Chapter 11
Avoiding Online Harassment: The Socially Disenfranchised

Xinru Page, Bart P. Knijnenburg, Pamela Wisniewski and Moses Namara

Abstract As social media increasingly mediate our relationships and social lives, individuals are becoming more connected and gaining social benefits. However, many are now experiencing online harassment. Avoiding or abandoning social media is one common tactic to cope with harassment. This chapter investigates the harassment-related motivations and concerns driving social media non-use, as well as the benefits and consequences that result from not using social media. This research sheds light on a previously underexplored type of non-user who faces social barriers to using social media (as opposed to functional barriers). This chapter explains how such individuals encounter social consequences whether they are on or off social media, resulting in a lose-lose situation that we term *social disenfranchisement*. Building on Wyatt's framework and the risk-benefits framework, we introduce this previously unidentified category of non-use as an extension to the commonly used taxonomy and provide a cohesive theoretical framework within which to understand various types of non-use. We then analyze the phenomenon of online harassment from the perspective of this non-use framework. Addressing the concerns of socially disenfranchised non-users is of utmost importance in the fight against online harassment. As others are increasingly connected, they are increasingly left behind and even ostracized. This chapter therefore concludes by providing design recommendations to alleviate the negative social consequences currently endured by socially disenfranchised non-users.

X. Page (✉)
Bentley University, Waltham, MA, USA
e-mail: xpage@bentley.edu

B. P. Knijnenburg · M. Namara
Clemson University, Clemson, SC, USA

P. Wisniewski
University of Central Florida, Orlando, FL, USA

© Springer International Publishing AG, part of Springer Nature 2018

J. Golbeck (ed.), *Online Harassment*, Human–Computer Interaction Series,
https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-78583-7_11

11.1 Introduction

There has been a rapid proliferation of social networking sites (SNSs) in the past decade, with 73% of U.S. online adults now using SNSs (Duggan and Smith 2014). 79% of those SNS users are using Facebook. Other popular platforms like Instagram, Twitter, LinkedIn, and Pinterest are being used by about a third of SNS adopters (Greenwood et al. 2016). While just a few years ago only a minority of SNS users were logging in daily, now over two-thirds of Facebook's users sign on every day, many doing so constantly (Duggan and Smith 2014). Researchers identify many benefits to using social media such as increasing one's social capital, better life satisfaction, increased social trust, and even stimulating offline civic and political participation (Ellison et al. 2007; Park et al. 2009; Valenzuela et al. 2009).

However, as social interactions increasingly take place on social media, so do new forms of online harassment and bullying. While people vary to some degree in their views on what constitutes online harassment (Smith and Duggan 2018), online harassment is generally perpetrated with the purpose of attacking the victim's social, economic, and/or emotional well-being (Beran and Li 2005). Direct threats range in severity from spamming, bothering or insulting an individual, to causing physical or psychological harm. Indirect methods of harassment can take the form of social exclusion or spreading rumors about that person (Wang et al. 2009). Among children and adolescents the term cyberbullying is often used to describe such harassment (for an overview see Kowalski et al. 2014).

Harassment negatively impacts the target by invoking feelings of caution, stress, fear, loneliness, distrust, and lower self-esteem (Šléglová and Cerna 2011). It can even lead towards physical actions such as self-harm and aggression towards family and friends (Hinduja and Patchin 2010; Šléglová and Cerna 2011). Research points to key differences in cyber harassment that make it different in nature and perhaps more far-reaching than offline harassment. Specifically, the mediated interaction and anonymity may present a lower barrier to engage in harassment (Suler 2004), while the lack of geographic boundaries present the ability for the aggressor to affect a wider range of individuals (Mishna et al. 2009).

Less research has focused on coping strategies for harassment but found they can vary based on individual characteristics, past experiences, and other contextual factors (Šléglová and Cerna 2011; Smith and Duggan 2018). Some people try to use technical forms of coping such as reporting, blocking or unfriending the harasser. Others will engage in diversions such as a hobby or sport they enjoy in order to take their minds off the harassment. Still others will seek social support from friends or family and sometimes confront the bully or make light of the situation.

Finally, many choose *avoidance*, such as not using the account where the bullying is occurring. In the context of social media, this may mean not participating on the social media platforms (e.g. Facebook, Instagram, Twitter) that most people around them are using (Duggan and Smith 2014). However, the many social benefits associated with social media use, and its increasing prevalence in mediating our social relationships, may leave these social media non-users at a disadvantage.

Those who experience harassment are not the only ones to opt out of social media use. In fact, despite the prevalence of social media, there are many online adults who are not using it—27% in the United States (Duggan and Smith 2014). Reasons for non-use vary, as do the consequences. In fact, our research shows that the experiences of non-users due to harassment significantly differ from those of other non-users.

In this chapter we investigate the experiences of individuals who self-identify as “social media non-users”, examining their motivations and highlighting the tensions between choosing to engage in versus abstain from social media. Drawing on our non-use framework (Page et al. 2018), we illustrate how the constraints and consequences for those avoiding online harassment are very different than for other non-users. While many individuals address their problems by avoiding social media, neither use nor non-use can successfully overcome social consequences for those trying to avoid harassment. This leaves them in an impoverished state of *social disenfranchisement*, where they cannot win on or off social media. This chapter concludes by suggesting how researchers and designers can support these socially disenfranchised individuals by designing for not only the user experience, but also the non-user experience.

11.2 Understanding Non-use and Social Media

Scholars have studied technology non-use in a variety of contexts including social media (Baumer et al. 2013; Lampe et al. 2013), the internet (Wyatt 2003), and technology in general (Satchell and Dourish 2009). Researchers have emphasized how understanding non-use can help us understand the role and boundaries of technology use (Satchell and Dourish 2009; Wyatt 2003). In fact, the typical view of technology adoption and acceptance as a desired outcome can obscure situations where non-use could be voluntary. Satchell and Dourish (2009) point out how there is a “utilitarian morality” where adopting technology is seen as a good. For instance, if one views internet usage and access as a privilege, than non-use could wrongly be associated with being deprived of access and impoverishment, a state of disenfranchisement (Wyatt 2003). Thus, several scholars have taken to understanding non-use as a productive mechanism for overcoming addictive tendencies and gaining control of one’s technology usage, or as an act of resistance (Baumer et al. 2015a, b; Portwood-Stacer 2013; Schoenebeck 2014).

This section presents a synthesis of themes across the non-use literature as well as a review of the social media non-use literature.

11.2.1 Characterizing Non-use

Non-use research commonly asserts that non-use should be represented along a continuum, rather than the binary distinction of adoption and non-adoption (Baumer et al. 2013; Brubaker et al. 2016; Wyatt 2003). For instance, non-use may occur as

a short-term break, such as giving up Twitter for Lent, or Facebook for "99 Days of Freedom" (Baumer et al. 2015b; Schoenebeck 2014). Second, non-use is not a "singular moment" but a temporal process, "involving layered social and technical acts" over time (Brubaker et al. 2016). For example, Rainie et al. (2013) examined the fluidity of Facebook users and found that 61% had taken a break in the past, 20% had previously used Facebook but since left, and 8% were interested in using Facebook in the future. For short-term and intentional breaks, frequency of past usage has proven to be a significant predictor of premature "reversions" (Baumer et al. 2015b).

Given the non-binary and temporally fuzzy boundaries of non-use, researchers have developed many orthogonal taxonomies of types of non-users. An early taxonomy of non-use, which is frequently cited in subsequent literature, varied along two dimensions: temporality and volition (Wyatt 2003). Individuals had either previously used the technology or not. Those who had not used as a result of their own choosing were considered *resisters* while those who chose to abandon were considered *rejecters.* On the other hand, individuals who were prevented from use by an external constraint were classified as *excluded* non-users, while those whose usage was disrupted were considered *expelled*. The barriers preventing use for these latter two categories of non-users were extrinsic constraints such as lack of access due to infrastructure or socioeconomic status.

