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Parental Decisions on Sharing Their Children's Private Information on Social Media among Families in Jakarta Area

Pengambilan Keputusan di Kalangan Orang Tua dalam Membagikan Informasi Privat Anak Melalui Media Sosial pada Keluarga di Wilayah Jakarta

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ABSTRACT

The practice of publishing photos and videos containing children's private information on social media—also known as *sharenting*—is popular among parents in Jakarta. Embarking from the debate about *privacy paradox* in which it is believed that privacy concern does not predict someone's behaviors in managing his/her private information online, this research aims to reveal the considerations underlying parental decisions when sharing their children's private information through social media and their perceived risk toward their children's online safety. Using a qualitative approach, the researcher conducted interviews with 20 parents in Jakarta with at least one child younger than 13 years. The result suggests that the perceived benefit of sharenting exceeds its perceived risks. The study also found four reasons why parents exercise sharenting: to document their children's development, to gain social support from their followers on social media, and to overcome loneliness as new parents and the low self-efficacy of parents in protecting children's privacy on the internet. Unsurprisingly sharenting through social media has become a growing trend among parents. This finding thus will be useful as a groundwork to develop an intervention program regarding relevant sharenting in the context of Jakarta, Indonesia.

ABSTRAK

Praktik memublikasikan foto dan video berisi informasi privat anak melalui media sosial—atau dikenal dengan istilah *sharenting*—marak dilakukan oleh orang tua di Jakarta. Bertolak dari perdebatan mengenai *privacy paradox* yang meyakini bahwa *privacy concern* tidak memprediksi perilaku seseorang dalam mengelola informasi privatnya di dalam jaringan, penelitian ini berupaya mengungkap pertimbangan yang mendasari keputusan orang tua ketika membagikan informasi privat anaknya melalui media sosial dan persepsi mereka terhadap risiko keamanan privasi anak dalam jaringan. Menggunakan metode penelitian kualitatif, dilakukan wawancara terhadap 20 partisipan yang merupakan orang tua di Jakarta yang memiliki setidaknya seorang anak berusia kurang dari 13 tahun. Hasil menunjukkan bahwa *sharenting* terjadi karena keinginan orang tua untuk mengabadikan tahap tumbuh kembang anak, memperoleh dukungan sosial dari pengikut di media sosial, mengatasi kesepian yang dirasakan sebagai orang tua baru dan rendahnya *self-efficacy* orang tua dalam melindungi privasi anak di internet. Sedangkan persepsi partisipan terhadap manfaat yang diperoleh dari perilaku *sharenting* dinilai melampaui persepsi mereka terhadap risiko dari perilaku itu sendiri. Sehingga tidak mengherankan jika *sharenting* menjadi tren yang berkembang di kalangan orang tua melalui akun media sosialnya. Temuan ini selanjutnya berguna sebagai dasar dalam pengembangan program intervensi terhadap perilaku *sharenting* yang relevan terhadap konteks wilayah Jakarta, Indonesia.

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1. Introduction

The practice of documenting children's development and milestones has gone beyond keeping photos in

physical photo or home video albums. The presence of the internet has transformed how families keep their children's pictures and videos from a physical album—a keepsake and intended for the internal consumption of

the family—into a digital form that may be accessible to the general internet users beyond family members and relatives (Pauwels, 2008). The emergence of social networking sites (SNS) and mobile communication technology has also shifted how parents used the internet, as it replaces websites, online discussion forums, blogs, emails, and instant messaging as parents' main medium in sharing information, pieces of advice, and support with their community (Lupton et al., 2016). At the same time, mobile SNS makes the practice of revealing personal identity, as well as children's private information, to the virtual world easier (Christofides et al., 2009; Trepte et al., 2014).

