Managing Between Privacy and Sharing in Group Anti *Pelakor* Indonesia

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Abstract

Social behavioral change about privacy is phenomenon that we concern in internet user, especially in Anti Pelakor Indonesia (API) Facebook Group. This research studied about women managing private information in social media by observing how members of API Group interpreting of privacy and managing their privacy. This study focuses on the interactivity of members, the meaning of privacy, how manage privacy and what kind of factors make members choose to reveal their privacy in the group. Using a concept of privacy and theoretical approach to Communication Privacy Management (CPM), which is providing assumptions about the system to find out how humans balance decisions about reveal private information. Netnography method used to see virtual activities that occur in groups. The results of the study show that various factors influence the process of privacy disclosure. This research produces a description of how privacy management is carried out by the group members.

Introduction

Social media has made it easier for people to communicate and interact with each other, but it has also raised concerns about privacy infringement. The widespread adoption of technology and digitization is forcing people of all ages to adapt to new technological advancements (Sitepu & Rajagukguk, 2022)initiated by the Network of Digital Literacy Activists (Japelidi. Therefore, this study aimed to examine how household problems become public on social media with women as pelakors in doxing and spreading private information. Despite this, the study hypothesized that women of all ages have a solid grasp on the use of social media for privacy management. The results showed that the percentage of women using social media has increased since 2018, specifically those aged 18-34 (Kemp, 2019). This finding supports Luthfia, Triputra, and Hendriyani (2019), that women are highly active on social media and form groups in their social relationships. Additionally, women are easy to self-disclosure with their friends on social media, reducing their stress levels (Lubis, 2014).

Pelakor is an acronym for Perebut Laki Orang, which refers to a woman who has sparked a rift in someone's household. This term comes from social media which massively reported about singer Mulan Jameelah, who destroyed the household of the Indonesian singer pair Maia Estianti-Ahmad Dhani (Maulana, 2018). An Indonesian artist called Mayangsari also damaged the household of Bambang and Halimah, a business couple. However, pelakor is now becoming more intense on social media because of the viral video "Raining Money Bu Dendy". The video contains a household wrecker judged by throwing hundreds of millions of rupiah. Through this viral video, the term pelakor is now used to define women as third persons that damage households or relationships. As a result, various online movements have emerged to persecute women. This led to the creation of an Anti-Pelakor Indonesia group on Facebook in 2017.

The phenomenon of mutual updates and stories is a must for users dependent on social media. This dependence has made social media a place to share domestic problems. Subsequently, the Anti-Pelakor Indonesia group comprises wives that share cases of infidelity, divorce, and household problems. The problems uploaded on the group page were initially only shared with close people, friends, or parents. Although the group is closed and access is limited by gender, it has high interactivity with about 43,000 members.

Disclosure fulfills the basic need to socialize (Tamir & Mitchell, 2012), specifically regarding traumatic issues such as domestic problems and infidelity. However, this disclosure carries the risk of vulnerability and gives information control to someone else (Altman, 1975). Common ownership of private information makes this phenomenon even more interesting to study. This is because the household problems meant to be known by certain people are now read and viewed by tens of thousands of members of the API Group. Additionally, some member users are anonymous, fueling concerns when submitting complaints.

Social media is a platform that allows one to be social (Taprial , V. & Kanwar, 2012). This social nature means users are free to spread unlimited information, including privacy issues. Users believe they utilize social media to communicate privately online. However, the information shared on social media has experienced a blurring between private and public spaces.

This study defined privacy as the feeling that one has the right to own private information personally or collectively (Petronio, 2002). Each individual has legitimacy in privacy disclosure governed by privacy rules. These rules guide people in disclosing or hiding personal information by linking others within the boundaries of privacy. Furthermore, privacy rules are based on criteria such as gender expectations, risk and benefit assessment, motivation, and contextual circumstances (Petronio, 2002). The rules are usually stated explicitly and disclosed by including specific and restrictive conditions (Petronio, 2002), such as "not to tell anyone," or "do not leak." Implicitly stated privacy rules are ambiguous because each non-verbal language has a different meaning, depending on cultural background.

