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The content posting practices of young people on social networks

Prácticas adolescentes de publicación de contenidos en redes sociales

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ABSTRACT

We aim to rethink personal digital storytelling in light of new forms of communication that have emerged on social networks, as well as to analyse the core value of image in all of them. Three specific objectives are proposed: i) to know the habits and practices of young people in relation to the publication of digital (and other) narratives in social networks, ii) to identify profiles and types of young publishers, iii) to characterize the differentiating elements between the types of young publishers. For this purpose, we have designed a questionnaire on young people's social network posting practices. The sample corresponds to 835 young people between 12 and 22 years old from Ibero-American countries (Spain, Chile and Colombia). Our analysis of the results of the questionnaire shows certain differences according to age, country and gender, along with several significant similarities. The respondents have been classified according to posting frequency and type of posts. Last of all, we make some considerations on how to incorporate the results of the questionnaire in the training methodology of personal digital storytelling.

RESUMEN

Se propone repensar los relatos digitales personales (RDP) con las nuevas formas de comunicación que aparecen en las redes sociales, así como analizar el valor central de la imagen en todos ellos. Se proponen 3 objetivos específicos: i) conocer los hábitos y prácticas de los jóvenes con relación a la publicación de narrativas digitales (y de otro tipo) en las redes sociales, ii) identificar perfiles y tipos de jóvenes publicadores, iii) caracterizar los elementos diferenciales entre los tipos de jóvenes publicadores. Para ello, se ha construido una encuesta sobre las formas de publicación en esas mismas redes. La muestra corresponde a 835 jóvenes de entre 12 y 22 años de países iberoamericanos (España, Chile y Colombia). Los resultados son analizados, obteniéndose algunas diferencias por edad, país y sexo, si bien con dosis importantes de similitud. Emerge una clasificación de los encuestados que los distribuye según la frecuencia y el tipo de publicaciones que realizan. Finalmente, se proponen algunas consideraciones sobre cómo incorporar los resultados de la encuesta en la metodología formativa de RDP y en el campo educativo.

PALABRAS CLAVES · KEYWORDS

digital storytelling; young people; digital practices; social networks; digital competence
relatos digitales personales; juventud; prácticas digitales; redes sociales; competencia digital

1. Introduction

Personal digital stories come from the oral tradition of autobiographical forms and life stories, which in the 1990s were transformed by the arrival of new technologies and the capacity to easily produce digital photographs and audio-visual materials. A group of social activists of the Center for Digital Storytelling at Berkeley (Lambert, 2013), renamed the StoryCenter in 2015, came up with the idea of producing some short stories, lasting around three or four minutes, by holding a series of face-to-face, expert-led workshops. The stories, told in the first person, involved a high degree of engagement by the storytellers and held significance for them.

These personal digital stories have begun to be disseminated online and something of an international movement has been created with a similar approach to the original stories: non-interactive, produced by non-experts, priority given to the content (story) being told and only moderate attention paid to aesthetic and technological aspects. Personal digital stories express the storyteller's point of view and voice, and are clearly very subjective. In other words, and from a positive perspective, they give voice to those who do not normally have one (Burgess, 2006), maintaining the formal and content-related aspects of personal and autobiographical stories (Rodríguez-Illera, 2014). In recent years they have generated new theoretical interest (Erstad & Silseth, 2008; Lundby, 2008) and a good number of conferences and books have been devoted to the subject (Dunford & Jenkins, 2017; Gregori-Signes & Brígido-Corachán, 2014; Londoño & Rodríguez-Illera, 2017; Núñez-Janes et al., 2017).

One cannot overstate the importance in society of the image that creates a kind of spectator audience, a diffused audience which is always present everywhere and of which we all form a more or less active part (Abercrombie & Longhurst, 1998). Personal digital stories occupy a peripheral position in respect of other expressive visual forms, at least in quantitative terms, perhaps because they explicitly emphasise their truthful nature, the expression of an aspect of life that is made public and is disseminated in order to communicate with other people beyond the familiar environment.

In addition to image and video, the technological developments of the 21st century have brought about new, instantaneous forms of communication and interaction, as well as new forms of connection and ever-present contact through social networks and smartphones. We believe that this constitutes a new and profound change for personal stories, including exclusively text-based stories, in the form of instant messages or on the personal pages of a social network (Facebook, Twitter, WhatsApp, Instagram and various others). It is a type of change that is taking place in several other environments, made possible by technology, even if it plays a secondary role to social aspects; in other words, a shift is taking place from interaction between machines and people to interaction between people as the core element, and from interaction to participation in larger human groups.