Steinberg (2017) coined the term “sharenting” (p.842), referring to parents' behavior in sharing details of their children's lives online. Brosch (2018) then emphasized the risky aspects a child can acquire from such behavior and redefined sharenting as parents' behavior in publishing their children's detailed information in the form of photos, videos, and other posts on SNS, which violate children's privacy. Various reasons lie behind parents' behavior to reveal children's private information through their social media. The connection between a family and its community is said to be a key factor in encouraging sharenting (Bartholomew et al., 2012; Steinberg, 2017; Wagner & Gasche, 2018). Resting on this communication relation, parents want to gain support (Blum-Ross & Livingstone, 2017; Steinberg, 2017), ward off isolated feelings that emerge in child rearing (Clark et al., 2015), seek validation over child rearing from other internet users (Blum-Ross & Livingstone, 2017; Brosch, 2016), and participate in social interactions (Wagner & Gasche, 2018). Other factors that contribute to the emergence of sharenting are the desires to boast about their offspring and to evoke envy from others (Wagner & Gasche, 2018).

Despite the affordances it offers, sharenting also has potential adverse consequences. Children's private information items, such as full name, date of birth, address, school, daily activities, and even facial recognition, are susceptible to misuse both in the real and virtual worlds. Children's data are prone to irresponsible use by pedophiles, for marketing purposes, digital kidnapping, and banking-related fraudulent activities (Blum-Ross & Livingstone, 2017; Brosch, 2016; Clark et al., 2015; Coughlan, 2018; Steinberg, 2017). Sharenting also violates children's right to privacy. When parents disclose their children's information online, the children become the party whose identity is shaped and used without their consent (Steinberg, 2017). When parents hold control over children's privacy management and expand the parties who can access children's information beyond the scope of the family—internet users at large, for instance—there is the potential that one day their children would realize about their digital traces created by parents and

would not approve of the publication of their private information, made without their consent (Brosch, 2018; Steinberg, 2017).

Sharenting also adds a new perspective for parental mediation and children's media use theories. Traditionally, parental mediation theory focuses on how parents serve as the gatekeeper and socializing agents in the family regarding children's media use (Takeuchi & Levine, 2014). Nansen and Jayemanne (2016) proposed the concept of “intermediation” (p.587). They argued that when parents take photos or videos of their own children and publish them online—in other words, engage in sharenting—they become an intermediary between the children and the audiences and viewers in the virtual world. In other words, sharenting blurs the distinct boundary between parents as authority figures that regulate children's media consumption and production. Instead, parents immerse in the cultural and technical context of media use and production, which involve their children as the subject of the photos or videos.

The phenomenon of sharenting poses a challenge for the traditional theory of privacy. According to the Privacy Calculus theory, one makes a calculation between the risks and benefits that can be obtained when disclosing his/her private information on the internet (Dinev & Hart, 2006). Several studies on privacy management on social media currently conducted emphasize on one's behavior in revealing his or her own private information (self-disclosure) on the net (Acquisti et al., 2012; Grudz & Hernández-García, 2018; Taddicken, 2014; Trepte et al., 2014). Wagner and Gasche (2018) distinguished sharenting from self-disclosure: in self-disclosure, the benefit or risk incurred will be received by the party performing such action. By contrast, in sharenting, parents are more likely to reap the benefits, such as gaining social support from their community (Blum-Ross & Livingstone, 2017; Steinberg, 2017), whereas children are more likely to be on the receiving end of the risks. The concerns regarding personal information theft and misuse are experienced by the general internet (Zhou & Li, 2014). Indeed, when an individual discloses information that belongs to someone else, that person tends to disregard the issue of personal safety potentially lurking (Morlok, 2016). Additionally, sharenting practice raises another layer of issue of parental responsibility in guarding children's safety that might be compromised because of the children's personal information disclosure (Wagner & Gasche, 2018).

There are debates about online privacy management in terms of the fact that privacy concern does not predict someone's behavior in managing his/her private information online. This phenomenon is known by the term “privacy paradox” (Barnes, 2006). Several studies

