Teens, Gender, and Self-Presentation in Social Media

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Abstract

This chapter is concerned with how teenage boys and girls present themselves through online social media such as Facebook, Twitter, blogs, and chat forums. Based on research conducted mostly in the United States, it describes and considers the implications of social media use, profile construction, visual and textual self-presentation, profile visibility, truthfulness, and other facets of teens' self-presentation in relation to their gender.

Introduction

Teenagers – young people between the ages of 13 and 19 – have been identified as the generation with the highest internet use since the late 1990s (Kraut et al., 1998). As "digital natives" (Prensky, 2001) who were born and raised in the age of computers and online communication, today's teens share self-created content, post their opinions, and link to other content online more than any other demographic group (Lenhart et al., 2010). The oft-heralded democratizing potential of the internet (e.g., Ess, 1996) has been realized especially strikingly for youth: At no other time in history have young people enjoyed such opportunity to make themselves visible to, and heard by, diverse audiences. At the same time, this exposure entails risks. Moreover, there are gender differences in teens' internet use, as will be discussed below. Unless otherwise specified, the claims in this chapter pertain to English-speaking young people in the United States, about whom the bulk of research on online behavior has been conducted.

This chapter is concerned with how adolescent boys and girls present themselves to others through online social media. Social media are web-based (and increasingly, mobile) services that allow users to connect and interact with friends, acquaintances, and strangers. Examples include social network sites such as Facebook and Twitter, media-sharing sites such as YouTube and Flickr, blogs, and other web-based communication forums. Social media "build on the ideological and technological foundations of Web 2.0, and… allow the creation and exchange of user-generated content" (Kaplan and Haenlein, 2010, p. 61).

Much of that content is photographs, links, and textual information that social media users post to present an online self. Self-presentation is generally considered to be motivated by a desire to make a favorable impression on others, or an impression that corresponds to one's ideals. As such, self-presentation is centrally involved in impression management and the projection of an online identity (cf. Schlenker, 1980). Research has shown that teens' online self-presentations differ in various ways, projecting gendered identities.

The term gender is used here to refer to the socially constructed roles that individuals adopt and present to others. Gender normatively maps onto biological sex, and we use the terms *boys* and *girls* to refer to the normative mappings, albeit with the caveats that 1) it is often difficult to determine an internet user's actual biological sex or offline gender, and 2) gender and sex exist along a continuum, and intermediate realizations of both are possible. The following sections describe teenagers' social media use, profile construction, visual and textual self-presentation, profile visibility, truthfulness, and other facets of self-presentation in social media sites in relation to normative gender. The chapter concludes by discussing the implications of these findings and the future outlook they suggest.

Social Media Use

Teens as a demographic group are avid internet and social media users in the United States. A recent survey found that almost all U.S. teens (95%) aged 12 through 17 are online, compared to only 78% of adults. Of these teens, 80% have profiles on social media sites, as compared to only 64% of the online population aged 30 and older (Lenhart et al., 2011). According to a study conducted by the Kaiser Family Foundation, 11-to-18 year olds spend on average over one and a half hours a day using a computer and 27 minutes per day visiting social network sites, more than one fourth of their daily computer use (Rideout et al., 2010).

At the same time, because of their inexperience, limited capacity for self-regulation, and susceptibility to peer pressure, teens may not fully understand the possible repercussions of internet use and are at some risk as they navigate and experiment with social media (O'Keeffe et al., 2011). Concerns have been expressed about the amount of time teens spend online (cf. Gross, 2004), (lack of) parental control over teenage internet use (Wang et al., 2005), privacy, risky behavior such as sexting, cyberbullying, "Facebook depression," and exposure to inappropriate content (O'Keeffe et al., 2011). Yet other scholars have critiqued the tendency for the mass media and some scholars to fuel "moral panics" regarding youth online (boyd, 2007; Herring, 2007), pointing out that the incidence of harm to teens resulting from internet use is actually very low. Moreover, a survey conducted by Wang et al. (2005) suggests that parental awareness of and involvement with their children's internet use are increasing, compared with earlier decades when internet-illiterate adults often had little idea what their tech-savvy offspring were doing online. Finally, even given the risks, teens derive many benefits and gratifications from internet use.

