Privacy challenges in Enterprise 2.0

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Abstract

This study explores privacy challenges in Enterprise 2.0 (E2.0) in a large-scale multinational knowledge-intensive company. The study focuses on the dilemma of sociability vs. privacy likely to arise under E2.0 models, applying both social capital and privacy regulation theory. A qualitative approach has been selected to gain deeper insights into the interplay of E2.0 mechanisms, surveillance and privacy. This was done by using a comprehensive qualitative case study of 27 in-depth interviews and participatory observations of professional knowledge-workers using E2.0 at work in Norway, Denmark, UK and Morocco. Ethnographic field studies were conducted in Norway and Morocco in 2010 and 2011, with follow up studies in 2012. The results show that introducing E2.0 into the workplace is not without privacy risks. Many of the employees in this study report an experience of being monitored when using E2.0 and a fear of leaving digital footprints that the company can misuse. These results pinpoint the importance of balancing sociability, knowledge sharing and privacy in E2.0 solutions, as well as a firm understanding of different user needs in regards to privacy and trust. Different practices of using E2.0 often lead to both larger and visible gaps between employees (i.e., those who contribute and those who don't), as well as different privacy concerns or dilemmas. As a privacy strategy, employees report to collaborate and interacts offline with co-workers. Finally, our study places the E2.0 dilemma on the agenda, and is one important contribution to the fairly unexplored field of social media migrating into global and electronically monitored workplaces, where spaces for privacy become increasingly blurred.

Keywords
enterprise 2.0; sociability; collaboration; privacy; surveillance.

The concept of Enterprise 2.0 (E2.0) describes how a company and its employees derive resources such as increasing transparency and accessibility to information and knowledge from social relationships and interactions via social networking technologies (e.g., McAfee, 2006). According to *The Economist* (2010) there are great expectations of E2.0 since this kind of professional networking holds substantial potential benefits for businesses. An E2.0 approach stands to improve collaboration and increase the flow of knowledge between employees within a company (or between companies), and thereby enhances overall business performance. E2.0 turns previous Knowledge Management models upside down by placing the individual in the center through an information model that is people-centric. By placing people in the center, employees become important knowledge "agents" – an important distinction given that knowledge typically resides in a social network of individuals.

The use of social media as a professional work tool therefore differs from leisure and private activity more common to social media such as Facebook or Twitter. However, privacy issues remain important both in a private as well as a professional context. Still, privacy concerns from the perspective of the employee in an E2.0 context are underinvestigated, despite the fact that company management has the potential to abuse data from employee interactions via social networking for the purpose of surveillance and monitoring. Some systems have built-in analytical tools that let managers track information such as which people are regularly in contact with one another and the subjects being discussed (The Economist, 2010). Experts report that companies are under increasing pressure to monitor employees electronically (Benner, 2001). Hence, with the increasing usage of E2.0 tools there is growing potential for indirect traceability, surveillance and monitoring (Van Dijk, 2007). Another key question is how content generated by employees is stored and used after they have severed ties or ended their work contract with the company. Finally, E2.0 may extend an employee's availability beyond the office hours, further blurring the border between private and professional life. If employees have the impression that their level of privacy is unsatisfactory they will feel annoyed or encroached upon (Kaya & Weber, 2003).
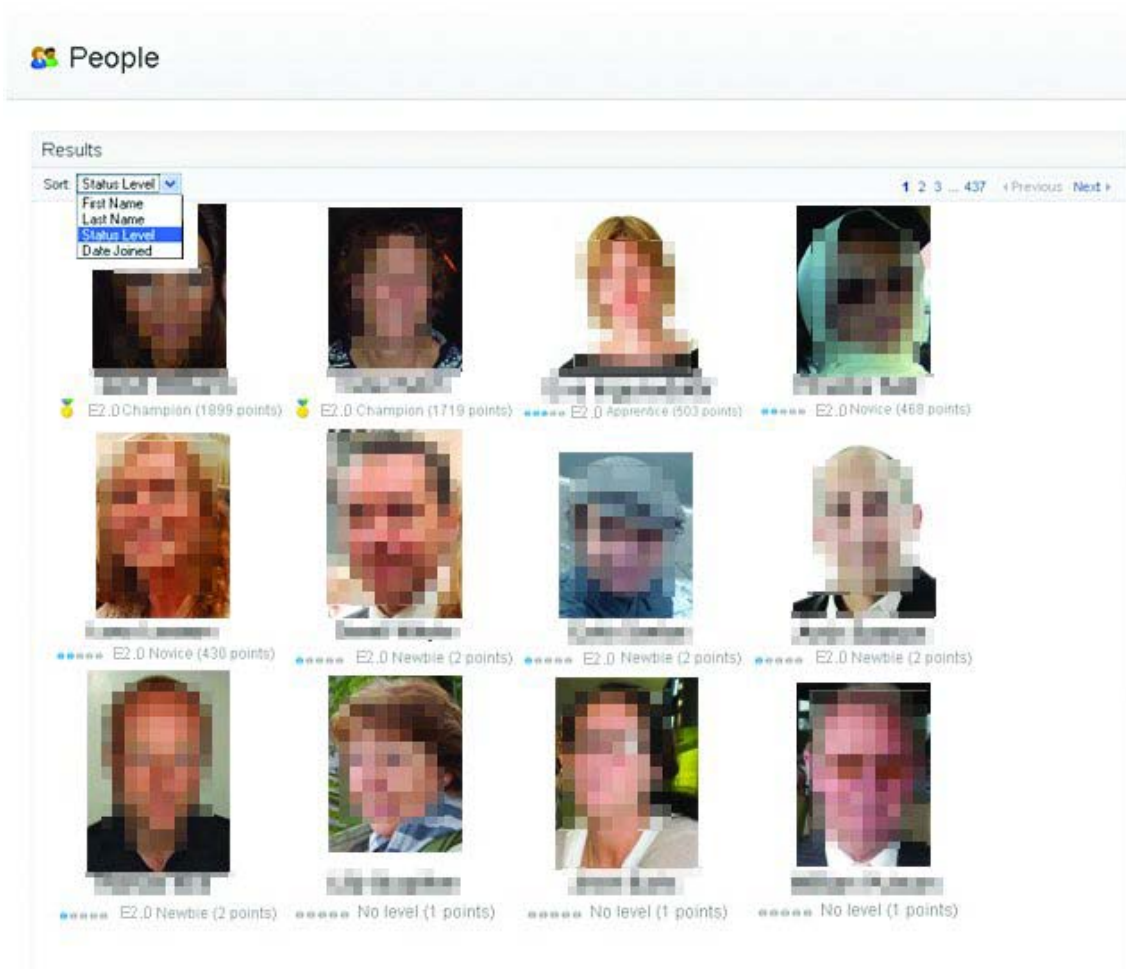
Figure 1: Screenshot from the search functionality in Jive software. With E2.0, people are "knowledge carriers" - a core premise in E2.0.

