

Hidden within a Group of People

Mental Models of Privacy Protection

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Abstract: Mental models are simplified representations of the reality that help users to interact with complex systems. In our digitized world in which data is collected everywhere, most users feel overtaxed by the demands for privacy protection. Designing systems along the language of the users and their mental models, is a key heuristic for understandable design. In an explorative approach, focus groups and interviews with 18 participants were conducted to elicit mental models of internet users for privacy protection. Privacy protection is perceived as complex and exhausting. The protection of one's identity and, correspondingly, anonymity are central aspects. One research question is how scalable privacy protection can be visualized. Physical concepts, like walls and locks, are not applicable to the idea of adjustable privacy protection. The concept of k-anonymity – visualized by a group of people from which the user is not distinguishable – can be related to by most of the participants and seems to work well as symbolization, but it is not yet internalized as mental model. Initially, users see privacy protection as binary – either one is protected or not. Thus, the concept of adjustable privacy protection is new to lay-people and no mental models exist, yet.

1 INTRODUCTION

Today, online services and internet usage, be it via desktop computer, laptop, or mobile devices such as tablet PCs or smartphones, are integral parts of everyday life. The World Wide Web is used to search for information, to stay in touch with friends and family, to work, to play, and pass the time, to name but a few options. And especially smartphones are ubiquitous.

With all of these online services available, every user creates data that they leave or actively publish on the Internet. Search histories, posts on social networks, visits on e-commerce sites, they all generate digital data, so-called digital footprints. And today's users are well aware and oftentimes opposed to and concerned about the collection of that data and the associated risks. Therefore, users try to protect their privacy as best as possible: they use fake accounts, pseudonyms, and try to not have photos with their faces online (cf., Vervier et al. 2017; Ziefle et al. 2016).

Different spheres require different definitions of privacy. Burgoon (1982) distinguishes between physical, social, psychological, and informational privacy. Physical privacy can be protected by means of closed doors, curtains, and garden fences, all of which are easy to relate to as the results (not being

visible or viewed anymore) can be directly controlled. When dealing with the online environment, it is especially users' information privacy at stake, and the protection of that is growing increasingly complex as more and more technical threats exist.

Users try to protect their online privacy but often they do not know how to do so effectively. Privacy protection is perceived as too complex to be able to do so, and also as not operative anymore (Zeissig et al. 2017). Therefore, most online users are concerned about their privacy (European Commission 2015).

Within the research project *myneData* (funded by the German Ministry of Education and Research), academics from different disciplines (communication science, law, computer science, etc.) are looking for a way of providing adequate protection of one's own data while at the same time offering the benefits of data analysis to trustworthy data processors by developing a user-controlled ecosystem for sharing personal data. The main idea is a platform in which users can provide data they are willing to share and offer this to data processors, for example, researchers, for free or in return for a compensation. Depending on each user's privacy settings, previously specified data is aggregated from many different users and the resulting data set is anonymized and made available to the data processors. For a more detailed depiction

of that project, see Matzutt et al. (2017). One vital aspect, especially in *myneData*, is the comprehensible visualization of privacy protection and security, so that every user can understand and interact with the system. To do so, it is invaluable to know the ideas and pre-existing notions users have of privacy protection and to integrate these notions and users' knowledge into the system and interface design. A possible and promising approach is the use of mental models (Coopamootoo & Groß 2014a; Coopamootoo & Groß 2014c).

In line with Gentner & Stevens (2014), mental models refer to the cognitive representations of how technical systems or interfaces might work, thereby including persons' beliefs, cognitive and affective expectations about the functions and the consequences regarding implementation procedures or personal use (Zaubrecher et al., 2016).

Especially in the context of risk and risk perception, the study of users' mental representations has been used extensively in order to best communicate potential risks (Raja et al. 2011). Although mental models are not necessarily true representations of the real world, they facilitate the understanding of complex or abstract issues (e.g., Morgan et al. 2002; Asgharpour et al. 2007). Thus, they help users to interact with complex systems.