contribute empirical works supporting the existence of the privacy paradox (Nosko et al., 2012; Taddei & Contena, 2013; Taddicken, 2014; Trepte et al., 2013). Nosko et al. (2012), for example, demonstrated that reading the privacy policy or stories regarding information disclosure risk on social media is insufficient to generate a protective behavior toward a social media user's private information. Similarly, Trepte and associate (2013) showed that the more an individual perceives social media use as something dangerous, the more he/she lowers their protective behavior regarding their social media profile. These pieces of evidence suggest that knowing the risk of self-disclosure alone is not sufficient to make someone take action to protect his/her private information when communicating on SNS, so the privacy paradox can occur. However, Baruh et al.'s (2017) meta-analysis on 166 studies from 34 countries offered contrasting results: the researchers found that an individual's higher privacy predicts a lower likelihood of using online services and sharing information while enhancing protection for online private information. Dienlin and Trepte (2015) explained this rebuttal of privacy paradox, updating their research operational method in testing the connection between privacy concerns and a social media user's behavior in managing privacy. In that study, privacy was placed as a multidimensional variable divided into informational privacy, social privacy, and psychological privacy (Burgoon, 1982). It was found that privacy attitude and privacy intention mediate the effect of privacy concern on social media users' behavior in managing privacy. At this point, privacy concerns can still be assessed as a relevant predictor in the attempt to increase someone's capacity in managing private information on their social media accounts (Baruh et al., 2017). This means that the more an individual is concerned that there is a practice of private information misuse on the internet, the more likely he/she will protect his/her own private information.

Stemming from existing literature on sharenting and privacy paradox, the present study aims to examine the underlying considerations of parents' decisions in sharing their children's private information through social media and their perceived risk of sharenting, particularly in Asian and Indonesian contexts. Additionally, this study is important, considering that as far as the researchers' knowledge, there has been no sharenting-related study conducted with parents from Indonesia as participants. In fact, among internet users in Indonesia, the Association of Indonesian Internet Service Providers (APJII) (2017) states that SNS is the most frequently accessed service after messaging application. Also, studies related to sharenting behavior that have been conducted in the past few years took place in western countries (Blum-Ross & Livingstone, 2017; Brosch, 2016; Wagner & Gasche, 2018). In fact,

according to Statista (2019), the penetration of social media use is the highest in Asian countries. Hence, the researchers assume that Asian parents are actually actors that are more prone to sharenting.

2. Methods

This study used a qualitative method with an interpretative phenomenological approach to delve into the participants' subjective meanings of their personal experiences (Smith & Osborn, 2004). We explored participants' experiences in using social media platforms, types of children's private information usually shared through social media, and considerations underlying sharenting along with perceived risks picked up from such behaviors. Blum-Ross and Livingstone (2017) previously used a qualitative method to obtain a larger picture over sharenting performed by parents in London, but the medium studied is a blog. The said study comes up with a finding that sharenting through blogging is a popular practice because contents regarding children can garner positive responses from netizens. Blog functions as a medium of storytelling about daily life that turns into a source of parents' income. Parents in this case then confront the reality that what they present on blogs is more than just their own representation but also other individuals'—children—who also have their rights to privacy.

The research protocol of this study has been approved by the Committee of Research Ethics of the Faculty of Psychology Universitas Indonesia on October 23, 2018. Participants of this study were parents who at the time of the interview had active SNS account (e.g., Facebook or Instagram), had at least one child under the age of 13 years, and lived in the Jakarta and Greater Jakarta regions. Thirteen years was chosen as the maximum age of the children, because of the minimum age of a person to create social media account, such as Facebook and Instagram (Facebook, 2019; Instagram, 2019); therefore, it can be assumed that information about children online come from their parents' account. Jakarta area was chosen because of its status as one of the regions with the highest internet penetration in Indonesia (APJII, 2017).

This study applied convenience sampling. The participants are individuals within the researcher's social network of friends and acquaintances, being recruited through Instagram's direct message. All participant data collection was conducted through face-to-face interviews, which were conducted between November 17, 2018, and December 12, 2018, in Jakarta. The duration of the interview ranged from 10 to 60 min. The interpretative phenomenological approach aims to obtain a solid foundation in interpreting experience based on the origin of the material. In achieving this goal, a descriptive interview is needed to bring up

phenomenal clarity (Bevan, 2014). Thus, it can be concluded that this approach is not related to the duration of the interview. Of the 20 participants, 10 were mothers and the remaining 10 were fathers. On the basis of the participants' consent, the researcher recorded the interviews in audio files that later were transcribed in verbatim of 914–4277 words. The transcripts were coded to obtain category segmentation and category labeling (Creswell, 2014). Emerging themes were constantly compared to decide whether participants' responses generated a new theme or could be incorporated into the existing themes. All names of the participants and their children presented in the results section are pseudonyms. More detailed information about participants can be found in the Appendix.

