Privacy Management of Facebook Users: A Study on Adolescents Living in West Jakarta Slums

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Abstract/Abstract

Teenagers have a need to form an identity and be recognized by their social environment. In this case, social media caters the youth to meet these needs. However, social media tends to encourage teens to disclose their personal information. Social media unwittingly obscures the limits of information which can be disclosed or not. In this era of digital communication, managing data or personal information is a big challenge which must be faced. This in turn causes a polemic of privacy management on social media. This study uses a post-positivist paradigm and qualitative approach with constructivist research strategy to study the adolescents’ knowledge in managing their privacy by referring to the unique and specific experiences of each individual. Data of this study were collected by observation, semi-structured interviews, and documentation. The data which have been collected were analyzed using thematic analysis. The results showed that teenagers living in slums used Facebook as a medium to maintain friendships and build love relationships, and a place to express themselves. These teenagers addressed their personal information management in various ways according to their beliefs and knowledge. In addition, adolescents in slums generally do not understand what privacy is and how to manage personal information on Facebook. Teens in slums make rules and control the ownership of their personal information by selecting people who will be told about their personal information. These are their efforts to manage their personal information in order not to experience any violations of privacy rules. Other finding explained that the teenagers in slums who closed access to their personal information on Facebook had a good educational background and organizational participation, knowledge of risks on social media, and had direct supervision from parents.

Kata kunci/Keywords:

Remaja, Informasi Pribadi, Manajemen Privasi Komunikasi, Facebook, Pemukiman Kumuh.

Adolescents, Personal Information, Communication Privacy Management, Facebook, Slums.

Introduction

A trend has emerged lately where teenagers tend to make the internet and social media as a central point in their lives (Lenhart, Purcell, Smith, & Zickuhr, 2013). Psychosocial changes in adolescents to form identities and meet the needs to be recognized and accepted by their social circle (Batubara, 2010; Spies Shapiro &
Margolin, 2014) cause them to be highly attached to social media. As such, social media plays an important role in teenagers’ lives. Social media provides space for teenagers to get along and connect with their friends. Although teens often gather and interact in certain physical spaces, such as shopping centers or sports arenas, the presence of social media allows them to be connected to each other without physically moving themselves anywhere. This illustrates how social media becomes an extension which mediates the face-to-face communication between these teens and their friends (D Boyd, 2014). In addition, the existence of mobile devices which are increasingly easy and affordable to access is also another factor which explains the relationship between social media and the lives of adolescents (We Are Social dan and Hootsuite, 2018a).

Trends in the use of social media are very diverse. However, Facebook is still the most popular social media platform among teenagers (Mascheroni & Ölafsson, 2014; We Are Social dan and Hootsuite, 2018a). Facebook’s popularity does not escape Indonesian teenagers. Teenagers from the ages of 13 to 17 appear to be one of the age groups who love Facebook (We Are Social dan dan Hootsuite, 2018b).

However, Facebook as one of the social media may be illustrated as two sides of a coin. On one continuum, Facebook has enabled many benefits for its users, e.g. ease of communicating remotely. However, on the other continuum, Facebook actually makes users fall into various problems, such as data abuse. This problem especially has very bad implications for teenagers.

Several criminal cases which have befallen teenagers start from Facebook. The criminal cases which have befallen the adolescents through Facebook do not only occur in developed countries, such as America or Europe, but also in Indonesia. Examples of these cases are kidnappings of teenagers from various slums in Jakarta, Tangerang, Depok, and Bogor. The online predators or criminals usually stalk the victim’s Facebook account. Thus, the perpetrator can map who the victim is and in turn, establish an effective communication pattern to attract the victim to follow the perpetrator’s wishes (Detik, 2012).

Such criminal cases illustrate how Facebook pages containing various personal data can be deliberately misused by any perpetrators. On the other hand, it can be seen how social media users often disclose their personal data, such as full names, cellphone numbers, and many more, on their social media pages. This situation illustrates how the social media users, especially teenagers, have not been familiar to good privacy management. Poor privacy management in turn has a potential to make the social media users as targets for online predators.

