pictures are taken somewhere else than at home e.g. in front of a cool building etc. Both F1 and F2 share selfies and travel or scenery photos on their main profiles and F2 also shares pictures taken with her friends. Both F1 and F2 share the best and the coolest pictures on their so-called main profiles. On her personal private profile F1 usually shares only internet memes and other humorous pictures and only sometimes a picture of herself. She shares pictures of her dancing hobby with the best pictures going to her so-called main profile and if something goes wrong or something funny happens e.g. in the rehearsals, she posts that content to her personal private profile. She sometimes searches inspiration to her posts by looking at what kind of content her friends are sharing. These findings about teens posting non-serious and other less appealing photos to their personal private profiles and saving the more presentable and cooler photos for their so-called main profiles clearly support the findings by Eaton (2018), Hubby (2017) and Shah (2017) about the Finstagram-phenomenon. These results also go hand in hand with the findings by Jang et al. (2015) about teens posting content mostly about themselves and their daily activities since their other activities like travelling, is tied up with their parents' activities and happen more rarely.

Filters. None of the interviewees use Instagram offered filters for their pictures. M2 doesn't use any filters ever and he never edits or modifies pictures in anyway either. M1 might sometimes edit or modify pictures on a computer using miscellaneous software, mostly for posting internet memes etc. M3 doesn't use filters, except a black and white filter in Snapchat, nor does he edit or modify his pictures:

"I always take pictures with the Snapchat camera. I take a regular and a black and white picture, and save them both. Then I share either one of those...Snapchat's black and white filter is just somehow better than Instagram's." (M3)

Both F1 and F2 think that filters offered by Instagram are outdated and not relevant anymore. F2 instead uses filters offered by Snapchat:

"I don't like Instagram offered filters at all. It seems like they tried to be like Snapchat but they failed...So every time I use filters, I always prefer to use Snapchat offered filters." (F2)

She might sometimes edit pictures either with Snapchat or some other application, but never with Instagram:

"There's a picture editing software called VSCO...I use it to modify my pictures say if I want to adjust contrast or make the picture smaller or whatever...So I don't really use tools offered by Instagram to edit photos, they're somewhat clumsy...Instagram filters are so clumsy and there's so many of them. So I use Snapchat to take a picture with or without a filter and I might also edit the picture there." (F2)

F1 sometimes adjusts the brightness on her photos with Instagram offered tools, because she wants her profile to look lively, or edit a pimple out of her face using some other application. This finding about these teens favouring Snapchat offered filters and camera options support the findings Zaphir and Sarwar (2006) and Quan-Haase and Young (2010) about teens utilizing the functions of multiple SNSs to achieve favorable results for themselves. These teens are favoring newer SNSs for their better functions

and features and combining them with older SNSs just just as Quan-Haase and Young (2010) suggest.

Editing posts. Almost all of the interviewees might sometimes edit their posts afterwards. Only F2 mentioned that since one can't edit the actual photo afterwards she doesn't really edit the posts afterwards. She did mention that one could always remove a post, edit or modify the photo and then post it again, but she thinks it's too complicated. F1 instead said that she sometimes engages in this type of behaviour of deleting a post, editing or modifying the photo and reposting it. She also deletes and archives old posts in order to make her profile and feed look up to date and nice:

“I regularly delete old photos and add new photos to keep my personal feed looking fresh. For me it's important that all photos fit together and look good together. If for example all the photos have a white coloring in them and all of a sudden there's an orange colored photo; that just looks stupid to me.” (F1)

She also sometimes edits the caption and hashtags of old posts if she thinks they look outdated. M1 and M3 both sometimes edit hashtags or captions in their old posts:

“I might sometimes edit hashtags and captions afterwards. I might ask myself: why is this here, how stupid was I, haha?” (M1)

They both also sometimes delete old photos. Both of them edit and delete old posts because they might feel that something they posted before is now outdated or doesn't look good anymore. M1 also mentioned that he wants to keep his profile and feed looking fresh and up to date. For M2 keeping his profile and feed looking good is the main reason he might sometimes delete old posts but he doesn't engage in the activity of editing old posts. This activity of editing or deleting old content afterwards relates to the “coolness” factor mentioned by Jang et al. (2015), since the primary reason is that they don't think this content looks good anymore, hence is outdated, and because they want to keep their profiles and feeds overall appearances looking good and up to date.

Sharing stories. Female respondents are more avid Instagram story sharers than the male respondents. F2 shares Instagram stories usually every other day. She mostly shares things from her daily routines e.g. what she eats. She mentioned these Instagram stories could usually also be shared as permanent content, but it's easier, faster and more stress free to share content as an Instagram story instead. She did mention that she has a permanent Instagram highlight story, which shows her Snapchat profile icon. F1 shares Instagram stories usually once a week. She usually shares something funny from her everyday life:

“I might update Instagram stories once a week, which is quite seldom compared to Snapchat where I usually update my story every day.” (F1)

Both M2 and M3 usually never share Instagram stories. Both said that they have shared just a few Instagram stories over the many years they have used Instagram:

“I've probably shared an Instagram story two times in my life.” (M2)

M1 shares Instagram stories for his music related Instagram profiles. The stories he shares in those profiles are always announcement type of posts e.g. announcement of a new post or a new song. Instead of Instagram stories F1 and M3 mentioned favouring the stories function in Snapchat. This again supports the finding by Quan-Haase and

Young (2010) about teens favouring newer SNSs and the features that these newer platforms offer.

Reposting. Other unpopular habit in Instagram among the interviewees is reposting. Repost being a post that another user has posted before and is then posted in one's own profile. M1, M2 and F1 never repost. M1 might occasionally repost internet memes on his personal private profile and some music related content on his music profiles. F2 might sometimes do a repost using the Instagram stories function if she sees a nice picture etc. These findings indicate that reposting isn't a common habit with these teens and therefore do not support the findings by Jang et al. (2015) about teens being avid sharers of content posted by others.