3. Result and Discussion

Parent's general social media habit

Interview results show that almost all participants—17 out of 20—used Instagram as the SNS platform that they most frequently accessed, followed by Twitter and Facebook. Participants also expressed they accessed Instagram multiple times on any given day. A participant who acknowledged to be a passive user reported that he opened Instagram as many as three times a day. It suggests that the practice of communication through SNS is embedded in parental daily activities today (Lupton et al., 2016). The presence of children changed the parents' activity on the Instagram account which was created before the birth of the children. Upon the birth of the children, the content of the parents' Instagram account shifted from their own activities and interests to their children's activities and milestones. Puspa (30) mother of two—4- and 2-year-olds—admitted that after having children, the use of social media has changed because she currently posts more about her children. Similar to Puspa, Benny (31) also mentioned that he posted more on his son's activities on social media and even rarely posted photos of himself on the account.

Interview results showed 18 out of 20 participants acknowledged as having shared posts related to their children through their SNS accounts. Participants also acknowledged that sharenting is common in their social circle. All participants—20—mentioned that their friends who have children usually share photos and videos of their children on social media. The information contained in them includes daily activities and children's milestones Clara (31) said that among her friends, stay-at-home moms usually upload photos of their children on SNS more than working mothers. In line with this, Feby (31) also said that her friends often shared photos of their children on SNS, even more frequently than she did.

All mothers in this study reported that they shared information about their children. Only two father participants say that they never publish their children's pictures or videos through their social media. This result is contrary to Ammari et al. (2015) who suggested that mothers engage more in sharenting because of their higher activities of engagement in using social media when compared with fathers. Based on interviews, both the mothers and fathers in this study did not show a significant difference in sharenting behavior that they displayed on their SNS account.

Types of children's information shared by parents through social media

Three types of information were found in participants' responses: developmental milestones, children's daily activities, and their children's funny acts. Developmental milestones are the types of information shared most by parents through their SNS accounts—14 out of 20 participants. Benny (31), for example, mentioned that he usually shares updates on the development that his son achieved according to age. Similarly, Aldi (31) also often shares the development of his child on SNS but does not overflatter his child for not wanting to show off too much. These attempts to record children's life developmental stages through social media are in accordance with a Kumar and Schoenenbeck's (2015) finding that mothers currently use social media platforms as a modern-day baby book.

Besides developmental milestones, children's daily activities are also shared by participants through their social media accounts. Twelve—out of 20 participants reported various activities ranging from having supper to learning how to walk and to going to a spa baby.

“Going to a mall, taking picture together, or having supper, taking picture together...” (Nova, mother of a 2 year old)

“Like, for example... like yesterday, I took him to the spa... then I posted a pic when he was swimming, having a massage. [I post pics of] he being happy at a mall, and then also when he is having a good laugh, that's all.” (Kamila, mother of a 5-month-old)

“When playing, going to the spa, what else... when learning... learning how to walk.” (Ignas, father of a 15-month-old)

Hence, the information shared by the participants through their social media involves cute behaviors of their children. Kevin (33) thought that the funny behavior of his children is amusing, so he often posts on social media. In line with Kevin's statement, Utami (30) also often shared cute photos of her daughter, Rara (2), on social media besides photos when Rara acts smart.

Posts about children's developmental stages and amusing behaviors often resulted in praise and positive comments of the participants' SNS friends or followers. Rani (32) said that photos of her children on SNS often get more likes than other photos; she considers this to be a manifestation that many people like and value her children. Not much different from that, Nova (31) mentioned that she often gets likes and comments containing praise when sharing photos of her daughter on SNS because of the beauty of her 2-year-old child. It illustrates the practice of sharenting as an attempt to build communication and gain social support from an online community (Steinberg, 2016; Wagner & Gasche, 2018).

Six participants even make Instagram accounts on behalf of their children's names to share photos and videos of their children online. The phenomenon of SNS accounts made by parents is related to the intermediation concept (Nansen & Jayemanne, 2016). That is, parents do not play the role of moderating their children's use of media but in fact become the intermediary that spread their children's digital cultural practices online. Parents actively participate in the production process of values connected with current digital practices imposed on their children and amplified to a wider audience. At the same time, this practice of sharing children's funny videos or pictures without their consent can also be seen as problematic. Steinberg (2017) suggested that parents should reconsider the fact that children whose private information they share on social media are autonomous objects. Hence, their children in fact deserve protection against various consequences potentially looming as the result of sharenting.

