THE INTERNET ON OUR OWN TERMS:

How Children and Young People Deliberated About Their Digital Rights

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PREFACE

The following pages provide a rare glimpse into the attitudes of a group of young people under 18, invited to interrogate their relationship with the internet and digital technologies. It is the culmination of an unusual research project, using actors and fictitious scenarios to promote debate, and the use of iterative juries to find consensus. It was a process designed to put the unmediated voices of children at the heart of the internet debate.

What they have to say makes compelling reading. Their policy suggestions are pragmatic and plausible, the sense of personal responsibility they feel is palpable, and their desire that the adult world; governments, regulators, businesses and internet companies, provide more support and put more control into their hands, is a clear indicator of how we should respond.

Qualitative research from young people is thin on the ground, and this excellent piece of work is a great step in understanding the breadth and depth of young people's concerns.

I want to take this opportunity to thank Professor Stephen Coleman and Dr. Kruakae Pothong from the School of Media and Communication, University of Leeds, as well as Sarah Weston and the actors from Leeds who devised the scenarios, and Dr. Elvira Perez Vallejos and Dr. Ansgar Koene from Horizon Digital, University of Nottingham for promoting youth engagement and policy impact. To Rose Dowling and the SHM team, Glenn Manoff and Nicola White for coordinating, and Professor Sonia Livingstone who first suggested that an iterative research process would best capture the voice of children. But most of all, I should like to thank the young people who participated in the juries for their valuable insight.

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Baroness Beeban Kidron
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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

In April 2015 young people aged between 12 and 17 gathered together in the cities of Leeds, London and Nottingham to participate in a series of jury-styled focus groups designed to 'put the Internet on trial'. In total, nine juries took place which included 108 young people, approximately 12 participants per jury. Like members of any jury, the participants arrived with their own online experiences and proceeded to examine a broad range of claims and evidence. A series of scenarios were dramatized by young actors to illustrate some of these claims, including dilemmas and concerns young people face when accessing the digital world. Each one of those scenarios triggered discussions around fundamental digital rights identified by the 5Rights initiative:

- **The right to remove,** enabling young people to easily edit, delete, retract, correct and/or dispute content they have created and/or data that refers to them.
- **The right to know,** designed to increase transparency concerning how young people's information is being used and who is holding and profiting from such information.
- **The right to safety and support,** promoting the same age-appropriate and compatible protection, care and support online as in the offline world.
- **The right to informed and conscious use,** empowering children to recognize when their attention is being manipulated and empower them to disengage at will.
- **The right to digital literacy,** aimed at providing young people with the digital skills necessary for using, creating and critiquing digital technologies and giving them the tools for negotiating social norms.

The aim of the nine youth juries was to put young people at the centre of the policy debate, which is often dominated by adult experts and a discourse of fear. Juries were audio recorded and transcribed. Researchers from Leeds and Nottingham universities analysed the discussions that took place, paying special attention to opinion formation and the deliberation process. Discourse analysis allowed researchers to understand what shaped the jurors' thinking, as well as to identify online concerns and solutions that could be translated into policy recommendations.

Alongside many positive stories and personal anecdotes about the value of digital communication technologies, jurors' expressions of frustration and concerns were grouped into the following themes:

1. **Transcending the online-offline dichotomy:** Young people expect their online experiences to be consistent and governed by the same moral standards as the offline world and, therefore, to have the same rights and responsibilities online as they have offline.

2. **The role of regulation:** Along with self-responsibility, they wanted regulation to introduce reasonable norms to ensure young people's experiences online are not only safer, but happier.

3. **Finding efficacy:** The process of participating had a profound effect on their efficacy. Jurors were measured before and after to capture attitudinal change. They left the process feeling more determined to have a say about how digital technologies and services are run and more confident about expressing their rights.