Mental models concerning risks and risk perception in the online environment have been studied and described by Camp (2009). She has found five predominant mental models, namely physical security, medical security, criminal behavior, warfare, and economic failure that depict the most common associations of how online risks are perceived or visualized by people.

Physical security means the risk is linked to a break-in in your home. Therefore, obvious depictions are open and closed (pad)locks. Medical security means infecting the computer or smartphone with a virus. Criminal behavior is what, for example, hackers are thought to do. Here the associated threats are data theft but also vandalism in the vein of destroying the functionality of the computer. Warfare as mental model for online security risks is based on fast response times that are needed and the huge potential losses of resources that follow an attack. Economic failure encompasses financial losses by illicit access to one's online bank-accounts or payment options.

And while not exhaustive and always applicable, these associations with the real world to make sense of the virtual world are the quintessential idea of mental models (e.g., Asgharpour et al. 2007; Coopamootoo & Groß 2014a; Coopamootoo & Groß 2014b).

Asgharpour et al. (2007) have also found that especially physical security – meaning the idea of people physically entering your private space or breaking your locks – is the best way to describe the risks prevalent in the online environment. Seeing an open or closed lock is an image that most people can easily reconcile with protecting their goods, material or virtual. In the same vein, Dourish et al. (2003) have found that security is often seen as a barrier, locking someone out and preventing access to private information.

Motti and Caine (2016) offer a “visual vocabulary for privacy concepts” but deal mostly with four main aspects of privacy: data collection, data transmission, data storage, and data sharing and access control. Although helpful, this does not necessarily suggest a mental model for the protection of one's privacy. However, imagery such as shields, keys, and locks are oftentimes associated with privacy control and therefore security (Motti & Caine 2016).

Still, a visual vocabulary is not necessarily the only way to find out what people think the protection of their information privacy may look like. For example, Prettyman et al. (2015) have found that many users hold the belief that they have nothing of value, so protection is not as important and therefore neglected. Another common association is that keeping up protection is a lot of hard work and takes time and effort, so oftentimes it is outsourced to people perceived as experts – either a professional or computer-savvy friend or relative. Also, studies have found a fatalistic attitude as putting all that effort into privacy protection is useless because who gets access to the data is not in the users' hands anyway (e.g., Zeissig et al. 2017; Prettyman et al. 2015).

2 RESEARCH DESIGN

The aim of this study is to (a) identify mental models of privacy protection and to (b) discuss options to visualize comprehensible control elements for adjustable privacy protection that match these mental models.

To do so, an explorative approach is needed as there is no previous knowledge about the nature of the mental models in this context. Next, a short overview about methods to identify mental models and their (dis)advantages is given, before we describe the empirical procedure, analysis, and the sample.

2.1 Eliciting Mental Models

Mental models can be compared to the lenses through which individuals see the object, concept, or topic in

questions (Coopamootoo & Groß 2014c). They are internalized and may not be conscious, as one is not aware of the type of glass one looks through. Several methods for identifying or *eliciting* mental models have been proposed in research. They are distinguished as either direct or indirect.

Direct elicitation approaches, in which the participants are asked directly to explain or draw the concept in question and all their associations with it, rely on the ability of the subjects to report and articulate their understanding of the concept (Olson & Biolsi 1991; Ziefle & Bay 2004; Zaunbrecher et al. 2016). In contrast, indirect elicitation extracts mental models from written documents or verbal texts about the topic in questions and, thus, rely mostly on the interpretation of the interviewer (Jones et al. 2011).

Grenier and Dudzinska-Przesmitzki (2015) point out that, as cognition is not only based on language but also on images, verbal as well as graphical techniques can be used to elicit mental models. They caution that strictly verbal accounts run the risk of being incomplete, given that participants are not always conscious of their thought structures. Therefore, a mix of verbal and graphical techniques, in which the participants are asked to draw their representation of the concept, gives the opportunity to generate a more holistic presentation (Grenier & Dudzinska-Przesmitzki 2015).