Hashtags. Using hashtags was not so popular among the interviewees. M2, M3 and F2 never use hashtags. M2 doesn't really see the point in using hashtags, although he understands the concept of using hashtags to find content one might be interested in. M3 finds hashtags somewhat embarrassing:

"I find them (hashtags) pretty ridiculous...They are maybe a bit embarrassing or I don't know if embarrassing is the right word, but they are pretty dead. I find it a bit stupid looking if there are hashtags in a post. I don't feel that they fit there." (M3)

F2 thinks using hashtags is only a way to get more followers and she doesn't like the idea that her pictures can be found by searching with the hashtags she uses. Still she follows some hashtags herself. She also thinks using hashtags ruin a post because they make the post look disorganized:

"I don't use hashtags, and only quite a few people use them, because they kind of ruin the post if the photo is clear and pretty and everything. Because hashtags are blue they kind of ruin the whole thing, haha...And if you have a public profile, your posts will end up in hashtag feeds and I wouldn't want that... Hashtags are a way to get more followers...Hashtags are a way to get attention from people who don't follow you." (F2)

F1 might use humorous hashtags with the content she shares on her personal private profile, but she still thinks using hashtags is an outdated thing and not a relevant feature anymore. M1 was the only one who uses hashtags actively. He mostly uses hashtags that relate to his music hobby and tags that are related to the actual photo or video e.g. hardware, software and music genre related hashtags. He also admitted using some hashtags e.g. hashtags related to big record label and music genres, only to gather more followers for his profile. He has noticed that using these kind of hashtags result in receiving likes from bot profiles. He has a set of hashtags, templates if you will, that he uses, that makes his use of hashtags faster and easier. The fact that these teens mentioned hashtags being an outdated function once again hints their taste for newer SNSs and newer functions as suggested by Quan-Haase and Young (2010). But still, they aren't abandoning the older platforms as suggested by Zaphiris and Sarwar (2006). These findings contradict with the findings by Jang et al. (2015) who suggested that teens use a lot of hashtags. The claims by Sheldon and Bryant (2016) about teens using a lot of hashtags to appear "cool" seems to be outdated since these teens felt that using hashtags was actually embarrassing.

Captions. Despite not using hashtags in their posts, all interviewees usually write some captions for their posts. M1, M3, F1 and F2 all might e.g. cite lyrics from a song. F2

only cites song lyrics, otherwise she doesn't write a caption at all. F1 sometimes writes something directly related to the picture as a caption:

“Sometimes I don't write anything (as a caption), but sometimes I might write some songs lyrics or a phrase that fits the situation in the picture. They're actually really hard to come up with, I always spend a lot of time thinking about what to write.” (F1)

M2 might write just about anything as a caption regardless if it's related to the picture or not. M1 and M3 both use a lot of emojis, since emojis “sell” as M1 put it. Sometimes the song lyrics M3 cites might not relate to the picture at all, but he just wants to promote a song he likes.

Location tags. Only F1 uses location tags pretty much always. M1 mentioned that using location tags takes too much effort and he doesn't see the extra value they would bring for the post. For those reasons he never uses location tags. M2, M3 and F2 all use location tags only when the picture isn't taken at their home or when they are travelling outside of their hometown.

4.4 Privacy views in Instagram (interviews)

Concerning privacy in Instagram, none of the interviewees seemed to be too worried about what information they share about themselves in Instagram or what type of privacy settings they use in Instagram. Four out of five interviewees have their so-called main Instagram profiles set to private with only one male interviewee keeping his profile on a public setting. None of the interviewees share their Instagram posts directly to other SNSs, therefore the privacy settings of other SNSs aren't an issue with these users.

Audience. F1 doesn't really think about who's able to view her posts in her so-called main profile and in her private profile this isn't an issue because she knows everyone who follows her. M3 has a few hundred followers who he doesn't know, but that doesn't raise any concerns for him about what he shares in Instagram:

“I don't think about it (privacy issues). My accounts are on private settings, so I know who sees my content. There are a few hundred (followers) though who I don't know in real life.” (M3)

M3 hasn't really encountered a situation where he would've felt the need to tighten his privacy settings or habits in Instagram. M1 noted that if someone would e.g. like to find out his location, that would be possible regardless whether he shares his location himself which is exactly what Talib et al. (2014) suggest in their research. F2 has recently started thinking about her privacy in Instagram a bit more, after she felt that social media privacy started raising the headlines in the news. Every time she shares content in Instagram she tries to think whether or not she would feel okay if the whole world would see the post:

“If I share something in social media, I know it's going to be there forever. So every time I share something, I always think if it's okay for me that everyone sees it, for example a third party or if a friend shows it to his/her friends and so on.” (F2)

She also mentioned that at some point some unknown person had found out the address of her classmate possibly through social media after which most of her classmates switched their Instagram profiles from public to private if they already weren't private. M2 answered with a sarcastic tone that the only time he has felt the need to tighten his privacy settings or habits in Instagram was when his mother tried to start following him. Most of the respondents don't seem to bother worrying too much about their privacy in Instagram, only F2 indicated a slight consideration in that direction. These findings contradict with the findings by Bryce and Fraser (2014) which indicated that young people worry about possible privacy threats when sharing their personal information in SNSs, though in their research young people still shared personal information in social media mostly because they felt the necessity in order to maintain and build social relationships through social media. In this study teens didn't seem to actually worry about any potential privacy threats, though most of them still seemed to be aware of them. None of these teens mentioned that they felt a need to share personal information in order to build or maintain social relationships either. In a research by Talib et al. (2014) with 18 to 24 year-olds over half of their respondents cared who can see the content they share and find out their locations, but with the teens no one seemed to bother too much about who could view their locations or the content they share.

Bio text. The interviewees were quite versatile with behaviour concerning bio texts in Instagram. M1 doesn't include his real name in any of his three profiles. In his music related profiles he has his age, the country he's from, some of the software and hardware he uses and collaborators and other music makers in his bio texts. M2 has his real name and occasionally the country he's from in his bio text. M3, F1 and F2 all have their real names and Snapchat nicknames in their so-called main profiles' bio texts. F1 and F2 both have a link in their personal private profiles' bio text to their so-called main profiles. F1 has her dance teams name and F2 has her age and the country and city where she's from in their so-called main profiles' bio texts. All but M1 share their real names on their profiles with M2 and F2 usually mentioning the country where they're from. F2 and M1 are the only ones who mention their ages. All of these teens like to mention at least some personal information in their bio texts which goes in line with the findings by Jang et al. (2015) about teens wanting to share personal information in their social media profiles.

Tagging. Most respondents haven't had to react to other people tagging them in posts or comments. Only M3 has experienced unknown people tagging him and therefore feeling the need to react to this behaviour. Sometimes his friends might tag him in e.g. an internet meme, which he might find annoying, and he might ask them to remove the tag. In a study by Feng and Xie (2014) 48% of 622 teens said they remove tags of themselves in social media but with teens in this interview research this sort of behaviour seemed to be quite rare with only one interviewee taking part in this sort of action. All but F2 mentioned tagging their friends in comment sections. Usually this tagging is done to internet memes or other funny pictures or videos. F2 usually shares this type of content to her friends through the direct function rather than tagging her friends in the comments of this content. F1 might tag her friends in the comment section of her friends' posts if these friends appear in a photo and aren't tagged in it. This sort of tagging behaviour goes in line with the results by Jang et al. (2015) where they found that 77% of teens' commenting are directed to "third users" and that teens engage this sort of actions to widen their social connections.