According to a recent European survey social media as a professional work tool (E2.0) has increased from 23 percent to 40 percent during 2011 compared to 2010 (MyNewsDesk, 2012). But the real value of E2.0 resides in the information and knowledge shared among employees via social intranets. As organizations do not have the mass (i.e., such as Wikipedia or YouTube), the long tail principle will not apply to most organizations and, thus, additional motivation for sociability and user contribution will be needed (Levy, 2009). In many ways, the lack of privacy is one of the pillars underpinning the E2.0 model. However, according to the privacy calculus argument (Culnan & Armstrong, 1999), individuals' motivation to provide information is often governed by their privacy concerns (Nov & Wattal, 2009). Hence, individuals' experiences or attitudes toward privacy may negatively impact the volume and type of

content shared in a social network site (Brandtzæg, Lüders & Skjetne, 2010), which may in turn have negative implications for an E2.0 solution. For example, an employee who is particularly concerned about the ownership or privacy of shared data may limit the amount of information disclosed in a social business network or simply less willing to participate in an E2.0 solution. As a result, there may exists serious conflict between the E2.0 model (freedom of sociability through information sharing and collaboration in the virtual workplace) and the employee's needs for privacy in the company's virtual space, which we have chosen to label the 'E2.0 dilemma' (see Figure 2) – following Brandtzæg et al (2010) and – 'social networking sites dilemma'.
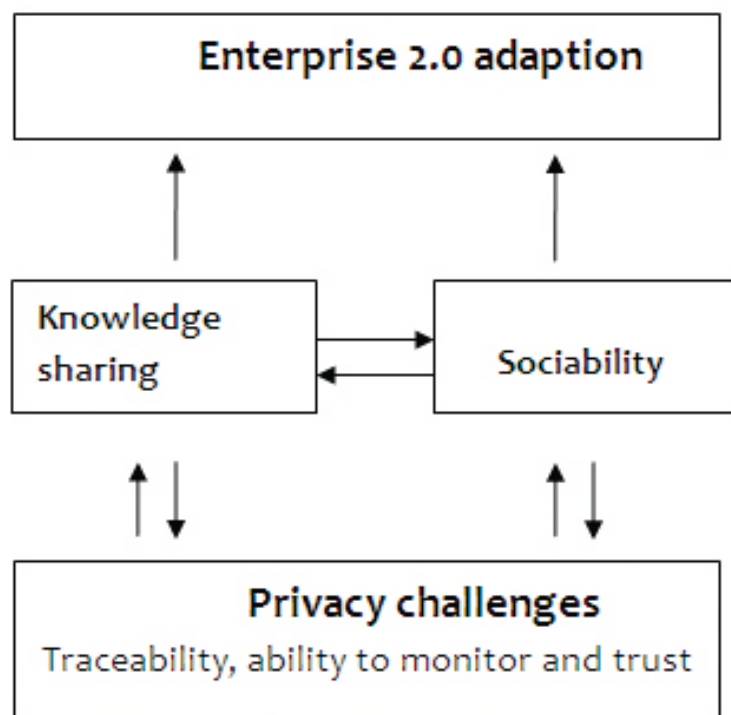

Figure 2: 'E2.0 dilemma' [1]

Accordingly, the aim of this study is to contribute to close the research gap mentioned in the introduction by questioning how E2.0 challenges employees' subjective experience of privacy issues working in a large company. Such knowledge

[1] Adapted from Brandtzæg et al., 2010 privacy dilemma in social networking technologies.

will serve as a foundation for developing E2.0 guidance for such companies. Another objective of this study is to gain knowledge about these matters that can assist E2.0 designers, practitioners and companies in promoting sociability in terms of collaboration and knowledge sharing while safeguarding privacy. The present paper combines theory from both privacy regulation theory (Altman, 1975) and social capital theory (e.g., Putnam, 2000) in order to gain greater insight into this issue and the 'E2.0 dilemma' outlined in Figure 2.