Since then, others have explicitly and implicitly extended this taxonomy to other types of non-use. Table 11.1 integrates these various extensions from the literature within Wyatt's foundational classification. In addition to Wyatt's four categories, we identified four additional categories of non-use from the literature: (1) *laggards*, (2) *relapsers*, (3) *limiters*, and (4) *displaced*. For instance, the category *laggards*, which hails from diffusion theory, implies that non-users are simply future users who have not "yet" adopted (Satchell and Dourish 2009).

Table 11.1 also specifies the temporality of adoption for each non-user type, as well as the level of choice involved. For instance, Baumer et al. (2013) identified *limiters* as a type of non-user; yet, in terms of adoption these individuals were actually users in the past, present, and likely future. They limit their usage due to intrinsic motivations, such as attempting to reduce addictive behaviors (Baumer et al. 2013).

Narrowing our attention specifically to social media non-use, we find that much of the literature has studied individuals who are *rejecters* of a given social media service. In large part they focus on how Facebook non-users differ from Facebook users. For example, Facebook users have been found to be less likely than *quitters* to be conscientious, have privacy concerns, or be addicted to internet use (Stieger et al. 2013). Users may also have lower levels of social bonding capital than non-users (Lampe et al. 2013). The literature also reveals other configurations of non-use such as *abstainers* (Portwood-Stacer 2013), *leavers*, *relapsers, limiters* (Baumer et al. 2013), as well as *break-takers* (Baumer et al. 2015b; Rainie et al. 2013). A much smaller number of studies focus on non-use of other social media platforms. Some recent studies include pausing one's Twitter use (Schoenebeck 2014), avoiding location-sharing social media in general (Page et al. 2013) or even specific location-based dating platforms (Brubaker et al. 2016). However, an investigation of those who avoid all social media platforms is conspicuously missing.

Table 11.1 Integrating the literature on types of non-users

Non-user classifications	Sub-classifications of non-use and notes	Temporality of adoption	Level of choice
Resister: individuals who do not use a technology by choice (Wyatt 2003)	• **Active resistance**: outright refusal to accept technology (Satchell and Dourish 2009) • **Disenchantment**: unhappy with how technology changes how things used to be (Satchell and Dourish 2009) • **Disinterested**: simply uninterested or passive avoidance (Satchell and Dourish 2009; Wyatt 2003)	Past use: no Present use:no Future use: N/A	Intrinsic
Excluded: individual who do not use a technology due to external forces (Wyatt 2003)	Also known as "**disenfranchised**" due to external factors, such as the "digital divide" (Satchell and Dourish 2009)	Past: no Present: no Future:desire, implied	Extrinsic
Laggards: individuals who have yet to adopt a particular technology (Satchell and Dourish 2009)	Drawn from the theory of diffusion of innovation, the S-curve for adoption maturity would assume potential "future" use (Satchell and Dourish 2009)	Past: no Present: no Future: yes, implied	Both
Rejecter: individuals who have stopped using a technology by choice (Wyatt 2003)	• **Abstention**: discontinued use in objection to or support of a particular cause (Portwood-Stacer 2013) •**Leavers/Quitters**: Those who were active users but left indefinitely (Baumer et al. 2013; Brubaker et al. 2016; Stieger et al. 2013) • **Break-takers**: Those who left a technology platform only for a given time period (Baumer et al. 2015b; Schoenebeck 2014)	Past: yes Present: no Future: no, implied	Intrinsic
Relapser: individuals who intend to stop using a technology but ultimately return (Baumer et al. 2013)	Another term used in the literature was "**Reversions**" for people who came back from a break earlier than intended. This type of non-use was often discussed in relation to addictive tendencies (Baumer et al. 2015b)	Past: yes Present: yes Future: yes, implied	Intrinsic

(continued)

Table 11.1 (continued)

Non-user classifications	Sub-classifications of non-use and notes	Temporality of adoption	Level of choice
Limiter: individuals who use social media but within specific parameters (Baumer et al. 2013)	This category illustrates the notion that non-use is not a binary "yes or no" adoption decision	Past: yes Present: yes Future, yes, implied	Intrinsic
Expelled: individuals who had previously adopted but stopped involuntarily (Wyatt 2003)	These individuals may also be considered "**Disenfranchised**" (Satchell and Dourish 2009) depending on the circumstances	Past: yes Present: no Future: desire, implied	Extrinsic
Displaced: individuals who use technology indirectly as a service (Satchell and Dourish 2009)	Also discussed as "**Indirect Use**" as a secondary use though others (Wyatt 2003). In terms of specific social media platforms, such as Facebook, displacement could also refer to using other platforms as an alternative (e.g., Google+) (Baumer et al. 2015b)	Past: N/A Present: yes, indirect Future: yes, indirect	Both

The literature further identifies common reasons that contribute to social media abandonment (Baumer et al. 2013, 2015b; Lampe et al. 2013; Page et al. 2013; Portwood-Stacer 2013; Rainie et al. 2013; Schoenebeck 2014; Stieger et al. 2013). They have helped us better understand the motivations and context in which non-use occurs. Barriers to use can be triggered by worries about one's data being misused and privacy violations. It can also arise from social considerations such as feeling like one is being manipulated or judged, avoiding excessive drama and gossip, preferring a different communication style, or other boundary regulation concerns. For some it can be as simple as feeling disinterested in the content and seeing it as a waste of time. It can even result as an act of political resistance.

The boundaries between many of these non-use concepts and motivations are blurry. To provide more clarity, we map these empirically driven findings into a cohesive framework based on Wyatt's taxonomy. We extend the framework to account for an additional temporal dimension we identify from the literature—that of (constrained) current and future adoption. Figure 11.1 illustrates a more holistic view of the non-use literature, highlighting examples from social media non-use research (figure originally appeared in Page et al. 2018).

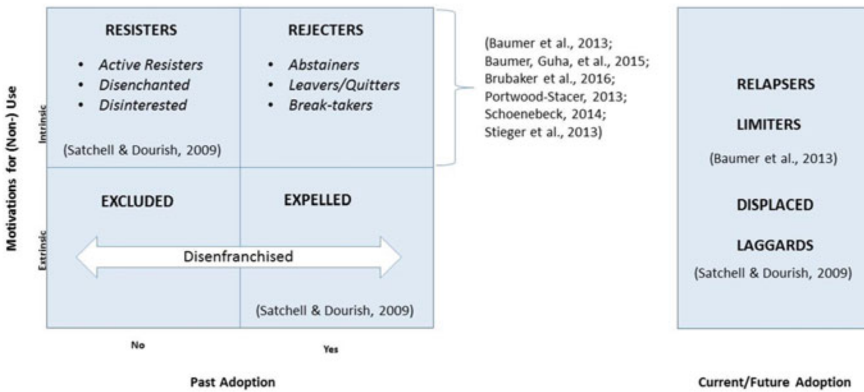

Fig. 11.1 Extending Wyatt's non use framework

11.2.2 Accounting for Online Harassment

While the social media non-use literature adds a richer understanding of technology avoidance, this chapter sheds light on a dimension of non-use that has not been considered previously. Unlike previous platform-specific non-use research, we investigated those who have abandoned or abstained from *all* social media platforms. In doing so, we found that fear of (and experiences with) being harassed on social media or in the offline world was a common theme for these individuals. In fact, this group differed from the *resisters* and *rejecters* commonly studied in the literature in that social media non-use for this population was mostly driven by *social engagement* barriers rather than *functional* barriers.