This phenomenon has led to an exponential increase in the number of stories found on networks. The stories tend to be shorter, even containing ephemeral content or abbreviated forms of conventional storytelling. This becomes immediately evident in a comparison between literary autobiographies, digital stories and Instagram stories. This increasingly reduced length is typical of a general movement that shortens but also simplifies what is being told. Nevertheless, stories told with images continue to generate a great deal of interest, including those solely featuring still images as selfies (Warfield, 2015).

These changes in forms of communication, mostly incorporated through social networks, have led us to try to better understand the meaning that young users attach to messages of this kind, especially narrative ones. Although communication patterns between young people have been widely studied, the same cannot be said for personal stories, which remain very similar in conception and in practice to those that were being created more than 20 years ago. Therefore, as we explain below, we have carried out a review of the methodology of traditional personal stories, focusing in particular on their application in formal education, in order to design a questionnaire aimed at trying to find out what young people's current practices are.

More specifically, the objectives are:

- To know what young people's habits and practices are in relation to the posting of digital stories (and other types) on social networks.
- To identify profiles and types of young posters.
- To characterise the elements that differentiate the various types of young posters.

2. Methodology

We conducted a survey-based study by means of an online questionnaire that was answered by young people aged between 12 and 22 years old, always in the presence of a member of the research team, between December 2017 and April 2018. The dimensions of the questionnaire are related to aspects that describe traits and behaviours that are significant for the studied phenomenon, such as:

Sociodemographic characteristics (age, gender, country, education), technological capital and networks on which respondents have accounts.

Posting habits: posting frequency and types of post, posting of ephemeral content (type of content), what respondents add to their posts (themes and elements they include), with whom they share their posts, being fans/posting on what they are fans of, knowledge of their followers, source of the content they post, preparation of posted content, time devoted to creating and posting (editing time and posting time), topics of posts, frequency with which they post from each device.

2.1. Participants

The respondents were selected by means of a convenience sample made up of 835 young people from Spain (45%), Chile (30%) and Colombia (25%). Considering a confidence interval of 95% for infinite populations, where p and q = 0.5, the margin of error in a random sample is ± 3.4%.

Among the respondents, 49.9% identify as female, 49.5% identify as male and 0.6% identify as non-binary. The average age of the sample is 16.7 years and almost all the respondents (831 subjects) have completed studies of one kind or another (from secondary education to post-compulsory higher education).

Around 92% of the participants possess a computer, 96% have a smartphone, 57% have a tablet, 70.5% state that they have a smart TV (shared with the family) and 93% have an internet connection at home.

The main networks on which they have a user account are WhatsApp (97.2%), email (92.1%), Instagram (88.5%), Facebook (76.3%) and YouTube (72.0%). These are followed by a group of networks with a smaller but still significant number of user accounts among the sample: Snapchat (54.1%), Skype (52.0%) and Twitter (38.8%). Last of all, the networks and content applications with a relatively small following are Musical.ly (18.0%), Blog (17.2%), Telegram (10.3%), Website (6.7%) and Wiki (2.3%).

2.2. Data analysis

We used descriptive statistics and mean comparisons to analyse the data (with robust tests –Mann-Whitney U test– since the variables do not meet all the parametric assumptions), as well as proportion tests (χ^2). To identify the differential profiles of young producers of digital stories, we applied the two-step cluster technique. This multivariate classification technique carries out an analysis designed to detect natural groupings in a data set (Pérez, 2011). Our aim was to find the best model to classify and characterise young storytellers, on the basis of the variables related to the type of content posted by young people and to the posting frequency: composition of photos or collages, photo gallery, music, individual and/or group selfies, texts on things that I think or things that happen to me, texts on things that happen in my environment, videos in which I appear, live videos, and others (memes, GIFs, etc.).

3. Results

3.1. The posting practices of young people on social networks

The posting frequency in general is low, given the high percentage of respondents who never post, as can be seen in Table 1. The main types of post are photos and selfies. Ranked below these types of post (see Table 1).

78.9% of the respondents are fans of something or someone, but only 21.4% have produced and posted related content.

