LIVING IN THE DIGITAL AGE

SELF-PRESENTATION, NETWORKING, PLAYING, AND PARTICIPATING IN POLITICS

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"*Fraped*" Selves: Hacked, Tagged, and Shared Without Permission. The Challenges of Identity Development for Young People on Facebook

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ABSTRACT

Social Networking Sites (SNS) play an important role in the daily lives of adolescents by helping them to develop two core developmental characteristics – identity and intimacy. SNS can also contribute to developing adolescents' identities by eliciting peer feedback (Valkenburg & Peter, 2011). However, children's unpleasant experiences with the misuse of their online personal information are among the rapidly increasing online risks, as reported by children ages 9–16 in the Net Children Go Mobile (2012–14) and EU Kids Online III (2012–14) projects. These troublesome situations – e.g., dealing with impersonation through hacked accounts (with the impersonator sending rude messages to damage reputation) or dealing with slanderous pages created by peers – pose challenges to young people's need for creating and maintaining their online identity in the context of their peer relationships. The types of problematic situations related to privacy issues and Personal Data Misuse (PDM) were purposefully chosen to illustrate young people's challenges for self-presentation and online impression management as key components of building identity. This chapter will further reflect on the need for revisiting the research agenda for adolescent identity development in the context of online personal data misuse.

Keywords

social networking sites, identity development, adolescent, online privacy, personal data misuse

INTRODUCTION

Since danah boyd (2007) wrote about their appeal for young people, Social Network Sites (SNS) have been on the rise. SNS use has been reported as the favorite activity for children and adolescents, alongside face-to-face communication with peers. In 2010, the EU Kids Online survey reported that 61% of young people ages 9–16 had an SNS profile, whereas, in 2013, the Net Children Go Mobile (NCGM) project showed that 68% of 9–16 year olds had SNS profiles (Livingstone et al., 2011; Mascheroni & Ólafsson, 2014). Facebook[1] has been reported as the SNS of choice for children in the NCGM project (2013 data).

In their chapter on the psychological development of adolescents and privacy online, Peter and Valkenburg (2011) construct a compelling argument for why we should look at adolescents' online privacy from a developmental perspective and how the functions of privacy actually correspond with the crucial developmental tasks of adolescence. Supporting the call for further research, this chapter presents the idea that privacy issues and online Personal Data Misuse (PDM)[2] are potentially detrimental to adolescents' developmental tasks, including autonomy, identity building, intimacy, and the development of a sexual self. Due to space-related constraints, this chapter will focus on how privacy issues affect adolescents' identity, such as the construction of personal, social, and collective selves, without referring to other developmental tasks. We argue that there is a need to revisit the research agenda of identity development theories in order to align scientific knowledge with the challenges faced by adolescents who are building and negotiating identity in the context of networked privacy (Marwick & boyd, 2014).

Some parallels between bullying and cyberbullying, as well as the connections between cyberbullying and PDM, are useful for making a case for why the latter are worthy of attention in the context of identity research. PDM – as either a sub-set of cyberbullying or another type of cyber-aggression – presents numerous similarities with cyberbullying, including the same features of the social web, the possibility to reach wider audiences, the lack of direct contact, which further limits empathic responses, the permanence of information,

1 For an overview of Facebook functionalities and architecture, see Wilson, Gosling, and Graham (2012).

2 Personal Data Misuse (PDM) is defined, for the purpose of this chapter, as using someone's online information (including their personal profile) in ways the person did not consent to, with the intention of doing harm. The types of PDM presented in this chapter were reported as most problematic by children in EU Kids Online III and Net Children Go Mobile qualitative research.