Removing or blocking followers. Most of the interviewees have either removed or blocked followers or done both. Only M2 has never removed any followers or blocked anyone. M1 has only once removed and blocked one follower when he started receiving

strange and distressing messages from this particular follower. F1 used to have her so-called main profile public and at one point lots of older men from Middle Eastern countries started following her and sending her messages. That's when she removed and blocked all these followers and changed her profile from public to private. M3 and F2 both mostly remove and block only users who try to gather followers for themselves, e.g. commercial pages. M3 might remove and block a follower if he notices later that this follower is much younger than him. F2 sometimes removes and blocks people just for not wanting to see pictures of this person or not wanting that person to be able to send a message to her. In a study by Feng and Xie (2014) 57% of 622 teens respondent that they have blocked people in SNSs in order to protect their privacy. The removing and blocking done with teens seem to be not only for protecting their privacy but also for other reasons such as for personal preferences, e.g. not wanting someone to be able to send them a message.

Privacy policies. None of the interviewees had read Instagram's PP and none of them therefore knew its content. This finding goes in line with the findings by Talib et al. (2014) about users not usually reading the privacy policies of SNSs at all and just accepting these policies without reading them. All respondents in this study mentioned that the PP text just seems too long and boring that they aren't interested in reading it. This was the main reason for users not reading PPs in the study by Talib et al. (2014). M1 made a suggestion that if the privacy policy would be presented in the style of internet memes or would include pictures and humour, it would be more fun and he would be more interested in reading it. M2 suggested that all the main points of the PP could be explained as straightforward as possible in a brief one-minute long video, after which the longer text could be presented for those who would like to get more profound information. M3 and F1 both would want someone to explain the main content of the privacy policy to them in person. Both also suggested that the text would have to be more brief in length and presented with bullets. F2 would want the PP to be presented with pictures and slides as she has seen something similar with some other services. Presenting the PP in a more brief length or in some visual format, e.g. pictures and videos, was something that was suggested also in the results of a study by Talib et al. (2014).

Targeted advertisements. What comes to targeted commercials most of the interviewees haven't noticed that Instagram would show them commercials based on their social media activity. This might only be an indication that these teens are not paying too much attention on advertising in general, since they also had a hard time remembering in general what kind of ads Instagram is showing them. Only M1 and F2 said that they have noticed that sometimes their Instagram behaviour is directly linked to the commercials they start to see.

4.4.1 Instagram profile (interviews)

Table 1. Amount of different Instagram profiles of the interviewees.

Respondent	Number of private profiles	Number of public profiles	TOTAL
M1	1	2	3
M2	0	1	1

M3	2	0	2
F1	3	0	3
F2	2	0	2

As is seen in Table 1 most of the interviewees have multiple profiles in Instagram. M2 was the only one who has only one Instagram profile. M2 was also the only one who seemed to have his so-called main profile as a public profile. These numbers go in line with a study by Talib et al. (2014) who found out that 88.7% of users have their SNS profiles set to private. M1, M3, F1 and F2 all have multiple profiles. M3, F1 and F2 all have a personal private profile for which they accept only followers that they really know. All of them also have another profile which they consider to be their ‘main’ profile. This main profile is also private, although all of them mentioned that at least at some point this profile has been public. For this profile they aren’t as strict on who they accept as their followers. Another difference with this profile is that they post only content that is well thought out and made sure it looks as good as possible. For the other profile they can be more relaxed and share content that doesn’t have to look as good and thought out:

“I have two different profiles: an official profile and a private profile...For the private profile I only accept people I know in real life as followers. And the content I share there is something I would be embarrassed to share on my official profile.” (F1)

“A lot of people have a private profile and a so-called main profile. A private profile is much more personal and you can also share content more freely there.” (F2)

All these factors with two different profiles support the Finstagram-phenomenon that indicates that teens want to have a freedom to post silly and not so serious photos in addition to their main profile where they pay more attention to keeping up a perfect image (Eaton 2018, Hubby 2017, Shah 2017).

F1 answered having one other profile in addition to these two profiles mentioned above. This profile is a test profile. With this profile she tests the content she’s about to post in her so-called main profile. She tests how the posts look like and how the overall look and the ‘feed’ of the profile seems. She follows this profile with her so-called main profile so she can see how the content and the feed would look like for others. This profile is private and only followed by her so-called main profile and one of her friends. She’s also part of a profile that is controlled by multiple users. In this profile she and her friends share pictures of themselves. Since this profile is shared and controlled together with friends, this profile can’t be considered to be her own profile.

M1 has three profiles: a main private profile and two profiles related to his music hobby. The main profile is his personal profile which he keeps private and posts content about himself. The music profiles are kept public and their main function is to promote the music that he creates. He usually shares videos with his music in these profiles. He has a link in his bio text to his Soundcloud profiles for people to hear the full-length songs. The reason he has two of these profiles is because he has two different music projects.

M1 and M2 mentioned they used to have other additional profiles in use. The profiles are not in use anymore, but they don't know how to completely remove these profiles. They have only removed all content from these profiles and kept them private and out of use. M1 mentioned having had a game related profile, an internet meme related profile and some other profiles which were created for some other non-specified use.

For M3, F1 and F2 the image and the overall appearance of their main Instagram profiles are key factors in all of their Instagram activity. These are also the reasons why they enjoy the total opposite relaxed way of using the personal private profile where they don't have to think so much about what they are sharing. This was also the case in the studies by Eaton, (2018), Hubby, (2017) and Shah (2017) about the Finstagram-phenomenon. But for these teens keeping the more relaxed profile a secret from anyone didn't seem to be something they aimed for contrary to these earlier Finstagram findings (ibid). Having a test profile, like F1 mentioned, was something I didn't come across in earlier studies, but it clearly relates to the need of keeping the so-called main profile and its feed as perfect as possible, which was also one of the results found in the Finstagram-phenomenon studies earlier (ibid). F2 mentioned that she understands that especially celebrities in Instagram want to maintain a perfect image of themselves and she understands that that image doesn't represent the real person or at least the whole truth behind that person which goes in line with the earlier Finstagram studies about teens being aware of the shallowness of Instagram (ibid).

4.5 Social habits in Instagram (interviews)

Messaging. All interviewees responded using the direct messaging function in Instagram at least sometimes. Everyone mentioned that they use it mostly to share internet memes or other funny pictures or videos someone has shared in Instagram. None of them seem to really use the service to have a real conversation or a dialogue. M3 uses the direct function once maybe every two or three weeks but he never starts a conversation there himself. He thinks the whole direct function is pretty much pointless. M2 mentioned that every day someone sends him a funny picture or an internet meme through the direct function. M1 mostly sends messages through the direct function to find collaborators and the messages he receives through direct function are usually sent with the same agenda. F1 might sometimes send screenshots of her and her friends' conversations. F2 never actually engages in a real dialogue in the direct function, but rather just sometimes sends pictures and videos. M2, F1 and F2 mentioned that if there's ought to be a conversation in Instagram it usually always proceeds to Snapchat right away and that's why the direct function isn't used all that much. This once again strengthens the findings by Zaphir and Sarwar (2006) about teens combining the best factors of different SNSs. In this case it seems that Instagram is initially a better platform to find the new social connections but Snapchat is the platform where the actual dialogue happens and these new connections are built further.