Thus, data or personal information management is a big challenge which must be faced in this era of digital communication (Aldridge, Me-dina, & Ralphs, 2010). This problem makes people aware, especially political actors, to be more concerned with personal information management or privacy of the social media users. The Indonesian government was then encouraged to provide education and outreach to the public regarding the personal data management (Hidayat, 2018).

In Indonesia, the personal data protection has actually been regulated in Article 26 of the Information and Electronic Transaction Law (IET Law). However, the Law does not actually contain specific rules on data protection. Regardless, this regulation can actually be used to build understanding on the privacy management for teenagers. Nonetheless, the adolescents have not been able to understand this regulation. For example, teenagers often turn their Facebook pages into a wailing wall. On one occasion they lament about themselves, while on another occasion they lament about their friends, school, or even their own parents. Their psychosocial aspect tends to be unstable, so it may cause them to share their woes without thinking about the consequences they will endure (Affan, 2010).

Thus, there is a gap of understanding among adolescents related to types of personal information which may be uploaded on the social media and how they should manage such personal information on their social media pages. This situation ultimately causes teens to think that it is natural for them cramming their social media pages with writing, photos, and even statuses which describe their personalities. This knowledge gap can especially be seen in adolescents living in slums. Based on the description above, this study aims to understand the Facebook social media users’ privacy management in adolescents living in West Jakarta slums.

Literature Review
Facebook as the Most Popular Social Media among Indonesian Adolescents

Social media allows people to create profiles and visibility relationships among users (D M Boyd & Ellison, 2008). One of the most popular social media at the moment is Facebook. Facebook was founded in 2004 (Koehorst, 2013) and grew in 2006. Then, it began to open access to everyone with the mission of “giving people the power to build community and bring the world closer together” (Facebook, 2019). The ranking report from Similirweb in We Are Social and Hootsuite (2018) shows that Facebook.com is the third most accessed site by Indonesians after Google.co.id and Google.com.

Adolescent age group is recorded to be the users who are most interested in Facebook (We Are Social and Hootsuite, 2018). The demographic is dominated by the age group of 18-24 years old and it is followed by the age group of 13-17 years old in Indonesia. Ellie & Boutsouki (2014) stated that teenagers still dominated the use of technol-
ogy and social media. Basically social media can influence the psychological, physical, and social development of adolescents. As early adopters of new technology, adolescents, who are said to be digital native, spend almost their entire daily lives online (Elli & Boutsouki, 2014).

Digital natives are understood as a generation that has sophisticated skills in the digital technology use (Bennett, Maton, & Kervin, 2008). According to Howe & Strauss (2000), this generation is referred to as millennials who have optimistic trait, are oriented towards the group achievement where each group member is talented in the use of technology (Bennett, Maton, & Kervin, 2008) and are surrounded by computers, video games, digital music players, mobile phones, and other digital devices (Prensky, 2001). Furthermore, digital natives use these devices to carry out their daily activities (Uygarer, Uzunboylu, & Ozdamli, 2016).

**Conceptualization of Privacy**

Clarke (1999) observed that privacy was often regarded as a moral or legal right. Meanwhile, many researchers define privacy as one's ability to control information about oneself (Bélanger, Hiller, & Smith, 2002; Stone, Gardner, Gueutal, & McClure, 1983). According to Boyd & Marwick (2011), how a person perceives what privacy is depends on how privacy is constructed in certain communities, where privacy reflects the values and norms of such communities. Some people can define privacy in terms of space or communication within a certain distance. In the meantime, others can also define privacy as thoughts which are not revealed to others. In the context of Indonesia and in the case of this research, privacy is the freedom of the personal data owner to disclose confidential data or not. Personal data are certain personal data where the truth and confidentiality are kept, maintained, and protected. Examples of these data can be complete home or school address, account password, personal issues, personal photos. This definition complies with the Regulation of the Minister of Communications and Information of the Republic of Indonesia Number 20 of 2016 on Personal Data Protection in the Electronic System.