and searchability (boyd, 2007; Kyriacou & Zuin, 2014; Storm & Storm, 2006). Other characteristics of online communication, namely publicity and anonymity, make cyber-scenarios "perceived as worse than traditional ones" (Sticca & Perren, 2013). In addition, the risk of cyberbullying extends to young people who would not have been targeted by traditional bullying and, unlike traditional bullying, cyber-aggression transcends temporal and spatial boundaries, constantly putting young people at risk, with no safe spaces for retreat (Kernaghan & Elwood, 2013; Menesini & Spiel, 2012). In addition, children themselves are less likely to report the abuse for fear of having their devices confiscated (Storm & Storm, 2006). Next, features, such as spreading rumors, gossip, exclusion, and attacks against reputations and relationships are common forms of both relational aggression and cyberbullying as well as some forms of PDM (Jackson, Cassidy, & Brown, 2009). Finally, some cyberbullying forms of PDM, such as "revenge sexting" or "sexualized cyberbullying" and slanderous pages, relate more to how one's image is perceived, whereas other PDM forms undermine trust and social connections, but with the consequence of negatively altering how the victim is perceived (Kofoed & Ringrose, 2012). Sexualized cyberbullying (i.e., a form of PDM that uses the victim's information in a harmful way without prior consent) has already been indicated as shaping the sexual identity construction of girls (Ringrose & Barajas, 2011):

> *Boys who have pics with no T-shirt are cheered on. Very different response for girls.*
>
> (EUKO, Spain, girl, 15)

Given the multiple connections between bullying and cyberbullying, there are reasons to consider the possibility that PDM has negative consequences for identity development.

Furthermore, in the absence of research on the long-term effects of PDM, we argue that the negative short- and long-term effects of bullying and cyberbullying might be similar for PDM. Some of these effects include depression, low self-esteem, anxiety, suicidal ideation, and psychosomatic problems, like headaches and sleep disturbances (Olweus, 2012). Self-esteem is most connected to one's identity, and lower self-esteem has been consistently linked with cyberbullying victimization (Patchin & Hinduja, 2010). Recent data suggests that there are long-term negative consequences of victimization from childhood into young adulthood, and that these effects include psychological and social aspects as well as health functioning (Copeland et al., 2013). In addition, other research has shown that mental health problems, such as anxiety, depression, and

conduct problems, relate to cybervictimization, and that these problems can persist until mid-life in the form of "toxic stress" (Arseneault, 2014).

In this chapter, we build on the theoretical framework of Hill (1983) for understanding teen behavior in terms of key developmental tasks for adolescence, specifically identity building, as well as on Subrahmanyan, Greenfield, and Tynes's (2004) extension of the model to incorporate media technologies and the online environment as playgrounds where these developmental processes manifest. We will discuss the necessity of examining privacy issues and PDM on SNS from an identity theoretical framework as well as the necessity for developmental psychologists to incorporate digital privacy issues into research on identity building for adolescents. Several theoretical lenses will be introduced, including developmental psychology, social psychology, and media and communication research. Although fascinating, the legal implications of cyberbullying and PDM are not discussed in this chapter due to space constraints. However, aspects of how societal pressures and legal agendas frame the discussion around cyberbullying and the infringement on privacy rights[3] deserve proper attention.

Fraped or *fraping* is online slang for an individual leaving their Facebook profile logged in and unattended, thereby running the risk of another person misusing their account. The word is a combination of the nouns "Facebook" and "rape." For the purpose of this chapter, "*fraped* selves" is used for instances of misusing accounts (e.g., hacking) or misusing the image of a user (e.g., creating slanderous mock pages). Relevant aspects of "*fraped* identities" will be illustrated with interview excerpts from EU Kids Online III and Net Children Go Mobile, based on qualitative data from nine European countries in each of the two projects.

IDENTITY BUILDING AND PRIVACY ISSUES ON SOCIAL NETWORKING SITES

Identity Building in Adolescence and Identity Performance through SNS Profiles

Youth has been described as the state of not quite being and it is marked by increased insecurity concerning one's own identity in which partial, temporary

3 At the time this chapter was written, Canada was expected to pass Bill C-13 that would make it illegal for anyone to post or transmit an "intimate image" of another individual without that person's consent, which prompted concerns about monitoring, exploitation, and the abuse of personal data by authorities and commercial entities: http://www.cbc.ca/news/politics/cyberbullying-bill-inches-closer-to-law-despite-privacy-concerns-1.2795219

identities are formed (Bennett, 1999; Miles, 2000; Sibley, 1995). Although identity building is an individual experience, it does not take place in isolation as others partake in its construction (Papacharissi & Gibson, 2011). Identity develops from personal and social processes, and it is one of the key tasks of adolescence (Adams & Marshall, 1996; Erikson, 1968; Marcia, 1966; Marcia, 1967). Furthermore, the balance between privacy and sociality is central to identity formation for young people (Papacharissi & Gibson, 2011). From the sociological perspective, one of the most cited works has been Goffman's (1958) perspective on self-presentation.