Motivation of sharenting

Documenting children's developmental stages is the commonly expressed reason for sharenting practice. Fourteen of the 20 participants admitted that the stage of child development, for example, when the child took her first steps walking or reading for the first time, is something they usually shared. Documenting the children's activities is not the only motivation for sharenting. Instagram posts serve as a showcase for what children can do. Related to this, sharenting is also seen as an avenue for parents to gain approval and social support from fellow parents, which is reflected in the presence of "Likes" or positive comments. Nitta, a mother of Kirana (2), said that the decision to share what her child can do makes her proud. Similarly, Rani (32) admitted that sharenting is a form of showing off, which, according to her is part of new parents' euphoria.

Additionally, participants revealed that sharenting helps them overcome loneliness as new parents. Kamila (31), mother of a 5-month-old baby, revealed that through sharenting, she feels connected with other parents who

also have a newborn so there is a feeling of being in the same boat and then exchanging experiences related to childcare. These findings are consistent with Bartholomew et al.'s study (2012), which suggests that during a transitional period to become a parent, the practice of sharing a child's pictures through social media is viewed as a way to interact with an online community, which helps parents cope with the stress from child rearing activities.

Another factor that was also revealed through interviews about parents' consideration in displaying sharenting behavior was the low self-efficacy in protecting children's privacy on the internet.

"Indeed, there is little... I know that child actually has the right to be shown or not (on social media). Actually I am also concerned about that, only I feel like now, Ah, just post it [laugh]. Later, if in the future he doesn't want it, we can talk about it later." (Rani, mother of a 2.5-year-old)

"I was not immediately removed (nude photos of children when encouraged by participant friends to be removed because it could threaten child safety). Yes, I don't know why [laugh]... It will gone by itself, I thought so." (Puspa, mother of two, 4- and 2-year-olds)

"Sometimes I (don't want to take protective action because)... Later the child will also meet social media too, right?" (Indra, father of an 8-year-old)

The interview showed that besides the participants' concerns about children's privacy in social media, they still did not have the confidence that they were able to stop the presence of sharenting. The considerations that have been explored from the participants provide insight that in explaining the protecting behavior on social media, individuals do not only rely on rational calculations for the presence of risks from disclosing children's private information but also their self-efficacy. This finding is in line with previous studies that showed a correlation between self-efficacy and the presence of privacy concerns about online self-disclosure (Adhikari & Panda, 2018; Sedek et al., 2018).

Perception of risks toward sharenting

Beyond the benefits gained from sharenting, participants also have perceived risks. One of the concerns most frequently mentioned is children's online information theft (digital kidnapping), which takes place when alien parties take screenshots of children's photos on SNS and repost them online as if the child was their own (Williams, 2015). Nova (31) had heard rumors about the misuse of children's photos on social media to be included in a fake account. Kevin (32) also revealed his knowledge regarding photos of children that were

misused for the sake of children trafficking. Although Rani (32) said that she was concerned about the misuse of children's photos on social media by someone who makes up stories as if the kid is his/hers.

Another concern also expressed by many participants in the interviews is the exposure of their children's pictures or videos to pedophiles on the internet. Participants are aware of the possibility of their children's photos or videos falling into the hands of pedophiles.

"Well, nowadays there are many, like, pedophiles, right? Such criminals. It's dangerous, of course, if our pictures are being misused, or else." (Kamila, mother of a 5-month-old)

"Of course, there is, I mean, when (children's photos) are shared (on SNS), there can be pedophiles and other people who also have the potential to misuse (the photos)." (Dody, father of two, each 6 and 4 year old)

"And then there's this hot issue, right, about pedophile. I'm petrified actually. That's why I never post Rara's photos. Like, when Rara isn't wearing anything or wearing sexy pants or an open swimsuit." (Utami, mother of a 2-year-old)

Furthermore, perception toward risks covers not only a threat to online data safety. Several participants remark that children's information shared in sharenting could actually be harmful to their children's safety in the real world. House break-in, theft, and kidnapping were the risks participants mentioned in the interview. Participants described the possibilities of how their family's activities, including the children's, can be traced through their Instagram posts and location tags and can be used as well to cause harm to their family members.