Making new friends. Most of the interviewees mentioned that the activity of starting new social relationships through Instagram has just recently decreased. F1 and M3 aren't intentionally trying to find new social relationships in Instagram, but it still sometimes happens. F1 uses the direct function mostly to have a dialogue with people she is already aware of but hasn't really talked with before. Occasionally a complete stranger might send her a message. M3 mentioned the same thing that sometimes a stranger might send him a message but very rarely he sends a message to a person he

doesn't know. M2 and F2 are more unprompted in finding new social relationships through Instagram, but they too mentioned that this behaviour has not been so active lately. Both mentioned a similar pattern. It starts either with someone first following them and them following this person back or the other way around. After that either one might send the first message. But again, the message is sent in Snapchat not in Instagram. This once again goes in line with the findings by Zaphir and Sarwar (2006) about teens combining the best functions of different SNSs. F2 thinks that it's just somehow easier for people to make the first contact with a stranger in Instagram than it is in Snapchat, even if the actual dialogue starts and stays in Snapchat. F2 has found at least one larger community of friends through Instagram through common interests, but the communication with this group happens mostly in Snapchat. She mentioned that Instagram brings her new friends, but eventually they continue the dialogue in Snapchat. M3 and F2 both mentioned that taking part in a conversation in the comments section, e.g. in a community pages post, might lead to a dialogue with a stranger though M3 pointed out that these conversations usually never develop into private dialogues. It seems these teens aren't afraid to jump into new social relationships through Instagram, even though they might not look for new relationships actively. These findings correlate with the findings by Jang et al. (2015) about teens finding new social connections through SNSs and showing quite diverse social activity and not communicating just with the people they already know.

Maintaining friendships. The interviewees following habits seem to base mostly around their friends. M2 and F1 mostly follow people they know in real life and their followers too are mostly people they already know. On the other hand, M3 and F2 said that half of their followers on their so-called main profiles are people they don't know in real life.

“If a profile is quite normal looking, not a catfish or anything...But if the profile is only followed by one profile and he/she follows a thousand profiles, I'm not going to accept this kind of a user as a follower...If the person is just about my age and his/her profile seems legit and not a stalker or anything, I will accept this kind of a user as a follower.” (M3)

Both still follow mainly people they know. On her personal private profile F2 does however follow people she doesn't know in real life. On his personal account M1 follows mostly his friends and his followers too are mainly friends he know in real life. He did mention that some of the music persons who follow him on his music profiles, who he doesn't know in real life, follow him also on his personal profile. All interviewees seem to mostly follow people they really know. For these teens this means that the so-called monitoring or surveillance activity mentioned by Sheldon and Bryant (2016) is most likely based largely around people they already know from real life. Combining these following habits with the social habits mentioned earlier it doesn't seem that these teens are really driven to build wider social networks through social media as suggested by Jang et al. (2015).

Finding followers. As for phishing for followers, likes or comments the interviewees were divided with their opinions. M1 and F2 never have an agenda to phish for followers, likes or comments by following, liking or commenting. F2 usually comments and likes posts only from people who she already follows. M3 might sometimes phish for followers by following someone just to get them to follow him back. M2 and F1 sometimes like, comment and follow for phishing purposes. They usually unfollow people who don't follow them back which confirms this agenda. None of these teens use the word “follow” in their bio texts or similar hashtags as Jang et al. (2015) mention

appearing frequently in teens' bio texts or posts with the agenda to gather as much followers as possible. Still three out of five respondents admitted engaging in activities with the phishing agenda which also Jang et al. (2015) found to be frequent with their study with teens.

5. Conclusions

On this chapter the research questions will be answered by further analysing and summarizing the research findings. Also paths for future research are presented and limitations of the study are discussed

5.1 Primary reasons why Finnish teenagers use Instagram

As my first research question I asked what are the primary reasons Finnish teenagers are using Instagram?

The interviews revealed that these teens initially like to use Instagram mainly to kill time. The second most popular reason to have an Instagram profile is the possibility to see and follow what friends are doing. This finding somewhat supports the findings by Sheldon and Bryant (2016) who found out that the main motive for Instagram use is gaining knowledge about other and doing surveillance. According to the questionnaire teens' peak motivator for social media use is communication thus, differing from their peak motivator for Instagram use, which goes in line with Barker's (2009) research with teens with similar results. This difference can, at least to some degree, be explained with social media apps focusing on communication such as WhatsApp and Snapchat being more popular than Instagram. Although these teens favour Snapchat in communication and other instances they favour Instagram when they want to find people or when they want to check some previous things. They favour these things because it's easier to find people with their real names in Instagram and the content shared there is permanent. Two out of five interviewees have become Instagram users also because their friends were already using Instagram. This indicates that teens like to follow social media trends as studied earlier by Quan-Haase and Young (2010) or are affected by peer pressure.

All interviewees use Instagram daily. Although they don't post content daily, they like to scroll through Instagram and their main feed every day and look at content posted by others. This strengthens the finding that for these teens Instagram is mostly a place where to kill time and secondly a place to follow other people and see what they are doing. In addition to scrolling through content in Instagram almost all interviewees also comment and like content daily. Only one interviewee engages in commenting behaviour a bit more rarely. These teens can be described as active Instagram users even though they are not actively sharing content. Instead they like to see what content other users are sharing and show others that they are following their posts by liking and commenting their content. These findings about teens posting less and engaging more in liking and commenting behaviour go in line with earlier research by Jang et al. (2015) who found similar results in their study with teens in Instagram. Another factor indicating of their high activity as Instagram users is the fact that they are fast to react to happenings, e.g. new comments, in Instagram either because of Instagram notifications on their phone or by the fact that they visit Instagram daily so often. This supports the findings by Jang et al. (2015) who found that teens tend to reply to new comments in Instagram fast.

Concerning teens' main activities in Instagram results were quite varied. Two out of five interviewees (one female and one male) mentioned that Instagram use isn't particularly interesting and it's more just a habit to kill time and to scroll through the feed and see what friends are doing. Two interviewees (one female and one male) consider content sharing an essential part of their Instagram activities. The female respondent expanded that she considers her Instagram profile to be an open diary where others can see what's happening in her life and she enjoys this aspect of Instagram the most. The male respondent noted that sharing content would be boring without the possibility of other people showing their appreciation or opinions by liking and commenting this content. For one male user socializing is the main activity in Instagram but for him without other people sharing content none of these other activities would exist or matter.