The Internet is the culmination of weak boundary relationships due to connectivity features that keep a person connected and exposed to information (Jin, 2012a). Information uploaded online is often stored for a long time and is easily replicated (Coopamootoo & Ashenden, 2011). In this regard, personal information not shared with others on Facebook remains private. However, this changes when someone uploads status updates, and photos, allows comments on their own Facebook site, or comments on other users' posts. The information originally within the boundaries of individual privacy is shared and becomes collective (Child & Petronio, 2011).

Facebook is highly integrated with the users' daily lives through certain routines. According to Debatin, et al (2009) Facebook users understand privacy issues but still upload personal information. The users also assume the risk of privacy invasion comes from other people. Sharing or disclosing content with social media networks enables co-ownership. The original owner gives control of personal information shared online, becoming more social and interactive (Bateman, Pike, & Butler, 2011; Child, Petronio, Agyeman-Budu, & Westermann, 2011). In this case, trust is not needed in building new relationships online like in face-to-face meetings (Dwyer, Hiltz, & Passerini, 2007).

This study used the concept of Communication Privacy Management (CPM) (Petronio, 2002), which describes how a person manages personal information individually and collectively with other people. CPM asserts that individuals have access and privacy needs that form dialectical tensions and encourage privacy management. Therefore, this theory is the most relevant concept for understanding privacy in computer-mediated communication. It provides a dialectical concept in disclosing privacy in everyone. In line with this, personal information is the right to control and manage the flow of information. Therefore, joint ownership applies to the information shared publicly on social media.

Methodology

This study used the ethnographic method (Kozinets, 2010) to conduct observations and interviews in the API Group. The participants comprised group members that actively uploaded stories and commented on posts. The criteria used to select the participants were 1) Anonymous-original account, 2) Age, and 3) Domicile area to get obtain granular data.

The study aimed to examine the interactivity of API Group members in sharing stories of their husbands' infidelity. Therefore, the ethnographic method was used to collect, obtain, and process data, as well as write reports. This method was also chosen to analyze the members' emic and etic behavior in managing privacy.

Pelakor, which started in 2018, is often discussed on social media. After joining the Facebook API group, members are asked to express their hatred towards Pelakor and wait for the admin's preview and approval. This study conducted observations on the interactivity that occurred in the group from January-June 2019. The participants comprised group members that actively uploaded stories and commented on posts. The criteria used to select the participants were 1) Anonymous-original account, 2) Age, and 3) Domicile area to get obtain granular data. The authors also participated in posting comments as well as uploading and sharing stories in the group. The findings obtained were grouped in certain codes to facilitate report writing.

Results and Discussion

Uploading and Responding

The experience of using social media is the key to strong interactions within the Anti-Pelakor Indonesia (API) group. Members have various demographics based on age, domicile distribution, and educational status. Moreover, anonymous and real accounts enter this group and interact by commenting, sharing links, or uploading stories. This section presents observation data for January-June 2019 and screenshots from screen recorder software.

The upload pattern in the group has two types. The first discusses the details accompanied by evidence of infidelity between the husband and the pelakor. The second

tells a short story to find solutions to household problems. One upload gets hundreds of comments because members actively share their experiences and perspectives. As a social media, Facebook treats all contacts as a collection of audiences and causes the collapse of various contexts when engaging in online activities (Beam, Child, Hutchens, & Hmielowski, 2018), More context breakdowns in friendships on Facebook were related to sharing and reading feeds (Dennen & Burner, 2017). Many members only commented without making their uploads. They feel it is enough to tell stories by commenting on other members' uploads. Shared posts of group members often display detailed information such as marriage, husbands' infidelity, struggles to maintain their households and divorce.

Interactivity That Leads to a Breach of Privacy

The API group is a place for women and infidelity victims to complain about household problems and Pelakor. The members actively comment on posts and upload stories of household problems only once a month. The uploads contain detailed stories about how the members first met and married their husbands and the ensuing household problems. Other stories discuss how members discovered their husbands' infidelity, pelakor, and current conditions.