**Communication Privacy Management**

The Communication Privacy Management Theory (CPM) explains that everyone has the right to his personal information. Personal information according to this theory is a variety of types of information which will make a person vulnerable. Therefore, that person wants to control the future dissemination of information (Petronio, 2002, 2007, 2010, 2013). Petronio, as the theory inventor, used the term boundary to imply that there was a boundary between information which needs to be shared with others and information which is limited to the owner only. According to Petronio (2002), there are three main components in the communication privacy management theory, namely private information, privacy boundaries, and control and ownership. These three components are related to the way a person regulates the access and protection of their personal information (Petronio, 2010, 2013). First, private information is related to information which is not disclosed to the public and it is only disclosed under certain circumstances. Second, privacy boundaries are metaphors which imply that there is a boundary between information which needs to be shared with others and information which is limited to the owner only. Third, control and ownership refers to conditions which determine a private activity. Through control, the owner can protect his personal information from undesirable exposure. Every individual has the right to determine what others need to know about them. In control, there is a development of rules based on criteria of cultural expectations, gender, motivation, context, and risk-benefit ratio.

More specifically, this study focuses on adolescents in the age group of 13-19 years old. The research conducted by Lenhart et al. (2013) showed that teens continued to use Facebook and share information on their social media profiles compared to younger teens. This research is one of the reasons why this study chose adolescents aged 13-19 years old as research subjects. As it has been explained above, adolescents tend to be motivated to expand friendships, create self-identity, need social acceptance and recognition, and maybe even start to establish relationships with the opposite sex. Thus, these circumstances can encourage these youngsters to more easily disclose their personal information (Petronio, 2002).

**CPM from Offline to Online**

The CPM theory which was originally intended to analyze the issue of offline communication privacy has been widely used by researchers to examine issues of online communication privacy. For example is an article entitled “Young Adults’ Management of Privacy on Facebook with Multiple Generations of Family Members” written by Child, Duck, Andrews, Butauski, & Petronio (2015). The CPM theory was applied to explore the way young adults interact with and manage their personal information across various generations of families through Facebook. Participants as many as 383 young adults participated in this study through an online survey. The survey dealt with online and offline communication on Facebook social networks among siblings, parents, and grandparents. The study found that participants most often used Facebook to interact with their siblings, followed by parents and grandparents. The study also examined various types of Facebook socialization messages sent by young adults to family members about effective Facebook interactions and ways to prevent privacy.
disturbances with their Facebook friends. Implications for the CPM theory and future research recommendations were also identified by researchers.

Another article which can be used as a reference is an article entitled “Communication Privacy Management and Self-Disclosure on Social Media - A Case of Facebook” which was written by Chennamaneni & Taneja (2015). Chennamaneni & Taneja (2015) stated that social media was used by individuals to find new friends, re-connect with old friends, family and relatives, maintain relationships, share information, join groups, create and manage events, spend time, and many more. While many users are consistently involved in disclosing their personal information on social media, some others refrain due to privacy concerns. This study uses the CPM theory as a theoretical framework to examine the effects of individual motives, communication privacy management practices and privacy issues on the amount and depth of self-disclosure on Facebook. The results of the Partial Least Square analysis which used a sample of 240 respondents provide evidence that the individual communication privacy management practices affect the number and depth of their self-disclosures. Implications for future practice and research fields were also discussed by researchers.

Research Methodology
This study uses a qualitative approach to gain a broad and in-depth understanding of the communication privacy management; especially it is because the respondents of this study are adolescents who have unique or distinctive characteristics. This research is a post-positivist paradigm study because the researchers try to find interactive relationship patterns about the young adults’ understanding related to the privacy management. It is aimed to gain meanings by describing complex realities.

The analysis technique used is thematic analysis by processing field findings based on appropriate themes. A thematic analysis technique is a process of encoding information which can produce a list of themes. The theme can greatly describe phenomena and help the interpretation of the phenomena (Patton, 2002). Specific themes which have been identified are elaborated to act as a guide in describing adolescent privacy management.

This qualitative data analysis was carried out by categorization to find patterns which could reflect the understanding of adolescents living in Gang Venus slums of West Jakarta on privacy management. Meanwhile, the data were collected by observations, semi-structured interviews, and documentations. The subjects of this study were five teenage Facebook users who lived in Gang Venus, West-Jakarta.