For example, Interviewee N (a postal worker in his sixties) explained, "I grew up in a time where there were no computers, so all the bullying I received was physical." Now as an adult, he is civically active and once again, "I seem to be a target…That is one reason I haven't embraced the whole social media aspect." This *social engagement* barrier is a fear of being harassed by others online. He received enough offline harassment and did not want to expose himself to more of the same in another medium.

Compare this experience with interviewee O, an elementary school classroom aide in her sixties whose son thought she would enjoy keeping in touch with people and set up her Facebook account. After the first day she stopped using it, un-intrigued by all the "day to day stuff…'I have a headache'. I don't want to hear that. It turns me off completely. That's a waste of my time." This *functional* barrier was a desire not to waste time and be bombarded with what she perceived as useless information. Interviewee O was *happy* to stay off social media and felt that solves her functional problem. In contrast, interviewee N felt compelled to avoid social media due to harassment, and thus *involuntarily* missed out on opportunities for social interaction on social media.

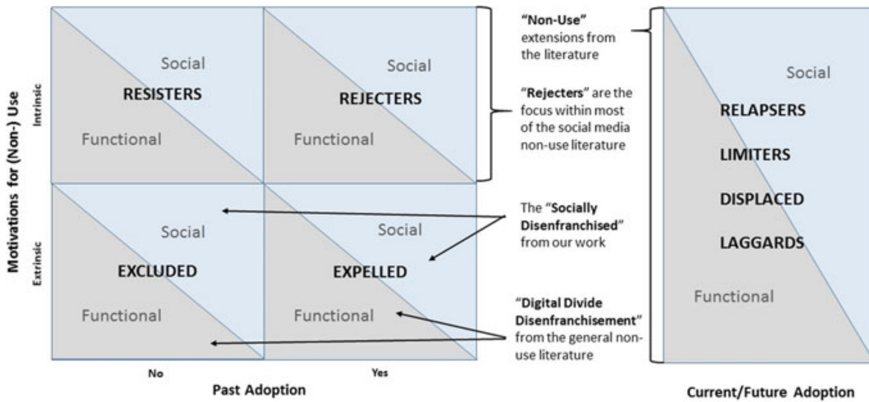

Fig. 11.2 Empirical and theoretical extensions to Wyatt's non-use framework

Acknowledging this important distinction, we have further extended Wyatt's (2003) taxonomy along this dimension to show that the driver behind non-use can be categorized as either due to *functional* barriers or *social engagement* barriers. Figure 11.2 (as originally introduced in Page et al. 2018) provides a cohesive theoretical framework that includes these dimensions. This distinction is critical in that the consequences from *functional* barriers to non-use can be resolved satisfactorily upon avoiding social media. Not so with *social engagement* barriers to non-use—in fact, in our analysis of our interview study data, we demonstrate that the consequences of being off social media can be just as bad as being on it. We thus identify a new sub-class of expelled and excluded non-users who are subject to social engagement barriers rather than functional barriers, and thus become *socially disenfranchised*.

We now illustrate by presenting the results of an interview study of social media non-users. This allows us to unpack how these types of non-use differ, and in this chapter we focus on those deterred from social media because of harassment.

11.3 A Study to Understand Social Media Non Users

We conducted a study that focused on social media non-use across all social media platforms (originally described in Page et al. 2018, summarized in this chapter). We interviewed seventeen adults who self-identified as "social media non-users" to understand whether they had previously used social media, their motivations for use and/or non-use, and their perceived and/or real benefits, risks, and concerns associated with social media use versus non-use. We further probed on if and why they would anticipate using social media at some future point. We drew on Wyatt's taxonomy (2003) to analyze the interviews based on whether non-use is intrinsically or extrinsically motivated, while also considering the *temporal* dimension of whether

they had adopted the technology in the past or not. This analysis uncovered an additional dimension that should be considered when understanding use and non-use decisions, the *type* of adoption barrier. We found that adoptions barriers could be characterized as either *social engagement* barriers or as *functional* barriers. We uncovered this crucial distinction when we discovered that many of our interviewees who self-identified as “non-users” were still on social media to accomplish *functional* tasks for work even though they avoided using it for their own personal or social needs. Their conception of being a social media user consisted of using it for social reasons and they expressed social engagement-related barriers to doing so. This observation led us to uncover a stark difference between the experience of those who faced social engagement barriers in comparison with those who encountered only functional barriers.

Furthermore, by analyzing the interviews through the lens of privacy calculus theory (Laufer et al. 1973; Laufer and Wolfe 1977), we identified both the negative and positive forces that drive use or non-use. Weighing benefits and consequences (both perceived and actual) allowed us to understand how these factors drive users' adoption decisions. We found that when social reasons motivated these individuals to use social media (such as wanting to connect with friends), it wasn't enough to motivate them to continue using or to start using. Rather, perceived social engagement barriers (such as harassment) always outweighed the social benefit they were seeking. However, several interviewees felt that they may use social media in the future under a limited capacity, only to achieve functional goals (such as being able to get announcements from their work, school, or ecclesiastical organizations that were central to their lives). Indeed, several “non-users” already did engage in this type of occasional functional usage.

These insights lead us to describe a “non-use calculus” that describes how non-users weigh the costs and benefits of (not) using social media. It turns out that there are drawbacks experienced by this newly identified class of users whether they use social media or not. This creates a class of *socially disenfranchised* social media non-users who seek the social benefits that can come from being on social media, but are kept from those benefits as a result of social and emotional barriers. Ironically, being off social media does not keep them from experiencing those social consequences—it actually also worsens their state of social deprivation by introducing additional social consequences. For example, becoming a social media user can lead to social consequences such as harassment. However, as we will illustrate, staying away from social media can trigger other types of harassment. By exploring the different circumstance of those who face social engagement barriers, we bring to light the unique needs of this population. Moreover, by showing that they are deeply affected whether on or off social media, we point to the role of designers as designing and impacting not only their users, but their non-users as well. It is essential to make design decisions that will empower these individuals, who are currently stuck in a state of social deprivation.

11.3.1 Data Collection

We conducted semi-structured interviews about social media attitudes and usage with individuals in the United States who were at least 18 years old. A subset of those participants identified themselves as non-users of social media (N = 17). We focus on these individuals in this chapter. Interviewees were asked about their attitudes and any previous usage of social media. We explained social media by giving examples of popular platforms that are considered social media in recent Pew studies (e.g., Facebook, Instagram, Twitter, Snapchat, LinkedIn) (Greenwood et al. 2016). To reach a diversity of participants in terms of age and socioeconomics, we recruited participants from several sources: a mid-sized private university in the Northeast, the local community and industry, and the extended social networks of the researchers. We also utilized a snowball sampling approach to reach non-users, which turned out to be more difficult to find than users. Participants were asked about past usage, motivations, attitudes about social media, perceived benefits and drawbacks. These non-user interviews took place in 2016 during the summer.

11.3.2 Data Analysis

Drawing from our framework extends Wyatt's (2003) taxonomy (see Fig. 11.1), we conducted a thematic analysis. We first considered *temporality of adoption* by exploring interviewees' past usage, current non-usage, and possible future usage. We also asked about *motivations* behind each use/non-use decision, and classified these as intrinsic needs or extrinsic constraints. Finally, we drew on the privacy calculus framework (Laufer et al. 1973; Laufer and Wolfe 1977) that analyzes disclosure decisions as the outcome of weighing costs against benefits. The privacy calculus has been used in prior social media non-use (Baumer et al. 2015b; Lampe et al. 2013) as well as adoption (Xu et al. 2009) studies. However, we focused beyond privacy-related motivations and treated it as a broader "non-use calculus". That is, privacy was only one of many possible factors to weigh when considering the costs, risks and benefits of non-use. We used open coding to identify these non-use factors (i.e. potential/actual benefits and costs) and motivations for previous, present, and future use or non-use. Two researchers independently coded the interviews. Any coding conflicts were discussed and resolved.