Gender differences, as well as some similarities, are apparent in social media site preferences and amount of use. The sites most popular with teenagers and young adults of both genders (as of 2014) are Facebook and Twitter,[1] which constitute social network sites according to the three criteria articulated by boyd and Ellison (2007): They have user profiles, allow for 'friending' (or 'following' on Twitter), and contain social networks that can be navigated to encounter friends of friends. A Pew study conducted in the U.S. found that 80% of online teens use social network sites, Facebook being the most popular, with 93% of those teens reporting its use (Lenhart et al., 2011). However, girls on average spend more time on social network sites and use them more actively than boys do (Brenner, 2012; Rideout et al.,

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[1] Teens have been leaving Facebook recently, however, and migrating to newer social media platforms such as Instagram, Snapchat, and WhatsApp, which they consider "cooler" and where they are less likely to encounter their parents (Kiss, 2013).

2010). More girls than boys use Facebook and Twitter; female users, including teens, also predominate on the online pinboard Pinterest. Conversely, more males use music-sharing sites such as last.fm, as well as Reddit, a social news website known for its sometimes misogynistic content (HuffPost Women 2012; Williams 2012).[2]

Gender differences are also present in the ways teens use the internet and social media, although usage patterns have shifted over time. In 1999, teenage boys in the United Kingdom reported using computers more often than girls and feeling more comfortable doing so (Livingstone and Bovill, 1999). By 2004, however, both genders were embracing the internet as a means of communicating with their friends: Gross (2004) found that the most common activity among American middle and high school students was chatting via instant messaging. In 2007, teenage girls in the U.S. were more active bloggers than boys – perhaps the first time that females were more active participants than males in a public mode of computer-mediated communication. Boys, meanwhile, were more likely to upload online videos and use video-sharing applications (Lenhart et al., 2007). Boys spend more time using computers, especially playing video games and visiting video websites such as YouTube (Rideout et al., 2010). However, girls create and share more video (Lenhart, 2012) and also are more likely to video chat, in keeping with their more active texting and mobile communication behaviors (Lenhart et al., 2010). Regardless of gender, most teens in the U.S. today spend part of their leisure time online visiting social media sites (Pew Internet and American Life Project, 2011).

The main reason young adults in the U.S. give for visiting social network sites is to connect and communicate with others and to satisfy their curiosity about their online friends and acquaintances (Urista et al., 2009). Adolescent girls generally use them to communicate with peers and to reinforce preexisting relationships, while boys more often use the platforms to meet new people and make new friends. Boys are also more likely to identify with groups on social network sites that differ from their offline peer circles (Barker 2009; Lenhart and Madden, 2007a).

A consequence of gender differences in social media is that girls and boys frequent somewhat different sites and engage in different, albeit overlapping, activities on the sites they visit. However, most social media contexts involve a mix of both genders. This has implications for how teens self-present.

Social Media Profiles

Profile Content

Self-presentation online takes place primarily through social media profiles. Many social media sites allow users to create a profile and visually display connections to their social network (boyd and Ellison, 2007). In addition, many sites allow users to upload and share personal information, pictures, links, music, and other multimedia with their friends' or followers' networks. Profiles first attracted widespread attention on social network sites such as Friendster and MySpace in the middle of the last decade, and they have since been incorporated into many other social media platforms, including chat sites (Kapidzic and

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[2] The gender breakdown for Instagram and Snapchat users, the majority of whom are teens, was roughly equal as of October 2013 (Duggan, 2013).

Herring, 2011), Wikipedia (Lam et al., 2011), and the mobile photo-sharing application Instagram (Ngak, 2012).

Profiles represent a change in the way internet users self-present. In earlier textual interactive environments such as chatrooms and MOOs, it was not uncommon for users to invent nicknames and imagined personas (Bechar-Israeli, 1995; Nakamura, 1995). Now, popular platforms such as Facebook explicitly encourage users to provide truthful personal information. Thus teens tend to present their "real identity" on these sites through their usernames, photographs, and other information that they provide about themselves (Zhao et al., 2008). Although this limits users' ability to experiment with their identity online – for example, it is more difficult to pretend to be a different gender, as was possible in text-based anonymous spaces (Danet, 1998) – young adults can still manipulate their profiles to create impressions that they consider favorable through various means, including number of friends (Ellison et al., 2007), lists of interests (Liu, 2007), and pictures that display particular tastes and preferences (Salimkhan et al., 2010).