The interactivity within the API Group produces various phenomena, such as an invitation to make something viral. The upload invites the pelakor to show photos and display its full address. The word viral is taken from the metaphor of a viral video spread on the internet. The phenomenon of going viral in the API Group refers to online shaming as revenge against the pelakor. In this case, the target is publicly humiliated by using social media. Online shaming often involves the dissemination of personal information such as names, addresses, and other information on social media. This is usually known as doxing or disseminating personal documents accompanied by hate speech and intimidation (Honan, 2014), to defame the target. Other members support this doxing by commenting and redistributing shared content. This is seen as online participation and solidarity from the pelakor victims. Furthermore, the support is considered an act of sympathy for the victims of the target. Pennebaker (1997) stated that disclosure for someone in a high-stress situation is important and beneficial for physical health. Therefore, the disclosure is driven by an assumption that members want to release stress, making API groups highly interactive.

Uploads of someone's story in the API group are common, as many members share stories uploaded in the group and external news links. Privacy is common to all cultures and only varies depending on the behavioral mechanisms used to regulate its level (Altman, 1975). The cases arising due to the spread of uploads within the API Group include complaints against the pelakor's husband. In this regard, the pelakor reports the case to the husband who uploaded the story to the group. The information eventually spreads to other group members, including the admin. This is a privacy threat for group members interested in telling their stories. Therefore, the requirements to be included in the group include expressing one's hatred towards pelakor. Certain rules also allow anonymous accounts to interact with group members. Additionally, members often discuss how to tap or spy on their husbands' location.

API group members generally upload stories of household problems only once a month. The uploads contain detailed stories about how the members first met and married their husbands and the ensuing household problems. Other stories discuss how members discovered their husbands' infidelity, pelakor, and current conditions. However, some members tell stories continuously with additional sentence beginnings such as *"Ma, do you still remember my story?" and "bun, yesterday after I told you here, I m now divorced from my husband."*

Figure 1. Example of continuous upload

Continuous uploads were made by one group member on June 9 and 10, 2019. With 183 comments on June 9, 2019, the member explained how her husband wanted to divorce her while she was working abroad. The uploader did not want to divorce because her husband wanted to marry the pelakor. In this upload, the member asked how long the divorce process took. Other group members shared their experiences and suggestions to conduct the divorce process and make the pelakor miserable. On June 1, 2019, the same account uploaded a link containing an article to make the pelakor viral. The member uploaded a photo of the pelakor with her husband.

Online shaming and virality are common

The interactivity within the API Group produces various phenomena, such as an invitation to make something viral. In this case, viral videos are usually amateurish, created by social media users and quickly spread and shared on the internet (Jenkins, Ford, & Green, 2013; Jiang, Miao, Yang, Lan, & Hauptmann, 2014). The word viral refers to videos, photos, or content that spreads widely in a short period (Vertical Rail, 2016).

Figure 2. The upload invites the *pelakor* to go viral

In the API group, the phenomenon of going viral refers to online shaming as revenge against the pelakor through public humiliation on social media. Online shaming often involves disseminating personal information such as names, addresses, and other information on social media. This is known as doxing or disseminating personal documents

accompanied by hate speech and intimidation (Honan, 2014), to defame the target. Other members support this doxing by commenting and redistributing shared content. This is seen as online participation and solidarity from the pelakor victims. Furthermore, the support is considered an act of sympathy for the victims of the target. In line with this, Uni stated that the API Group helped her overcome the infidelity of her husband and the pelakor. Other group members also assisted help in making the pelakor viral on social media.