Chapter 4 (page 41) records their **recommendations to Government policy-makers and industry chiefs** in full. Below are some recurring themes:

Young People's Recommendations about Data:

- ✓ Users should be informed of any use of their data - their explicit consent should be required
- ✓ There should be more information about how personal data is shared and tracked
- ✓ The length of time personal data is stored should be limited
- ✓ There should be a recognised award/badge for organisations who demonstrate best practice in personal data sharing and protection of users' privacy

Young People's Recommendations about Terms and Conditions:

- ✓ T&C should be clearer, shorter and more accessible
- ✓ Audio and/or video T&C should be introduced
- ✓ Businesses that do not comply with minimum requirements, such as word limits, clarity, reasonable choice or accessibility, should be fined

Young People's Recommendations about Removing Content:

- ✓ Young people wanted overall power to delete their own content
- ✓ A self-tracking tool should be available to see where one's content goes

Young People's Recommendations about Screen Shots:

- ✓ A blocking tool should be available
- ✓ Users should have control to limit viewing and unwanted exposure

Young People's Recommendations about Education:

- ✓ A demand for awareness raising/improving internet literacy
- ✓ A broader curriculum beyond the current provision of e-safety that explains as well as warns
- ✓ A desire for a peer-group advice service

Young People's Recommendations about Excessive Device Use:

- ✓ Responsible adults and technologies should help children exercise self-control; specifically the ubiquitous provision of time cut-off points
- ✓ Recommended usage periods should be publicised
- ✓ Social and technological tools to manage use should be more readily available

Image from Nottingham's Jury

1. THE PROJECT

In April 2015 young people gathered together in three UK cities – London, Leeds and Nottingham – to put the Internet on trial. The nine youth juries that conducted this unique exercise comprised a diverse range of young people aged between 12 and 17. Like members of any jury, the participants arrived with their own experiences and outlook and proceeded to examine a broad range of claims and evidence. The more that they deliberated, the more they began to piece together the reasons for some of the frustrations they experienced online and to feel confident about proposing ways of overcoming them.

Often referred to as 'digital natives' and assumed to be entirely at ease with the vast range of information and communication technologies with which they have grown up, many of these children and young people felt uneasy about their dependence upon technologies about which they had such limited knowledge and over which they seemed to have such little control. Few of them could imagine a world without the

Internet. But that did not mean that they regarded it uncritically. As we shall see, they not only questioned some of the norms that often seem to be embedded in the online world, but they did so in imaginative and pragmatic ways.

Policy debates about children and young people online have tended to be limited in two important respects. Firstly, they are dominated by adults – often 'experts' who claim to know what young people need. Secondly, they have been dominated by a discourse of fear: the need to protect young people against predatory forces that make their online experiences inherently risky. While there should certainly be a place in the policy debate for adult experts, their claims and judgements should not be allowed to crowd out the voices of children and young people themselves. While online protection presents formidable challenges, this should not be allowed to overwhelm other questions about the kind of Internet that children and young people want.

The 5Rights initiative, which was built out of hundreds of conversations with children and months of consultation with teachers and parents, emerged as a counter to these policy limitations. Having had input from experts, practitioners and industry, it was deemed necessary to assess whether the 5Rights still aligned with the views of young people. This research was commissioned by 5Rights and designed to be independent, leaving the rights open to change.

The aim of the youth juries was to put children and young people at the centre of the policy debate; to help them to create a space to speak of their own hopes and anxieties and to take themselves seriously (the first step towards being taken seriously) as policy-makers. The 5Rights were devised as a way of broadening the policy debate beyond a discourse of fear and risk. They are i) the right to remove, enabling children to easily edit, delete, retract, correct and/or dispute content they have created and/or data that refers to them; ii) the right to know, designed to increase transparency concerning how young people's information is being used and who is holding and profiting from such information; iii)

the right to safety and support, promoting the same age-appropriate and compatible protection, care and support online as in the offline world; iv) the right to informed and conscious use, empowering children to disengage at will; and v) the right to digital literacy, aimed at providing young people with the digital skills necessary for using, creating and critiquing digital technologies and giving them the tools for negotiating changing social norms.

In inviting young people to put the Internet on trial, we wanted to understand firstly, how young people form and express opinions about their quality of life online; and secondly, how they would wish to express these views if, instead of the discussion with them being framed in terms of what adults and experts think they need, we were to focus on what they want to be able to achieve in order to become fearless, knowledgeable and creative digital citizens. In seeking to establish what young people want for themselves, we adopted an approach designed to prompt and stimulate rather than provide reductionist answers to pre-determined adult anxieties.

What follows in this report is an account of how we designed the youth juries; how the jurors deliberated and why this evidence should provide a basis for re-thinking the digital rights of children and young people.