Even though these teens like to follow and see what their friends are doing in Instagram and to show their appreciation to the people they follow by their high liking and commenting behaviour, they don't really use Instagram for socializing purposes. They are not actively looking to build new relationships through Instagram and they don't use Instagram for conversations. Though these new relationships still occur sometimes through commenting or direct function messaging, they like to use Snapchat to build these relationships further. One female respondent mentioned that Instagram is a better place for the initial first contact with a new person. They use the direct function in Instagram mostly just to share funny videos and internet memes etc. to their friends and for actual conversations with friends they use Snapchat or WhatsApp as a second choice.

These teens are not avid content sharers in Instagram and instead they like to be in a more observer type of role by monitoring what others share. They use Instagram out of habit to kill time, to see what their friends are doing. They tend to create new social relationships in Instagram but are not driven to create these new relationships. They use Instagram daily and engage in high liking and commenting behaviour activity. Questionnaire results indicate that some other SNSs have possibly a more solid status in these teens' lives compared to Instagram. This conclusion is derived out of the fact that these teens like to use social media mostly for communication, for which they like to use other SNSs like Snapchat and WhatsApp, and thus because they use Instagram mostly just to kill time. For these teens some functions, such as hashtags and filters, are outdated and they favour using Snapchat filters for their Instagram photos instead of filters offered by Instagram. And though they are creating new social ties through Instagram, Snapchat offers better tools for building these relationships.

Instagram is part of a set of SNSs these teens use. They like to combine different parts of different SNSs with Instagram, most popularly Snapchat. In addition to combining different functions of Snapchat with Instagram these SNSs interlock with each other with socialising aspects. Zaphiris and Sarwar (2006) received similar results with their research about teens exploiting the best parts of multiple SNSs.

5.2 Finnish teenagers' views on privacy in Instagram

As my second research question I asked what are Finnish teenagers' views on privacy in Instagram?

These interviewees are not too concerned about their privacy in Instagram. None of them stress about what personal information they share in Instagram. This finding

contradicts earlier research by Bryce and Fraser (2014) about teens being concerned about privacy threats when sharing their personal information in SNSs. These teens don't share their Instagram content to other SNSs and therefore they are not spreading any potential privacy risks. Most respondents have all their Instagram profiles set to private, which means that only their followers can view the content they share. It has been studied by Talib et al. (2014) that most SNS users like to keep their SNS profiles private. Only one male respondent has his personal profile set to public. Another male respondent has two public profiles in addition to his personal private profile, but with these profiles he shares content related only to his music hobby. Three out of five interviewees have personal private profiles for which they only accept followers they know in real life and they mostly follow people they know in real life in both their personal private profile and in their so-called main profile. On their so-called main profiles even half of their followers might be people they don't know in real life. Their sharing activity is concentrated on these personal private profiles and they share content and information more freely for these profiles compared to their so-called main profiles for which they are more strict about what they can share. These habits go in line with the Finstagram-phenomenon which indicated that teens want to create these private personal accounts to be able to share content more freely with the people they actually know (Eaton, 2018; Hubby, 2017; Shah, 2017).

Only one female respondent mentioned a slight increase of concern in privacy issues in Instagram. She had two reasons for this concern. One was the overall media coverage of social media privacy issues in the news and the other one was an occurrence which happened to her classmate in which a stranger had figured out this classmate's address potentially by monitoring his/her social media. One male respondent did mention that he feels that it doesn't really matter how much or little personal information he shares in social media, either way if someone wants to find out his location this person will be able to do it.

Four out of five interviewees share their full names in their Instagram bio texts with only one male respondent leaving out his real name. One male and one female interviewee share their age and two other interviewees (one male and one female) mention the country where they're from. Three interviewees also mention their Snapchat nicknames in addition to their full names. This indicates that these teens are not afraid to share their personal information in Instagram and thus strengthening the conclusion that they are not concerned about their privacy in Instagram. These findings also strengthen the findings by Jang et al. (2015) about teens wanting to share at least some personal information in social media.

Most of these teens haven't encountered situations where other people would tag them in content they wouldn't want to be tagged in, only one male respondent has experienced unknown people tagging him or his friends tagging him in something he doesn't want to be tagged in. This respondent is the only one who has had to protect his privacy from this type behavior and ask users to remove these tags. On the other hand, almost all respondents have removed or blocked followers or done both. Only one male respondent hasn't done either ever. Two respondent (one male and one female) usually remove and block commercial pages or other users who only try to phish for followers and occasionally profiles by private persons just for not wanting them as followers. This behavior doesn't really indicate that they are trying to protect their privacy but more just to enhance their user experience in Instagram. One male respondent has had to remove and block one follower because of unwanted messages. One female respondent has had to remove and block multiple users for receiving unwanted messages from them. These findings somewhat support the results by Feng and Xie (2014) about over half of teens

engaging in deleting and blocking users in SNSs to protect their privacy. These teens also react to occurrences they feel threaten their privacy as also suggested by Mohamed & Ahmad (2012), Moscardelli & Divine (2007) and Feng & Xie (2014).

None of the interviewees had read Instagram's privacy policy (PP) and therefore none of them knew what it's about. Some of them mixed the PP with Instagram's community guidelines, which contains information about what sort of content is appropriate to share etc. None of them did really know that there is such a thing as a PP which explains how the content and information they share is collected and used. All of them mentioned that the PP could be more brief, explained e.g. with bullets, pictures, slides or videos. It is studied earlier by Talib et al. (2014) that usually users don't read PPs at all and also they suggested using other formats to represent the PP, e.g. a graphic format.

These teens do react to occurrences when they feel their privacy is threatened but only after they feel they are in an unwanted situation and they feel that they have to engage in actions in order to protect their privacy. On the other hand these teens don't seem to feel like they have to share personal information in Instagram in order to achieve trustworthiness in building new social relationships in Instagram. They like to maintain more barriers, concerning what they share, on their so-called main profiles compared to their personal private profiles where they are more free and active with their sharing habits. This activity is partly born by the shallow nature of Instagram thus the Finstagram-phenomenon.

5.3 Sharing habits of Finnish teenagers in Instagram

As my third research question I asked what are the sharing habits of Finnish teenagers in Instagram?