> *"I'm relieved at least there are many solutions and answers. It's just a matter of what we want to do. especially if it's too late, can they help go viral" – (Interview via Facebook chat room, Uni, 22 Years, March 28, 2019)*
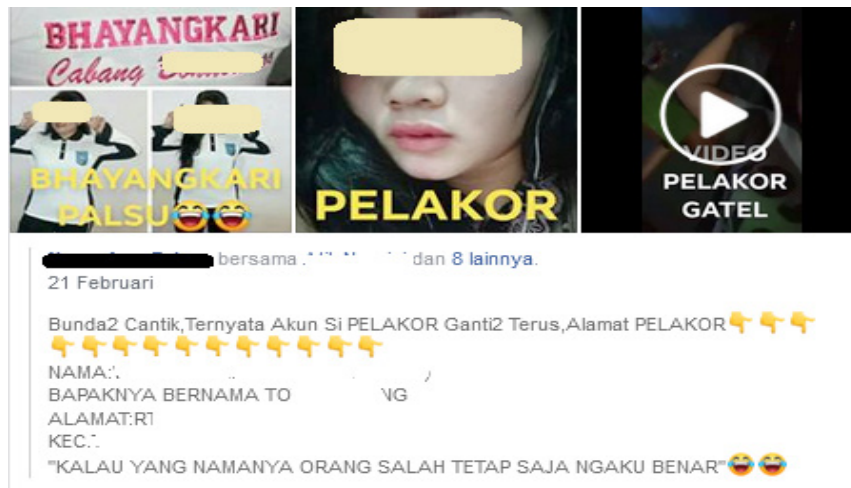

Figure 3. Doxing actions performed by API Group members

Initially, one of the group members uploaded a photo of the "pelakor," who was still someone's wife, and the man who was also still married. Furthermore, the members began to give negative comments about the photo and associated it with the religious identity of the "pelakor" (who wore a hijab). These negative comments associate a religious identity with the morals of the "pelakor," implying that a "pelakor" covers their sins by wearing a headscarf and does not reflect a good Muslim.

Figure 4. Comments online shaming

When viewed from the rules that have been established in the group, the practice of online shaming by many group members is a violation of the group rules. However, even though the admin has repeatedly announced the group's rules, from upload guidelines to reprimands in the comments section, some group members still engage in online shaming as a form of support for wives who are victims of infidelity. This practice continues until the group admin deactivates the account of the member who engages in online shaming. In some cases, the admin even bans the account of the member who continues to engage in this behavior despite being given sanctions.

Information Dissemination and Privacy Threats

The phenomenon of sharing someone's story through group uploads often occurs, where many members share both stories uploaded by members within the group and news links or uploads outside the group. Various cases have arisen due to the spread of uploads within the API Group. For example, a complaint was made against the "pelakor's" husband, which led the "pelakor" to report it to the husband who uploaded the story in the group. It was later discovered that several "pelakor" were attempting to enter the group. Some of them managed to enter the group but were eventually found by members or an API Group administrator. Social media users often believe that privacy as long as they interact on social media or upload something has legal protection for any information shared (Trepte, 2016). Although the actual monitoring of personal information exists in every corner of the online world because the storage in it is durable and not easily erased (Mayer-Schönberger, 2011). This is undoubtedly a privacy threat to group members who want to share their stories. The requirements for joining the group are also considered quite simple, as it only requires expressing hatred towards "pelakor".
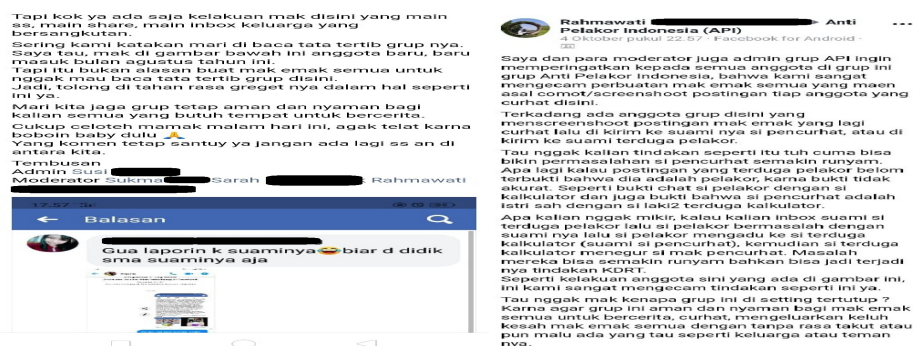