Teenage girls and boys differ to some extent in the types of content they post to their profiles. In a study of profiles on several social networking sites, including Facebook, female participants from the U.S. reported that they post "cute" pictures, while male participants were more likely to share pictures and comments that they described as self-promoting and that contained sexual content or references to alcohol (Peluchette and Karl, 2008). On a teenage dating site, however, teen girls' self-descriptions contained significantly more references to sex than boys' did (Pujazon-Zazik et al. 2012). Girls in both the U.S. and Sweden are more likely to display friendship ties on social media, for example, by posting photographs of themselves with their friends (Lenhart and Madden, 2007b; Sveningsson Elm, 2007). Boys, meanwhile, are more likely to orient towards technology, sports, and humor in the information they post to their profile (Sveningsson Elm, 2007) and to share their location and/or phone number (Lenhart and Madden, 2007b; Pujazon-Zazik et al., 2012). In an earlier analysis of English-language teenage blogs, Huffaker and Calvert (2005) also found that boys provided more information about their location. Moreover, gay boys more often shared their sexual orientation, although there was no difference in how much personal information girls and boys shared in their blogs overall or in their mentions of romantic relationships, both of which were plentiful. Similarly, both boys and girls on a popular Swedish social networking site strongly emphasized their romantic relationships (Sveningsson Elm, 2007).

In a study conducted in the U.S. of young adults' perceptions of what constitutes appropriate content on social network sites, Peluchette and Karl (2008) found that the research participants expressed little concern about sharing updates and pictures on social network sites such as Facebook. Female participants expressed more concern about future employers seeing some of their pictures and comments, especially those related to alcohol, than males did; however, overall, young adults appear to utilize social media primarily as a way to attract and form relationships with peers, and they are unconcerned with maintaining a professional image (Peluchette and Karl, 2008). This practice can create problems for young adults when they go on the job market. A 2013 survey found that 1 out of 10 young job applicants were rejected because of content they had posted on social media, including "provocative or inappropriate photos or posts," and "content about drinking or using drugs" (Sherman, 2013).

Visual Self-Presentation

Visual content is a central resource for creating an online impression (Ellison et al., 2006). While in earlier environments such as chatrooms girls and boys could represent themselves only through the use of textual descriptors (e.g., Nakamura, 1995) or cartoon avatars (e.g., Scheidt, 2004), recent platforms tend to promote the use of photographs in online profiles. Teens and young adults pay special attention to the photographs they select for their profiles (Salimkhan et al., 2010).

Teenagers' main criterion for choosing profile photographs is a belief that they look good in them. According to a study conducted in the U.S. among young adults, both genders perceive that girls place more emphasis than boys on selecting pictures in which they are attractive (Manago et al., 2008). Manago and her colleagues (2008) interviewed young adults in focus groups about their self-presentation strategies on the social networking site MySpace and found that participants of both genders reported presenting stereotypically gendered images of attractive women and strong men. In a survey of Estonian teenage social media users (Siibak, 2009), girls more than boys self-reported selecting pictures in which they thought they looked attractive. Similarly, in a study of teen chat sites, Kapidzic and Herring (2011) found that the vast majority of girls posted profile photographs that presented them in a seductive manner (looking up or sideways at the viewer) and suggestive dress (showing cleavage). Photo choices among male teens were more varied, including dominant, idealized, and affiliative behaviors in addition to seductive behaviors, although there was a tendency for boys to choose photos that showed them at a farther distance from the camera and looking away from the viewer. However, there were also some boys who posed seductively, for example in photos that showed them shirtless. Some young males in Manago et al.'s (2008) study also reported trying to look sexually attractive, a growing trend in social media, especially among white males in the U.S. (Kapidzic and Herring, 2014).

On the one hand, these behaviors reproduce cultural gender stereotypes and media portrayals of the sexually available woman and the strong, emotionally distant man (Kapidzic and Herring, 2011; Siibak, 2010). In particular, they reflect the prevalence of pornography dominated by masculine fantasy on the internet: Studies show that nearly half of American teens surveyed have viewed sexually-explicit websites, and those who have tend to have less progressive gender role attitudes, as well as more permissive sexual norms (Brown and L'Engle, 2009).