Focus groups have the advantage that the discussion between the participants is encouraged and different opinions and ideas stimulate a broad examination of the topic, as, for example, Courage and Baxter (2005) described. But there are also possible drawbacks as some participants may hold back their ideas or are very much influenced by the other opinions. In this regard, interviews promote more detailed insights into participants' opinions and ideas. The participants are not interrupted and judged by other participants and are thus encouraged to express themselves freely and elaborate on the topic (Courage & Baxter 2005).

In this explorative approach, identifying all existing mental models and associations was paramount. Thus, a mixture between the techniques is chosen that combines their respective advantages. Three focus groups are supplemented with five interviews, all of which followed the same procedural guide. Both verbal and graphical tasks were mixed. The participants were not only encouraged to define privacy protection directly but also to talk about the topic in general, which was used in the analysis to identify and confirm mental models and associations indirectly from their reasoning.

2.2 The Sample

The sample was composed of 11 men and 7 women between the age of 17 and 57 years ($M=32.6$, $SD=13.5$). Three focus groups with overall 13 participants were conducted, which were replenished by five individual interviews. The participants were recruited through personal contacts in the wider social network of the interviewer with the goal to include people of differing level of privacy knowledge and digital skills. A privacy literacy test was applied after the interviews (adopted from Trepte et al., 2015) in which the participants reached between 7 and 16 points of 18 maximum points ($M=11.4$, $SD=2.6$). More than half of the sample were students, some majoring in computer science. Those majoring in computer science, who also all reached a very high score in the privacy literacy test, are considered as expert participants especially for their knowledge about anonymization algorithms.

2.3 The Procedure

After introducing the general topic of digitization and online privacy, the group discussions were initiated with the question "*What do you do online?*" as introductory part. The goal of this question was for the participants to delve into the topic with all its facets.

Then, the questions were raised what privacy protection is to the participants and how they try to protect their data. Every participant completed the sentence "*Privacy protection to me is (like)...*" at the beginning of the discussion.

After this abstract part, a specific scenario was introduced that provided a similar decision situation as in the *myneData* ecosystem, without explaining this complex concept. In this scenario, data was requested by a research institute for a medical study and the participants were able to choose what data they are willing to provide and to adjust the level of privacy protection that is given to this information. Again, the question was asked "*What does data protection mean to you in this scenario?*" The participants should discuss how levels of protection differ and what the upper and lower limits are.

Then they were asked to draw control elements for privacy protection. After the discussion of their own drawings, pictures of different control elements and possible metaphors for privacy protection were presented as stimulator for the discussion. The pictures featured scales from other contexts, e.g., a speedometer, thermometer, as well as simple slide switches, rating mechanisms like thumbs-up and downs and smileys, and, furthermore, symbols for

protection in other contexts, e.g., a wall, a garden fence, and a padlock, that match the mental models that Dourish et al. 2003 and Asgharpour et al. 2007 found. The participants were asked to discuss the advantages and disadvantages of those visualizations. At the end, every participant was asked to summarize what they deem important concerning privacy protection.

After the focus groups and interviews, a short questionnaire was handed out to collect demographic data (age, gender, occupation, etc.). Additionally, the questionnaire contained a short privacy literacy test that was adapted and abbreviated from Trepte et al. (2015). The test included very simple to very advanced multiple-choice questions about digital knowledge (“What is a cookie?”), privacy rights (“What rights do you have online?”), technical privacy protection methods (“How can users protect their online privacy?”), and data collection methods (“What technical options exist for data collection?”).