In Indonesia which is a developing country, DKI Jakarta as the Capital City of the Country is also not immune from the existence of slums. Take for example Gang Venus. This alley in Tambora Sub-District is the Jakarta’s most populous spot. According to the DKI Jakarta Government, there were at least 250,000 persons crammed into an area of 5.48 square km (Wargadiredja, 2016). Factors which make Tambora sub-district be categorized as a slum, are location, building conditions, condition of facilities and infrastructure and residents’ welfare. In addition to the problem of population density, Tambora Sub-district is also vulnerable to social problems, such as low levels of education, clashes between groups of residents and high rates of poverty (Ambarwati & Sungkawa, 2016). The selection of Jakarta, especially Gang Venus, as a research location ultimately becomes the special point of this study.

In the meantime, informants were selected using purposive sampling method. Five informants were selected based on predetermined criteria. The criteria for informants are as follows.

1. 13-19 years old young adult (Facebook, 2019; Kementerian Kesehatan, 2015; World Health Organization, 2019).
2. Active on Facebook for the last 30 days. It is a benchmark of Facebook active user grouping (Facebook, 2019).
3. Carry out activities on Facebook, such as uploading, commenting, sharing pictures or giving likes (Facebook, 2019).

The criteria for informants were made by assuming that they could provide information related to the in-depth research. 13-19 years old teenagers were assumed not to have an understanding on the importance of privacy. 30-day usage time was selected under a consideration that the users were an active user of Facebook. For the meantime, the criteria of being active in carrying out activities on Facebook was chosen with the hope that the informants used Facebook to share or get information, so it offered an opportunity for personal information disclosure. These three criteria can help in finding suitable informants to answer the research questions.

Results
This section will explain research findings which were obtained after the data were analysed using thematic analysis.

Gang Venus Adolescents as Digital Natives
One of the issues to be discussed before studying how teenagers of Gang Venus managed their privacy is the digital dimension. Most informants said that they had their first cellphone since they were in the elementary school.

"Udah lama sih dari SD juga pegang, cuman kan gonta-ganti handphone. Cuman baru bisa internetan kan SMP jadi megang hp ini baru yang itu ilang soalnya." (Informan 1, 2019)
Translation:
“It’s been a long time. I’ve already had cellphone since elementary, but I change models for many times. I can only use the internet when I was in the junior high. So, this is my new one. That one is missing.” (Informant 1, 2019)

Meanwhile, in terms of accessing the internet, only informant 3 has known the internet since elementary school. Other informants began to get acquainted with the internet when they were in junior high school. Informants 1, 2, 3, and 5 also clearly illustrated how the mobile devices are the main media for accessing the internet.

“Iya baru pake pas SMP. Dulu pas SD kelas 4 di Grobogan pas nane Nokia itu lho masih cuman buat SMS sama telepon. Banu di kelas 2 SMP pake buat internetan.” (Informant 5, 2019)

Translation:
“Yes, I just use this when I was in the junior high. When I was in the 4th grade in Grobogan, you know that Nokia was trending. But, it’s only for SMS and making calls. I only use cellphone for internet in the 2nd grade of junior high.” (Informant 5, 2019)

The statement of informant 5 shows that he accessed the internet for the first time during grade 2 of junior high school through his cellular device. Meanwhile, only informant 4 accesses the internet through internet cafes.

Knowledge and Experience of Gang Venus Teenagers in Using Facebook
Based on the interview results, all informants taught themselves to use Facebook. According to informant 2, Facebook was actually easy to learn. All informants revealed that they tried various features available on social media arbitrarily. For example, informant 1 learned to use Facebook by clicking various buttons on his Facebook page.

All informants also tend to use Facebook to extend the friendships maintenance among themselves. In the context of friendship, the informants have diverse experiences in using Facebook. Informant 1 revealed that he preferred to make friends on Facebook with peers who came from different background. Informant 2 stated things which were not much different. Informant 2 uses Facebook to maintain friendships with playmates, childhood friends, as well as virtual friends on his Facebook. However, informant 3 actually stated that Facebook was used to mediate friendships in the real world.