The posting of ephemeral content (which is deleted after a certain amount of time) is moderate: 36% of respondents post such content frequently or very frequently, while only 8.6% always post it. 33.3% of respondents seldom post such content and 22% never do so.

77% of posters create their own content while 39.52% obtain it from the internet. 61.1% of respondents usually prepare (edit, adjust) the content they post. 34.4% of respondents devote between one and four minutes to creating and posting a piece of content, followed by 29% who devote less than a minute to these tasks and 23% who devote between four and nine minutes to them. Only 9.7% devote between ten and 60 minutes to creating and posting content, while a mere 4% devote more than an hour to these tasks.

The main topics about which the respondents post are hobbies, tastes and passions (65.8%), followed by places and spaces (54.1%), important people in their lives (48.7%), aspects of daily life (47.2%) and important events in their lives (38.4%). A lower percentage of respondents post content on personal reflections (22.9%), relationships (21.2%), dreams or personal wishes (15.3%), learning processes, discoveries or knowledge (12.0%), items or objects of sentimental value (11.6%), and work-related or professional activities (11.0%).

Table 1

Types of post and posting frequency

Types of post	Posting frequency			
	Never	Monthly	Weekly	Daily
Photos	11.5%	54.5%	28.4%	5.6%
Individual selfies	34.4%	40.5%	19.2%	6%
Group selfies	26.8%	47.9%	19.5%	5.7%
Collage	70.7%	22.5%	6.1%	0.7%
Photo gallery	60.6%	26.9%	5.7%	0.7%
My videos	62%	27.5%	7.5%	2.9%
Live videos	78.6%	16.2%	3.7%	1.6%
Texts on aspects of my life	69.1%	18.8%	8%	4.1%
Texts on my environment	69.3%	18.7%	8.1%	3.8%
Texts on fictions	75.7%	14%	6.9%	3.4%
Music	70.3%	14.7%	7.5%	7.4%
Others (memes, GIFs)	50.4%	20.6%	12.1%	16.9%

The time of day at which respondents post content are very similar between weekdays and weekends and are classified from higher to lower frequency as follows: in the afternoon, in the evening, at midday and in the morning and just after waking up.

64% of respondents usually share the content they post exclusively with contacts and/or friends, compared with 28.5% who share it with the general public and 7.5% who only share it with a selection of contacts.

53.1% of respondents personally know almost all of their followers, while 14.7% know half of them and 16.5% know some of them. Only 10.9% know all of them and a very small percentage (4.8%) do not know any of them. Furthermore, the respondents also follow other people, who they may or may not know personally. WhatsApp (70.9%), Facebook (66.0%) and Snapchat (52.9%) are the three networks on which the respondents follow profiles that they know personally. Meanwhile, the three main networks on which most users follow profiles that they do not know personally are YouTube (54.1%), Instagram (35.1%) and Twitter (26.5%).

The main device from which content is posted is the smartphone (88%), followed at some considerable distance by the laptop, the tablet and the desktop computer, from which only 12.8%, 10.4% and 5.4%, respectively, post frequently.

3.2. Poster profiles

We have been able to classify the 835 respondents into four types of poster. We have carried out the assignment to groups through the two-step cluster technique (Rubio & Vilà, 2016), after completing a regression analysis to identify the variables with a greater predictive degree when it comes to identifying the posting level of each respondent. For the two-step algorithm, we have entered the 12 variables that make up the question

corresponding to the frequency with which each type of content is posted[1], which, ranked in order from greater to lesser importance as predictors of the clusters, are as follows: photos, texts on the respondent's environment, others, individual selfies, group selfies, personal texts, music, personal videos, fiction texts, collages, live videos and photo galleries. The said algorithm has generated four clusters with a good quality index (silhouette measure of cohesion and separation = 0.5). We confirmed the assignment of respondents to each group by means of calculation with the matrix randomly reordered on three occasions and through the index of agreement (kappa = 0.739; p = 0.000) between the assignment of the two-step algorithm and another cluster technique (in this case a hierarchical cluster was applied). As such, we were able to identify the groups listed in Table 2.

Table 2.