2.4 Data Analysis

The interviews and focus groups were audiotaped and transcribed verbatim. A conventional content analysis (cf. Hsieh & Shannan 2005) was conducted to derive categories from the data. Two coders worked through the material several times and settled all differences in coding through discussions. Word clouds were generated at the website wordle.net (Feinberg 2014). To do so, each quote in an individual category was assigned one or several keywords, thus all interviews and focus groups are included. The font size is proportionate to the number of mentions, in order to allow for a direct evaluation of the most frequent (and important) mentions. The study took part in Germany with German native speakers. For this publication, quotations and keywords were translated to English.

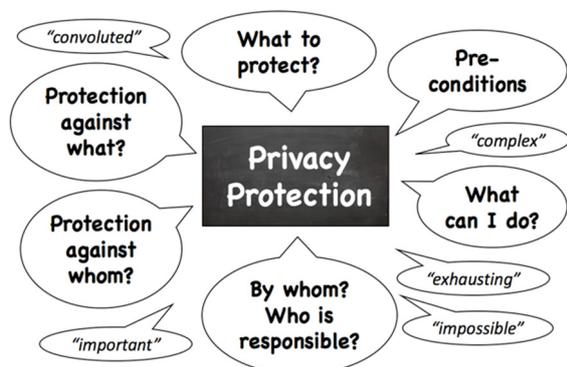


Figure 1: Topics and associations participants link to privacy protection.

3 RESULTS

Our analysis showed that privacy protection is perceived as multi-layered and complex, and that the participants differ in their understanding of the topic. There are various parties of responsibility for privacy protection, different perceived threats, and, thus, different options for protection. Figure 1 shows this factor space of topics and associations related to the concept.

The adjustable privacy protection addressed in the scenario in the second part of the interviews and focus groups is a special case in which the participants applied a different focus.

Thus, in the following section, first the results regarding privacy protection as broad concept are presented. Afterwards, we focus on privacy protection as the participants define it in the scenario of providing a data set. In this course, we will also discuss visualization options of privacy protection.

3.1 Who Is Responsible for Privacy Protection?

“On the one hand, there is one aspect of self-determination, where you can decide when using a service what you want to divulge. [...] And data security is the aspect of technical protection, as in how do companies and other parties that store my data, ensure that it is safe. And there is a third aspect of how it is regulated by the law” (P17).

This quote from one of our participants shows the threefold division that permeates the discussions. There is a personal responsibility to avoid generating data in the first place and to protect privacy by technical means. One participant even sees this as the only responsibility:

“The protection of my data lies in my own responsibility. I have to take care of it myself. If I don’t I mustn’t complain” (P15).

Other participants emphasize that control and self-determination are preconditions for this personal privacy protection and that, at the very least, transparency is needed:

“Data protection is at least the attempt to make the data flow transparent and, also, an obligation that the individual can keep track and keep control about her own data” (P9).

As for the second level, only a few participants reported to be aware that data which is stored by companies and other data collectors is protected from

One participant states that *“privacy protection means that no other person but myself has access to my data”* (P8).

This raises the question against whom privacy protection is needed. The participants name online companies, (health) insurance companies, hackers, intelligence services, and other users. Some differentiate between the intended communication partner and *“unauthorized listeners.”*

3.1.2 Complex, Exhausting, and Almost Impossible

When asked about privacy protection, several participants emphasized the complexity and lack of clarity of technical privacy protection procedures. Another characteristic is the effort that privacy protection takes, as was also described by Prettyman et al. (2015). For example, one participant says:

„Privacy protection is like a heavy tome about advanced mathematics. I would need to work through it before I could understand it” (P16).

Moreover, it is described as *“a Sisyphean task, it is never finished”* (P13), which again underlines the complexity of the topic to the user. One participant with a lower score in the privacy literacy test even describes privacy protection as impossible:

“Privacy protection is for me as impossible as hiding a diary from curious eyes. In the moment that the diary is written, the threat exists that it is read. The only protection would be not to write a diary” (P12).

All participants see importance in privacy protection.