11.4 Characterizing Social Media Non-Users

11.4.1 Participant Characteristics

Table 11.2 summarizes characteristics of our participants, who represent a variety of socioeconomic backgrounds and age ranges. All participants identified themselves

as social media non-users; however, during the interviews we commonly found that interviewees actually used one or more social media platforms. It turned out that participants viewed their usage of these services as serving a *functional* purpose (e.g. to communicate with someone in an organizational context) and not a way to engage with others socially. This led to the realization that non-users perceived "social media users" as those who use it to cultivate *social engagement*. Based on this finding, we classified interviewees' actual and anticipated social media non-usage as *social* or *functional* to more clearly illustrate the type of usage they engaged in. Table 11.2 also categorizes participants based on Wyatt's (2003) dimensions of past usage as well as *intrinsic* versus *extrinsic* non-use motivations.

Our participants each represent one of Wyatt's four types of non-use (2003): *rejecters, resisters, excluded, and expelled*. It is important to note that these classifications refer to non-use as a result of social barriers as opposed to more functional, socio-economic constraints. All of the interviewees could afford and had access to smart phones with data plans as well as home computers and other devices. Most of them had used social media in the past and did not experience any technical barriers. Even those without social media experience were capable of using other technologies and expressed no anxiety around doing so. Rather, it was often the anxiety around social consequences that led half of these interviewees to choose to be *displaced* non-users, occasionally getting indirect access to social media via a family member. A few interviewees infrequently used social media for functional purposes, but not for social engagement. This emphasizes how their Wyatt classification reflects social usage, not functional. Finally, all participants described how they were surrounded by social media users, usually including their spouses and their closest relationships.

11.4.2 Motivations for Use, Non-use, and Potential Future Use

Here we describe what motivated some of our participants to use social media in the past, their reasons for discontinuing, and what, if anything, would motivate them to start using social media in the future.

11.4.2.1 Why Non-users Engaged in Social Media in the Past

Most of our interviewees had engaged with social media in the past. Some were motivated by intrinsic, social engagement factors, such as the desire to engage with their friends, or keeping updated about how others are doing. A *rejecter,* D, explained how he was motivated to join Facebook to be "able to connect with some people that I haven't seen for a long time." On the other hand, some interviewees were extrinsically nudged by their loved ones such as an adult child or a close friend. L, an *expelled* interviewee explained that "my youngest was going off to college, and I was going

Table 11.2 Self-identified non-user participant profiles

ID	Gender	Age range	Occupation	Past use	Non-user type
A	M	20's	Computer programmer	Facebook*, Twitter, Snapchat, LinkedIn, etc.	Expelled (being a good soc. media citizen, false sense of community, change who I am, data privacy)
B	F	20's	Youth counselor	–	Resister (too much useless info)
C	F	20's	Dance student	Facebook (1 day), Instagram*	Expelled (bullied)
D	M	30's	Legal field	Facebook	Rejecter (too much useless info, misleading info, data privacy)
E	F	30's	Attorney	Facebook, LinkedIn*	Expelled (being a good soc. media citizen, misleading info)
F	F	30's	Government	Facebook*, Instagram*	Excluded (being a good soc. media citizen, change my identity)
G	M	40's	Finance	Facebook*, LinkedIn*	Rejecter (too much useless info)
H	M	40's	Scientist	Facebook, MySpace, LinkedIn*	Rejecter (too much useless info, data privacy)
I	F	40's	Secondary school teacher	–	Excluded (false sense community, data privacy)
J	F	40's	Researcher	–	Resister (too much useless info, data privacy)
K	M	50's	Civil engineer	–	Resister (too much useless info, misleading info)
L	F	50's	On disability	Facebook (1 day), Twitter*	Expelled (being a good soc media citizen, bullied, false sense of community)
M	F	50's	College coach	LinkedIn*	Resister (data privacy)
N	M	60's	Postal worker	LinkedIn*	Excluded (bullied, misleading information)
O	F	60's	Classroom aide	Facebook (husband now uses the account)	Rejecter (too much useless info)
P	F	60's	Multi-level sales	–	Excluded (being a good soc. media citizen)
Q	F	60's	Retired	Facebook (1 day)	Expelled (change who I am)

*An asterisk denotes that the usage of the platform was purely for functional purposes. Those who are excluded from social uses of social media may still have used for functional purposes

to miss her a lot. And so, she said, you need a hobby or something. You take care of your kids all your life, and there's nothing left…So she said to go on Facebook." These individuals signed on to social media at the encouragement of those interested in their social well-being.

In contrast, those who were functionally motivated treated social media as a tool to accomplish some more practical, often work-related goals. This type of use could also be classified as driven by extrinsic or intrinsic factors. For instance, G, a *rejecter* treated LinkedIn as a Yellow Pages: "I really don't use it as a social media site…I really don't look at the connections. I don't contact anyone in LinkedIn. But I'm there in case people want to connect with me." Some interviewees were personally motivated to use Facebook or LinkedIn to spread the mission of their organization. E, an *expelled* participant would occasionally think to "share media campaigns that are part of some policy reform effort that we're doing. But that's different, that's not personal, that's just for work." Occasionally, functional use was pushed onto individuals. For instance, several past users had to sign up for certain types of social media accounts to use third-party services. Social media was also often used as the primary communication mechanism at work or for community, religious, and other organizations central to the individual's life. In these cases, a heightened burden was introduced through extrinsically-driven functional use. For example, F, an *excluded* interviewee, describes how her old school "put our whole class on Facebook…all of a sudden I started getting these like emails like friend requests [and] I was so livid I literally called Facebook headquarters and was like, I want you to take everything down." This frustration was echoed by those trapped into using social media to perform everyday tasks and goals.

11.4.2.2 Why They Disengaged

The literature has often focused on *rejecters* and identified a number of reasons that cause them to leave social media. These are similar to the more functional concerns we identified, including informational data privacy (from government, future employers, etc.) (Baumer et al. 2015b; Lampe et al. 2013; Stieger et al. 2013), accuracy of social media such as "fake news" or others' unresearched opinions (Baumer et al. 2015b), or being subjected to a flood of uninteresting or overly dramatic posts (Baumer et al. 2013; Rainie et al. 2013). While non-users of every type vocalized these concerns, we were able to uncover several additional motivations for non-use that were very different in nature and that came largely from socially *excluded* and *expelled* non-users, which had not been previously identified in the literature. These motivations for non-use trace back to social media's negative influence on one's relationships as well as ability to shape one's identity. We describe four of these non-use motivations here. Three of these reasons for disengagement were expressed by both those who experienced online harassment and those who did not, although the impact of each of these was more severe for those experiencing harassment. The last category (bullying) was unique to those who had been harassed. Interestingly, even though bullying was triggered by an intent to harm, the other causes consist of unintentional harmful

behaviors by others. This illustrates how other's unintentional behavior can lead to the same types of problems as intentional harm (or harassment).

Being a model citizen on social media. Several interviewees held high expectations about what it means to use social media. They felt like they had to maintain an active presence, keeping all of their posts and information up-to-date, as well as reading others' posts. These non-users were overwhelmed at the thought of keeping up with everyone's lives and maintaining their own presence. *Expelled* participant E explained:

> It felt like something I just can't accomplish…If you really want to do Facebook right you really feel like you need to be on top of it, checking it on a daily basis…There's a ton of posts…and that's something that I have to admit I just kind of feel like I can't even get through it all so why bother…that's just a lot more time that I don't have.