2. DESIGNING THE YOUTH JURIES

The formidable challenge we faced in setting up the youth juries was to create a space in which young people could feel comfortable to speak for themselves. Too often, when children and young people are asked questions by researchers, they are framed in ways that anticipate certain responses. If, for example, children and young people are only asked questions about their vulnerability to a range of pernicious content and contacts, it is hardly surprising that the picture of online life emerging from such research will be characterised by a narrative of fear and anxiety. By limiting young people to the status of mere informants who lack the maturity or competence to make sense of their own experiences, research of this kind can be inadvertently exploitative, with evidence from young people used as ammunition in support of pre-determined policy agendas (Mannion, 2007:407-8).

Determined not to conduct research that would merely confirm what adults know or suspect, the project was designed around two principles of exploration: deliberation and dramatization. The reasons for adopting these principles and the ways in which they were implemented are key to the innovative nature of this research.

2.1 Deliberation

The aim of the youth juries was not simply to find out what children and young people thought and felt about their experiences of the digital world, but to discover what shaped their thinking; how they came to define certain experiences as problematic; how they attempted to work together to think through solutions to these problems; the extent to which they were prepared to change their minds in response to discussion with peers or exposure to new information; and how they went about translating their ideas into practical policy recommendations.

This approach was inspired by the wave of deliberative experiments and initiatives that have been conducted in recent years on topics ranging from healthcare reform and nuclear power to local town plans and community policing. Deliberative theorists argue that there should be more to public discourse and decision-making than partisan position-taking and the employment of aggregative mechanisms to determine who 'won' the argument. They argue that collective judgements benefit from open discussion in which citizens are encouraged to share and contrast their preferences and values with a view to, at least, understanding why they disagree and, at best, working through their differences and seeking common ground.

The theoretical assumption behind deliberation is that people are capable of changing their moral, political or behavioural preferences when they encounter compelling reasons to do so. When it works well, deliberation gives fluidity to democracy. It saves public discourse from derailment by disagreements that have escaped the need for convincing elaboration or intelligent public reflection and reduces the narrow meanness that is so often associated with the sordid politics of 'winners' and 'losers'. It opens up a space for people to think about who they are, what they need and want, and how they might act collectively in ways that take all actors into account. As John Stuart Mill (1855, 67) put it, deliberation enables citizens "to feel for and with his fellow citizens, and become consciously a member of a great community".

While there is now a considerable volume of research literature on the normative, epistemic and pragmatic value of public deliberation (Bohman, 1998; Elstub, 2010; Parkinson and Mansbridge, 2012; Steiner, 2012; Coleman, Przybylska and Sintomer, 2015), hardly any systematic research has been conducted on the ways in which children and young people deliberate. Valuable observational studies have explored how young people talk about political issues (Henn et al, 2005; Blackman, 2007; Ekstrom and Ostman, 2013; Thorson, 2014), but they have not addressed the deliberative questions outlined above. This is not only a

gap in the research literature, but a missed opportunity to learn about the ways in which practical reasoning occurs within a generational group that is often dismissed as lacking sufficient maturity to contribute to public policy.

The aim of this research was to observe the deliberative process as it took place. Few people (adults or children) have black or white views on most subjects. Opinion formation is messy, often framed by competing and even inconsistent values. Helping young people to think through this messiness was a major aim of the youth jury process. This entailed being open to modes of expression that are not typically present (or allowed into) the policy sphere. Iris Marion Young (2002:49) has famously lamented the 'identification of reasonable public debate with polite, orderly, dispassionate, gentlemanly argument' and argued, in the name of 'communicative democracy', that more diverse forms of deliberative practice, such as storytelling, should be taken seriously. Our objective in this research was not to encourage children and young people to deliberate as if they were members of a parliamentary committee or a learned society, but to learn from the ways in which children and young people deliberate upon their own terms.

The deliberative process involves three key stages:

i) talking openly and honestly about shared experiences with a view to arriving at a common understanding of a problem that needs to be tackled;
ii) considering the merits of possible solutions to the problem;
iii) arriving at proposals designed to solve the problem.