"I think it's like, for example, someone would know, 'Oh, it's here...' That means he knows my activity after I post something, so he knows what I'm doing. 'Oh, she's not at home,' and then suddenly someone breaks into my house, or else. Something like that." (Feby, mother of a 2.5-year-old)

"Well... I'm worried about sharing location of kids on social media. What the kid is doing, how the kid is doing... Well, you know, like in previous cases... I'm worried about, let's say, kidnapping, or else... terror, or something like that...." (Ditto, father of a 6-year-old)

"It's... publishing, meaning to make known publicly, it's dangerous, right? Suddenly someone calls you, a con, telling you your kid is kidnapped, you wouldn't

know. It can happen on social media. If he wants to trick you, he knows your account, he'll see your account, especially since you have your kid's account. And he can trace, cause it's not set as private either. He can learn much about your family, where they go to hang out, where they go. If one wants to trick you, it's easy." (Ibnu, father of a 2.5-year-old)

Through the result of interviews, it is also revealed that several participants also tag the location of their children's whereabouts when sharing information about their activities. The decision to include a location tag in the post was based on the desire to inform their followers about their whereabouts, give recommendations about a tourist's destination, and instill pride in their children for having been to the prestigious or trendy places. Such information was shared not only to their followers but to the general public on the internet, as they set their accounts public instead of private. Eleven out of 18 participants who have shared their children's photos and videos on Instagram admitted to opting not to set their accounts on private mode, which is consistent with the notion of privacy paradox phenomenon (Barnes, 2006). Chen and Chen (2015) explained the behavior of limiting information visibility on social media profiles as being influenced by privacy concerns and self-efficacy in an individual's ability to manage his/her privacy online. Parents' decision to set the account public instead of private illustrates the lack of concerns regarding online risks related to interaction with strangers, as well as misuse of information.

The concerns about kidnapping expressed by several participants indicate the awareness about the risk of sharenting. Having this concern and awareness, however, does not stop the participants from posting the pictures and videos of their children online alongside the location tag. Problems related to online information safety, such as digital kidnapping and exposure of children's private information to pedophiles, are risks deemed as sharenting consequences by participants. However, the participants' view that such risks will not directly affect them or their children seems to dampen their perception of the risks.

"A kid less than one year old up to one and a half... The risk, at his current age, the risk is none, but later maybe it'll be risky." (Ignas, father of a 15-month-old)

"Lately, though, with the issue of big data, I feel like setting my Instagram to private mode to prevent... although I'm nobody and won't be affected by anything, at least it's what I think." (Selly, mother of a 4-year-old)

In the phenomenon of optimism bias (Weinstein, 1980), an individual's disposition to believing that a negative occurrence has a smaller chance to befall him/her when compared with others can account for such a finding. Baek et al. (2014) studied this phenomenon in the context of online privacy safety and suggested that previous experience in connection with online information misuse can lower someone's optimism bias. Trepte et al. (2015) argued that a negative experience related to online privacy safety lowers an individual's possibility of sharing private information online. In other words, one can argue that the optimism bias that the participants in this study expressed might be related to the absence of either direct or vicarious aversive experience resulting from online risks.

Parents' responses suggested that the perceived benefits of SNS outweighed it is of the risk. SNS served not only as a source of information related to parenting methods and online shopping but also as a way to obtain positive feedback through the information regarding the children. Through photos and videos containing their children's information, participants often received compliments from their online network, which then help ward off isolated feelings emerging in child rearing periods (Bartholomew et al., 2012; Clark et al., 2015). Accordingly, this study found that sharenting became an avenue for parents to fulfill their desire to show their pride in their children on SNS. When engaged in sharenting, participants in this study carefully curated their postings to depict their offsprings' childhood moments through a positive lens.

Besides exploring the participants' motivation in practicing sharenting, through interviews, the researchers also gained knowledge about the reason of two participants who never shared their children's photos or videos on SNS. One participant recalls that he directly witnessed a kidnapping attempt of a child enabled by the perpetrator's access to the child's private information on social media. Meanwhile, the reason to not join in sharenting in another participant is his inactivity in accessing social media. It is obvious here that the frequency of accessing social media also influences the divulgence of children's private information.