“Ya... seleisainya, eee... ya saya jelaskan kalau itu nggak nyindir cuma buat lawakan aja gitu, salah paham doang.” (Informant 5, 2019)

Translation:
“Yes... the settlement, eee... yeah, I explained that I was not being sarcastic. It’s just a joke, a mere misunderstanding.” (Informant 5, 2019)

Meanwhile, informant 4 revealed that he had a friendship on Facebook with school friends and friends who lived around his house. In the context of usage, the informants in this study also explained different experiences when they used social media on Facebook. Informants 1, 2, 4, and 5 used Facebook for the first time since they were in junior high school. Meanwhile, informant 3 accessed Facebook for the first time since he was in the elementary school. Each informant has a different reason related to the use of Facebook. Informant 1 for example stated that the status on his Facebook page only contained his frustration with his family, friends, or partner (see Figure 1).

Then, Informant 1 used Facebook as a space to express himself online where he expressed his fondness for the Persatuan Sepakbola Jakarta (Persija) club or Jakarta Football Association. When he wrote his statuses, informant 1 revealed that he used a mixed language, but he did not use inappropriate language. Meanwhile, informant 2 used Facebook to share photos and memes (humor comics) on the Facebook timeline with his friends. Meanwhile, informants 3 and 4 have almost the same reasons for using Facebook, i.e. to follow the trend. Informant 4 for example used Facebook to channel his hobbies towards Bus Mania.

“Karena seneng aja. Gak ada apa apa sih. Tentang bis mania gitu sih.” (Informant 4, 2019)

Translation:
“Just because I like it. Nothing special. Actually about bus mania.” (Informant 4, 2019)
On the other hand, informant 5 stated that he used Facebook to extend his hobby for motorcycle modifications which can be seen in Figure 2.

Figure 2. Activities of Informant 5 who Loves to Share Motorcycles Modification Photos on his Facebook

In addition, the informants have some motivations in using Facebook. Informant 1’s motivations to use Facebook are to view his friends’ uploads, like the photo uploading feature, chat with friends, or just spend his time because he is bored. Furthermore, the motivation of informant 2 to use Facebook is a medium to express himself online. Therefore, informant 2 gives public access to his Facebook page. The public can usually see photos of informant 2 with his friends on Facebook. However, there are some information which informant 2 does not share on his Facebook page, such as dating status with opposite sex, mobile number, and home address.

“No, I seldom post my cell number. I just don’t like it. That’s why I don’t post my number on the FB profile. I’m afraid that will be malicious people.” (Informant 2, 2019)

Informant 2 also only showed one football group as a preference for his interest and often used Facebook for personal and business matters. Meanwhile, informant 3 did not explain in detail about his motivation to use Facebook other than him following the trend. Meanwhile, informant 4 used Facebook to channel his hobby around Bus Mania. Thus, in some uploads, there were many bus photos. informant 4 also saw and commented on his friends’ status several times. Furthermore, informant 5 had the motivation to use Facebook to upload and comment on things which he thinks were important. Informant 5 also used Facebook to find new friends, watch entertaining funny and mystery videos.

“Yeah, there are a lot of funny videos, mystery videos,” (Informant 5, 2019)

In this study, some informants tend to choose Facebook, while some others have other social media preferences. Informant 1 tended to like and more often use Facebook and Instagram. Informant 2 also used social media Instagram but preferred Facebook because he was used to using it.

“Because I don’t like the others, Sis. Let alone Instagram. I can’t use it.” (Informant 2, 2019)

Informant 3 tended to use Instagram and WhatsApp. Meanwhile, informants 4 and 5 used Facebook more frequently compared to other social media, such as WhatsApp. Informant 5 revealed that high traffic of Facebook users made him even more curious about the social media.

On the other hand, knowledge of Facebook as a basis for managing privacy also illustrates mixed results. Based on the interviews, informants 1, 4 and 5 did not know of any private account features on Facebook.

“What do you mean by private? Facebook is not like that. So, everyone can see.” (Informant 1, 2019)

Meanwhile, informant 2 knew about the feature but he chose not to use it. Meanwhile, informant 3 stated that he activated the private feature on his Facebook account as can be seen in Figure 3. Only those who are friends with informant 3 could see the photo or status that he wrote.