The youth juries were structured with a view to encouraging an atmosphere in which unconstrained deliberation could flourish. It was important for the juries to be noisy and discursive, and that jurors became aware that they were engaged in a process of collective judgement – one that called for both candour and compromise. In seeking to create a space in which children and young people could

exercise their agency by choosing whether, how and of what they would speak, considerable emphasis was placed upon cultivating a flexible, inclusive and open-minded communicative style. It is one thing for researchers to say that they want events to be youth-centred, but quite another to make it feel that way. Sitting young people in front of a tape recorder and firing pre-determined questions at them is a style that can generate lots of data, but little meaning. As researchers, trying to learn from what went on in the juries, our task was to behave as good listeners. Formal spaces for policy deliberation, such as council meetings, can be intimidating for children and incompatible with their everyday experiences of communicating. Cockburn (2010) has suggested that deliberative mechanisms need to be adapted to the spaces where children feel most comfortable. It was very important, therefore, to ensure that the 'jury rooms' were set up in ways that put young people (physically) at the centre, enabling them to see everyone else as they spoke and to interact as freely as possible.

Image from Nottingham's Jury

Each session was moderated by a highly experienced facilitator whose brief was to enable all jurors to be heard and all experiences, viewpoints and recommendations to be respected. Group moderation is a vital and sensitive role: too much intervention and guidance from a facilitator could easily have turned the juries into an exercise in leading young people towards the 'right' answers; too little steering could have resulted in some of the quieter, less confident jurors slipping out of the discussion. Looking back at the video archive of the jurors, it became

clear that our facilitator performed a really important role in making the discussions fully inclusive, while allowing participants to determine their own agenda, tone and flow of arguments.

From the outset, the idea of being a member of a jury was emphasised and participants knew that they were expected not only to offer their ideas about how their digital lives could be improved, but to work as a group to think through a set of recommendations that adults in general, and policy-makers and the digital industry in particular, would feel compelled to take seriously.

Jury sessions began with a discussion about the importance of particular digital tools, technologies and services to jurors. They were asked to talk about the tools and sites that they couldn't live without. This was followed by an initial dramatic scenario (about which there is more information in the next section) in which one actor played the part of the Internet as an embodied human being, expressing concern that everyone seems to dwell on the trouble s/he causes, while ignoring all the social benefits. This scenario led jurors to reflect upon the ways in which digital technologies could be both life-enhancing and frustrating. This raised important questions about how inevitable the negative features were and whether jurors, as users of these technologies, could do or propose anything that might result in more positive digital experiences. Indeed, throughout the entire jury process, participants were urged to reflect upon their own efficacy as consumers and citizens. Discussion focused on how the jury members and the people they knew well experienced the digital world, rather than speaking in abstractions about how the Internet affects 'people' in general.

Each three-hour jury session was split into five sections, each of which was introduced by a dramatic scenario referring to a particular aspect of online experience (see next section). Once jurors had watched the scenario, they were encouraged to discuss how, or if, it related to their own experiences.

This first stage involved a lot of storytelling. A story from one juror tended to trigger others, sometimes reinforcing its message but sometimes reflecting a quite different experience. By no means were all of these narratives negative. Indeed, they offered a picture of a rather complex relationship between young users and digital technologies; one in which communication is both simplified and made potentially complicated by going online. As the jurors shared experiences and came to focus upon particular concerns and anxieties, they were urged to identify problems that they thought required tackling.

From a deliberative perspective, this movement from account-giving to problem-definition is vitally important. It is a stage that is often omitted from research exercises, on the assumption that researchers already know what the problems are. As jurors worked together to articulate and define problems, they were forced to think about crucial questions of responsibility and accountability. If something is a problem, whose problem is it? Who has created the problem? What happens if something is a problem for users, but a benefit for service providers? There is no such thing as a neutral problem. As situations came to be defined as challenges to be overcome, competing values and interests began to be acknowledged. Problem-solving began to take on a political flavour. As will become clear in this report, children and young people showed that they were capable of adopting sophisticated approaches not only to the formulation of problems, but to the recognition of conflicting values and interests.

Once jurors had defined a problem that they wanted to tackle, they were encouraged to move on to consider potential solutions. In this second stage of the deliberative process, a range of ideas emerged, often conflicting with one another. In doing this work of sifting potential solutions, young people were no different from adults: they often found themselves in disagreement with one another – and sometimes even with themselves – as they moved towards the possibility of resolving a

problem. Expressing and listening to competing solutions is an essential feature of deliberation. It was in this stage that we often observed individual and collective shifts in opinion. Forceful arguments, supported by compelling evidence, changed some minds. Solutions that lacked clear justifications or seemed unfeasible tended to fall by the wayside.