On the other hand, the trend in the early 21st century for both boys and girls to self-sexualize in their visual online presentations suggests a more general phenomenon of 'self-commodification' (Siibak, 2010). Most of the time this is probably unconscious, as a result of internalization of media images (Donnelly, 2011). In a study of 288 Facebook users in the U.S., Kapidzic (2011) found that young adults who internalized media messages about stereotypical looks were more likely to select profile photos in which they were posing seductively and revealingly dressed. The study participants displayed relatively high levels of media internalization overall, with females scoring significantly higher on the scale. Self-commodification may also be intentional, as in the case of a teenage boy who operated a pornographic website featuring images of himself for several years (Leary, 2007). Other cases are less clear: Are 12-year-old-girls who post "slutty" pictures of themselves on Facebook (Williams, 2012; see also Ringrose, 2011) intending to advertise themselves as sexually available, or are they just imitating the media and their peers? Explicitly pornographic images

are prohibited on most social media sites; however, what constitutes 'pornographic' is not always clear.

Profile Visibility and Perceived Audience

Online self-presentation raises privacy issues. Accordingly, most social media sites allow users to adjust settings to control who has access to view their profiles. There is evidence that girls limit the visibility of their profiles more than boys do. Patchin and Hinduja (2010) conducted a content analysis of 2423 teenagers' profiles on a popular social media site to determine to what extent adolescents share information publicly; they found that girls were 1.5 times more likely than boys to restrict access to their profiles. Similar findings were reported by Thelwall (2008a) in an analysis of the profiles of young adults on MySpace, as well as in a recent Pew survey, in which 21% of profile-owning boys in the U.S. reported leaving their profiles fully visible to the public, as compared to only 12% of girls. Three-quarters of the girls who were interviewed restricted their profile visibility to their friends only, whereas only half of the boys reported doing so (Lenhart et al., 2011). Girls may be especially concerned with assuring the privacy of their online profiles because of the greater tendency for females to be harassed online based on their gender. Results from the Growing up With Media Survey, a national survey of more than 1500 American teens aged 10-15, indicate that girls are significantly more likely to have experienced sexual solicitation (e.g., requests to talk about sex) and harassment in the form of mean comments on social network sites than boys (Ybarra and Mitchell, 2009). Girls' greater concerns about privacy and identity disclosure on social media sites may predispose them to interact with individuals they already know and trust (Muscanell and Guadagno, 2012).

Privacy settings give one a measure of control over one's audience. However, many social media users do not understand how to adjust the settings, or they ignore them. Before social network sites existed, moreover, privacy settings were uncommon, and access to many social media, such as chat and blogs, was effectively open to the internet-using public. Despite this reality, teen bloggers, for example, often imagined their audience to be limited: other teens – their friends and romantic interests, but not usually their parents, teachers, or employers (cf. Qian and Scott, 2007; Viégas, 2005). This misperception still seems to affect some teen social network users, who reveal compromising information (e.g., about alcohol consumption) and display themselves provocatively attired in their profiles even when the profiles are public. Alternatively, it may be that teen internet users today are not very concerned with privacy (Kiss, 2013; Peluchette and Karl, 2008).

Another, perhaps related, way in which audience influences self-presentation is the fact that many social media environments popular with young people are heterosexual (by default) marketplaces where flirting and sexual come-ons are common activities (Herring and Zelenkauskaite, 2009; Kapidzic and Herring, 2011). It seems reasonable to suppose that much of teens' online self-presentation in these social media has as a subtext attracting potential partners, be it for sex, dating, online chat, or just to get attention.

Truthfulness of Self-Presentation

For all that it may appear to be self-revealing, the information girls and boys display about themselves in their profiles is not necessarily accurate. Both genders report experimenting

with their online presentation and posting untruthful information to their profiles, such as lying about their age to make themselves older. Results from a Pew survey indicate that 56% of American adolescents with online profiles have posted false information on social media sites. Teenage boys posted fabricated information more often than girls (Lenhart and Madden, 2007b). Moreover, in a survey of more than 300 Dutch adolescents, Valkenburg et al. (2005) found gender differences in the kinds of information male and female teens misrepresented in online interactions. Boys pretended to be more macho, whereas girls pretended they were older and tried to give the impression of being more beautiful. Another study by the Girl Scouts of America found that girls who would describe themselves as "smart" or "kind" offline were more likely to post they were "fun," "funny," or "social" on social network sites, and girls with low self-esteem were somewhat more likely than girls with high self-esteem to describe themselves as "sexy" and "crazy" (Carmon, 2010).