Figure 3. Informant 3 Activated the Private Account Feature as a Privacy Management on Facebook

Facebook

In an effort to safeguard personal information, each informant had a different method. Informant 1 revealed that he memorized e-mails and created passwords with a combination of numbers and letters, such as date of birth and telephone number, to protect his personal information on Facebook. Informant 1 also explained that he often ignored strangers who asked for friendship or he only accepted friend requests which he had already known the account owner. Meanwhile, informant 2 said that he did not understand the high security requirements related to the Facebook password security. Informant 2 published his Facebook profile and only accepted known friends. On the other hand, informant 3 preferred to upload photos on his social media. He never included geotagging on the photos he uploaded for safety reasons (see Figure 4).
Esy Andriyani, Syahrul Hidayanto, Musfiah Saidah, Fatmala Kirana Mangun, Healza Kurnia Hendiastutjik

Furthermore, informant 4 did not make any efforts to protect his Facebook account, so anyone can freely access it. However, informant 4 did not fond of sharing his personal stories for fear of causing conflicts as those experienced by his friends on Facebook. In the meantime, informant 5 claimed that his Facebook account was not private. However, informant 5 claimed that he used it for himself and did not share any personal information with his friends.

“(I don’t want to share any personal information) because I have friends who have problems on Facebook. Like girl and boy fighting.” (Informant 5, 2019)

Gang Venus Young Adults’ Knowledge on Personal Information during Their Use of Facebook

In terms of knowledge on personal information, informant 1 stated that the personal information disclosed to the public included dating status and photos with boyfriend. Informant 1 also said if all information in his Facebook account could be seen by anyone and there were no service features on Facebook which could hide personal information as seen in Figure 5. As shown in Figure 5, other users can find out informant 1’s full profile to his album photos on his Facebook account without having to be friends first.

On the other hand, informant 2 and 5 said that personal information included family issues, photos, obscenities, e-mails, and cellphone numbers. Furthermore, informant 3 stated that information such as full name, gender, photo, personal confession, and status are personal information. Then, informant 4 described personal information as every thing which is related to personal stories and should not be told to other people.

“Only complete name, address, and parents’ phone number. Never make any confessions. Never on Facebook, too. I think that’s a bit dangerous. People can know our problems.” (Informant 4, 2019)

Privacy Boundary of the Gang Venus Adolescents in Using Facebook

In the context of privacy restrictions, four informants claimed if they never published their personal information on Facebook. Only informant 1 was willing to provide personal information when he met face to face with close friends. However, informant 1 did not make friends and provide personal information to strangers.

“But, we know that person. If we didn’t know, of course not. Just ignore him.” (Informant 1, 2019)

Meanwhile, informant 2 would only tell about school problems and never speak about his family problems on Facebook. Informant 5 also did the same thing. Privacy restrictions were also carried out by informant 3. He explained that he rarely uploaded status on his Facebook page. However, informant 3 had said before that he had never made any personal confessions on the Facebook page. Then, he also stated that he...
closed access to his personal information, i.e. photos. Thus, informant 3 did not display his personal photo for his Facebook profile photo where his Facebook account has been set as private. Similar to informant 3, informant 4 revealed that he never vented with others and did not share his personal information on Facebook. Informant 4 was also inclined to be selective in approving friend requests on Facebook.

Control and Ownership of Privacy of the Gang Venus Young Adults on Facebook

Informant 1 said that he only told his secret to his female friend and believed that his friend had never divulged the secret he was telling. In addition, informant 1 did not hesitate to give personal information to any potential boyfriend/girlfriend.

“She’s a girl. I have been friends with her since junior high. I often vent to her. Yeah, because I believe only on her, with girl only.” (Informant 1, 2019)

Meanwhile, informant 2 would pass on personal information if his friend also shared personal information with him.

“Because my friend tells me, I also tell my story. Usually we talk about our lovers.” (Informant 2, 2019)

Furthermore, informant 3 said that he understood that there were many irresponsible people out there who could hack someone’s social media account.