Once it became clear to the facilitator that jurors had had sufficient time to define problems and consider solutions, the juries were split into smaller groups of between six and eight. Each group was asked to come up with one or more recommendations relating (as broadly as they interpreted it) to the problem under discussion. In these smaller groups discussion became more intense and the focus tended to shift to pragmatic and rhetorical considerations. Pragmatically, jurors were concerned to develop ideas that seemed to have a chance of being adopted by policy-makers and the digital industry. Rhetorically, they sought to express their proposals in the most persuasive way possible. This was a very important stage of the exercise, for it focused jurors' minds upon the prospect of making an effective difference. It was important to us as researchers to witness jurors taking ownership of the process by endeavouring to make potentially meaningful interventions in the policy debate. In this way, they became not just research subjects, but civic agents.

At the end of each section, recommendations were written up on a poster. All jury sessions were filmed, audio-recorded and transcribed. Transcripts were analysed, partly with the help of qualitative analysis software (NVivo), but mainly through close reading and a search for key stories, patterns of argumentation and the emergence of collective recommendations.

2.2 Dramatisation

In encouraging children and young people to deliberate about their digital rights, we were conscious of the danger that rights-talk could

seem too abstract or couched in the abstruse language of policy. We therefore made an important decision to add an extra dimension to the jury sessions: the presence of live actors who would perform pre-devised scenarios, pointing to a range of the potential concerns and dilemmas that children and young people had expressed when they were asked about their online experiences as part of the pilot research for the 5Rights initiative. In practical terms, the presence of actors would help to bring some of the policy issues to life; punctuate discussions so that participants could take a break from talking; and offer participants a chance to engage in the research process via a form of entertainment that they might (and, in fact, did) find appealing.

The use of dramatic scenarios builds upon the methodological research tradition of using vignettes as prompts to elicit reflective responses from research participants. Bloor and Wood (2006:183) define vignettes as;

> ***A technique used in structured and depth interviews as well as focus groups, providing sketches of fictional (or fictionalized) scenarios. The respondent is then invited to imagine, drawing on her own experience, how the central character in the scenario will behave. Vignettes thus collect situated data on group values, group beliefs and group norms of behaviour. While in structured interviews respondents must choose from a multiple-choice menu of possible answers to a vignette, as used in depth interviews and focus groups, vignettes act as a stimulus to extended discussion of the scenario question.***

Vignettes have been used by researchers from a range of disciplines, including scholars studying public acceptance of mentally ill residents within a community (Aubry et al, 1995), multicultural integration in neighbourhoods (Schuman and Bobo, 1988), the neglect and abuse of elderly people (Rahman, 1996) and early onset dementia (Jenkins et al, 2015). Vignettes have proved to be particularly useful in eliciting reflective responses from groups of young people: Barter and Renold (2000) used them very successfully in their research with young people exploring violence in residential children's homes; Conrad (2004) used vignettes as a way of talking to young rural Canadians about what they considered to be 'risky activity'; Yungblut et al (2012) used them in their work with adolescent girls to explore their lived experiences of physical exercise; and Bradbury-Jones et al (2014) employed vignettes to explore children's experiences of domestic abuse.

Vignettes take several forms. Usually they are short stories that are read out to participants. Some researchers have used film and music; others have used interactive web content. The use of live actors is rare. This practice could be described as drama in education, where the conventions of drama support learning and exploration. The use of drama within education and community work can serve as a useful distancing tool, allowing observers to relate to experiences from their own lives from a distance. This can often serve as a protective tool, where the 'make-believe' world of the drama allows a safe entry for participants so that their 'real-life' selves can be protected by fictional characters and narrative. In the case of the youth juries, the participants could refer to the characters in the scenario to make points about their own lives, without necessarily having to reveal personal experiences that might be difficult to express.

Working over a two-week period with an applied drama practitioner and a group of drama students at the University of Leeds, scenarios were devised with a view to prompting responses and recommendations from youth jury members. In devising the scenarios, the actors were concerned to resist didactic performances. The aim, in short, was to be discursive rather than pedagogical. Some theatre in education has been criticised in the past as a form of moral priming whereby scenarios are designed to lead children towards prescribed conclusions. The brief for our actors was to produce open-ended scenarios that could be resolved in a number of ways. The performance of the scenarios served as a stimulus to acknowledge the complexity of real-world problems.