In general, privacy is understood as the ability of an individual to withdraw from attention and to protect or reveal personal information selectively (Karahasanović, Brandtzæg, Vanattenhoven, Lievens, Nielsen & Pierson, 2009). Privacy is an individual right – even in the workplace. A substantial amount of legislation exists, at least in the EU, that governs data protection, surveillance and privacy at work (see CIPD 2009, e.g., Data Protection Act, 1998). On a national level, the requirements concerning privacy rights are generally covered in a country's constitution. On an international level, privacy rights are outlined in various treaties enacted by the EU and the UN (Van Dijk, 2007, pp. 149). Still, the concept of privacy rights and how individuals experience their rights are observed may differ from culture to culture (Karahasanović et al., 2009) and across different entities in a large-scale international company. In addition, the complexity of privacy issues is growing as social media becomes common within organizations and employees themselves disclose content in semi-public spaces. In a transnational company, these issues may be even more pronounced, hence the codes of personal and professional conduct in regard to privacy might vary across groups, companies and national borders. In other words, preferred privacy levels change in time according to environment (Altman, 1975). Previous research has also demonstrated that requirements related to trust and privacy need to be tailored to the specific application used and community needs (Karahasanović et al., 2009), emphasizing the need to study this issue in the context of E2.0. Moreover, success in E2.0 will not be triggered by adopting tools, but by organizational central guidance (Levy, 2009). An important objective is therefore to gain the knowledge needed to develop such guidance related to the sociability vs. privacy dilemma.

Previous scholarship has mainly addressed E2.0 and the general potential benefits for companies (e.g., McLean, 2007). Steinfield, DiMicco, Ellison and Lampe (2009) for instance, studied IBM employee's use of the company internal social networking software in relation to its potential to bound (connect with people you know) and bridge (connect with people your connections know) social capital, and hence facilitate knowledge in more efficient ways. However, their findings are biased by studying only the highly engaged users (p. 253). On the whole, younger employees use these applications more than their older colleagues (Carswell, 2007) and there is large discrepancy in the perceived value of E2.0 (Levy, 2009). Still, there are several businesses that are adapting to these new tools (MyNewsDesk, 2012), and very little research has been conducted on privacy in social networking services in the context of a company and their employees, what employees think, how they respond or what they see as acceptable and unacceptable aspects of E2.0 technologies. With the increasing usage of E2.0 solutions this gap of knowledge into privacy issues is urgently needed.

Theory: Social capital and privacy regulation in the context of E2.0

Social capital has a variety of definitions, but it broadly refers to the recognition and value of social networks and the role of social ties (Ling, 2008). Therefore, the ability to form and maintain relationships is understood as a basic precondition for the accumulation of social capital (Lin, 1999). In short, social capital can be understood as social connections as well as attendant norms and trust, which enable participants to act together more effectively (Putnam, 2000). As noted in the introduction, E2.0 is about the collaborative activity and knowledge sharing (i.e., sociability) embedded in social electronic networks in a company. Social capital and the concept of social trust are regarded as a vital variable that influences such knowledge sharing (Hui & Yijia, 2011). The degree of social trust should therefore be taken into account as it is important in understanding both social capital and privacy. For example, people with high trust report more self-disclosure or sharing than those with lower levels of trust (Foubert & Sholley, 1996). Also, Fogel and Nehmad (2009) have shown that trust towards a particular consumer website influences sharing activities. Similarly, Dwyer, Hiltz and Passerin (2007) argued that trust and usage goals affect what people are willing to share.

Moreover, research from offline communities suggests a possible connection between high levels of privacy and decreased social capital (Buys & Bow, 2002) and a contradiction between high levels of sociability and the need for privacy (Switzer & Taylor, 1983). The two latter points stress the E2.0 dilemma and the importance of understanding social capital dimensions and privacy- as well as trust - as interrelated variables. Hence, how individuals use and respond to surveillance-capable technology like E2.0 technologies might be socially and contextually dependent.

Privacy regulation theory was developed by Irwin Altman (1975). The theory aims to explain why people sometimes prefer staying alone but other times like get involved in social interactions. According to Altman (1975) and his privacy regulation theory, privacy is regarded as a dialectic and dynamic boundary regulation process where privacy is not static but "a selective control of access to the self or to one's group" (p. 18). Privacy and the ability to regulate the degree of privacy are therefore seen as important requirements for individuals. However, the challenge in virtual interactions is that the persona exists in a space that is impossible for people to fully monitor completely, it is difficult for the employees to keep track of which data is or is not stored in the system (Agre & Rotenberg, 1998). This theory can help determine if such on and off regulations pertains to an E2.0 environment. Are employees able to effectively express their desired privacy boundaries to others in a company using E2.0 technologies? Altman (1975) believes the goal of privacy regulation is to achieve the ideal level of social interaction, which might also be a premise in the adaptation of an successful E2.0 solution - balancing both sociability, knowledge sharing and privacy (e.g., Figure 2).