Groups identified according to the content they post

Type of poster	Freq.	Percentage
Seldom posts (SP)	308	36.9
Usually posts photographic and video content (PSV)	296	35.4
Usually posts text-based, music-related or other content (GIFs, memes…) (TMO)	139	16.6
Usually posts all sorts of content (AS)	92	11.0
Total	835	100.0

Over the course of the study we will refer to the type of poster according to the following key:

Key for type of poster: SP= Seldom posts; PSV= Posts photos, selfies and videos; TMO= Posts texts, music and other content; AS= Posts all sorts of content

The age distributions for each type of poster do not match the normal curve. Significant differences have been found in average ages (Kruskal–Wallis H test = 10.415; *df* = 3; p = 0.015): the group that posts all sorts of content tends to be a little older than the other types of poster (see Table 3).

Table 3

Age of each type of poster

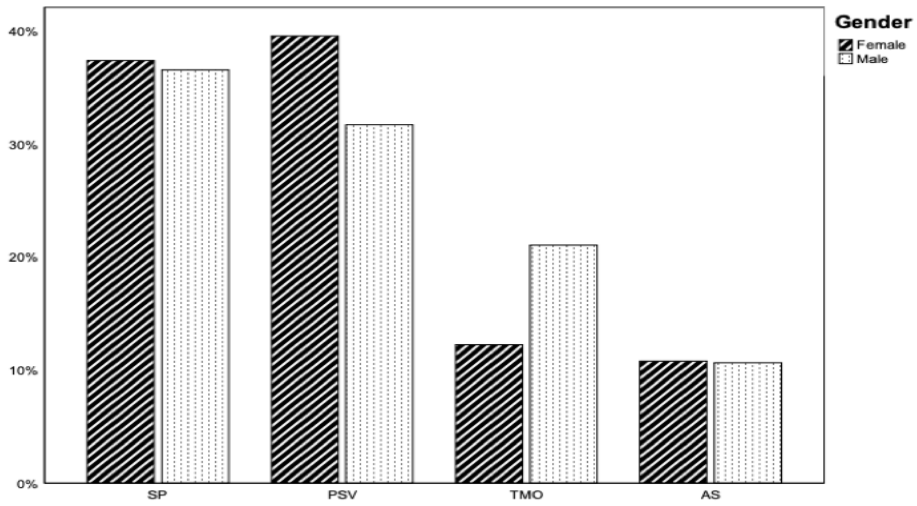
Type of poster	Average	Standard Deviation
Seldom posts	16.5	2.59
Usually posts photographic and video content	16.5	2.48
Usually posts text-based, music-related or other content (GIFs, memes…)	16.6	2.20
Usually posts all sorts of content	17.4	2.38
Total	16.7	2.47

[1] The never, monthly, weekly or daily answer options have been recoded as follows: 0 = never or monthly and 1 = weekly or daily.

As regards gender, differences have been detected in the types of poster according to this variable (for this calculation five case have been rejected in which the others option was selected in the question about gender; Chi-Square = 13.370; *df* = 3; *p* = 0.004; contingency coefficient = 0.126). The type of poster of photographic and video material is characterised by being a mostly female group while the type of poster of text-based, music-related or other content is a mostly male group (see Graph 1).

Graph 1

Distribution of type of poster by gender



As far as countries are concerned, the respondents from Colombia stand out in respect of those from the other two countries in terms of posting little or very little, while those from Spain stand out in respect of those from the other two countries in terms of posting mostly photos, selfies or videos, or not posting anything at all, and those from Chile stand out in respect of those from the other two countries in terms of posting all sorts of content (Chi-Square = 25.192; *df* = 6; *p* = 0.000; contingency coefficient = 0.171).

3.3. Characterisation of types of poster

In the following sections we describe the characterisation differentiated according to types of poster.

3.3.1. Networks on which they have an account

The analysis of networks on which each type of poster has an account has detected significant relations in the cases shown in Table 4. For the WhatsApp, Telegram, blog and email networks, no significant differences have been found. The type of poster who posts photographic and video content has accounts on the following networks in particular: Instagram, SnapChat, Skype and Musical.ly. The type of poster who posts text-based, music-related or other content has accounts on the following networks in particular: Facebook, Twitter, YouTube, website and wiki. And, the more general type of poster has an account on all the networks.