“Privacy protection to me is like digestion: exhausting, unappetizing, and one does not reflect enough about it, although it is a very important topic” (P11).

3.2 Privacy Protection in the Scenario

With the introduction of the scenario, the focus shifted towards privacy protection when providing a specific data set. Some of the variables in the factor space of privacy protection as discussed before are now predetermined.

In the scenario, privacy protection is narrowed down to a case in which data is requested by a research institute for the purpose of a medical study.

Either Protected or Not: Initially, some participants describe privacy protection as an absolute, binary characteristic: *“Privacy protection is something absolute, data is either protected or not”* (P18). But after delving deeper into the topic, these opinions changed

Anonymity: Most participants put their focus on anonymity (or rather, not being identified as individual) as the key aspect of privacy protection within this scenario: *“The most important thing for me would be anonymity”* (P11).

But the understanding of anonymity differs very much, also depending on the technical knowledge. Some participants state that anonymity means *“one cannot match a person to the data anymore”* (P8) and participants with technical background refer to the concept of k-anonymity¹.

Others only want information to be deleted that identifies them directly: *“that my name is replaced with participant number X”* (P18). The same participant comments that *“anonymity is sometimes only that someone just doesn’t use the data in any way although it would be possible.”* Thus, she does not even request technical protection.

Transparency, Benefits, Trust: The participants address multiple factors that influence their willingness to provide data in this scenario. These factors also show inversely what is important regarding privacy protection. Of great importance is the type of data that is requested, the data collector, and the purpose of the collection. A key criterion is that they can understand why this type of data is relevant for the analysis. How the data is collected and stored, the benefit for the individual and the society, and transparency about the data use are additional influences. Another very important aspect is the trust into the data collector and their good will not to identify the person or do any harm even if technically possible.

3.3 How to Visualize Adjustable Privacy Protection

The participants were asked to draw adjustable privacy protection freehand. Additionally, control elements and visualization from other contexts were presented as stimulus for further discussion.

Half of the participants felt privacy protection to be so abstract and far-fetched, they felt incapable of drawing a picture. Most of the pictures included

¹ If the information for each person within a dataset cannot be distinguished from at least k-1 other persons whose information

is in this data set, the data set provides k-anonymity protection (Sweeney 2002).

mainly text and no symbols. It seems that no visual representation for privacy protection is obvious or retrievable.

The remaining drawings and the discussion of the stimulus material revolved around the idea of k-anonymity that some participants introduced to the others. For example, one participant drew a picture of a slide control and “the group in which I am hidden, that becomes smaller or larger with the slider” (P18) (see Figure 4).

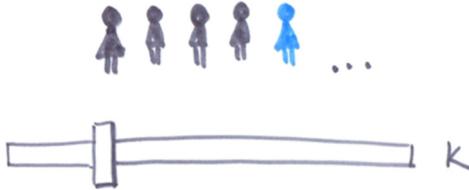


Figure 4: A participant’s attempt at visualizing controllable privacy protection.

This idea is also mentioned in other interviews and focus groups. But it seems that this focus is artificially developed by the framing through the discussion about k-anonymity. This was the only concept that was explained for anonymity and was, thus, adopted by the other participants. It can also be surmised that not all participants fully understood the concept. For example, one participants stated:

“You could for example depict the sample as small people and then you can explain that this is the group within which you are not identifiable” (P2).

Equating “the sample” with “the group within which you are not identifiable” suggests a misunderstanding of the concept.

The idea of privacy protection as a physical barrier was introduced to the participants with the stimulus material in which both a brick wall and a wooden fence were included. Those ideas were picked up by two participants:

“Privacy protection is like a garden fence, it protects my privacy” (P10) and

“Privacy protection is like a semi-permeable wall, that when it gets denser, doesn’t allow any more data to go through. And when you scale it to be less dense, up to absolute permeability, it allows all data to flow through” (P6).