Over the past decade, SNS have become one of the most important venues for connecting, communicating, and socializing as well as identity building and self-expression (Bargh et al., 2002; Livingstone, 2008). Rather than projecting a fixed self onto a pre-existing reality, the folding and unfolding of the self on SNS constitutes a "process of subjectivation" of engaging with oneself and of relating to others in a continuous process of visibility, recognition, and esteem (Foucault, 1992; Sauter, 2014; Van Krieken, 2012). Social and personal integrative needs are at the core of gratification, which account for the massive appeal of SNS among young users (Taddicken & Jers, 2011). As the distinction between online and offline worlds has become more and more difficult to determine, the two become bi-directionally interrelated (Subrahmanyam & Šmahel, 2011). SNS have become venues for young people to construct and express themselves.

Longitudinal research on SNS use, authenticity, and self-disclosure online shows that these reciprocal effects are mediated by the amount of social capital users receive as a consequence of their SNS use (Reinecke & Trepte, 2014). Consequently, those who are more vulnerable, with less social capital and lower levels of well-being, are less likely to engage with SNS in a way that fosters authentic self-disclosure and identity experimentation, which is incredibly important during adolescence (Harter, 1999). Research in other cultural settings has yielded similar results (Liu & Brown, 2014). PDM, as an extreme form of personal identity manipulation and violation online, is likely to hold similar effects

In 2008, Hodkinson and Lincoln suggested that "the range of personal and social functions afforded by sites such as LiveJournal may render the 'virtual spaces' adopted by users comparable to the first individually oriented physical space in young people's lives: the bedroom." (p. 28) According to EU Kids Online III and Net Children Go Mobile, young people's profiles are extremely personal, which keeps the "bedroom" metaphor relevant (Bovill & Livingstone, 2001). They spend a lot of time grooming their profiles, checking who posts and

what, receiving and giving "likes" as a form of social currency, commenting on each other's profiles, and tagging themselves and peers in photos and videos. Adolescents need validation from peers for peer feedback and reciporcity as boyd (2007) argues in her article. The "need to be seen," especially by peers, is something exacerbated during adolescence and it is at odds with the risk of privacy issues (Tufekci, 2008).

However, the idea of a re-conversion from individual spaces, like online journals, as spaces for expressing identity to groups of peers in a process of co-constructing and negotiating identity goes against Hodkinson and Lincoln's (2008) contention that young people favor individual identity expressions. With the rise of shared and collective spaces, especially Facebook, the importance of groups and self-presentation, sharing, participating, commenting, tagging, and posting on other's walls – a lot of what used to be identity solely controlled by the user – has been re-allocated to the audience of peers. Friends posting on each other's profiles or cross-referencing each other (e.g., tagging each other, giving "likes" to each other's posts) increase the status of profiles in a group of peers (Luders, 2011). Unlike Goffman's (1959) image of stage-like presentations of oneself in front of a seemingly passive audience, SNS profiles resemble Marina Abramović's participatory performance art shows, where the audience has enormous power when determining the outcomes[4]. However, the danger of the audience misusing that power – the hacking of profiles and tagging and posting without permission – were non-existent or rare with online journals. SNS profiles are still experienced as personal spaces, but more people have the keys to these spaces. As Luders (2011) and boyd (2014) noted, the presence of others in one's online life is less ephemeral than the face-to-face one because comments, "likes," and posts are there for all to see.