Figure 5. Problems arising in the API Group

When a group member uploads a story and includes the full name or social media account of the "pelakor", many group members end up searching for the "pelakor's" presence on social media, ranging from Facebook to Instagram accounts. After finding the "pelakor's" social media account, active members in the comments section often invite others to take report actions. These actions are typically used to report fake or disturbing accounts on social media, which can result in them being frozen or deleted by the social media platform's system. Members who have found the "pelakor's" social media account often display a screenshot of the "pelakor's" social media profile and engage in harassment. They may also invite others to report the account.

Based on the information provided, it appears to be a description of an event that occurred on April 1, 2019. The post in question contained detailed information about the friend's husband who ran away from home with another woman, referred to as the

"pelakor". The post included a screenshot of the pelakor's social media account and asked members of the group to help locate her. The spreading of the pelakor's social media accounts through uploads and invitations to terrorize her by contacting her and reporting her to her parents is also common in this group. This happens despite the fact that the admins in the API Group are quite active in addressing violations that occur within the group. Patrick administered socialization as an admin on April 9, 2019 because he felt that many uploads were not in accordance with the rules. In addition, the observation data for May 2019 showed that an upload from September 15, 2018, was still being discussed by group members that month. The confident upload reveals that she is still being bullied by her husband and the other woman (pelakor), and they often mention her in their status updates. The upload includes a photo of screenshots of the husband's and the pelakor's social media accounts as evidence, as well as photos of the two individuals.

When people think about opening boundaries or closing them, their rules may be based on their needs around private disclosure (Petronio, 2002). The expectation of rewards or costs motivates individuals to disclose or withhold personal information. Meanwhile, when people feel lonely, they tend to engage in disclosure activities and open their boundaries to others (Jones, Freemon, & Goswick, 1981). The need to share stories is the main motivation for the members.

"How to Wiretap My Husband"

In addition to the phenomenon of spreading information and making viral the term "pelakor" (a woman who is suspected of stealing someone's husband), members of the API Group often discuss how to tap or spy on the location of their husbands who are outside the house. The post contained questions about how to wiretap, and discussions about wiretapping applications were often found in March 2019. For example, on March 12, 2019, there were posts containing requests for help to tap a husband.

Figure 6. Asking about wiretapping your husband's Whatsapp

The post received quite a number of comments, specifically 61 comments. Other members gave suggestions on using several applications as a means of tapping their husbands' WhatsApp instant messaging application. In addition to exchanging stories about their experiences with cheating husbands and their "pelakor," group members gave each other advice on using certain applications to track their husbands. They also often suggested hiring someone to follow their husbands and report their whereabouts.
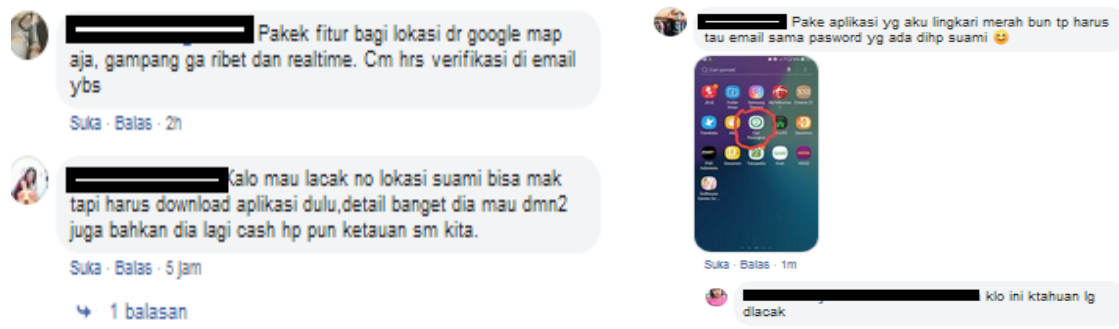
Figure 7. Suggestions for using applications for wiretapping