3. DELIBERATION IN ACTION: THE YOUTH JURIES

How did the jurors talk about their online experiences? What did they consider to be the most challenging problems facing their generation of Internet users? What range of solutions did they come up with? And how did they work their way through different points of view and proposals for action to come up with a set of clear policy recommendations? We begin by examining each of the five scenarios that were performed and how they gave rise to a process of deliberation. Each one of those scenarios illustrates a fundamental digital right identified by the 5Rights initiative:

3.1. The Right to Know: A scenario about the kind of personal data that's regularly tracked and stored when people go online.

The scenario begins with two actors, one a young person and the other playing the part of the Internet. The latter says to the former, 'I know you're feeling quite negative about me, so what I was thinking was maybe we could chill out, spend some time together, you could get to know me…'. They decide to go shopping together. As they go into each shop, the young person becomes increasingly surprised by how much the sellers know about her. One already knows where she's shopped before; another knows her shoe size; a third has stored her credit card number. Exasperated by all of this, she exclaims, 'This is ridiculous. How come all these people know where I live, know my details and keep sending me emails?' 'Well, we're sharing information. It's useful', responds the Internet. 'How many people know this stuff?' asks the young person. 'Around 56', replies the Internet.

In each of the juries, it was fascinating to observe young people watching this scenario, partly with looks of clear recognition, but also with increasing unease. Here are some examples of their immediate responses to the scenario:

> You wouldn't do it in real life, you wouldn't give someone… you wouldn't give a shop all your card details and let them give it to other shops, so I don't see why it's different online.

> Well, it can make you feel like, quite unsafe and you think that when you go on there that you're not… that they could be able to find where you live and stuff.

> That's been happening to me recently because I … I went on [brand website] like two days ago and now every site I go on it just comes up with [brand name] and it just keeps showing all these shoes going round and round. I'm just like, I've seen what I need to see. Just leave me alone now. And it's like, I'm trying to … do research for my GCSEs and stuff and it's just got all these shoes, like, just going round. It's such a distraction.

> I don't know; it makes me feel kind of a bit weird 'cause it's like they're sort of like following you in a weird way. I don't know … It's like an uncomfortable feeling the idea that other people have your details.

What is striking about these typical comments from across the nine juries is the way in which young people sense that different standards are operating online than they would ever be prepared to tolerate in the offline environment. Having things known about their behaviour that they had not chosen to share made young people feel exposed and vulnerable. They appealed to notions of moral fairness. In some cases, they proposed that companies should not be allowed to store or share personal data:

> I think it is important that it's made by law that companies … who give your information to third parties are prosecuted and are sued.

As they moved towards the problem-definition stage, more jurors began to argue that no company should have a right to store data about them; while others suggested that it can sometimes be helpful to have data stored, as long as one has an opportunity to give informed consent. At this point in all of the juries, a new problem began to be identified: on what basis are Internet users invited to consent to having their data stored? As one juror put it,

> It's the way it's like marketised; it's so friendly and appealing. It's like, 'Enable cookies'. It's like, you wouldn't reject a cookie because a cookie is … a nice thing to have.

In all of the juries, discussion moved at some point from third-party data collection to the 'terms and conditions' that people are required to sign up to when entering commercial sites. As they focused on this theme, they began to re-define what they regarded as being the central problem:

> The companies are really smart, because they know most young people don't want to sit there reading, like, paragraphs and paragraphs about it. And even if you did the way it's worded it's complicated so they know people won't understand it.

> We just click the box and carry on. And I think we actually don't know what's in them terms and conditions. There could just be completely bad stuff where in their terms and conditions it says that we're gonna give your email away, this and that, but we don't bother checking that.

> I just, like, tick them. I don't really even scan them; I just don't read them. I just tick it.

> I don't think anyone can really be bothered to read all the way through. Because sometimes they're like 30 pages long and it's probably just the same on every website, so I

> don't think anybody can really be bothered to do it probably.
>
> ---
>
> And so I think things like that are quite interesting, because it's like, then they, they ... they're backing themselves up and saying, "Well, it was stated in the terms and conditions which you agreed that you'd read," and it's like really they know that, that no one would read it. So I think that's when they can use it against us.