"So there was someone who already knows the child (victim) name from social media [...] then she lurked on the child with the mother for a few days [...] One day when the mother and child were shopping (kidnapping attempt) [...] Then finally the mother screamed for help [...] and the culprit was arrested. It was, for me, an application of (crimes that began) on social media." (Banu, father of two, 8- and 22-month-olds)

"It's rare for me, really... I have it (social media account)... before getting married I was often active on Facebook, but after marriage I thought I am being inactive (using social media)." (Dody, father of two, each 6 and 4 year old)

In summary, participants' responses suggested parents' awareness about the perceived risks toward sharenting. Participants expressed their concerns regarding their children's safety in relation to their sharenting behavior. However, the presence of optimism bias seems to hamper their initiative to protect their children's private information online. It supports the phenomenon of privacy paradox, that is, when privacy concern does not predict protective behavior toward private information online (Barnes, 2016). The positive comments received by participants when sharing their children's pictures and videos online make sharenting enjoyable—even seemingly inevitable. This reflects that perceived benefits gained by sharenting exceed the participants' privacy concerns, keeping them engaged in sharenting. The enjoyment felt by a user in communication practices through social media empirically enhances the possibility of him/her disclosing their identity online (Krasnova et al., 2012).

4. Conclusion

This study found that parents share various kinds of information regarding their children through SNS. They also reported the various benefits they enjoyed from sharing their children's pictures and videos with an online audience. The result of this study actually shows that parents already had privacy concerns regarding their children's safety online, seen from their perceived risks of sharenting. However, the level of their privacy concern was not sufficient to bring forth protective behavior toward their children's private information on social media. This is evidenced by parents opting not to use the feature of a privacy setting that can limit users' access to someone's profile on social media, tagging their children's location in daily activities, and—some—even creating social media accounts of their children. Privacy paradox, in this case, remains seen as a phenomenon that explains sharenting practice among parents in Jakarta. Nonetheless, after exploring the process of decision making underlying such behavior, several factors can be seen as influencing the effect of privacy concern toward protective behavior toward children's private information online. The finding thus can become a basis for the researcher to formulate a crucial element in the development of online privacy literacy educational program for parents, i.e., the emphasis to reduce optimism bias and enhance an individual's perceived risks of sharenting to counterbalance the perceived benefits gained in communicating through SNS.

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Appendix

No.	Participant name (pseudonym)	Gender	Age	Occupation	Educational attainment	Children's age
1	Puspa	Female	30	Stay-at-home mother	Bachelor's degree	4 years 2 years
2	Selly	Female	32	Civil servant	Bachelor's degree	4 years
3	Nitta	Female	26	Employee	Bachelor's degree	2 years
4	Nova	Female	31	Employee	Bachelor's degree	2 years
5	Feby	Female	31	Employee	Bachelor's degree	2.5 years
6	Manda	Female	33	Pre-school owner	Bachelor's degree	8 years 4 years
7	Utami	Female	30	Stay-at-home mother	Bachelor's degree	2 years
8	Kamila	Female	31	Employee	Bachelor's degree	4 months
9	Rani	Female	32	Freelancer	Bachelor's degree	2 years and 9 months
10	Clara	Female	31	Employee	Diploma	– 7 years – 4 years – 2 years
11	Ditto	Male	35	Civil servant	Master's degree	7 years
12	Ignas	Male	25	Employee	Bachelor's degree	1 year and 3 months
13	Banu	Male	34	Police officer	High School graduate	– 8 years – 22 month
14	Benny	Male	31	Employee	Master's degree	1 year and 6 months
15	Aldi	Male	31	Entrepreneur	Bachelor's degree	5 years
16	Indra	Male	44	Writer	Master's degree	8 years
17	Kevin	Male	32	Employee	Bachelor's degree	4 years
18	Dody	Male	35	Employee	Master's degree	– 6 years – 4 years
19	Ibnu	Male	31	Entrepreneur	Bachelor's degree	2.5 years
20	Yendra	Male	35	Employee	Bachelor's degree	2.5 years