Judging from the group's high number of members, which reaches 45,000, and the high level of group interactivity, it can be said that privacy has a paradoxical situation, even though the admins and moderators set this group as a closed group. The concept of a closed and comfortable group for expressing complaints is something that needs to be studied. Whether the group is specifically for women who are victims of "pelakor" or has many members, the closed group paradoxically changes the situation to "public" due to the large number of members, which can reach tens of thousands. Given these privacy issues, the next subsection presents how members of the API Group interpret privacy and what they consider to be included in privacy, based on their understanding and experiences.

Privacy Management of Indonesian Anti-*Pelakor* Facebook Group Members

Greene, Derlega, Yep, & Petronio (2003) revealed that information uploaded when commenting on social media, such as on a Facebook feed, can be considered information that is intentionally "overheard" or "overexposed." This results in a lower tendency to protect the information, which can lead to lower relationship satisfaction (boundary turbulence). Facebook users experience a kind of ambiguous privacy restriction as both known and unknown individuals may have access to content uploaded by the user (Petronio, 2002). Known individuals gain access directly through the user, while unknown users may have indirect access through the user's friend associations.

The extensive disclosure of household problems, both related to Pelakor and other issues, and the interactivity in the comments section of Anti Pelakor Indonesia (API) does not necessarily compel group members to reveal all information about their household problems. The informants admitted that they did not reveal all of their household problems in each of their uploads, even though their stories appeared to be quite detailed. They acknowledged that they only shared a portion of their problems in the group and felt uncomfortable sharing everything. In addition, taking care of their husband's reputation is also a reason why some women do not share all their household problems. However, in contrast to the statement above, two informants were not satisfied when they talked about their problems to their family and closest confidants. This highlights how API Groups can be a convenient platform for individuals to express their household problems, as they have the option to use an anonymous account if they wish to keep their identity private. Each member of the API Group has specific conditions or preferences when it comes to expressing their household problems. This can depend on the extent to which they feel their issues should be kept private and not disclosed within the group.

Sleeper, et al. (2013) discovered that users generally do not carefully manage which specific friends receive shared content. In fact, Sleeper et al. found that even users who take

the time to set up custom groups often disregard the more detailed approach to sharing content with all their friends. One of the participants in this study admitted to needing help and advice for her household problems. She believed that the API Group could be a valuable resource for obtaining opinions from members who had experience with infidelity cases. Additionally, she appreciated the option of using an anonymous account if she did not want her identity to be revealed.

Each member of the API Group has specific conditions or ways of expressing their story of household problems, depending on the extent to which they feel the need to keep their problems private and not disclose them in the group. During the study, it was revealed that one of the participants confessed to seeking guidance and assistance with personal issues related to her household. She believed that the API Group was a valuable resource where members who had undergone similar experiences of infidelity could offer their insights and advice. Osatuyi & Turel (2018) investigated the factors that influence social media users' decisions about which information to share and how to disclose sensitive personal information when exposed to social media. With data from 315 Facebook users who are students, this study shows that users who have experienced a privacy violation tend to be more careful in disclosing private information. From Osatuyi and Turel's research, it was found that users also tend not to disclose sensitive information and only share non-sensitive information on social media.

Each member of the API Group has specific conditions or varying methods of sharing their accounts of household issues, based on their perception of the need to keep them private and undisclosed within the group. Debatin et al. (2009) further suggests that privacy expectations in interpersonal relationships, groups, and subcultures are typically governed by norms and rules. Privacy, in this scenario, is contingent upon the significance and sensitivity of the situation in a given context, and a breach of privacy is viewed as a violation of contextual integrity (Nissenbaum, 2010).

Disclosure satisfies the fundamental need to socialize (Tamir & Mitchell, 2012), particularly in the case of traumatic issues such as domestic problems and infidelity. One of the participants in this study acknowledged the necessity for guidance and support in addressing their household problems, believing that the API Group could offer valuable insights from members with relevant experience in cases of infidelity. The extent to which these problems were kept private or disclosed within the group varied among the participants.