Table 4

Networks on which respondents mostly have accounts according to type of poster

	SP	PSV	TMO	AS	Chi^2	p	C
Facebook			Yes	Yes	17.728	0.001	0.144
Twitter			Yes	Yes	14.804	0.002	0.132
YouTube			Yes	Yes	10.667	0.014	0.112
Website			Yes	Yes	17.856	0.000	0.145
Wiki			Yes	Yes	16.689	0.001	0.140
Instagram		Yes		Yes	21.040	0.000	0.157
SnapChat		Yes		Yes	40.322	0.000	0.215
Skype		Yes		Yes	8.809	0.032	0.102
Musical.ly		Yes		Yes	19.139	0.000	0.150

Note: the degrees of freedom for all the Chi-Square tests are 3.

3.3.2. Length of time devoted to social networks

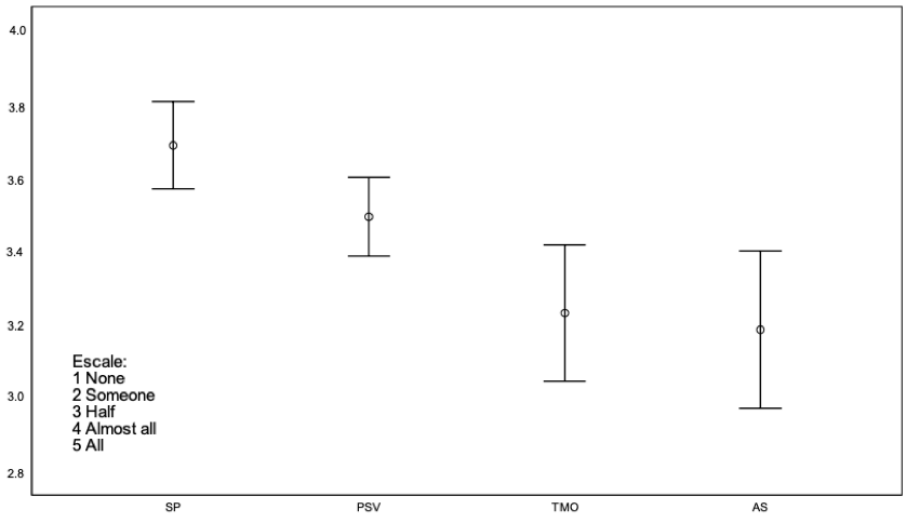
In respect of the time devoted to social networks, whether on weekdays or at the weekend, we have observed significant differences (on weekdays: Kruskal-Wallis H = 55.267; *df* = 3; *p* = 0.000, at the weekend: Kruskal-Wallis H = 43.621; *df* = 3; *p* = 0.000), which means that the group that seldom posts (SP) tends to devote fewer hours to networks (most of this group devotes between less than one hour and three hours to networks on one weekday; and between one and five hours on one day at the weekend) while the group that usually posts all sorts (AS) tends to devote more hours to networks than the other groups (most of this group devotes between one and five hours to networks on one weekday; and more than five hours on one day at the weekend).

3.3.3. Knowledge of their followers

The type of poster is related to the degree to which they know their followers. Those who seldom post content know their followers to a greater degree, while those who mostly post text-based, music-related and other content, along with those who post all sorts of content, known their followers to a lesser degree (Kruskal-Wallis H = 35.643; *df* = 3; *p* = 0.000) (see Graph 2).

Graph 2

Degree to which respondents know their followers according to type of poster



3.3.4. With whom they share their posts

Statistically significant differences exist (Chi-Square = 31.623; *df* = 6; *p* = 0.000), between types of poster according to whom they share their posts with. As such, we have observed that the group that seldom posts anything only shares content with a selection of contacts, while the groups that post photos, selfies, videos, texts, music and other content mostly share their posts with everybody (publicly) or only with their contacts or friends, and the group that posts all sorts of content mostly shares posts with everybody or only with a selection of contacts.

3.3.5. What they add to their posts

Most of those who post photos, selfies or videos, along with those who post all sorts, very frequently or always use short texts, emojis, geotags or mentions to other people in order to add to their posts (see Table 5).

3.3.6. Source of the posted content

Most of those who create the content they post belong to the group that posts photos, selfies or videos (Chi-Square = 18.053; *df* = 3; *p* = 0.000; contingency coefficient = 0.145).

The groups that tend to obtain content from the internet and that retweet, repost, copy or share with other contacts the content they post are those which mostly post texts, music or other content, and those that post all sorts of content (Chi-Square = 44.378; *df* = 3; *p* = 0.000; contingency coefficient = 0.225).