Also, the idea of a padlock was introduced and some participants liked this from the get-go:

“I like the visualization of the padlock, because you can see that if it is open, you want to provide the data,

instead of checkboxes. If it is closed it means that you do not want to provide the data” (P2).

Note that those metaphors were mentioned after the stimuli were introduced. Thus, they did not come spontaneously from the participants and were taken up, as was the idea of k-anonymity. But most participants criticized these symbols as too simple. This is a criterion that was often mentioned in the evaluation of the stimulus material: most visualizations were perceived as not able to cover the complexity of the topic.

“For me, it is important to read a text, what is done in detail, because visualizations do not reach the necessary level of detail” (P7).

Some participants stated that they would not feel taken seriously when such “childish” visualizations would be used in this serious context. Based on this, they would lose their trust in such a user interface.

In this scenario, in which the participants are offered actual control over their data – something they currently do not have in most online situations – this power is received with open arms.

Correspondingly, being able to set privacy protection in just two or three levels is no longer enough, e.g.: “I want to see that there are several increments and that I can set them as I wish” (P18). The symbols proposed by other authors, e.g., barriers or locks, do not offer scaling options and, thus, were rejected by the participants.

The mental model of medical security, which was also identified by Camp 2009 as an associated risk, was similarly addressed by one participant at the end of the discussion. She compared privacy protection to a vaccination but emphasized mostly the idea of personal responsibility:

“I would compare it to a vaccination. It is something you have to take care of and that protects you, but only if you have taken care of it” (P18).

4 CONCLUSION

Mental models are simplified representations derived from the physical world that people use to understand and interact with complex or abstract topics and issues. They have been found very helpful to understand and communicate risk perception (Coopamootoo & Groß 2014a). Also privacy research has seen merit in using this approach to understand computer users and their online behavior better (e.g., Asgharpour et al. 2007; Camp et al. 2007; Coopamootoo & Groß 2014b; Wash 2010). In the

present study, five interviews and three focus groups with overall 18 participants were carried out to identify mental models and possible visualizations of privacy protection. Participants with differing technical knowledge about online privacy were included in the study, as it was hypothesized that their mental models differ in level of detail and accuracy, based on, e.g., (Coopamootoo & Groß 2014a).

The analysis showed that privacy protection is perceived as a complex concept with many influencing factors. No simplistic, easy to use mental model was identified in our sample, but clues for some useful models were extracted. It was hard for the participants to directly define privacy protection but many related topics were discussed: *Who is responsible for privacy protection? Against what and whom is protection needed or wanted? How is privacy protection currently managed? What are preconditions for successful privacy protection?* Those different topics show that privacy protection is context-dependent: It can be the protection of the individual against targeted advertising by online companies, or, it is the protection of stored data by online companies against hackers. And it should also always be somehow supported by law and regulations.

Complex is the attribute that all participants agreed upon for privacy protection. Also, the results of Prettyman et al. 2015, namely that one important perception is that privacy protection takes much effort, are mirrored in this study. However, her findings that privacy protection is perceived as irrelevant because users have nothing to hide was not replicated, at least not in this German sample. In our sample, the participants emphasized the importance of privacy protection. As this is a qualitative study with a very small sample size, we cannot generalize these findings. Still, they could be, in fact, culturally sensitive. Studies dealing with international differences regarding information privacy show that there are large differences across nations in this regard (cf. Culnan & Armstrong 1999; Trepte & Masur 2016).

The risk associations found by Camp (2009) were mostly also present in our study. Many participants described privacy protection as the absence of negative consequences and listed those threats. Especially criminal behavior and financial losses were addressed often. But we found another focus: At its core, our analysis showed privacy to be understood as the protection of the individual and his or her identity. Additionally, data collection itself, the “annoying” targeted advertising and “unfair” individual pricing, and also the protection from

manipulation of society and democracy were addressed.