Users do construct fairly accurate representations of themselves in online SNS profiles, although some self-enhancement usually occurs (Back et al., 2010; boyd, 2007; Waggoner, Smith, & Collins, 2009). Leary and Kowalski (1990) state that people adapt their self-presentation to "the perceived values and preferences of significant others" (p. 41); in that sense, adolescents also adapt their self-presentation to the perceived expectations of others, especially their peers, as part of the general desire to be validated (Pasquier, 2008). Therefore, the distinction between social identity (e.g., being popular) and collective identity (e.g., belonging to a group of peers) is important in the context of

4 We have in mind Abramović's Rhythm 0 (1974) performance, where the artist tested the limits of interaction with the audience, assuming a passive role, while the audience took an active and increasingly aggressive stance towards her: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Marina_Abramović

adolescents building and maintaining SNS profiles (Cheek et al., 2014). Toma and Hancock (2013) linked the building and maintaining of individuals' Facebook profiles with self-affirmation needs (i.e., process of bringing key aspects of the self-concept, such as values, meaningful relationships, and cherished personal traits; see Steele, 1988), satisfying the user's need for self-worth and self-integrity. Furthermore, SNS constitute venues for intrapersonal benefits for adolescents in the form of affirming self-worth and self-integrity.

Peter and Valkenburg (2011) construct a convincing argument about why we should consider adolescents' online privacy from a developmental perspective. They adopt Westin's (1967) functions of privacy and link these to aspects of development through the acquisition of specific skills, including: a) the function of personal autonomy, enabled by privacy, is linked to adolescents' development of autonomy through practicing individuation, which is the ability to function in aloneness, b) the self-evaluation function of privacy serves the task of identity formation (Erikson, 1968) and of achieving a feeling about who they are, which can be accomplished through online performances to incorporate the responses of peers, c) the function of establishing limited and protected communication through mutual self-disclosure spaces is linked to the developmental task of building intimate relationships, which can happen through establishing boundaries between trusted and not-trusted others, and d) finally, the function of emotional release can be linked to the task of developing the sexual self through sexual self-exploration enabled by online communication. In this chapter, we take a look at the darker facet of developmental tasks and how these can be hindered through breaches of privacy and personal data misuse.

Privacy and Controllability

Privacy has been defined as "the selective control of access to the self" (Altman, 1975, p. 24). Furthermore, boyd (2008b) explained that privacy "is about the sense of vulnerability that an individual experiences when negotiating data" (p. 14) and "a sense of control over information, the context where sharing takes place, and the audience who can gain access" (p. 18). The concept of audiences and the public are central aspects to privacy as degrees of access might vary accordingly. More and more, the personalized readership enabled by customized privacy settings is linked to increased individual control over who has access to one's information, including who can read or comment on SNS profiles. boyd (2008a) discusses "networked publics," invisible audiences, and collapsed social contexts as key aspects of SNS, with social convergence occurring when disparate social contexts are collapsed into one, resulting in lost control over how personal information is shared. For instance, adolescents and

their peers find it weird when parents or other adults befriend them, perceiving this as an unwelcomed intrusion into their social life; however, they still hold a high need to control others' impression of the self. boyd (2014) further argues that teens develop contextual norms around privacy and identity in opposition to the adult perception of privacy as fixed.

Personal information is the currency of social hierarchy and connectivity and young people are willingly offering it in their exchanges with peers (boyd, 2008b). The Facebook newsfeed works as a catwalk for endless runs of self-promotion; it makes everything accessible and immediately visible, exposing what was once "secure through obscurity" (p. 15). Users quickly adopted newsfeed functionalities to purposefully broadcast information to their friends' newsfeed. Young people, in particular, have enthusiastically adopted the intended audience broadcasting function of social networks as one of the main uses they assign to SNS: communicating and sharing information with peers, as reported widely by children in both the EU Kids Online and Net Children Go Mobile projects.