All but one male respondent have more than one profile in Instagram. This respondent was also the only one who has a public personal profile. All other interviewees have their personal profiles set to private and three out of five interviewees have two personal profiles. They have a personal private profile for their closest friends, where one can share content freely without having to stress how the content looks and a so-called main profile where they have followers they might not know in real life, where they share content with much more consideration and usually much less frequently. All respondents like to share the 'coolest' and the best photos on their so-called main profiles. Usually the embarrassing or not so cool content is shared on their personal profiles. They like to maintain a nice and clean image on their so-called main profiles but because it's time-consuming and stressful to keep up this image they like to have the personal private profile where they can share content without stressing about a perfect image. These findings about having two different profiles and the agenda for this behaviour support the Finstagram-phenomenon finding by Eaton (2018), Hubby (2017) and Shah (2017) who found out that teens have felt the need to have two different profiles in order to share content freely to friends on one and then to keep up a more 'cool' and clean image on the other one. One female respondent has one other private profile in addition to these other two already mentioned. It's a test profile where she tests how posts would look before posting them on her so-called main profile. She follows this test profile with her so-called main profile to see how the posts would look to others. In addition to these three profiles she's also part of a profile that is shared with her friends, where they post content together. One male respondent has two hobby related profiles in addition to his personal profile. These profiles are public and are dedicated to sharing mostly videos with music he's making himself.

As mentioned above all the interviewees have a willingness to keep their Instagram profile and their feed looking nice. Therefore, all of them like to edit and modify their posts afterwards from time to time. They would like to have an option to modify and edit the actual photo or video afterwards, which at the moment isn't possible in Instagram. Instead they like to edit captions or hashtags afterwards in their posts. Three interviewees (one female and two males) also sometimes delete or archive old posts. They like to modify, edit and delete content order to keep their feed up to date and looking clean and nice. Jang et al. (2015) studied that teens like to engage in this sort of behaviour because they want to keep their profiles up to date and 'cool' just as this present study suggests.

All interviewees mostly share pictures of themselves; either selfies or pictures of themselves taken by other persons. All male respondents like to share pictures of themselves outside of home e.g. in front of 'cool' buildings. In addition to selfies the female respondents also share travel and scenery photos. These sharing habits go hand in hand with the results from the questionnaire about teens' overall sharing habits in social media. Jang et al. (2015) suggested that teens tend to post content mostly about themselves and their daily habits because that's what their days are mostly comprised of, since they yet can't e.g. travel on their own.

Only one female respondent shares content in Instagram daily, usually to her personal private profile. Other respondents share content less frequently, from one to few times a month. Content is shared more frequently on hobby related profiles and personal private profiles than on their so-called main profiles. This finding goes hand in hand with the finding by Jang et al. (2015) about teens being more engaged in other activities in social media and being less avid in sharing behaviour. Three out of five interviewees indicated spending quite a lot of time and consideration on taking and choosing a photo or a video which to share. These findings support the findings by Boyd (2007) about teens wanting to achieve attention with their perfect photos in order to boost their feelings of self-worth and self-validation and the Finstagram-phenomenon study (Eaton, 2018; Hubby, 2017; Shah, 2017), which relates to the fact that teens don't want to look faulty in Instagram. On the other hand two male interviewees usually take only or two photos and share either one of those.

These teens don't repost content, instead they like to share this type of content with direct function messages. Other unpopular habit relating to sharing habits is hashtags. Only one of these teens uses hashtags regularly, in his music hobby profile. These teens find this function or habit outdated and even embarrassing thus the reason not using it. They don't find this function relevant and think that it only makes their posts look disorganized. These findings contradict findings by Jang et al. (2015) about teens being avid reposters and users of hashtags and findings by Sheldon and Bryant (2016) about teens using hashtags to appear 'cool'. These findings indicate that teens have a taste for newer SNSs and newer SNS functions as studied by Quan-Haase and Young (2010). Instead of hashtags all of these teens like write song lyrics as captions in their photos and videos. Two male respondents mentioned using a lot of emojis in their captions. All interviewees like to use location tags especially when they are travelling.

Another outdated function for these teens are the filters Instagram offers for pictures. They favour other applications and software for modifying, editing and filtering their photos. Once again these teens favour Snapchat offered filters and camera options. This again indicates that teens tend to favour newer SNS functions as suggested by Quan-Haase and Young (2010) and they like combine multiple SNSs and their function as suggested by Zaphiris and Sarwar (2006). In general these teens are not big on

modifying their photos, they mostly like to adjust brightness or use black and white filters or occasionally do a little editing to their face when taking a selfie.

Female respondents like to share Instagram stories, but male respondents were quite unenthusiastic with this behaviour. One male respondent shares Instagram stories usually only on his music profile to promote his new songs. Female respondents like to share things from their everyday life and they share Instagram stories from one to few times a week. Two respondents (one male and one female) again noted that they favour the same story feature in Snapchat instead of Instagram's version which again indicates that these teens tend to favour newer SNSs as suggested Quan-Haase and Young (2010).

Overall these teens are quite strict with the content they are sharing in their feeds, at least on their so-called main profiles. But in addition they enjoy using their personal profiles where they can post more freely. Female respondents are more frequent with their sharing habits with both permanent content and Instagram stories. These teens mostly like to share things from their everyday lives and from trips they do. They like to combine features from Snapchat when they post content since they feel that Instagram offered filters etc. are outdated. They like to use captions in their posts but find the hashtags feature outdated.

These teens like to use their personal private profiles to share content freely and they enjoy doing this. On their so-called main profiles they feel pressure to look perfect which has caused them to decrease the use of these profiles. The shallow nature of perfect looking profiles, which these teens are aware of, has caused these teens to alienate from Instagram and move more to Snapchat where they feel sharing is more free and stress free.

5.4 Other interesting findings

The questionnaire revealed that these teens have drifted away from computer use and for most of them it's not a part of their daily lives. These teens tend to favour mobile devices instead of computers. To be more exact, these teens favour mobile phones since most of them don't use tablet computers daily. Most of these teens, according to their answers, use mobile phones from one to four hours daily. Almost the exact same number replied using social media. It could be then stated that they use technology, in this case mobile phones, possibly because of their social media use which would also explain their low use of computers, since most SNSs are designed primarily for mobile phone use.

The results of the questionnaire indicated a clear top five of SNSs with these teens. As can be seen in Figure 1 most popular social media apps from the most popular to the least popular are: WhatsApp, YouTube, Snapchat and last with a shared amount of popularity, Spotify and Instagram. Other SNSs seem to be significantly less popular. The interviews indicated that e.g. Facebook is out of date for these teens and is mostly used for keeping up their family ties. The interviews also indicated that Instagram has quite a few functions that are outdated which could suggest that Instagram might suffer the same faith as Facebook sooner or later. Moreover, teens feel Instagram is trying to stay relevant by copying functions from Snapchat

According to the questionnaire and the interviews teens use SNSs mostly for communication. Both results indicated that Snapchat is the most popular SNS for communication. Although WhatsApp is almost equally popular, it's still mostly a

second choice, if a friend doesn't answer in Snapchat. These teens mostly like to share selfies in SNSs, according to the questionnaire. Female respondents also share nature and scenery photos while male respondents like to share internet memes and other random pictures and videos.