When she gave up Facebook, E often missed life events of good friends such as the birth of a child. Several times she "engaged temporarily only to get overwhelmed by the amount of content and disengaged again." The effort to stay active and maintain a presence was so burdensome that non-users like E felt they should not be using social media at all. In fact, they expressed that a poor presence on Facebook would damage their relationships and so they might as well avoid it completely. These individuals realized that being on social media creates an implicit expectation that they will keep everyone updated and stay updated on everyone's posts as well. These non-users pointed to how friends would operate under the assumption that they saw posts, an unintentional pressure that led to these feelings of anxiety. Some interviewees were internally driven to excel: "[If I] got on Facebook, I would want to make it like the most, you know, informative, pretty page. And then I would spend more time on the computer than I already do looking 'oh, what is everybody else doing' and it would suck me in." This *excluded* non-user, F, acknowledged her own inclinations to be a model social media citizen.

However, this pressure manifest in a more negative way for those exposed to harassment such as A: "The deciding factor in my abandonment of social media is the fact that when I was trying to use it, it caused me great amounts of stress…situations like 'This person I knew in high school sent me a friend request, I liked them then, but haven't talked to them in ten years, do I accept them or not?' ridiculously uncomfortable for me." Being afraid of acting in a socially unacceptable way was a hindrance to being on social media at all for this individual.

Lured into a false sense of community. Although several interviewees wanted to feel connected with others on social media, they came to the realization that only superficial connections are created. D explained how rather than connecting with his friends, "It was kind of a waste of my time. Because I didn't really talk to the other people that I knew very often, and neither did they talk to me." However, some who were harassed described how there was a deeper problem even when people did connect on social media: "[People] have 'friends' that they block (but don't actually unfriend) because they actively dislike them, but feel some sort of social obligation to have them as friends…This creates a sense of false community…it lets people

pretend to be connected to others when they aren't really…I think social media is a plague. I think it lets people pretend to be connected to others when they aren't really." Here, A was looking for a community but expresses extreme discouragement when he realizes that the relationships are actually rather empty.

Negatively shaping who I am. Several non-users expressed concerns about how social media would negatively shape who they are and encourage unhealthy behaviors. I, an *excluded* interviewee, decried how people are relying on their social media networks for advice to tell them how to feel, rather than learning to be self-reliant:

> [If] I have a bad day, I can say some four-letter words, throw something down, and I start working myself out of it…[if] I put it in writing, people are going to continue that bad moment by having it come back at me [reinforcing how bad it is]…You don't learn to rely on your own [character]….where is the time where you can become yourself?…If you're told how to do something all the time, and for years, you're always going to look for the instruction of how to do things.

This interviewee felt she would lose her personal character and independence if she joined social media. Having others shape how she thinks by reinforcing negative emotions is a drawback. Although these other people may not have an intent to harm her, their behavior could be viewed as something that causes unintentional harm—it reinforces and brings about negative emotions—although that may or may not be the intent of the poster. On the other hand, some harassed participants focused on how social media develops maladaptive traits in others, such as promoting gossiping or cyberstalking. Negative behavior such as gossiping could be considered an indirect way of inflicting harm and lead to similar consequences as harassment.

Dealing with bullying. Social media could serve as an opportunity to find support for individuals who are bullied offline. Unfortunately, bullies followed some participants onto social media despite privacy controls to hide content or other features designed to help people reject friend requests. L explained how her daughter helped her set up her account to only be viewable by friends, but somehow her sisters-in-law still found out what she had posted:

> My husband came home mad. 'My sister's mad. You put something on there.' And I'm like, I didn't put anything on there, except for, you know, who I am and what I like, or something, you know?… So they tell him what I can and can't do and whatever, and he goes along with it. So my daughter said, 'You're right. This is not going to be pretty for you, so let's just get you off.'

This example illustrates that even what might seem like a lighter form of harassment at face value, such as being judged, can be detrimental and trigger additional offline forms of harassment by others. In this case, judgements by L's sister-in-law triggered offline harassment from her husband. Just one episode was enough to make her discount the social benefits of being connected to old friends and renewing social connections now that her daughter would be leaving to go to college.

Several interviewees similarly described using technical features to prevent information from getting to the wrong person, but were bewildered about the complex display logic on these platforms when it still somehow fell into the wrong hands.

Nonetheless, even when it was clear how the privacy feature worked, there were social barriers to using them. For example, C described how she would not consider blocking or unfriending people who bullied her:

> [If I] see the friend request initially, [it] would probably spark some anxiety within me. Like reopening the old wounds from middle school that I've healed and don't want to necessarily remember. And even though they were unkind to me, I still have an issue being rude to somebody…I don't want to hurt their feelings, because I wouldn't want anybody to feel the way that that person made me feel. But at the same time, I just don't want to be in contact with them, or anything remotely close to contact.

This non-user realized that she would encounter past bullies and present-day critics of hers on social media which "would be another way to hurt my self-esteem." However, her sense of humanity prevented her from saying no to friend requests. This illustrates how settings that can technically accomplish a task do not necessarily constitute a socially acceptable solution. A common refrain from our non-users was that they wanted to be conscientious. Designers should consider the social meanings and implications behind any features designed to allow this population to become users.

Furthermore, sometimes interviewees would encounter distress without anyone intentionally inflicting harm. Rather, it was the platform's algorithm that unwittingly committed the violation. For instance, Facebook would make friend suggestions and pictures of former bullies would appear. A feature meant to offer serendipitous rediscoveries of past connections or of second- or third-degree relationships becomes a way to perpetuate harassment over time, without any person actually instigating. A context collapse is created by shrinking the geographic and relationship distance between people on social media, which leads to improper intersection of different social circles and contexts (Marwick and Boyd 2011; Vitak 2012). This makes it easier for past harassment to resurface.

11.4.2.3 Why They Might Rejoin

Interestingly, participants who left social media to avoid negative consequences never expressed a desire to rejoin social media for socially motivated reasons. Instead, they anticipated missing out on some social benefits due to their absence from social media. Those who did express an interest in rejoining did so due to intrinsic motivations that were purely functional and fully anticipated negative social repercussions and emotional distress. However, the need for addressing certain functional needs warranted taking these risks. Specifically, concerns about keeping a child safe online overrode personal anxieties about being on social media for several non-users who might use social media in the future to monitor their child's account. Participant N, who became an *excluded* non-user due to bullying, said he might rejoin social media to help his organization share their uplifting messages, despite anticipating "negative responses" targeted personally at him. This highlights the catch-22 for individuals facing online harassment—opting out of social media is often not a viable option in today's society that relies so much on social media as a communication channel.

One cannot simply avoid social media to prevent online harassment because another form of harassment, the type that perpetuates through exclusion, becomes imminent. For instance, many websites now ask users to log in using their social media accounts, which creates a barrier to entry for those who do not have or have closed their accounts. Indeed, even A, one of the *expelled* interviewees who has experienced frequent harassment for being *off* social media, had to create a social media account to fulfill his job duties. In such cases, non-users must become compulsory users. This means enduring online harassment as a necessary evil if they want to accomplish everyday tasks.

11.4.3 Linking the Past, Present, and Future

We found that the motivations behind past usage seemed to predict current and future non-use. Drawing on Wyatt's (2003) taxonomy, we grouped participants' motivations to use social media by the dimensions of intrinsic (e.g. "I wanted to keep in touch" or "I wanted to promote this cause") versus extrinsic motivation (e.g. "my daughter thought I would like to be connected" or "the organization asked that we communicate this way"). We then further categorized the participants based on the dimension of *social engagement* versus *functional use*. We found that intrinsically motivated functional use was the only type of usage likely to persist over time. Even though these users identified as "non-users" given their social disengagement, some were still functional users, and functional reasons could trigger them to consider using social media in the future. As discussed earlier, two participants expressed that they would use social media to monitor their children once they became social media users. Otherwise, they both said that no socially motivated reasons were compelling enough to make them rejoin. Extrinsic motivations also appeared to be less influential than intrinsic reasons for rejoining. Most of the extrinsically motivated functional use failed to keep users engaged with social media over time. This demonstrates how intrinsic motivations are generally a stronger driver, unless one is physically (or digitally) compelled to use social media. The only extrinsically motivated use that continued was a computer programmer who worked with social media sites and needed to test his code using a Facebook account. Even though this represented an extrinsic functional motivation, it was one that was consistently required over time due to his job. Most other participants only needed to be on social media intermittently for their jobs.