Other research points to a tendency for both adolescent girls' and boys' online self-presentations to mirror their real self in terms of personality traits. Back et al. (2010) asked 236 young adults from Germany and the United States to describe their ideal self and answer a questionnaire to assess personality traits such as openness and extroversion; in addition, research observers rated the participants' profiles. The authors found that the participants' personality scores reflected the observer ratings better than the idealized self-descriptions. Thus while teens may consciously distort the truth to appear more attractive, they have less control over how their personality subconsciously influences their profile descriptions.

Textual Communication and Interaction

Teens also give off textual cues consciously and unconsciously in their online self-presentation (cf. Goffman, 1959). This occurs both in descriptions in profiles and, more generally, in textual interactions with other people through chat, instant messaging, discussion forums, blog comments, and the like. Social media sites are increasingly incorporating such computer-mediated communication (CMC) features into their platforms.

Numerous studies from English-speaking countries have analyzed textual CMC and have identified gender patterns on the discourse-pragmatic and stylistic levels of language use. Guiller and Durndell (2007), for example, analyzed young adults' language use in computer-mediated discussion groups in Scotland and found that although male and female users did not differ in how they employed linguistic variables such as first person pronouns, interjections, and imperative verbs, significant gender differences were evident in the use of many stylistic variables: Males were more likely to use authoritative language and to respond negatively in interactions, while females were more likely to agree explicitly, support others, and make more personal and emotional contributions. These findings are consistent with observations reported earlier for adult English-language CMC by Herring (1993) and others. Similarly, in an analysis of interactions on five teenage chat sites, most of them based in the U.S., Kapidzic and Herring (2011) found significant gender differences. On the pragmatic level, boys used manipulative speech acts significantly more than girls, inviting and directing others, whereas girls produced more reactive acts. At the stylistic level, boys' messages were more aggressive and flirtatious than girls' messages, which were most often friendly. In an analysis of positive and negative message tone on English-language MySpace profiles, Thelwall et al. (2010) also found that female messages had a positive tone significantly more

often than male messages. Kapidzic and Herring (2011) concluded that gendered patterns of communication online have not changed appreciably in the last 20 years.

Findings at the structural level of language are not as distinct. In an analysis of instant messaging communication between young American adults, Baron (2004) found that females employed uncontracted forms (more formal) twice as often as males; females also used emoticons (less formal) more frequently. In Huffaker and Calvert's (2005) analysis of teenagers' blogs, boys used flirty emoticons significantly more often than girls did, although there was no gender difference in amount of emotion use. Furthermore, Huffaker and Calvert found that while the adolescent boys in their sample used words that were active and resolute more often than the girls did, there was no difference in the use of cooperative words, which they expected to find more of in girls' blogs. These mixed results seem to support the conclusion that gender differences are most pronounced at broader, stylistic levels of language use.

Sexualized language is prevalent in teenagers' online interactions with their peers. Subrahmanyan et al. (2006) explored the use of adolescents' linguistic choices related to describing sexuality in an English-language teen chat environment. Male teens communicated more explicitly about sex, whereas female teens used more implicitly sexual language, choosing sexualized nicknames and writing about sexual themes. Smahel and Subrahmanyam (2007) studied the process of partner selection in the same chat environment, analyzing the linguistic means by which users invited others to chat. The authors found that in both monitored and unmonitored chat rooms, 16% of all partner requests were invitations of an implicitly or explicitly sexual nature, and these were produced in equal amounts by boys and girls. Girls produced somewhat more partner requests, however. Relatedly, Pujazon-Zazik et al. (2012) coded content on 752 publicly available profiles on an English-language teenage dating site for mentions of risky behavior, such as content related to drugs, violence, alcohol, cigarettes, or sex in the teenagers' self-descriptions. Almost one-third of the descriptions (28%) contained reference to risky behavior, and 16% of those references were related to sex. Girls were more likely to include sexual references in their descriptions, while boys mentioned drugs more often.

Few studies have yet examined gender and language use on social network sites. An exception is Thelwall (2008b), who analyzed gender in relation to the use of swearwords on the profile pages of close to 40,000 MySpace users in the U.S. and the U.K. Automated language analysis of the pages of users who indicated their age revealed that 16-19 year old boys in the U.S. used swearwords significantly more than girls of the same age in their self-presentations; in the U.K., however, there were no significant gender differences. Thelwall suggested that the fact that girls in the U.K. are incorporating traditionally male language such as strong swearing into their linguistic choices is reflective of deeper changes in gender roles in British society, as evidenced, for example, by the increasing acceptance of binge drinking by U.K. females.