5.5 Paths for future research

There's a need for more research concerning teens and children using social media. There's research concerning age and gender differences but less research concentrating on children and teens alone. The subject matter gives room for national and international studies to receive information on area specific social media trends. A thing to be learned from this and previous studies is teens' activity with multiple SNSs. This creates challenges for studies focusing on a certain SNS but taking it into account it creates possibilities to conduct studies with a comprehensive view on teens' social media behaviour.

Teens' activity in Instagram using multiple profiles is something that hasn't been studied much yet. The shallow nature of Instagram has been found in this and previous studies to be the cause of this behaviour. This multi profile activity has been reported somewhat with news articles but real scientific research on this subject is lacking. This behaviour has lots of aspects to study. Lots of aspects from sharing habits to privacy could be studied more profoundly with multiple profiles as a main focus.

Given that social media use is a big part of teens' every day lives, according to this and previous studies, there could be interdisciplinary research combining information technology research with e.g. psychology or education theory. This type of study could be beneficial for many fields of science.

5.6 Limitations of the study

As it is with most qualitative studies the obvious limitation of this research could be seen as the small scale sampling. Therefore, it might not represent more than just a small groups views on the given subject. There could've been more participants in the interviews but in the end gathering five participants proved to be task that was hard enough to achieve considering the busy school schedules and in the end the lack of volunteers for this study. The interviewees are geographically only from one location and one school, which could represent social media trends only from this small area or one specific school. Other possible limitation might be the plausibility of the data gathered by interviewing teens. It might not represent the actual concreteness of the behaviour of children in Instagram. This is due to the risk of teens misunderstanding the questions, possibly not having the verbal capacity of expressing themselves accordingly, not having a realistic view on their own behaviour or a mixed result of any of the mentioned happenings.

In the end the studied research questions were quite wide and given the width of this study the results are only a tip of the iceberg. The limited frame of this study has been recognised in the making of this study by trying to divide focus and time equally on all the themes. If the study had been focused on a smaller set of themes the results could be more profound and in-depth in certain themes.

Another limitation is the lack of experience the research had with conducting and carrying out interviews and questionnaires and conducting data analysis for this type of data. Also, not all of the references are scientific articles but instead e.g. news articles. Using references of this type have to be viewed with a more critical approach.

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Appendix A. Questionnaire

1. Kuinka paljon käytät seuraavia laitteita päivittäin? Ympyröi tuntimäärä laitetta kohden.

Tietokone:	En käytä päivittäin	Alle tunnin	1-4 tuntia	5-8 tuntia	Yli 8 tuntia
Tabletti:	En käytä päivittäin	Alle tunnin	1-4 tuntia	5-8 tuntia	Yli 8 tuntia
Puhelin:	En käytä päivittäin	Alle tunnin	1-4 tuntia	5-8 tuntia	Yli 8 tuntia

2. Käytätkö sosiaalisen median sovelluksia? _____

3. Jos käytät, mitä sovelluksia (ympyröi vaihtoehtoista)?

WhatsApp	Facebook	Instagram	YouTube	Spotify
Snapchat	Facebook Messenger	Skype	Twitter	Steam
Twitch	Google+	Tumblr	Pinterest	Jokin muu, mikä?

4. Mihin tarkoitukseen käytät sosiaalisen median sovelluksia (ympyröi vaihtoehtoista)?

Kuvien ja videoiden jakamiseen	Kavereiden kanssa viestimiseen	Kavereiden seuraamiseen	Uutisten seuraamiseen/ lukemiseen
Julkisuuden henkilön seuraamiseen	Yrityksen/firman/ yhteisön/ bändin seuraamiseen (esim. Nike, Metallica, yms.)	Tiedon etsimiseen	Johonkin muuhun, mihin? (esim. vloggaamiseen?)

5. Jos julkaiset sisältöä (kuvia/videoita/yms.) sosiaaliseen mediaan, niin minkälaista materiaalia julkaiset ja miksi? (esim. selfieitä, luontokuvia, esittelyvideoita, vloggeja)

6. Kuinka paljon kulutat aikaa sosiaalisessa mediassa päivittäin (ympyröi vaihtoehtoista)?

En käytä päivittäin	Alle tunnin	1-4 tuntia	5-8 tuntia	Yli 8 tuntia
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Appendix B. Interview layout

HAASTATTELUKYSYMYKSET

YLEISTÄ

1. **Kertoisitko yleisesti mitä sosiaalisen median sovelluksia käytät ja miksi?**
 - a. Miksi käytät mitäkin tai mihin käytät mitäkin? Pystytkö jaottelemaan selkeästi, että teet toisessa jotain ja jossain muussa jotain muuta?
 - Kommunikoitko jossain kavereiden kanssa? Jossain muidenkin kanssa?
 - Jaatko jossain sisältöä julkisesti? Jossain vain kavereiden kesken?
 - Seuraat jossain tiettyjä henkilöitä/sivuja?

2. **Kertoisitko tarkemmin millä tavoin käytät Instagramia? (Mitä teet Instagramissa, mitkä ovat Instagramin käyttötarkoituksesi? Miksi käytät Instagramia?)**
 - a. Jaatko kuvia tai videoita Instagramissa?
 - Kuinka usein? (päivittäin, viikottain....?)
 - b. Kommentoitko tai tykkäätkö kuvista Instagramissa?
 - Kuinka usein? (päivittäin, viikottain....?)
 - c. Käytätkö Instagramin yksityisviesti-toimintoa?
 - Kuinka usein? (päivittäin, viikottain....?)
 - d. Päivitätkö storiesiin sisältöä?
 - Kuinka usein? (päivittäin, viikottain....?)
 - e. Pidätkö Instagramin ilmoituksia päällä puhelimesi?
 - Haluat reagoida nopeasti kommentteihin ja viesteihin, jotka saat Instagramissa?
 - f. Onko sinulla yksityinen vai julkinen profiili?
 - Useampia profiileja?

3. **Minkä ajattelisit olevan suurin tarpeesi Instagramin käytölle? (Kun päätät ottaa puhelimen käteen ja avata Instagramin, minkä ajattelisit olevan yleisin syy, että päätät näin tehdä?)**
 - a. Sosiaaliset suhteet?
 - Olet saanut viestin tai tarve viestiä jollekin?
 - b. Jonkin asian jakaminen muiden kanssa juuri nyt?
 - Tärkeä asia elämässäsi?
 - Hauska asia tai tilanne?
 - Yms.
 - Postaus vai story?
 - c. Luominen/taide?
 - d. Sosiaalinen paine? (koska muutkin ovat, minunkin pitää)
 - Onko Instagram ”cool” ikäluokassasi?
 - e. Muiden elämien/tekemisten seuraaminen?