11.4.4 Articulating a Non-use Calculus

We introduce a "non-use calculus" framework to better understand how interviewees weighed the positive and negative consequences associated with being on or off social

media. This calculus tended to work against social media usage, resulting in limited functional usage or complete disengagement from social media.

11.4.4.1 Weighing the Benefits of Use Against Non-use

Non-users who previously used social media perceived few social or functional benefits of social media use. However, many had originally hoped for social benefits. Many acknowledged that social media is like a virtual phone book; several individuals valued that others could reach them through their social media accounts. Several interviewees also appreciated being able to promote their organizations or a cause by posting to social media. Participants also discovered they could be included on event invitations by being on social media. Yet, to these non-users, the benefits of non-use outweighed that of use. Overwhelmingly, the amount of information on social media was too much and interviewees felt they saved a lot of time by steering clear of social media. They no longer had to worry about personal data breaches or online privacy issues. Additionally, they did not have to constantly assess the authenticity of information or people—instead, they felt that they were able to rely on more reputable sources for news and opinions in the offline world.

By leaving social media, non-users reported that all of the functional concerns and consequences of use were resolved. The functional concerns and consequences simply translated into benefits of non-use. Those who never used social media also voiced concerns that corresponded to actual consequences experienced by other study participants, which leads us to infer that non-users who have never engaged with social media are fairly perceptive about how using social media would negatively affect them.

The social benefits of non-use were equally compelling. Avoiding judgement and criticism from social media was a huge benefit for non-users who were already subjected to offline bullying in their youth, or even now as adults. Participants commonly alluded to this non-use benefit by saying it made "life simple." They were also relieved not to have to constantly update their profiles or keep up with what others posted. Furthermore, they felt less pressured by their social networks to think or behave a certain way.

11.4.4.2 Social Consequences of Non-use

However, negative social consequences of social media non-use persisted. Almost every individual that was driven towards non-use by a particular social concern also experienced a social consequence from being off social media that corresponded to that original concern. Furthermore, it was mainly *expelled* and *excluded* non-users who vocalized these social concerns and consequences of non-use. They felt alienated from social media but were also now experiencing negative consequences from not being on social media. By choosing not to engage in social media, others were now shaping their online identities for them. They felt socially isolated due to lost social

connections, and many still had to contend with offline bullying without any online social support to counteract these negative experiences. Specifically, those previously facing online harassment experienced more severe consequences of non-use than other non-users. Ultimately, they just could not win. This lose-lose phenomenon of social media non-use (i.e., *social disenfranchisement*) has not been widely recognized in the literature until only recently (in Page et al. 2018). It represents a critical problem that has not been addressed within the online harassment literature, as individuals cannot simply disengage from social media to avoid online harassment. We illustrate each of these themes in more detail below.

Losing control over my identity. Interviewees explained that their friends who were social media users often posted about and tagged them, even though they were not able to curate this content. Consequently, non-users' identities were then being shaped by others. Even though non-users often left social media due to identity management and social concerns, those around them were still engaging in maladaptive social behaviors that implicated them, such as gossiping and creating other online drama. Social media users can thus shape the non-user's identity *despite* their absence from social media. Even worse, by not being present, it was even harder for non-users to manage harmful or misrepresented content that involved them. Some interviewees worried about family members posting unflattering pictures of them, and non-users who previously experienced online harassment were concerned about even more extreme forms of unwanted (mis)representation. For instance, A described how his friends created a social media profile for him without his consent: "Actually, now that I think about it I have a Facebook profile under my name that I don't even have the login info for. My friends created it to troll me for refusing to be on Facebook myself. They'll check 'me' into mildly embarrassing places and post things pretending to be me." This illustrates how non-users may lose control over how they present themselves on social media.

Missing social connection and a sense of community. Despite realizing that there is a false sense of community on social media, several non-users also reported losing real social connections and a sense of community offline. Many expressed sentiments of being "left behind" and losing friends who chose to build stronger bonds with others through social media, drifting apart from the non-user. This is especially true for several of the harassed non-users. C sadly explains:

> I have a friend group that I've been friends with for about a year now, and they've recently stopped, like, inviting me to come to stuff, because they all have a Facebook page together and they all tell each other through Facebook. And so, they just either forget to invite me or don't tell me outside of Facebook. So, I've, you know, sadly had to lose a few friends because of it too. They have a big group message and they send each other stuff through that and, like, they're—it's pretty much constant contact between that group. And just, you know, they forget that I don't have Facebook, and they don't necessarily seem to care.

Expelled and *excluded* interviewees commonly expressed this feeling of being left behind. Although they hoped for more in-person interactions with others by leaving social media, it did not happen. One interviewee felt like, "I have something else to compete with; not just the TV or the newspaper, but Facebook." Instead of

socializing with her, people were socializing on social media and "sucked into their phones." Non-users seemed so few and far between that offline relationships without an online component seemed rare, giving non-users a sense of social isolation. Even offline social events were problematic since the invitations came through social media and non-users were often forgotten or found out at the eleventh hour. They were also the last to find out how others are doing. They felt that previous channels of communicating social news have been replaced by social media. Christmas cards, family pictures, and bridal shower invitations now rarely come through postal mail, photo-sharing websites such as Flickr, or even email. Therefore, they missed out on a number of important announcements, such as births, graduations, marriages, and deaths, all momentous events that they would have liked to share with their friends.

Offline bullying. Disengaging from social media did not solve issues related to bullying for our non-users. Worse yet, they missed out on benefitting from online social support that could have offered relief. L expressed how she "probably would have stayed on there if it wasn't for the harassment of my relatives.... I feel like I don't have a life... I don't have a job, I can't go anywhere," and she still had "in-law issues on a daily basis, of them calling, harassing." She felt social media would be "fun, seeing how people who've been in your life before [are doing], and you wonder where they are."

In summary, functional consequences could be resolved by avoiding social media, but when it comes to issues related with social engagement, non-users ended up in a lose-lose situation where they encountered problems regardless of whether they were on social media or not.

11.4.5 Surviving in a Social Media-Dominated World

Although interviewees were surrounded by users connected through social media, some found ways to mitigate the effects of their own non-use. Many *expelled* and *excluded* interviewees occasionally engaged in secondary or displaced use, relying on a family member to share social news with them. Although scholars have largely viewed displaced use as extrinsically-driven (e.g. Satchell and Dourish 2009), we found that in our sample it was mostly an intrinsically-motivated decision. These participants chose not to be on social media and to rely on an intermediary. They hoped to benefit by staying in the loop, but avoiding the negative social consequences of using social media.

However, their intermediary still served as an external constraint in achieving this balance of non-use and being socially connected. The intermediary had to initiate by informing the non-user when there was something of interest. If the intermediary forgot or was not diligent about sharing such content with the non-user, they missed out. This could be especially tough for the individuals dealing with harassment. L pointed out how even though she would like to know much more about her friends and former social connections, it really depended on whether her husband remembered

to let her know: "Every once in a while, he will show me some of my old students or friends or something. He will say, do you want to see them? And he'll show me once in a while." Whether L was on social media or off, for her husband "it's a control thing." On social media, her sister-in-laws would tell her husband what L should be doing and he would follow along. Off social media, he controlled what she can see on social media, creating real-world relationship tensions between her online contacts, her husband, and herself. She can't get away from negative consequences regardless.