Personal Data Misuse

SNS use has been linked to increased social self-esteem and emotional well-being, and they also represent safe venues for identity explorations (Valkenburg & Peter, 2008; Valkenburg, Peter, & Schouten, 2006). Nonetheless, these are also places where relational aggression, such as cyberstalking, harassment, and reputation damage, occur (boyd & Ellison, 2008). Among the effects of cyberbullying and online aggression, negative emotions, self-harm, and feeling "anger, powerlessness, sadness, and fear" have been documented (Hoff & Mitchell, 2009; Price & Dalgleish, 2010). The reported powerlessness and loss of self-esteem as a result of humiliating episodes are relevant for issues related to privacy and PDM because they involve the loss of control over how one's identity is handled or directly threaten the sense of self (Olweus, 2012; Menesini & Spiel, 2012). In their analysis of "digital stressors" for young people, Weinstein and Selman (2014) identified impersonation through hacking and fake accounts, and public shaming and humiliation through slander and forwarding nude pictures as some of the most severe forms of online stressors, with young people rating these stressors as the most damaging and problematic:

> *Because you have heard about a lot of those 'hate sites' and things like that. There are many, so if they put up a picture, and someone says something, then others say that you should block that user, because they are 'haters'... Yes, it is like a person that apparently hates a person so much that they make a profile,*

> *where they write nasty things about the person and puts up pictures and says, take a look at this fat ugly bitch, she is so disgusting and things like that. And ... I get really sad inside because... why do you do something like that?*
>
> (NCGM, Denmark, boys, 14–16)

Interactions on SNS can be marked by a lot of "boundary turbulences" when users fail to establish effective boundaries and collective privacy rules (Petronio, 2002). Moreover, misuses of personal information (e.g., sharing without permission, hacking an account) violate the rules of privacy related to permeability and ownership (i.e., how much control co-owners have over co-owned information). The strategy of "building fences," such as the friends-only privacy setting, does not work when the perpetrators are supposedly already trusted "friends" (Tufekci, 2008). Control over one's environment, and approval and acceptance of others are crucial for maintaining self-esteem, which is a component of personal identity (Valkenburg & Peter, 2011). In many situations, young people experience a lack of control:

> *Girl: They created a Facebook page that was against me.*
> *Interviewer: I see, so you could see it.*
> *Girl: They took photos where I was joking with my friends, with weird faces, and this was the image of the profile, of the page, and then it was full of offensive messages. The teachers forced them to delete the page, but it took them some time.*
>
> (EUKO, Italy, girl, 14–16)

However, various types of privacy misuses might have different consequences on identity development, depending on individual factors and the severity of the act. Although the adult perception of the damaging acts might correspond to the actual damage as experienced by young people (e.g., tagging someone in a picture may be less harmful than the hacking of profiles), newer and more sophisticated types of relational aggression on SNS, such as tagging someone in (or creating) slanderous profiles or mock pages, should be given proper research consideration. Children in both the EU Kids Online III and Net Children Go Mobile projects[5] reported numerous examples of privacy issues and PDM, which, as we contend, are damaging to identity construction and self-presentation. Privacy issues and PDM are also damaging to other developmental tasks, including autonomy (through individuation), intimacy

5 For detailed reporting on the qualitative data collection, methodology, and analyses, please consult Šmahel and Wright (2014) for the EU Kids Online III project, and Haddon and Vincent (2014) for the Net Children Go Mobile project.

(through selective self-disclosure and limited protected communication), and sexual self-exploration (through emotional release).

Shared or Tagged Without Permission

Youth in the EU Kids Online III and Net Children Go Mobile projects talked about peers sharing or tagging photos or videos of themselves on Facebook without their permission. They expressed negative feelings about these experiences, the perceived intended hurtful nature of the act, and the degree of controllability the young person had over the situation once their image was used in a way that they did not consent (e.g., the peers refusing to remove the photo or the tag when the youth requested they do so).