Table 5

Percentage of respondents who very frequently or always use elements in their posts

	SP	PSV	TMO	AS	Chi^2	p	C
Short texts	11	17	12	46	92.177	0.000	0.315
Emojis	31	60	32	71	115.318	0.000	0.348
Geotags	9	22	6	27	83.036	0.000	0.301
Hashtags	7	13	8	21	57.908	0.000	0.255
Mentions to others	32	50	28	61	85.828	0.000	0.305

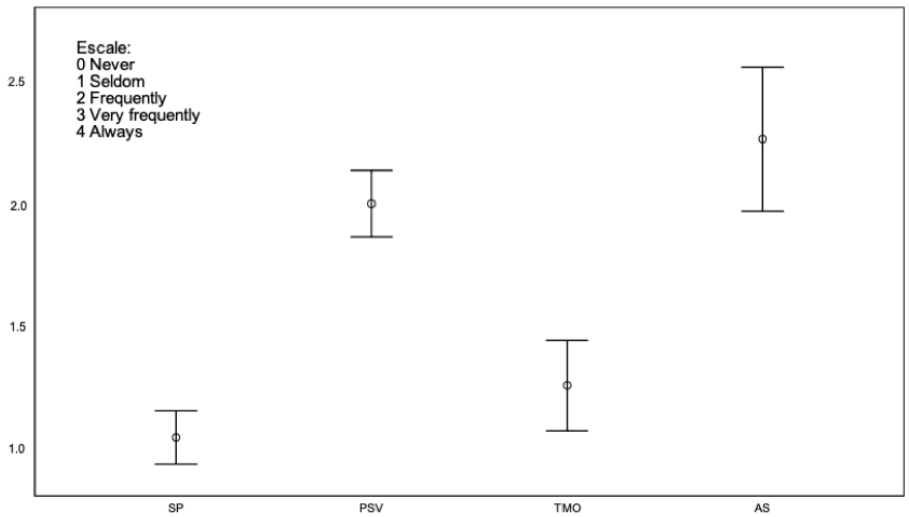
Note: the degrees of freedom for all the Chi-Square tests are 12.

3.3.7. Posting of ephemeral content

The frequency with which ephemeral content is posted is greater in the group that posts photos, selfies or videos and in that which posts all sorts of content (Kruskal-Wallis H = 127.456; *df* = 3; *p* = 0.000) (see Graph 3).

Graph 3

Frequency with which ephemeral content is posted according to the type of poster



3.3.8. Preparation of posted content

The group that mostly posts photos, selfies or videos tends to prepare with greater frequency the content it posts than the rest of the groups (Chi-Square = 44.136; *df* = 3; *p* = 0.000; contingency coefficient = 0.224).

3.3.9. Time devoted to creating and posting

As regards the approximate amount of time devoted to creating and posting content, we have detected significant differences (Kruskal-Wallis H = 21.793; *df* = 3; *p* = 0.000): those who seldom post content devote less time to creating and posting (most of them between less than one minute and four minutes), while those who usually post all sorts of content tend to devote more time to their posts (most of them between one and nine minutes).

3.3.10. Topics of posts

The group that mostly posts photos, selfies or videos does so on the topic of places and spaces with greater frequency than the rest of the groups. The group that mostly posts text-based, music-related and other content and the group that posts all sorts of content tend to do so on the topic of hobbies and tastes with greater frequency than the rest of the groups. The group that posts all sorts of content tends to post on the rest of the topics asked about in the questionnaire with greater frequency than the rest of the groups (see Table 6).

Table 6

Percentage of topics addressed in content for each type of poster

	SP	PSV	TMO	AS	Chi^2	p	C
Work-related activities	9	10	6	27	29.102	0.000	0.184
Hobbies or tastes	57	66	76	78	23.345	0.000	0.165
Important events	30	46	30	53	27.725	0.000	0.179
Places and spaces	44	64	48	63	28.525	0.000	0.182
Items of sentimental value	6	12	13	29	39.576	0.000	0.213
Important people	39	58	42	63	31.720	0.000	0.191
Learning or knowledge	7	10	14	32	41.495	0.000	0.218
Personal reflections	14	21	24	54	65.158	0.000	0.269
Relationships	15	23	19	39	26.765	0.000	0.176
Personal wishes	9	13	23	32	34.636	0.000	0.200
Daily life	34	54	45	74	53.002	0.000	0.244

Note: the degrees of freedom for all the Chi-Square tests are 3.