Initially, privacy protection is felt to exist only on a binary level – either one’s privacy is protected or it is not. This approach is revised by the participants once they delved deeper into the topic, its complexity, and the idea of adjustable privacy.

The central point of identity is also focused in the understanding of privacy protection in a scenario of data provision. The scenario introduced the idea that when data is voluntarily provided to a data collector, the user can decide on a level of privacy protection that is given to that data. Here, the participants interpret privacy protection as anonymization and the level of privacy protection as proportionate to the k-anonymity in a data set. This idea is also then merged into the visual representation and control elements for privacy protection. The participants wish to see the group of people among which they would not be distinguishable anymore.

This focus on the concept of k-anonymity may show that this is the mental model the participants have for privacy protection. On the other hand, the discussion could also have taken this focus, because no alternative concept was available and this one was easy to relate to. In such a qualitative approach, the framing due to the questions asked by the interviewer as well as the answers of other focus group attendees influence the participants. Thus, we cannot claim that this is a pre-existing mental model.

Other concepts, like privacy protection as a barrier or lock (cf. Dourish et al. 2003, Asgharpour et al. 2007), were not well applicable in the scenario because they offer only two states: protected or not. When given the choice, the participants wanted more control and, thus, more nuances or gradations in the setting. Still, the models of physical privacy protection by a fence, wall, or padlock are matched by the initial evaluation of some participants, namely that privacy protection is binary, and were initially preferred by some participants. In other privacy contexts, physical privacy, psychological, and social privacy, protective means are often binary, such as shutting a door or refusing to speak to a person. These measures have been known to people for centuries. But the complexity of the online world is still new and always changing. The idea of scalable privacy protection may not be obvious to users and, hence, does not fit existing mental models.

Within the research project *myneData*, the idea of adjustable privacy protection is one central element. If it is indeed the case that the only existing mental models of privacy protection are binary, these models cannot be used. To the concept of k-anonymity –

visualized with a group of people – all participants were able to relate. But as we have seen, the concept may not be understood correctly by all and would need a good textual explanation to avoid or remove ambiguity.

That all participants were able to answer at least one third of the questions in the privacy literacy test correctly shows that we did not include participants with very little knowledge about online privacy aspects in our sample. We saw differences in the understanding of the concept privacy protection and also of the concept of anonymity. The participants in our sample could relate to the concept of k-anonymity in most parts. But the question remains, whether all users, including those with low technical knowledge, can do so. Concerning the intended *myneData* platform, every user, independent from the technical knowledge, is meant to be able to interact with the interface. Therefore, a universally comprehensible visualization is needed that is intuitively understood, or at least simply learnable for users with little as well as for users with much knowledge and understanding about the technical background. More details can always be given in a multi-layered information design, e.g., with using tool-tips. But every user should be able to understand the general concept without reading background details. Mental models need not cover the complexity of the concept, after all they are simplified representations and can, thus, be imperfect (Jones et al. 2011). Hence, even if they do not cover the area of adjustable privacy, locks, walls, and fences are good representations for protection in other digital contexts.

The relatively small sample size and way of participant acquisition does not lend itself to generalizability of the results. However, it was useful to gain insights into possible factors and ideas concerning privacy and privacy protection that should be validated with a quantitative study.

In the context of the research project *myneData* and the development of a user-friendly interface for adjustable privacy protection, perhaps a conjoint study to understand which aspects have the most influence on privacy protection behavior might yield good results as the visual representation of different privacy aspects have to be incorporated into the actual study. Moreover, mental models could differ between users. A quantitative analysis whether mental models differ between user groups, for example, depending on privacy knowledge, internet experience, or age, could provide interesting insights and enhance the results by Coopamootoo & Groß (2014a).

The present study again showed that privacy protection is perceived as complex and exhausting.

Most users are concerned about their online privacy and try to protect themselves – but they do not know how to accomplish that. Comprehensible measures for protecting privacy and easy to use interfaces are needed that speak the users' language and adopt users' mental models.

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