“It’s important. I’m worried that on Facebook there’s a lot of, yeah you know, crimes, so it’s very important. It’s often broadcasted on television, then some viral cases as well, like kidnapping. Yeah, something like that.” (Informant 3, 2019)

Thus, informant 3 implemented controls over his account, among others he was reluctant to use his photos and full name on his Facebook account because he realized that photos and names could be misused by irresponsible people. Finally, informant 5 believed that personal information did not need to be shared because it had the potential to cause problems.

Discussion

The increasingly more affordable price of smartphones provides an opportunity for young adults who live in slums to be digitally connected. Mobile phone centres like ITC Roxy Mas is still the main choice for teenagers living in slums to buy mobile devices. This mall is chosen because it is close to where they live and also sometimes sells mobile phones at a low price and gives big discounts (Idris, 2017). Prensky (2001) said that teenagers who had cellular devices and understood the digital world were referred to as digital natives. They are usually surrounded by devices, such as computers, video games, digital music players, mobile phones, and other digital devices. It can be said that digital natives use technology with sufficient digital experience so they understand the technology inherently, with implications to different behaviours and school of thought than the previous generation (Guha, 2018).

Adolescents who are categorized as digital natives are interpreted as millennial generation in which they have optimistic characteristics, are oriented towards the group achievements where each individual is talented in the use of technology (Bennett, Maton, & Kervin, 2008). Smartphone ownership and internet technology development have made teenagers living in slums follow the mainstream trend of interacting digitally through social media. For young adults who live in slums, Facebook is still the most preferred social media due to an attractive and user-friendly interface. Facebook is also chosen by teenagers living in slums as a space for expression and forging friendships and relationships with friends from real and virtual worlds. This is supported by a research conducted by Arora & Scheiber (2017), which stated that Facebook was considered as a convenience store for social activities, including for romance, for the poors in developing countries. Facebook is often used by them as a place to find a life partner (Arora & Scheiber, 2017).

Although adolescents living in slums are generally categorized as digital natives who have sophisticated skills in the use of digital technology (Bennet, Maton, & Kervin, 2008), actually they have not been able to define privacy while using social media. This could be based on their daily life and habits in slums. Life in slums where houses stand close to each other and only have one room makes privacy less important. Activities which should be protected actually become daily consumption, for example sex activities (Noegroho, 2016). This finding supports the argument of Boyd & Marwick (2011) that the way a person interprets privacy does depend on how privacy is constructed by certain people. In this case, privacy can reflect the values and norms held by certain communities.

If we refer to the argument of Petronio (2002), the way young adults living in slums illustrate the boundary between public and private information (privacy boundaries) on social media is also still wrong. Although they claim not to disseminate personal information because they consider it dangerous, an understanding of what personal information is remains foreign to them. For example, on their Facebook profiles and timelines, information on their home address, school address, personal photos, and even personal problems is still found. In fact, according to Regulation of the Minister of Communications and Information of the Republic of Indonesia 2019.
Indonesia Number 20 of 2016 on Personal Data Protection in Electronic Systems, personal information consists of your complete home or school address, account password, personal problems, and personal photos. Regarding the control and ownership, according to Petronio (2002), each individual had the right to determine what others needed to know about them. Young people in slums make rules and control the ownership of their personal information by choosing people who will be told about their personal information, such as parents or trusted friends. This is an effort to manage their personal information so they do not experience any turbulence or violation of rules.

Conclusion

The adolescents living in slums generally do not have an understanding of what privacy is. There are some teenagers who do not understand how to maintain privacy, but there are also those who realize the importance of maintaining privacy on social media. Educational background and good organizational participation, knowledge on risks of social media, and the role of parents in supervising activities in the digital world also contribute to the adolescents' comprehension to manage their personal information on social media. Young adults in slums make rules and control the ownership of their personal information by choosing people who will be told about their personal information in order to manage their personal information, so they do not experience any violations of privacy rules.

Based on the findings and discussion, a similar research can be further developed with depth, e.g. a text analysis on the use of Facebook as social media by teenagers living in slums or a similar research model with more detailed development through ethnographic studies on the use of Facebook as social media by young adults living in slums.

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