In the workplace, privacy and sociability interplay in complex ways with the organization at one hand, and materiality – technology - on the other. E2.0 seeks to minimize hierarchies present in the social structure and promote better vertical communication. Do hierarchical differences play a role in how employees use E2.0 tools? What functionalities in E2.0 govern employee privacy and reduces the monitoring and surveillance risk? More specifically in the E2.0 dilemma and the framework presented in Figure 2, our objective is to answer the following research question to add valuable knowledge to the field of privacy in E2.0:

- How do employees vary in their work practices and experiences related to knowledge sharing and sociability when using E2.0, and how are these practices associated with the need for privacy (i.e., E2.0 dilemma)?

Methodology

To address this question, a qualitative approach has been selected to gain deeper insight in the interplay of E2.0 and privacy issues from the perspective of the employee. A total of 27 open-ended, in-depth interviews with knowledge workers were conducted over a period of four months in 2010 and 2011, with follow up interviews with eight of the employees in 2012. In addition, participatory observations were conducted at four out of six sites, and ethnographic field studies were carried out in Norway and Morocco in 2011 and repeated in 2012. Social network data of the participant's offline network at work was captured via a roster method network design - based on informants' free recall (Wasserman & Faust, 1994, p. 46).

The research case and its units of study

We used a comprehensive case study to study how employees in a multinational knowledge-intensive firm use and value Jive social business software – a cloud-based E2.0 platform with a variety of two-way functionalities (social networking, blogging, group and project collaboration, status sharing, document and file management and the like). This case is well suited for gaining crucial knowledge of the experience of modern knowledge workers with E2.0 technologies and the value of implementing such technologies in the workplace. The company, labeled herein as *Tech Business Company (TBC),* for the sake of anonymization, was chosen based on a number of factors. Firstly, it is a medium to large multinational knowledge-intensive firm (5000+ employees) located in more than 20 countries across Europe, the Middle East and Africa, with several entities in different countries.

Secondly, they operate where information communication technology and business intersect, so that the entities' specialized fields of knowledge should be relevant to the other subsidiaries in their activities. The company's business strategy is

to provide high-performing consultants organized around one of the company's three main services: solutions, consulting and operations. Thirdly, consultants in all divisions are typical knowledge workers, where the organizations typically must "rely on self-managed employees to use their discretion and expertise to make adjustments to respond to changing situations" (Kuvaas, 2006, p. 367).

TCB introduced E2.0 to the company as a strategic, internal tool to better utilize employees' knowledge capital in order to

> build professional networks, develop competence by following others more skilled, finding out what others are doing and not reinventing the wheel, having things you're working on easy to find and share, easily work with colleagues in other business units (from *TBC's* E2.0 implementation strategy).

However, knowledge exchange entails both contributing and collecting (Heinz & Rice, 2009: 140) and employee adoption of E2.0 is thus critical in the attainment of *TBC*'s overall goal (see Figure 2).

Interviews and field studies

Eight employees were interviewed in Norway, six employees in Denmark, nine employees in Morocco and four in the UK ($N = 27$). Recruiting participants from different entities and countries was regarded as important as the basis for a critical assessment of whether the use of E2.0 tools has an impact on knowledge-sharing practices across entities and to reveal key criteria for successful adoption of the technology. In addition, participatory observations were conducted by one of the researchers at four of the six entities involved in the study, with a two-week anthropological field study conducted at two entities in Morocco in 2011, and longer periods of anthropological field studies at one of the Norwegian entities in 2010 and 2011. To control for time biases, a new two-week field study was conducted in June 2012 at one of the entities in Norway and at one of the entities in Morocco July 2012 where four of the participants from each of the two countries were interviewed again. Approaching the field of study through an anthropological lens brings a valuable in-

depth, thick description (Geertz, 1983) of the object of study. By spending time at the different units and working in the employees' working environment a trusting relationship between the participants and the researcher evolves, allowing insight that would not have been gained through interviews alone or a quantitative survey.

As a starting point in 2010-2011, we evaluated the elements of technology, the organization and the company strategy critical to the success of E2.0. However, as interviews proceeded, insights in regard to privacy issues began to emerge. In response to unfolding of privacy issues during the first year's interviews, the theme of privacy was specifically included in the interview guide for the eight follow-up interviews one year later (2012). We also contacted a sample of participants who had ended their working contract with the company to find out if the company followed their formalized routines on content management and personal information after their departure. Similarly, new employees that had started to work in the company were asked, during the field study, if they had agreed on the company's E2.0 consent (user agreement) and if they had read the associated end-user agreement E2.0. In addition, we conducted a close analysis of all participants' ($N = 27$) activity within the application suite, a content analysis of a sample of blog posts and pursuant discussions, and an analysis of privacy features in the E2.0 technology.

To initiate the interview, the participants were asked to answer five questions to measure their self-perceived information communication technology (ICT)-expertise. Twenty two participants ranked their ICT-expertise as very high, two participants as high; and three participants as low. The interviews were reviewed several times in order to identify recurrent themes and findings. They were subsequently coded and analyzed with Nvivo 8. The ethnographic field notes, both in terms of written paper and video reports added important contextual descriptions to the analysis and were shared between the interviewers. Having the other researcher reflecting on the field notes and the video blogs minimized the risk of biased interpretations of the recordings (Emerson et al, 2011). In order to match employee's collaboration tendencies offline with their online practices we used a roster method network design (Wasserman & Faust, 1994, p.46). The participators were at the end of the interview asked to mark co-workers on a

"colleague-map" with photographs and names of co-workers they approach and which co-workers approach them for help and advice in work-related problems.