At this point, jurors began to consider possible solutions. This began with the full jury considering possible ways of addressing the problem as they now defined it, but became more detailed once they broke up into smaller groups and began to formulate specific recommendations. Consider the following exchange:

> **A:** Um, like, define the key points of the terms and conditions. Because we don't need to take pages and all that ... I mean I'd be quite content with a page of bullet points basically summarising the terms and conditions and saying we're gonna this, this, this and this … It'd be much simpler. I think I'd read it, than just like 'I accept', rather than not reading it and something happening.
>
> **B:** They could make the first page the summary and then they could go into more detail after. And you wouldn't have to read the detailed bit. You'd just be able to know what it's about from the summary.
>
> **C:** Make sure it's easier to read.
>
> **D:** It'd probably give like companies a better reputation as well.

Another jury arrived at a rather more detailed and prescriptive recommendation:

A: We've got an idea of a moderation board. And basically what would happen is there'd be a group of people that would go through all of the, um, like, terms and conditions. And there'd be a word count on them; and if they went over it they'd have to pay tax on it, because then that would make it worse for business. Because, like, they'd have to put money on it. And, um, yeah, make sure they keep them like, make sure someone reads through them all and just make sure there's all the important stuff in there. Because overall you just want people to actually read them and understand what's in them.

In the discussion preceding this proposal, jurors entered into some sophisticated political considerations:

B: Do you think that we, the consumers, can make a change then, or do you think it would be something to leave to the Government and the big owners?

C: Yeah, the Government…

D: You haven't much of a say.

E: But I think it's also like the public and stuff … if they're aware of the terms and conditions. So people are aware. They need to know what they're signing up for.

F: I think they should put out regular surveys to actually see what the people want.

B: I think the power that we have is most effective in big groups. So if you complain, they probably… they'd be polite and probably do nothing about it. They wouldn't have to. But if a really, really big group of people, you know, can sort of mark it that… if a lot of people don't like what they're doing they're going to start failing, so… that's where we would come in.

C: I think that there should be business independence too … I think you should enforce tax, like, a tax on keeping these things, like so… so if they choose to like make the terms and conditions longer, they should have like a tax on it. So it's easier for the company to actually support the campaign.

A: To keep in shorter … the terms and conditions … you need to make sure you get people to read them. Make them shorter and make them easier to read. That's just the main thing.

It is perhaps worthwhile to go back to the original scenario and consider how the deliberative dynamics worked. The scenario served as a stimulus. Had it not resonated with jurors' experiences, we might assume that nobody would have wanted to talk about it or tell stories relating to it. But in all of the juries, connections were made between the situation depicted in the scenario and jurors' own experiences. As these were shared, the problem began to be defined. At first, several of the jurors favoured a blanket ban on personal data collection and storage. But as they began to deliberate, they shifted their attention to the issue of consent. Online 'terms and conditions' (which had only been referred to in passing in the scenario) were identified as the main problem. It became clear that many children and young people (often below the age of legal consent) were signing up to websites, social networks and other online services without any awareness of the consequences of doing so. Some jurors accused companies of purposely trying to confuse young people. Others argued that, regardless of the companies' intentions, more effective regulation was needed. In policy terms, the jurors had moved quite a long way from being an audience watching a group of student actors. They were now deliberating about their own efficacy as consumers and citizens. They were asking critical questions about the willingness of governments to regulate and the digital industry to be regulated. They were engaged in mature and rigorous policy debate.

3.2. The Right to Delete: A scenario about online content that children and young people want to delete because it might be embarrassing or inconvenient.

This scenario takes the form of a TV game show called 'Delete or Disgrace'. The presenter begins by explaining that, 'Today we have three contestants, all coming on to fight for their right to delete one piece of information from the Internet. Alter each contestant has given us their story, it will be up to you to decide which of them gets to delete their information and which will be disgraced'. The first contestant is trying to get into a film school, but when she was 13 she produced a highly embarrassing film that she posted online and which attracted considerable negative feedback. When she was 14, the second contestant had posted some thoughtless comments on a blog about people from other countries. She is now trying to volunteer to work for a charity, but is terribly worried that they might see these comments of which she is now ashamed. The third contestant fell out with her best friend and wrote some unpleasant comments about her online. She has now made up with her friend, but knows that the comments she wrote are being passed around between people who know them. In all three cases, the contestants' plea was for the embarrassing content to be removed from the Internet.