3.3.11. Frequency with which respondents post from each device

Significant differences have been found[2] according to the type of poster in terms of the frequency with which respondents post from different devices (desktop computer, laptop, tablet or smartphone). Most of the respondents never use a desktop computer or laptop, although the groups that posts text-based, music-related and other content, and the group that posts all sorts of content use these devices more than the other groups. The smartphone is the most frequently used device by all the groups of posters. However, the groups that post photos, selfies and videos, and the group that posts all sorts of content, use it more frequently than the other groups. Last of all, we consider it necessary to indicate that we have not found any specific characterisations (that is, with significant differences) in the following cases:

- Being a fan of a story
- Having posted content related to what/whom one is a fan of
- Having a WhatsApp account
- Having a Telegram account
- Having a blog account
- Having an email account
- Posting in the afternoon on weekdays or at the weekend
- Posting in the evening on weekdays or at the weekend
- Having a smartphone
- Having a computer at home
- Having an internet connection at home
- Having a smart TV at home

4. Discussion

The study has enabled us to know the stated habits and practices of young people in relation to the posting of digital content on social networks. Generally speaking, young people enjoy a significant presence on social networks, as other studies have already found (García et al., 2013; INE - National Institute of Statistics, 2016), and post a wide variety of digital stories, including photos and selfies, although the percentage of young people that seldom post content is quite high. In their posts, they mainly include mentions and emojis, and to a lesser degree other elements such as hashtags, geotags and texts. Most young people create and edit the content they post, devoting just a few minutes to these tasks, mainly from their smartphones. The content tends to be stable in time, while the frequency of posting of ephemeral content is moderate or low. Young people post on a variety of topics, although some of the most popular are tastes and passions, places and spaces, important people in their lives and aspects of daily life. The sample's favoured time of day for posting

[2] Desktop computer: Kruskal-Wallis H = 28.517; $df = 3$; $p = 0.000$
Laptop computer: Kruskal-Wallis H = 22.945; $df = 3$; $p = 0.000$
Tablet: Kruskal-Wallis H = 21.421; $df = 3$; $p = 0.000$
Smartphone: Kruskal-Wallis H = 75.273; $df = 3$; $p = 0.000$

is the afternoon and evening, both on weekdays and at the weekend. These young people usually share their posts exclusively with contacts and/or friends, although some also share with the general public. They are followers of public figures or contacts, while they in turn are followed by other users. In most cases they personally know their followers and the profiles they follow, especially on the WhatsApp, Facebook and Snapchat platforms.

Although these results are based on a moderate sample of users, they are congruent with other research and also show us that young people behave similarly in different countries despite their differences.

5. Conclusions.

Generally speaking, young people are more consumers than posters. The passive/active internet user or consumer/prosumer dichotomy (Tapscot, 1995; Toffler, 1980) has been widely discussed in respect of the possibilities offered by Web 2.0 and social networks, and as such has generated significant expectations in relation to the prosumer group (Aparici & García, 2018; Islas, 2008; Ritzer et al., 2012). However, authors and studies show a different reality. Most internet users post little information; their activity is based on looking at photos, often without sharing their own; listening to music or watching videos, but without leaving comments or signing them by means of social markers; reading tweets and perhaps following a lengthy list of users, but without tweeting. This type of user, also referred to as a lurker (Brown, 2000), is fearful of leaving traces of their internet activity. In contrast to this type of user, active users take on the role of a social subject who creates content in addition to sharing it; a user who is immersed in a social dynamic based on production for exchange (Hernández et al., 2014; Ramírez, 2010).

The most frequent type of post is the photograph, selfie and video selfie, which is congruent with the importance of image, as explained above. On social networks, images have replaced text in many interactions and these interactions are closely associated with the online habits and behaviours of most young people. As Sontag (2006) points out, the photograph can be considered an object that creates the illusion of possession of the depicted experience, place or object. Fernández and Neri (2008) add that it is not merely a question of capturing the moment but also of instantly posting it online; that is, an I am being statement. In respect of selfies, Murolo (2015) argues that the dynamics that arise in relation to this type of photograph have more to do with a sociocultural perspective than a technological one, since the telling of a story that represents the image of oneself in daily life unconsciously expresses one's current practices (at the restaurant, at the gym at my graduation ceremony), personality and personal identity; in a selfie, each person decides what image to present to the world, and this also encompasses the chosen background and clothing, and even the digital retouches one applies. To view a selfie as a personal story is to accept that it has transcended its intrinsic nature as an image, evolving instead into a communicative artefact that circulates on social networks. Selfies therefore constitute something more than mere representation (Gómez & Thornham, 2015); they are little stories (Georgakopolou, 2016) that emerge as contextualised and co-constructed presentations of the self, moulded by the media through which they circulate.