Some had faith that their friends would remember to communicate with them via email or phone calls. However, this approach was nowhere near foolproof. An *excluded* participant, F, felt that she always eventually receives an invitation in email, but sometimes it would be very short notice and she already had other plans. It was especially problematic for A, who was already experiencing harassment for not being on social media. He explained: "I get a lot of flak for not being on Facebook… A lot of people use Facebook to invite people to things like parties. Often I'll not get invited because they'll send out invitations via Facebook and forget that means I won't see it. I get 'What do you mean you didn't know about the party? Oh yeah, I keep forgetting you aren't on Facebook. Sorry about that.' a lot." Even though people did not intentionally exclude these non-users, the result was that they were often not included in time, which left them out of real-world events where they would have garnered benefits of socially engaging with others.

Several interviewees felt that others would call them or directly reach out to them if it was important; yet, they found that social media has become the go to channel for broadly disseminating good and bad news, superseding, e.g., traditional birth announcements on paper or even via email and photo sites. Non-users were left with no way to receive this news. As a result, many felt socially ostracized or isolated, which we identified as a new sub-class of social media non-use: *social disenfranchisement*.

11.5 Implications of Non-Use

11.5.1 Social Media Use that Is not Social

We presented and examined different types of non-use that arise from Wyatt's (2003) original framework. The results of our study further suggest that the framework should be extended to account for the dimensions of *social engagement* versus *functional* motivations and barriers to usage (Fig. 11.2). By partitioning non-use in this way, it is clear that scholars have largely focused on *rejecters* who have voluntarily abandoned social media when it comes to those motivated by social engagement reasons (Baumer et al. 2013, 2015b; Brubaker et al. 2016; Lampe et al. 2013; Portwood-Stacer 2013; Schoenebeck 2014; Stieger et al. 2013). In regards to functionally-motivated usage, scholars in the "digital divide" and digital literacy literature have largely focused on those who are barred from social media use because

of functional barriers such as technology access or financial hardships (Satchell and Dourish 2009; Wyatt 2003). However, researchers have not focused on two octants. Particularly, *excluded* and *expelled* non-users as a result of extrinsic social barriers (i.e., *social disenfranchisement*) have not been explored in depth. This study addressed this gap by focusing on social barriers such as concerns around shaping one's social identify or being bullied. These social barriers can arise as a result of intentional harassment, but also from unintentional pressures coming from others. Moreover, the barriers and severity of consequences are greater for those who face harassment.

11.5.2 Does Social Media Perpetuate Harassment?

Our research demonstrates how avoiding social media also allows non-users to avoid functional problems such as being inundated by too much useless social information. However, social issues cannot be completely avoided by staying off social media. In fact, it is just as bad if not worse in some respects. Non users continue to search for a sense of community while they are left behind by social media users who are building stronger relationships amongst themselves. Non users continue to be bullied offline. They even give up their claim to a digital identity which is now being shaped for them by other social media users. In short, these non-users are left in a state of social disenfranchisement where they can't win.

Sadly, we find that this is especially true for those who deal with harassment. While those who deal with unintentional pressures do encounter some challenges, those who experienced harassment faced consequences off social media that left them in an emotionally and socially impoverished state. For example, while L is harassed by her in-laws and husband if she goes on social media, now that she is off social media she needs to rely on that same husband to occasionally share social news from his feed. She feels isolated by not being able to know what her friends are up to. However, even when she experienced social media, she felt left behind upon seeing pictures of everyone's busy, interesting social lives: "I mean, I'm happy for them. But then I kind of feel sad. Like, everybody's got this life—they're all going on with their lives, and I'm not part of their lives."

Even more surprising, we see that being off social media can *lead* to harassment. A was forced off social media by unintentional pressures such as anxiety about being a good social media citizen, as well as disenchantment at the false sense of community on social media. He stopped using all social media just to have his friends "troll" him by creating an account for him and regularly making embarrassing posts. This expectation to be on social media leads to the other extreme of being harassed for not following the norm.

11.5.3 Looking Forward

Our research focuses on trends and patterns of use and non-use across an initial sample of social media non-users. Importantly, we focus on a new class of *socially disenfranchised* non-users, who left social media to avoid negative social consequences, but experience additional problems due to their absence. Their impoverished state may or may not reflect the experiences of others, such as those who continue to use social media despite experiencing harassment. Future research should investigate whether similar social barriers and consequences manifest for those who may still use social media in some (perhaps limited) social way. Furthermore, future larger scale studies can help us understand to what extent social disenfranchisement is a problem and whether users with certain characteristics or from certain demographics are more at risk.

We also discovered that the types of features and social interactions valued by social media users may directly conflict with non-user concerns. Unfortunately, non-users are in a lose-lose situation where avoiding social media also leads to negative social consequences. As a result, we urge designers and developers to think about ways to improve the *non-use experience.* Rather than pushing non-users towards using social media at the risk of online harassment, we suggest building a bridge between users and non-users which would bring value to both groups while lifting non-users out of a socially impoverished state. Here are some possible solutions that are in line with our findings:

- *Let non-users consume without being producers of social media content*. Some non-users are anxious about having to produce content (e.g., constantly updating their social media status), but still have a desire to consume content posted by friends and family. Social media that do not emphasize reciprocal relationships, such as Twitter, set expectations about asymmetrical information-sharing better than reciprocal networks like Facebook. However, taking it a step further and allowing a "follow only" option that does not require the creation of a profile could allow consumption-only interactions that meet the needs of some non-users.
- *Provide a way to address violations*. Non-users are sometimes mentioned, or even misrepresented, by social media users. While social media users can monitor and mitigate such events, even setting privacy settings to manage when they are "tagged," non-users have a harder time finding out about and mitigating such situations. To address this limitation, social media platforms could alert non-users when others mention them on social media (akin to Google Search's "Alerts" feature), and give them a way to provide feedback to the author or report a violation to have content removed. The alert should be communicated through another channel such as email. In this way, social media platforms could empower non-users, making freedom from harassment a right for all people, not just their users.
- *Integrate other channels for social media event notifications.* Interviewees in our study complained about missing invitations and announcements. Social media are replacing other communication channels. Providing ways to share posts or other social news through email or other channels would allow non-users to be included.

For example, an *excluded* interviewee explained how this type of feature used to be available in Facebook and allowed her to stay in the loop. But once it disappeared, she no longer had a way to stay connected.

- *Suggest new connections and bring up past memories with caution.* As we see from the experiences of those who are bullied, negative connections on social media can cause undue stress and alarm. For example, features that suggest new friends to connect with may bring up the memory of someone who has harmed you in the past. Bringing up those emotional associations can be damaging, and a cause for avoiding social media. Extreme cases demonstrate this, such as a rape victim who received a recommendation to friend his rapist (Kantor 2015). Similarly, features like Facebook's "See Your Memories" that show users a picture from their past can feature events or people whose relationship with the user has now changed, triggering negative emotions. Such features need to be more selective about what or whom they feature, and easy to turn off. Even for relationships that do not have a negative tenor, a feature that implicitly pushes users to make a choice about friending someone (e.g. Facebook's "People You May Know") can unintentionally put pressure on these individuals and cause them social anxiety about making that decision.

These suggestions arise from our understanding of the non-user experience. Future research should validate to what extent these mechanisms could alleviate some of the concerns and problems faced by non-users.