- f. Ajantappo?
- Postaat itse jotain, selaat muiden tekemisiä?
 - Viihde?
 - Uutiset?

JAKAMISTOTTUMUKSET

1. Kertoisitko tarkemmin mitä tai minkälaista sisältöä jaat Instagramiin?

- a. Minkä tyyppisiä kuvia tai sisältöä sanoisit jakavasi Instagramissa eniten?
- Selfieitä?
 - Reissukuvia?
 - Harrastuksiin liittyviä kuvia? Omia luomuksia/käsitöitä/taidetta?
 1. Jaatko kuvia omista luomuksistasi tai omista harrastuksistasi löytääksesi ihmisiä, jotka ovat kiinnostuneita samoista asioista kuin sinä?
 - Reposteja?
 1. Minkälaisia repostreja?
- b. Jos päivität storiesiin sisältöä, niin minkälaisia päivityksiä teet?
- c. Päivitätkö usein reaaliaikaisesti (esim. stories) lokaatiosi? (paikkatieto)
- Mietitkö tällöin ketkä kaikki saavat tietää sen hetkisen sijaintisi?
 1. Mietityttääkö sinua jakaa lokaatiotasi?
- d. Käytätkö kuvissasi hashtageja?
- Mitä ovat yleisimmät hashtagit mitä käytät kuvissasi?
 - Miksi käytät näitä hashtageja?
 1. Kirjoitatko kuviin hashtagien lisäksi muuta ns. vapaata tekstiä?
 - Käytätkö yleisesti suosittuja hashtageja, kuten: #follow #followme #likeforlike #finnishboy jne.
 - Kuluuko sinulla paljon aikaa, kun mietit kuvalle hashtag
- e. Kirjoitatko muutoin vapaata tekstiä paljon kuviisi/videoihisi?
- Esim. millaista tai millaisiin kuviin ja miksi?
- f. Jos otat kuvan Instagramiin, käytätkö paljon aikaa kuvan ottamiseen? (Useampi vaihtoehtoinen kuva, kuvakulma, tms.?)
- Käytätkö paljon aikaa filttareiden valitsemiseen ja muuhun kuvan muokkaamiseen?
- g. Muokkaatko tai poistatko kuvia/videoita jälkikäteen?
- Miksi?

YKSITYISYYS

1. Kerrotko yleisesti ajatuksiasi liittyen yksityisyyteesi ja sen hallintaan Instagramissa? (Kuvien jakaminen, lokaatiotagit, infot kuvissa ja profiilissa, julkinen vai yksityinen profiili.)

- a. Kun jaat kuvia ja tietoa itsestäsi Instagramiin, mietitkö kuka sen näkee?
- Linkitätkö jakamaasi sisältöä muihin someihin?
 - Kuka näkee sisällön näissä muissa someissa? Erilaiset käytännöt näkyvyyden suhteen esim. Facessa
- b. Jos sinulla on yksityinen profiili, niin hyväksytkö seuraajiksi ihmisiä joita et tunne?

- Kommunikoitko näiden seuraajien kanssa?
 - Julkisen profiilin haltijat sama kysymys?
- c. Jaatko profiilissasi henkilökohtaisia tietoja? Esim. sijainti, ikä, oikea nimi?
 - Profiilissa? Kuvissa?
 - Antanut virheellistä tietoa itsestäsi profiilissasi tai postauksessa? (ikä, nimi, lokaatio?) Miksi?
 - Mitä muuta tietoa jaat esim. profiilisi biotekstissä? Lupaatko esim. seurata takaisin, jos joku seuraa sinua?
- d. Onko sinusta joskus tuntunut, että sinun pitäisi kiristää yksityisyysasetuksia profiilisissasi tai postauksissasi?
 - Millaisissa tilanteissa olet kokenut tällaisia tuntemuksia ja miksi?
- e. Oletko ikinä
 - Poistanut/blokannut seuraajia? Miksi?
 - Poistanut profiilisi tai jonkin profiileistasi? Miksi?
 - Poistanut itsesi kuvasta/postauksesta johon sinut on tagattu? Miksi?
- f. Oletko lukenut Instagramin privacy policyn/tietosuojakäytännön?
 - Miksi olet tai miksi et ole?
 - Tiedätkö mikä privacy policy/tietosuojakäytäntö on tai mihin se liittyy?
 - Mikä asia saisi sinut kiinnostumaan PP:sta? Miten sinut saisi kiinnostumaan PP:sta?
 - (Jos PP olisi esim. graafisessa tai video formaatissa, kiinnittäisitkö siihen enemmän huomiota?)
- g. Oletko kiinnittänyt huomiota siihen, millaisia asioita sinulle mainostetaan Instagramissa?
 - Onko kohdennus toiminut/Oletko huomannut, että sinulle mainostetaan asioita, jotka liittyvät tekemisiisi Instagramissa?

SOSIALISOIMINEN

1. Kertoisitko yleisesti minkälaista sosialisointia harrastat Instagramissa? (Kommentointi, tagaaminen, yksityisviestit, seuraaminen, jne.)

- a. Pyritkö saamaan Instagramin kautta uusia sosiaalisia suhteita?
 - Millä tavoin?
 - Yhteiset kiinnostuksen aiheet (samat tagit yms.)?
 - Yhteiset kaverit?
 - Kuinka käytännössä luot Instagramissa uuden kommunikointisuhteen?
 - Kommentoiko joku tuntematon kuvaasi? Kommentoitko sinä hänen?
 - Laittaako joku tuntematon sinulle viestin? Laitatko sinä hänelle?
- b. Kun kommentoit toisen kuvaa ja tagaat kommenttiisi jonkun, onko tagattu henkilö useimmiten kuvan postaja itse, postajaan ja sinun yhteinen kaveri vai joku muu?
 - Minkälaisissa tilanteissa tagattu henkilö on joku muu?

- c. Käytkö tykkäämässä tai kommentoimassa muiden profiileihin, jotta he tykkäisivät tai kommentoisivat takaisin?
 - Millä valintaperustein valitset näitä muita profiileja?
- d. Pyritkö hankkimaan itsellesi seuraajia seuraamalla muita?
 - Millä valintaperustein valitset näitä muita profiileja?
- e. Kumpia seuraajia sanoisit että sinulla on enemmän? Seuraajia jotka tunnet entuudestaan vai tuntemattomia/vain somesta tuttuja?
- f. Seuraatko itse enemmän kavereita vai tuntemattomia/sometuttuja?