In June 2010, the company launched the software as a pilot; only a few entities were included. Norway was among the pilot group. The entities in the UK and Denmark started using the tool in the autumn and Morocco at the end of the same year. Differences in how long employees have used the tool could naturally be a bias to the findings of the E2.0 usage, but there are no clear differences between the entities on this matter. The follow-up studies confirm this.

Participants were recruited through a snowball method, starting at one entity with the first participant randomly selected from the middle of the employee list. In order to capture different entities, the snowballing had to start over again several times. A pitfall with snowball methodology is the risk of leaving key persons out of the sample (Hanneman & Riddle, 2005). However, by the use of mixed methodology and by including a variety of entities and service areas, the main tendencies for knowledge workers at *TBC* are believed to have been captured.

Results

This section will present the main results. Different usage patterns lead to different privacy experiences or privacy concerns (Brandtzæg et al., 2010). Hence, as a starting point, the qualitative interviews combined with the analysis of users' activity within the online E2.0 solution participants reveal two main usage patterns:

1. Thirteen participants use E2.0 passively, primarily as a one-way information channel. These participants had five or fewer contributions (comments, blog posts, etc). We label this group of users as 'knowledge seekers'**.**

2. Fourteen participants use E2.0 actively as an interactive tool for contributing with content, questions, input and comments in addition to relying on E2.0 for information retrieval or as a work tool as a part of their overall workflow. These participants have more than five contributions. We label this group of users as 'knowledge providers'**.**

Six of the eight participants from the follow-up study report that their E2.0 use has decreased over the past year.

As described in the introduction, the ideal in E2.0 is full adaption of the technology, with both user contribution and collaboration (see Figure 2). In the external social media landscape we are well aware of the presence of the 90-9-1 rule, stating that most people use the internet only to read, a few participate regularly, while only a small segment is active participators. In our sample this distribution is more balanced, but not ideal viewed through an E2.0 lens.

A privacy dilemma?

Several technological features are designed to motivate the users to contribute. The 'Like' button is one of these feedback mechanisms typically designed to create motivation and increase employee engagement, familiar from Facebook and other social media applications. This kind of feedback is well established in the private social media landscape, but when introduced to the workplace, we find that employees differ in their reception of this particular functionality in two distinct groupings: those who use this functionality frequently and that do not mind clicking the 'Like' button, and those who do not fancy this type of feedback.

Colliding contexts

We find employees present within both the knowledge-seeker and knowledge-provider categories that do not use the 'Like' functionality. Facebook and E2.0 are different contexts participants argue. The Like button represents a more informal domain:

> *Interviewer: Do you click the Like button in the E2.0 platform?*

> *Employee: No, that's a bit too Facebookish. A bit too much (Male, 40+, Denmark)*

Most employees in TCB participate in the external social media landscape although they differ as to where (some prefer Facebook, others LinkedIn or similar services and others both), and some are very active contributors. However, their user behavior in external networks does not seem to carry over to work as this employee from Morocco shows:

> *Interviewer: Do you click the Like button in the E2.0 platform?*
>
> *Employee: In Facebook yes, in the E2.0 tool no.*
>
> *Interviewer: So what is the difference?*
>
> *Employee: They are different contexts (Male, 20+, Morocco).*

Digital footprints as personal exposure

The participants explain their passiveness due to the fear of leaving digital footprints behind. Some employees reported fear that management could misuse their comments or actions such as clicking the 'Like' button on critical blog posts since their full name becomes visible to everyone within the company. The other group of employees not using engagement features designed in the tool list personal exposure as their reason for not hitting the 'Like' button:

> *Interviewer: But have you ever hit the Like button in E2.0?*
>
> *Employee: Yes I have. But the content I Like is not anonymous, so there is some stuff you want to click 'Like' on, for instance on comments about "Why haven't this or that happened" and I think "I totally agree" but then the feed will say that [her name] likes this post that is a bit of a controversy. So I decided that nope, I don't bother doing this no more (Female 40+, Norway).*

One employee gives the same argument for not participating in the company E2.0 platform:

> *By leaving comments and content in social media you get extremely exposed. You don't have any chance to withdraw it, delete it. And what if I liked something or had a comment some manager disagree with? I don't want to*

leave any traces of me that can be tracked back to me and used against me
on a later time. I never Like anything (Male 30+, Norway).

Leaving comments that will be available forever is listed as a reason for not
taking fully part in E2.0. An employee in his 50s in Norway explains his take on this
issue:

We only share good stories. I don't feel safe to share comments or thoughts
that are critical, and you know, everybody can read it, the whole company.
Even the top management despite that they don't speak our language.
Earlier [before E2.0] we could reply to work matters that later became a
note in the report from a meeting, now it is recorded for ever (Male, 50+,
Norway).