11.6 Conclusion

Researchers may be keen on addressing online harassment as it occurs to users of social networks. We argue that victims of online harassment can also be found among non-users, and that the consequences of harassment do not simply go away as users leave the network. Our work identifies a category of non-users we call the *socially disenfranchised*. The pervasive socialization that occurs via social media leaves these individuals at a loss for solutions, as they face negative consequences regardless of whether they are on or off social media. Furthermore, we find that those facing harassment are impacted to an even greater degree by social disenfranchisement, and have a much harder time overcoming the consequences of both use and non-use. One approach could be to address these concerns by improving designs to mitigate drawbacks of using social media. We suggest an alternative approach that would instead empower non-users in their decision to disengage from social media. Platform designers can do this by designing for non-users in a way that mitigates the social consequences of non-use. In considering the problem of online (and offline) harassment, our research makes a paradigmatic shift: Rather than solving the problem of non-use and encouraging user adoption, we can concentrate on how to support both users and non-users alike.

References

Baumer EPS, Adams P, Khovanskaya VD, Liao TC, Smith ME, Schwanda Sosik V, Williams K (2013) Limiting, leaving, and (Re)Lapsing: an exploration of Facebook non-use practices and experiences. In: Proceedings of the SIGCHI conference on human factors in computing systems. ACM, New York, NY, USA, pp 3257–3266. https://doi.org/10.1145/2470654.2466446

Baumer EPS, Ames MG, Burrell J, Brubaker JR, Dourish P (2015) Why study technology non-use? First Monday 20(11). https://doi.org/10.5210/fm.v20i11.6310

Baumer EPS, Guha S, Quan E, Mimno D, Gay GK (2015) Missing photos, suffering withdrawal, or finding freedom? how experiences of social media non-use influence the likelihood of reversion. Soc Media Soc 1(2). https://doi.org/10.1177/2056305115614851

Beran T, Li Q (2005) Cyber-harassment: a study of a new method for an old behavior. J Educ Comput Res 32(3):265–277. https://doi.org/10.2190/8YQM-B04H-PG4D-BLLH

Brubaker JR, Ananny M, Crawford K (2016) Departing glances: a sociotechnical account of leaving Grindr. New Media Soc 18(3):373–390. https://doi.org/10.1177/1461444814542311

Duggan M, Smith A (2014) Social media update 2013. Pew Research Center. http://www.pewinternet.org/2013/12/30/social-media-update-2013/

Ellison NB, Steinfield C, Lampe C (2007) The benefits of Facebook Friends: social capital and college students' use of online social network sites. J Comput Mediated Commun 12(4):1143–1168. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1083-6101.2007.00367.x

Greenwood S, Perrin A, Duggan M (2016) Social Media Update 2016. Pew Research Center. http://www.pewinternet.org/2016/11/11/social-media-update-2016/

Hinduja S, Patchin JW (2010) Bullying, cyberbullying, and suicide. Arch Suicide Res 14(3):206–221. https://doi.org/10.1080/13811118.2010.494133

Kantor K (2015) People You May Know. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=LoyfunmYIpU

Kowalski RM, Giumetti GW, Schroeder AN, Lattanner MR (2014) Bullying in the digital age: a critical review and meta-analysis of cyberbullying research among youth. Psychol Bull 140(4):1073–1137. https://doi.org/10.1037/a0035618

Lampe C, Vitak J, Ellison N (2013) Users and nonusers: interactions between levels of adoption and social capital. In: Proceedings of the 2013 conference on computer supported cooperative work. ACM, New York, NY, USA, pp 809–820. https://doi.org/10.1145/2441776.2441867

Laufer RS, Proshansky HM, Wolfe M (1973) Some analytic dimensions of privacy. In: Küller R (ed) Proceedings of the lund conference on architectural psychology. Hutchinson & Ross, Lund, Sweden, Dowden

Laufer RS, Wolfe M (1977) Privacy as a concept and a social issue: a multidimensional developmental theory. J Soc Issues 33(3):22–42. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1540-4560.1977.tb01880.x

Marwick A, Boyd D (2011) To see and be seen: celebrity practice on Twitter. Convergence 17(2):139–158. https://doi.org/10.1177/1354856510394539

Mishna F, Saini M, Solomon S (2009) Ongoing and online: children and youth's perceptions of cyber bullying. Child Youth Serv Rev 31(12):1222–1228. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.childyouth.2009.05.004

Page X, Knijnenburg BP, Kobsa A (2013) FYI: communication style preferences underlie differences in location-sharing adoption and usage. In: Proceedings of the 2013 ACM international joint conference on pervasive and ubiquitous computing. ACM, New York, NY, USA, pp. 153–162. https://doi.org/10.1145/2493432.2493487

Page X, Wisniewski P, Knijnenburg B, Namara M (2018) Social media's have-nots: an era of social disenfranchisement. Internet Res

Park N, Kee KF, Valenzuela S (2009) Being immersed in social networking environment: Facebook groups, uses and gratifications, and social outcomes. CyberPsychology Behav 12(6):729–733. https://doi.org/10.1089/cpb.2009.0003

Portwood-Stacer L (2013) Media refusal and conspicuous non-consumption: the performative and political dimensions of Facebook abstention. New Media Soc 15(7):1041–1057

Rainie L, Smith A, Duggan M (2013) Coming and going on Facebook. http://www.pewinternet.org/2013/02/05/coming-and-going-on-facebook/. Accessed 12 Feb 2017

Satchell C, Dourish P (2009) Beyond the user: use and non-use in HCI. In: Proceedings of the 21st annual conference of the australian computer-human interaction special interest group: design: open 24/7, New York, NY, USA, ACM, pp 9–16. https://doi.org/10.1145/1738826.1738829

Schoenebeck SY (2014) Giving up Twitter for lent: how and why we take breaks from social media. In: Proceedings of the SIGCHI conference on human factors in computing systems. ACM, New York, NY, USA, pp 773–782. https://doi.org/10.1145/2556288.2556983

Šléglová V, Cerna A (2011) Cyberbullying in adolescent victims: perception and coping. Cyberpsychology J Psychosoc Res Cyberspace 5(2). https://cyberpsychology.eu/article/view/4248

Smith A, Duggan M (2018) Crossing the line: what counts as online harassment? http://www.pewinternet.org/2018/01/04/crossing-the-line-what-counts-as-online-harassment/. Accessed 26 Jan 2016

Stieger S, Burger C, Bohn M, Voracek M (2013) Who commits virtual identity suicide? differences in privacy concerns, internet addiction, and personality between facebook users and quitters. Cyberpsychology Behav Soc Netw 16(9):629–634

Suler J (2004) The online disinhibition effect. CyberPsychology Behav 7(3):321–326. https://doi.org/10.1089/1094931041291295

Valenzuela S, Park N, Kee KF (2009) Is There social capital in a social network site?: Facebook use and college students' life satisfaction, trust, and participation. J Comput Mediated Commun 14(4):875–901. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1083-6101.2009.01474.x

Vitak J (2012) The impact of context collapse and privacy on social network site disclosures. J Broadcast Electron Media 56(4):451–470. https://doi.org/10.1080/08838151.2012.732140

Wang J, Iannotti RJ, Nansel TR (2009) School bullying among US adolescents: physical, verbal, relational and cyber. J Adolesc Health Off Publ Soc Adolesc Med 45(4):368–375. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jadohealth.2009.03.021

Wyatt SME (2003) Non-users also matter: the construction of users and non-users of the Internet. Non-users also matter: the construction of users and non-users of the internet, pp 67–79. MIT Press. http://dare.uva.nl/search?metis.record.id=220721

Xu H, Teo H-H, Tan BCY, Agarwal R (2009) The role of push-pull technology in privacy calculus: the case of location-based services. J Manag Inf Syst 26(3):135–174. https://doi.org/10.2753/MIS0742-1222260305