> *We were in the train and browsed through a gallery of a mobile and then we found a video. We paused it at a special position where the person was in a funny pose and made a screenshot. Then we posted this in our class chat, but the person was not amused about that [smirks]. It happens a lot that we make a video in the class and then post them in WhatsApp groups.*
>
> (NCGM, Germany, boy, 13)

One of the most harmful ways to share private information about others is "revenge sexting" as a form of gendered and "sexualized cyberbullying" or public shaming and humiliation through forwarding nude pictures, where boys usually disseminate nude pictures of ex-girlfriends to larger audiences of peers (Barbovschi, 2014; Livingstone & Brake, 2009; Ringrose & Barajas, 2013; Weinstein & Selman, 2014):

> *There was this girl and she had… Yeah, she was a friend of mine, and she sent a naked picture to her boyfriend. And she told us her Facebook password at the party that was going on at the moment in my house. And some of my friends went to her Facebook profile a few months later, and there they found out about this picture. And then the girl was bullied…*
>
> (EUKO, Belgium, girl, 16)

Some of the consequences of revenge sexting are detrimental to both self-image (e.g., feelings of shame, humiliation, de-valuation) and collective identity (e.g., belonging). Gender differences are relevant for this type of bullying, with girls being bullied, excluded, ridiculed, treated as outcasts, and, in many instances, subjected to victim-blaming, in addition to the damages to reputation they suffer (Cassidy et al., 2013; Ringrose, Harvey & Livingstone, 2013):

> *Pfff, well…it's not really bullying, because this girl, well…she's responsible for it.*
>
> (EUKO, Belgium, girl, 15)

Boys are not excluded from serious violations of how their image is used, such as a case described by a German girl, although those violations are more often perceived as "just pranks" in the case of boys whereas girls still have to conform to norms of public morality:

> *And we have it quite often in school that the boys sit on the toilet and others crawl to their WC cabins and take pictures which they send to their friends via WhatsApp or post them on the internet or on Facebook … Some of them cry when they see that they are on the internet.*
>
> (NCGM, Germany, girl, 11)

Hacked, Misused, and Impersonating Accounts

Other problem area that children reported having negative feelings about was misused, hacked, and impersonating accounts, which encompassed a variety of situations, including a hacked account of the child or a hacked account of child which was then used to send rude messages to peers (Barbovschi, 2014). In addition to the damages to reputation the former can bring, the latter also has detrimental effects on existing relationships with peers. In addition, the creation of "mock pages" as a slanderous act that entails peers impersonating the profile of one child with the intent to hurt by mocking and ridiculing her/him was another practice reported in Net Children Go Mobile (Haddon & Vincent, 2014).

Numerous children reported having their accounts hacked, trashed with rude/ugly pictures and songs, and rude messages sent on their behalf to their friends. What differs from hacking in the case of impersonating accounts is that they do not require breaking into another person's account, as the perpetrators can set up a Facebook page or a fake profile (i.e., a "mock page") and fill it with unflattering information (either real or modified) for discrediting and trashing the image of the targeted person, which elicited young people's feelings of frustration and powerlessness over the lack of control of these situations:

> *Well they were downloading my picture and I could see they were and they'd put it on their profiles.*
> *… And once, a girl pretended to be me and created a Facebook with my pictures and name. And since then I don't have it.*
>
> (EUKO, Romania, girl, 12)

> *Girl: They steal your photo and paste it with a naked body. They leave your head, so it is your face. So, it seems as if it were you... That is, they take a photo, they take the face and they paste it onto someone else.*

> *Interviewer: And then what happens to that photo?*
> *Several girls: They upload it on the internet and everybody can see it.*
> *Girl: They can post it anywhere! It could be in an advert, on Tuenti, on FB, your friends would see it… it stays up there, and it is bad because it is you everyone sees.*
>
> (EUKO, Spain, girls, 9–10)

In another instance, girls talked about the practice of popular girls creating "ugly pages," which are mock pages where they post pictures of peers they consider less attractive:

> *Yes, on Facebook, they have, for example, a page 'Prettiest teenager in Belgium,' and then they post pictures of not so pretty girls on this page, and they bully these girls.*
>
> (EUKO, Belgium, girl, 14)

Children spoke about the emotional damage of these acts in words such as "die of shame," being "shattered," feeling "very upset or sad," and "suffer a lot." Coping strategies reported by children are a reflection of the different degrees of ability to handle the negative experiences, varying from adaptive coping strategies to life-altering responses, such as changing schools or moving to another city (Barbovschi, 2014). Hacked accounts used to spread rude messages can cause severe damage to interpersonal relationships by undermining reciprocal intimacy among supposedly trusted peers:

> *Yeah, for example, when you are on Facebook or MSN, and you receive a message. And then suddenly, this is like some kind of hate mail, and it says things like 'you are a stupid bitch' or these kinds of things. And then the next day you ask the person about this hate message, but then she says 'no, I don't know anything about it.' And then you don't know what to believe.*
>
> (EUKO, Belgium, girl, 12–13)

DISCUSSION

Privacy, including the one constructed on SNS, is a necessary condition for the successful accomplishment of various developmental tasks in adolescence (Peter & Valkenburg, 2011). Acquiring a healthy sense of self might be severely undermined by attacks to one's personal online image. The extent of the damage is yet to be assessed. The attacks on someone's identity poses threats not only to their sense of self-worth and self-esteem, but these attacks also threaten one's social and collective identity dimensions. This occurs because these attacks potential damage one's relationships and ways of belonging. These particular fears about *fraping* reveal adolescents' preoccupation with maintaining their identity

both socially (how they are perceived by friends) and collectively (belonging). Such situations are by no means perceived as trivial, since the online and offline worlds are interconnected, with the main concern of young people being the damage done to their "offline life" (e.g., reputation, existing relationships). Cases of young people experiencing severe traumas (e.g., depressive episodes, suicidal ideation, changing schools, moving away) are all indications of the attacks on the self; however, no research on the links among privacy issues, PDM, and the sense of selfhood and personal identity has yet been undertaken. Moreover, the constant fear of relational aggression that young people risk experiencing is building toward a climate of mutual apprehension and mistrust:

> *You have to trust the other person. Because at the end of the day, if we all start thinking that if I send this maybe that person will play a rotten trick on me; if I end up thinking about all the bad stuff then I can't just live my life. You can't ever relax.*
>
> (NCGM, Spain, girl, 14–16)

Cyberbullying research has shed some light on the damaging effects of online relational hostility (Hoff & Mitchell, 2009; Price & Dalgleish, 2010). However, much of this research captures the short-term effects utilizing cross-sectional designs. Moreover, as Weinstein and Selman (2014) note, we cannot be sure that what young people report are in fact the most detrimental to personal and relational growth, as many situations might be underreported due to a normalization of otherwise important issues (e.g., the demarcation between "just pranks" or "severe misuse"). In the EU Kids Online III and Net Kids Go Mobile projects, children were asked to report unpleasant online situations, without having enough time to establish a deeper rapport with the researchers. This might have impeded deeper levels of personal disclosure. Finally, the issues around misuses of personal data in what Marwick and boyd (2014) call the "networked privacy" of young people calls for a re-conceptualization of its potential harms. Young people might actually build resilience through experiencing these challenging situations and actually become equipped for managing stress later in life or they might consider such mistreatments as a "passing ritual" for accessing a group of peers (Bonanno, 2005). However, the long-term detrimental effects on physical and mental health into young adulthood, such as the accumulation of "toxic stress," have recently been linked to childhood experiences of cyberbullying.

As Elliott (2014) contends, there are powerful cultural conventions which shape self-identity in relation to public expectations. In the same way, the new

"technologies of the self," including those fostered by online communication, offer new opportunities and challenges for the way young people shape and negotiate their personal, social, and collective identities. The degree that the context of peer sociality has dramatically changed to incorporate social media in large scale, extensive ways, adolescents' identity as co-constructed in this context and the implications for young adult life are research questions yet to be answered (Schachter, 2005).

Although there is no research to date connecting privacy issues and PDM with identity development in adolescence, there is sufficient corollary evidence which indicates the need for thorough investigation. In this chapter we argued for the need to look at privacy issues from an identity development perspective in order to incorporate negative experiences that adolescents face online at increasing rates. We further welcome researchers in the field of developmental psychology to incorporate digital privacy issues in their research on adolescent identity through flexible designs and models, which accommodate "dynamic systems." However, delegating the topic to just one field is a limitation and instead there is a need for inter-disciplinary research on identity to investigate the long-term effects of PDM on personal identity and other developmental tasks in adolescence.

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