Based on the above statement, it can be inferred that the internet represents a weak boundary relationship due to its connectivity features, which keep individuals connected and exposed to information (Jin, 2012b)this study examined important antecedents of information withholding and truthful disclosure in the novel context of e-health communication. Structural equation modeling (SEM. Furthermore, the internet's inherent nature of storing and replicating data for extended periods of time makes it challenging to control the dissemination of uploaded information (Coopamootoo & Ashenden, 2011). With regards to Facebook, personal information that is kept private by a user remains within the confines of their privacy. However, actions such as uploading status updates, photos, allowing comments on their posts, or commenting on other users' posts can transform personal information from an individual's private boundary into a shared, collective boundary (Child & Petronio, 2011).

Sharing information about painful experiences presents a unique challenge because individuals can be distressed and uncomfortable when talking about the incident, but they need support and encouragement (Eaton & Sanders, 2012). The statements from Eaton and Sanders can be the basis that the API Group has high interactivity because of

the group's own purpose as a platform to express the feelings of victims of her husband's betrayal. Within the API Group, there are two types of disclosure: first, detailed stories where the upload is in accordance with the provisions of the group rules, using photo evidence, marriage books, or evidence of infidelity; and second, brief disclosures as a form of solidarity and mutual support, which are usually present in the comment section.

When there are uploads that have the same storyline as other group members, members who respond emotionally to the upload will disclose their thoughts in the comment section. The dialectic within individuals when commenting on uploads determines whether they go into detail in the disclosure process or simply convey the similarity of their stories in the comment section. This dialectic is put forward by Petronio (2002) in determining between how much someone will open or disclose privacy and keep or maintain his privacy.

(Kim & Lee, 2011)but this association was not mediated by perceived social support. Additionally, we found that there was a negative curvilinear (inverted U-shape curve in their writings, reveal that Facebook friends are more supportive when they know if their friends in their Facebook network need support, if that support need is properly communicated through self-disclosure and is supported by honest self-representations, then they will get support from friends on social media. The statements of informants who are free to share their stories in groups provide a unique perspective on the sharing of privacy flow patterns. Social media, particularly API Groups, has altered the way in which privacy flow patterns are shared. Traditionally shared with family or friends, they are now often shared in the form of uploads within API Groups.

Group members carry out the privacy management process through three mechanisms: detailed information disclosure, partial disclosure, and no disclosure at all. The disclosure mechanism varies among informants, with some providing continuous detailed information in multiple uploads, while others disclose little or no information. Privacy flow control is categorized into three levels: thick boundaries for individuals with high levels of privacy storage, transparent boundaries for those with low levels of privacy storage, and moderate levels for individuals who engage in dialectics during the disclosure and privacy storage process.

All informants feel confident that the information they share within the API Group is safe and have no objections when dealing with privacy breaches, such as sharing information from upload details. However, one informant expressed feeling embarrassed if the information they uploaded in the group were to be spread and made viral by other members. Informants do not feel the need for new privacy rules in the event of a privacy violation within the group, and this finding is a new development in the Communication Privacy Management Theory.

(Petronio, 2002) reveals that fuzzy boundaries can lead to a violation of expectations for privacy protection. The blurred boundaries of privacy are prevalent in social media, especially within the Anti Pelakor Indonesia Facebook Group. Due to the blurring of privacy boundaries among API Group members, privacy breaches are common. When a group member accidentally reads or sees an upload by another member, they do not feel obligated to maintain the privacy of the upload, leading to the sharing of the upload by other members in the group. Meanwhile, in face-to-face interactions, there is a higher moral obligation to maintain the privacy of disclosed information.