Previous notes and comments given at meetings were also electronically stored
in the earlier days, but on a local server hidden in a folder accessible only to the specific
entity and then sometimes only to a specific department. With the transparency and
openness in E2.0 such notes or comments become visible in fundamentally new ways,
and several employees feel uncomfortable to share these in E2.0. A Moroccan employee
tries to keep his comments in a professional manner in order to reduce potential
misinterpretations:

Information can be altered in some way (…) There is a possibility to be
misused or misunderstood. I try to avoid personal information that can be
understood somehow different from the original meaning. We try to avoid
personal comments, and maybe think twice before posting this kind of
comments (Male, 20+, Morocco)

Not only comments or content articulated by employees could be interpreted
different than intended, also functionality designed to create motivation signal different
meanings. Moreover, an interesting discussion between five employees about the 'Like'
button revealed that clicking the 'Like' button can be interpreted in different ways:
either that they fancy the content that is shared, or that they fancy the fact that the
person is sharing, more than the content itself. The discussion reveals how people's
interpretation of this functionality is vastly different. Hence, using this "Like" feature

could be misinterpreted by employees as well as by management.

Wider, not smaller, gaps

As mentioned, the ideal of E2.0 is for everyone to adapt to the technology and provide with content. Despite a more balanced distribution in our sample than predicted by the 90-9-1 rule, with 13 employees classified as 'knowledge seekers' and 14 as 'knowledge providers', it still falls short of the E2.0 ideal. Active employees become more visible in the platform than passive ones. Larger and visible gaps between employees due to active versus more passive use could be an unintended consequence of E2.0 where prejudices of "the others" could flourish, as this informant shows:

> **Employee:** *[Active E2.0 users] are the Yes-people. It is those who flatters and agree with the management. The Yes-people are those who participate in E2.0, and that reproduce their Yes-view in their Yes-clan" (Male 30+, Norway).*

Such a "yes view" supports the participant's view that only positive content is expected to be shared in E2.0. This employee explains during lunch that there are implicit rules in E2.0:

> *In E2.0 there are hidden rules. If you don't follow the hidden rules you get sanctioned. How? By being ignored by the others or that the conversation ends (Male, 50+, Norway).*

Employees working at clients also commented that the most active users spend time in E2.0 and not billing clients as they should. Being very active is viewed by some co-workers as wasting valuable time that instead should have been spent on generating revenue. Features in E2.0 such as becoming a 'top contributor' or a bonus systems which rewards employees proportionally to their contributions - ranging from expert as top contributors, with a five step scale (see screenshot Figure 1) - does not minimize the difference between active and passive employees; on the contrary, it makes the difference more explicit. Some employees have also commented that such a bonus system and rank neither fits in a work context nor serves the right purpose:

> *[Name] writes a bit. He is a top participant, he is within that field [that*
> *participates actively]. I don't fancy such bonus scores that not measures if*
> *someone gave you a good answer or a poor answer, all those things are*
> *foolish. I think that is for kindergartens (Female, 40+, Norway).*

User rank in the E2.0 platform is based on a quantitative measure and does not distinguish between providing a helpful answer and uploading a word document - a point this respondent, who do not use the tool for fear of leaving digital footprints, has used in his favor:

> *I have a lot of bonus scores [in the E2.0 platform]. I uploaded the whole*
> *folder from our unit and you get three points per documents. So now my*
> *status level is Apprentice (he laughs). So it looks like I am a very active user*
> *(Male 30+, Norway).*

E2.0 sought to decrease organizational borders by opening up horizontal and vertical communication (McAffe, 2010, Cook, 2011). However, it seems that a new pattern is evolving, namely the grouping of very active versus more passive users.

Openness versus surveillance: balancing social structure and technology

Keeping in mind that *TBC* is located in more than 20 countries in Europe, the Middle East and Africa, an employee in a Scandinavian country may feel more free to discuss company matters within the E2.0 platform than employees in countries marked by more authoritarian management models with stricter monitoring practices. When asked what the entities' strategy is to engage more employees to take E2.0 into use, one manager explains that they use E2.0 actively during the adaption process:

> *We see who has created a personal profile and who has not. We can also see*
> *when people were last logged in and use this information actively to get*
> *more employees to use E2.0 (Manager, 40+, country not listed due to*
> *anonymity).*

Input in the personal profile such as geographical location, primary work functions, info about the employee, favorite areas of interest and tags of the employee's