In relation to our stated objective of identifying profiles of young posters and their characterisation, through the two-step cluster technique we have identified four groups in respect of types of post and their frequency: a group that seldom posts content; a group that more frequently posts photographic and video content; a group that more frequently posts text-based and music-related content; and a group that posts all sorts of content, this being

the smallest group. These groups possess distinctive characteristics according to the demographic and contextual variables of the research.

As regards gender, one of the most significant differences is that young women post more photographic and video content. This finding coincides with those of studies on the social networking habits of men and women, and shows that young men use social networks more to have fun, give opinions on issues and produce content, while young women use them to communicate. Furthermore, young women tend to display themselves more on social networks through photos and selfies (especially those aged between 16 and 20 years old) in order to project qualities of beauty (Manovich, 2013; Porter Novelli, 2012). In respect of country, Chile stands out as the country where young people post most content in the all sorts category, while Spain is where they post the most photographic or video content.

It is also noteworthy that the more time respondents devote to social networks, the greater the variety of content they post. Therefore, there is a direct correlation between the young people who invest the most time on social networks and the posting activity on those networks.

Other characteristics that differentiate the identified groups are the topics on which they post, the elements they include in their posts, the type of content and the editing of this content. As such, as far as topics are concerned, we have found that those who post content on places and spaces do so using more visual formats (photos, selfies or videos). These users tend to produce photos, selfies and videos of the places they visit. They are the creators of this content and usually edit it (retouching photos, editing videos), as well as embedding short texts, emojis and mentions to other people. This is also the group that posts ephemeral content the most, frequently changing photos. In respect of this aspect, the study by Montes-Vozmediano et al. (2018) (showed that videos posted by adolescents focus on places and spaces, mostly having a declarative structure. Meanwhile, users that post content on hobbies form part of the text-based, music related or other content group, choosing formats through which they can write opinions on what they like. These users tend to obtain content from the internet and to retweet, repost, copy or share with other contacts the content they post, which is not ephemeral.

Another difference that we have detected is the degree to which users know their followers and with whom they share their posts. The less frequently users post content, the more they share it exclusively with the usual contacts and, therefore, the more they know their followers. Those who post photos, selfies and videos, and those who post all sorts of content, tend to share it more with everybody and to know their followers to a lesser degree. At the same time, they have more followers, since the more one posts, the more followers one tends to have (Metricool, 2018).

The last distinguishing element is the device from which content is posted. The smartphone is the device preferred by all the groups of posters. However, the group that post photos, selfies and videos, and the group that posts all sorts of content, use it more frequently than the other groups. The complex ecosystem in which young people are immersed (instant messaging, forums, blogs, wikis, social networks, tools for downloading music and series, or for sharing videos and photos, etc.) requires the application of specific competencies. Young people are generating and sharing content of different types and levels of complexity, from playing video games on line to writing fiction, sharing photos on Instagram and videos on YouTube, explaining ideas on Twitter, etc. A series of skills and elements of knowledge come into play in these activities, which young people have acquired outside the academic sphere; for example, from the internet itself, where all sorts of video

tutorials are available. Nevertheless, these skills are closely associated with technology (for example, creating and modifying photographic content). In this respect, other pieces of research (Lacasa, 2018) have identified competencies related to the production, consumption and post-production of media in the context of youth culture, although unevenly developed. As such, in the educational community it is necessary to implement actions geared towards encouraging young people to develop this type of competencies: competencies that enable users to decode the narrative discourse in these new media and to create their own, competencies that foster reflection, participation, engagement and, ultimately, social transformation through these environments.

One of the strategies is the guided construction of personal digital stories, as has been discussed (Erstad & Silseth, 2008), as well as enabling the expression of one's own voice (Burgess, 2006; Rodríguez & Anayanzy, 2015), something which achieves good results in both formal and informal education (Londoño & Rodríguez-Illera, 2018). We consider it necessary to adapt this thinking to new posting habits and to the four profiles we have identified and discussed. It is an area that warrants further research.

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