Previously, it was discussed how interactivity occurs within the API Group when someone uploads a story about their household problems. (Petronio, 2002) reveals that there are a number of criteria used for individuals to set privacy boundaries, but these criteria can also be factors that make individuals disclose privacy. The first criterion relates

to contextual. Traumatic experiences and betrayal are the main factors why individuals open up to each other about their household problems. Smith & Brunner (2017) in their research consider the risk factors and benefits of being open in the world of work and show the important points in it. In this case, individuals need a platform to express their feelings, and the API Group provides a space where individuals can receive advice and moral support regarding their household problems. Metts, Braithwaite, & FIne (2009) a dating partner, and even a coworker can evoke strong emotional responses. However, divorce and its emotional aftermath are unique experiences. Not only is the marriage union publicly recognized and officially validated, but its dissolution is likewise publicly recognized and officially recorded. Joint property must be redistributed and living space must be changed for one or both partners. Perhaps most problematic, when children are involved, decisions about custody, visitation, and coparenting must be negotiated. In short, a system of affective, identity-relevant, and structural connections must be explicitly acknowledged and realigned – a process that Emery (Sbarra & Emery, 2006 assume that emotionally painful incidents make it more likely for individuals to cope with pain by disclosing information about their experiences with people close to them.

When group members experience the pain of being betrayed, they tend to find ways to release their emotions by sharing their painful experiences. The research of Pederson & McLaren (2016) has the same argument regarding the disclosure of individuals when experiencing painful experiences An important point in Pederson and McLaren's research is that individuals are often overwhelmed by their emotions when expressing their problems. This point provides insight into what drives API Group members to share their problems within the group - the need for moral support from individuals who have had similar experiences and backgrounds. A person in psychological difficulties such as trauma, betrayal and criticism finds it difficult to see events objectively or from the perspective of others and is psychologically preoccupied with internal circumstances and meanings within the individual (Stiles, 1987). This situation tends to be represented in verbal expressions such as telling stories and depressed people will talk more about their distress (Stiles, 1987).

The second factor in the privacy disclosure process is related to gender expectations. Previous studies have shown that women play a significant role in the process of disclosing privacy. The API Group, which is dedicated to women and serves as a platform for sharing the experiences of victims of infidelity, provides strong evidence that gender plays an important role in the process of disclosing privacy. This fact is reinforced by the results of research from Bute, Brann & Hernandez (2017) which explores the boundaries of privacy based on gender and the result is that women will be more flexible in disclosing privacy while men are required to not reveal much about their problems or privacy. Gender expectations play an important role in determining the extent to which individuals, both men and women, disclose their personal information.

Conclusion

This study demonstrates the theoretical implications for understanding privacy management on a sensitive topic over the past three years. Pelakor is a highly sensitive issue that is often discussed in the context of close relationships within the household. Each individual's perception of privacy plays a crucial role in determining the boundaries of privacy. Specifically, the finding of dissatisfaction with disclosure is a significant factor in why disclosure within the API Group is so prevalent. Although group members indirectly realized that telling stories about household problems and pelakor opened up opportunities for information dissemination, some informants also recognized that this

violated religious norms. Consequently, they tended to avoid discussions that could lead to breaches of privacy.

The dissatisfaction with sharing personal stories with families and the desire to find solutions to their problems are the underlying factors that contribute to the wide opening of the privacy funnel in API Groups. The unique finding of this study is that the individuals who participated in this study as informants were not concerned about the possibility of their information being spread within the group. This finding challenges the assumption made by Petronio in (2002) that concerns about privacy arise when individuals experience turbulence due to the knowledge or spread of their personal information. It suggests that individuals may have varying perceptions and expectations of privacy, and that these perceptions play a significant role in privacy management within groups.

Future research is expected to delve into online shaming and doxing, as well as the spread of the identity of pelakor within API Groups. There have been numerous findings on these phenomena and other privacy violations that often lead to bullying of pelakor. Although cultural criteria were briefly discussed as elements of privacy disclosure, further research is needed to determine whether the patriarchal culture in Indonesia affects the process of privacy rules in the country, or whether there are other factors that contribute to Indonesian people's tendency to disclose their privacy on social media.

Acknowledgements

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