working domains is by default open in the tool, but the employee has no opportunity to change the settings for 'Last log-in' or 'Recent activity' feeds, i.a. her contributions or actions in E2.0. These two settings are administered by the top management. These are digital footprints of possibly undesired behavior and clearly run a risk of surveillance.
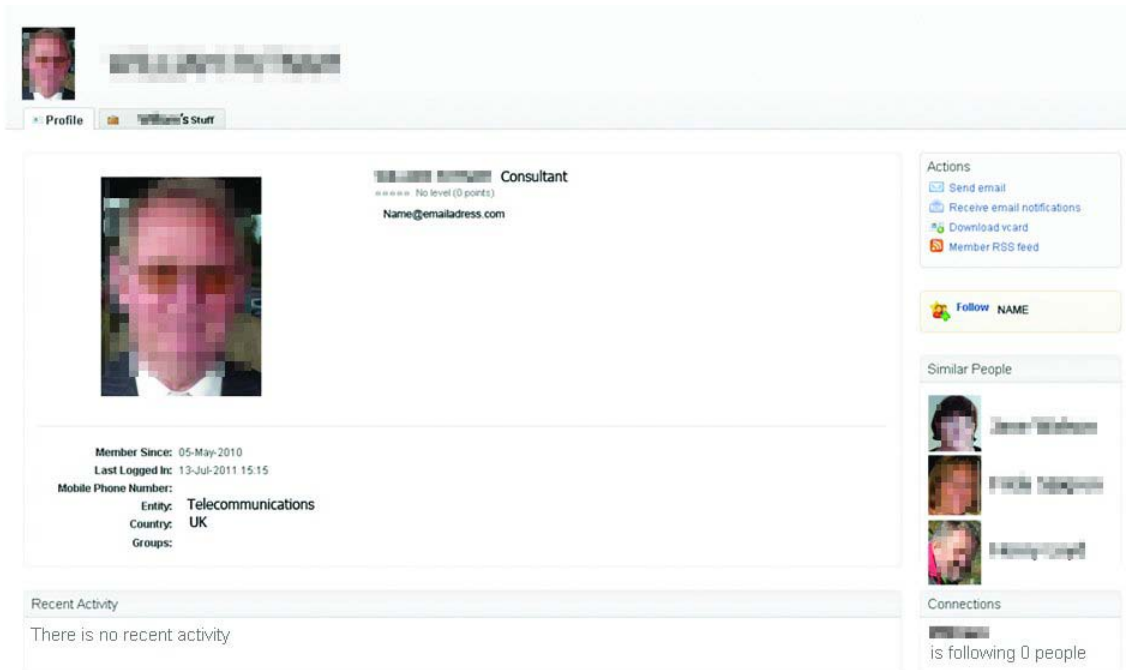

Figure 3: Screenshot of an employee's personal profile. The employee's last log-in time and his recent activity are set as default by the top management in *TBC* in their E2.0 platform.

One manager informs that he notices who is active and who is not, and that those who contribute actively are viewed in positive terms from a company perspective and thus receive an extra personal score from the management. Another manager, from the same country, takes the opposite view, noticing who should spend less time discussing matters in E2.0 and more time on working. Email alerts for interactions that takes place in groups keeps this awareness constant. Another interesting finding in line with the first managers' reasoning involves using the E2.0 platform for personal gain. One respondent, who frequently contributes with content, explained how she believes management does keep an eye out for which users are actively participating:

> **Employee:** *You can use E2.0 to brand your name within the organization. I'm not saying I'm schmoozing with the management (...). But with E2.0 (...)*

for instance when I comment on a post from [the manager], the distance between us decreases and my name might be noticed. (...) There were no similar opportunities before E2.0.

Interviewer: *Do you think this could have a say for your personal career at work?*

Employee: *Yes (Female 30+, Denmark).*

Notwithstanding, other employees take notice of very active contributors and interpret this as actions guided by personal agenda. One participant comments, *"Some uses E2.0 as a personal marketing tool" (Female, 40+, Norway).*

The interplay of social structure and technology is interesting, nevertheless, and shows that that including the whole of the organization's internal life in E2.0 is not appreciated. The "no-views" – or comments critical of company direction or disciplinary priorities - still seem to be discussed offline by the coffee machine or during lunch. Also asking for knowledge in the open is perceived as unpleasant as this employee explains:

What creates interest in the E2.0 platform is when people ask questions. That really sparks interest, right. But we often experience it as unnatural to ask questions like that, in the open. Like, it's no problem if you talk with someone face-to-face or if you're just a small group (Male 40+, Norway).

This respondent emphasizes that to ask questions in a context where you do not know the size and composition of your audience is unpleasant. To establish social trust is thus critical. So what kind of content should E2.0 facilitate if there are types of content that are negatively perceived by co-workers and managers, and that it hinders discussions more than it nurtures knowledge-sharing? The fundament in E2.0 is to facilitate knowledge exchange among employees, but what kind of knowledge? Tsoukas and Mylonopoulos's (2004) distinguish data, which requires minimal involvement from people, from information, which is a context-based arrangement. They define knowledge as "the judgment of the significance of events, problems, issues and items derived from a particular context and/or theory" (Tsoukas & Mylonopoulos, 2004, p.8). In contrast to knowledge-management tools, E2.0 platforms intertwine knowledge and

people. Hence, knowledge in the E2.0 platform consists not only of the "yes stories", but of a complex mixture of experiences, opinions, perspectives, insights and so forth.

Trust and local spaces within the global E2.0 platform

Another important insight related to trust is that some employees have expressed that they do not trust that the knowledge they share in the platform is not misused by entities in other contexts. Hence, a kind of a social or local privacy strategy is applied to avoid misuse. For example, one south European country has closed off their intranet entirely, leaving no opportunity for others to explore their content. This act could be interpreted as an attempt to create local spaces that provide better a overview of who is a member and who is not. An interesting finding that is relevant to this discussion involves two specific functionalities in E2.0, namely the social networking and the group features. There seems to be a strong tendency among employees using this functionality to mostly follow or be followed by co-workers who share similarities (the same work domain, work at the same entity, from the same country, speak the same language, etc). This pattern also appears within the group functionality: members of a group often work within the same context or share other similarities. In this sense, little cross-divisional collaboration takes place; rather, employees tend to join groups in E2.0 with similar co-workers. This follows the theoretical argument known as the "law of homophily" - often referred to as "birds of feather flock together" - where people tend to associate and bond in social networks with others they find similar (McPherson, Smith-Lovin & Cook, 2001). When a number of people share common values they form a group they identify with, which builds in-group trust. Hence, Chiu, Hsu & Wang (2006) hold that facets of social capital such as social interaction ties, trust, norms of reciprocity, identification, shared vision and shared language will influence individuals' knowledge sharing in virtual communities.