Conclusion

While some similarities exist in social media use by teenage girls and boys, online presentations differ in various respects. The studies described in this chapter indicate that girls often choose to limit the visibility of their profiles by completely restricting access by people

they are not connected to, whereas boys often allow their profiles to be viewed publicly. Moreover, boys more often post false information on their online profiles. Male and female teens also differ in their textual self-presentation: Boys' linguistic choices reflect assertiveness in both style and tone, while girls seem to aim to please boys and facilitate social interaction. Similarly, in their visual presentations girls most often choose pictures that indicate a desire to appear attractive and sexually appealing, while for boys the patterns are less clear. Both genders' choices of pictures for self-presentation can be seen to reflect sexualized media portrayals.

While such findings might not be surprising for adults, some authors have suggested that teenagers growing up with the internet and at ease with the many platforms that facilitate interaction might move beyond stereotypically gendered behaviors in online communication (e.g., Huffaker and Calvert, 2005). Nevertheless, much of the recent research conducted on adolescents' online self-presentation points to the persistence of traditional gender stereotypes, both in the use of language and in the selection of images for display. The sexualization of boys diverges from the traditional pattern but is consistent with an overall trend towards what Ringrose (2011) calls the "pornification" of online self-presentation.

Taken cumulatively, the research described in this chapter reveals the importance that adolescents place on displaying gendered identities in social media. This finding is not surprising since, in the teenage years, identity and sexuality start to play major roles in the lives of young people as they seek to define and explore who they are (Erickson, 1968). Social media sites and the profiles they contain provide young adults with a reference point in the process of developing their social identity. There they interact with their peers, the most important reference group for teens. boyd (2007) posits that "by looking at others' profiles, teens get a sense of what types of presentations are socially appropriate; others' profiles provide critical cues about what to present on their own profile" (p. 10). This observation helps explain the high degree of normativity within gendered self-presentations in social media.

Minority gender identities – of gay and transgender teens, for example – are also expressed through social media, although what research exists on the subject suggests that popular sites such as Facebook, MySpace, and Twitter are heteronormative environments (e.g., Carstensen, 2009). Moreover, the one-to-many nature of such sites presents challenges for identity negotiation and information control for queer teens who are not "out" to all the members of their network, leading some to adopt strategies such as coded reference to their sexuality or maintaining two Facebook accounts, one in which they are closeted and another in which they are out (Cooper and Dzara, 2010; Young, 2012). At the same time, social network sites provide questioning teens an opportunity to explore and reconfigure their gender identities, and in the process, to clarify to themselves who they are (Cooper and Dzara, 2010).

More generally, social media sites provide a space where teens can explore the effects of their self-presented image on others (cf. Schlenker, 1980). In many cases posting pictures and comments will generate positive feedback and could have a positive impact on teenagers' self-esteem. Less desirable reactions to online self-presentation include negative commenting, cyberbullying, and harassment (Li, 2006), which can have serious psychosocial consequences. Moreover, comparing one's own appearance to that of others in social media can lead to feelings of inadequacy and depression (O'Keefe et al., 2011).

Implications and Future Outlook

The research described in this chapter has implications for the safety and well-being of teenagers, and thus should be of interest to parents, educators, and internet policy makers as well as scholars. It also has implications for the development of sex and gender roles in adolescence and how these are affected by exposure to online content. To the extent that sexualized images, including pornography, affect sexual attitudes and behavior, psychologists as well as health care professionals have a stake in understanding teens' online self-presentations. Finally, the research contributes to a growing body of scholarship on the effects of computer mediation on human social behavior, suggesting, among other things, that profiles constitute invitations to social interaction in much the same way as offline self-presentations do, and that they can be manipulated in equally subtle ways – even, and perhaps especially, in social media environments that encourage truthfulness (Kapidzic and Herring, 2014).

As today's young "digital natives" grow into tomorrow's adults, we might predict that their practices will increasingly enter the mainstream, from the use of social media to conduct all kinds of business to a lesser concern with privacy to more open attitudes toward sex. Based on reports that young people in the U.S. today are more tolerant of diversity than their parents' generation (Jones, 2013), we might also predict that more non-traditional gender identities will be openly expressed online. At the same time, it is to be expected that with age, inexperienced youth will understand better the possible undesirable consequences of their online self-portrayals, for example, as regards employment, and make less of their personal information available to mass audiences.

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