With Altmans' (1975) argument that the goal of privacy regulation is to achieve the ideal level of social interaction, it seems possible that employees find this balance in group functionalities where they seek similar people. Local intranets and groups are smaller spaces that may provide more in-group feelings, social trust and a better overview of its members than the collective and very transparent E2.0 platform.

Discussion and conclusion

This study shows that privacy challenges, such as traceability, controllability and distrust, all play important roles in how employees use E2.0. Some of the participants in this study do not contribute actively with feedback and content in the E2.0 platform due to, somewhat differently, fear of leaving digital footprints that the company may misuse. The transparency of employees' thoughts, interactions and comments seems to be regulated by the lack of trust. Not knowing your audience or being aware of management monitoring your use within E2.0 are some reasons employees list when they say that they think twice before posting content or hit the Like button. Interestingly, both content shared and functionality in E2.0 designed to create motivation is interpreted in different manners, by different users. This finding shows that not only elements shared can mean different things, but also that elements can be perceived in various ways, and hence sanctioned differently. In this sense, knowledge sharing in the E2.0 platform is also a matter of written communication whereas face-to-face gestures, body language, irony and more are not grasped. Our findings therefore corresponds with Chiu et al (2006) that holds that trust, norms of reciprocity and a shared vision as well as language, influence individuals' knowledge sharing in virtual communities.

The results in the present study show that the E2.0 dilemma model illustrated in the introduction is confirmed. Users of E2.0 report the difficulties of balancing privacy, knowledge sharing and sociability. Hence, critical discussions and knowledge-sharing practices, for example, takes place in more trusted offline contexts, face-to-face, leaving no digital traces behind and with a room to clear out any misunderstanding immediately. Elements present in the social structure, for instance management and rank, seem to influence the way employees engage in the E2.0 platform. Critical comments or thoughts shared in the platform are subject to sanctions both within and outside the tool. Some employees tell that only "yes" stories of professional content is appreciated by their co-workers and/or managers. Critical comments are reported sanctioned by the others by closing the conversation or by being moved from online to offline. Both employees coded as knowledge providers and knowledge seekers fear

management monitoring, although few of them have experienced negative consequences. As a privacy strategy employees refrain to use the E2.0 solution actively.

On the other hand, some employees use the collaboration platform for personal promotion, and very active employees are interpreted as boastful among some of their co-workers. The degree of an employee's activity seems to cultivate a wider, and not the ideal narrower, gap between employees and departments, thus making full adaption of the E2.0 platform difficult.

Additionally, none of the participants interviewed has agreed upon or read any E2.0 privacy consent. When confronted on this matter most of the participators perceive work context to be different from private social networking sites, and do not take fully into considerations that their employer collect and store their interaction and sharing patterns. At the same time, many do think twice of what they comment on, share and Like. Leaving explicit digital footprints that management could keep an eye on, and misuse at later occasions, seem to worry more than "big data" issues. Technical features set as default (transparency, last logged in, traces of what employees Liked, bonus rank and more) in the E2.0 platform thus collides with employees' quest for interacting in a more trustful environment, with a better overview of who the other participators are.

One important finding is that, as a privacy strategy, employees collaborate and interact offline with co-workers similar to themselves, a pattern that seems to be reproduced within the platform. Smaller, semi-structured spaces provide a better overview of which other employees are part of the group. Altman (1975) believes the goal of privacy regulation is to achieve the ideal level of social interaction - to balance sociability, knowledge sharing and privacy - which seem to be one, out of several, critical elements to the success of an adaption of the E2.0 solution documented in this article.

To avoid potentially drawbacks, related to the E2.0 dilemma in the E2.0 adaption process, we suggest that the settings in the E2.0 platform that are presently set as default should be changed to promote trust and openness by allowing the employee herself to manage and control her own content. By increasing the possibility for an employee to control her own content and actions we believe the E2.0 platform would be perceived among users as more trustworthy than it is today.

A more explicit strategy outlining expectations would not only make contributions more predictable, but also leave less room for negative reactions towards the most active users and fewer privacy concerns among less active users.

In order to nurture knowledge-sharing processes through an E2.0 platform with high transparency, both contextual and technological elements should be taken into account. Yet, it is important to pay attention to privacy and sociability issues to make all employees feel secure in regard to privacy using the company platform. Moreover, the concept of personal information in new social technologies in the workspace is problematic, and further research should explore in more detail what content in E2.0 should be classified as personal information as this area is currently convoluted and unclear. Finally, our findings and conclusions should be interpreted with caution and further work is needed. Our study is limited to 27 employees and field studies in few contexts in one single transnational consultancy company. Further and larger studies are recommended to replicate our study with more extensive surveys covering a broader range of employees and companies to identify the extent of various privacy concerns revealed in the present study.

Acknowledgements

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