Image from the 'Delete or Disgrace' scenario

This scenario clearly resonated with jurors. In all of the juries, it was followed by extensive storytelling about incidents in which jurors or their friends had said or done something online that they subsequently wanted to remove. From the outset, most of the juries were split between jurors who believed that people should take personal responsibility for any content that they put online and those who felt that children and young people should be protected against leaving permanent traces of their immature selves. The former position was well expressed by these jurors:

> It comes down to your own personal responsibility. Like, if you're slightly worried that you don't want an employer to see the stuff, don't put it up there in the first place because you're making that stuff accessible to them.

> The mentality that people need to have when they go online is 'don't post or say anything online that you wouldn't want like written outside the front of your house or you wouldn't want on a T-shirt while you're walking around, for everyone to see'. Because that's kind of what the internet is. Once it's on there like, somehow, anyone can access it.

The opposing position was put well by these jurors:

> Personally, it's like when you're younger, you'll do things, but you'll look back on it and you'll regret it - and if you regret it that much you should be able to delete it and pretend it never happened. It's like ... I can speak from experience on that one. But so if they wanted to delete it because they were younger, they should be able to because obviously ... if they've changed, if they're embarrassed by it, or if they feel like they've improved on something, they should be able to get rid of the previous thing.

> Well, who you are online isn't really who you are. Like, it shouldn't prevent you from getting an interview because they've seen something online. Like, if they're looking at your social media, that's not actually who you are. You shouldn't be portrayed by just your social media. You don't know that person until you fully meet them in person. So it shouldn't prevent you from getting an interview or pursuing who you want to be, or what you want to do in the future.

It looked for a while as if the discussion might have been heading for an impasse, with two incompatible moral positions in conflict with one another. However, in searching for a way of defining the problem, the juries managed to arrive at a strong consensus. This is how one juror summed up the discussion that led to this consensus:

> We recognised that almost the biggest problem is information that you've shared being moved onto a different medium. So we say... we said the problem you get when you send a message isn't too much of a problem. You don't have to delete that message, as long as it's a message. We say the problem occurs when this private message you shared is screenshotted and then given to the wider audience which you didn't, um, consent to. So, you know, that can constitute things like private photos being linked and videos of you being shared that you didn't want. And, um, so we said when you're sharing information ... when you're sending a private message or a Snapchat ... a very clear cut sort of criteria should apply to your message, so this can't be screenshotted. This maybe could be timed or this is only going to be viewed by certain people. And so the, um, websites can prevent the messages or images you share being removed from the medium you consented to them being available on.

This turned out to be a huge problem, identified in nearly all of the juries. While some jurors continued to argue for the principle of being allowed to remove content by or about oneself, the vast majority of jurors argued that the porous nature of the Internet meant that, even if one could remove content from its original site, it could easily circulate beyond that site. As in the case of third-party data collection, where deliberation led jurors from a consideration of abstract principles of privacy to practical mechanisms of consent, the right to remove discussion moved from contested questions about personal responsibility to a broad consensus about the dangers of screenshotting:

> I have a friend who had a very like private conversation with someone she knows and they actually screenshot the conversation and she mentioned like a lot of embarrassing private things on there. And once he posted it on his own Facebook she was kind of outcast from school and bullied to the extent that she had to move to another school. So I think people need to be well advised on how dangerous it actually is to post something.

> Me and my friend have got 600 mutual friends and she posts something really embarrassing like me asleep and I can't delete it. Get my problem. All the people who are friends with both of you are gonna see it. All the people who are friends with the first the person who uploaded it will see it. They might know who you are, they might not. But still they might, I don't know, share it or something.

> Well, in my school, it's kind of a true story, a lot of people in my school they are quite stupid and they start sending pictures to boys and that. And it has gotten out before where the teachers have got involved and the police have got involved. And I don't think they think before they do things, because I think you should think before you do

things instead of just click, click and send, because once you've clicked you can't turn back.

I was in an argument with a friend, she was asking me about it, she was screenshotting the conversation and then sending it to her.

I know from people at my school, that if you have an argument on Facebook, your best friend's got a screenshot, your friend's got a screenshot, and people you don't even know have a screenshot. And it's gone everywhere. And if it's like a video, then loads of people have saved it and they can lie and they can say, 'oh I haven't got it, I've never seen it' … And it's something that can never really be deleted, because it's happened. But I think they should still have the right to take it down.

Once this problem was identified, jurors devoted a lot of energy to thinking of ways that the circulation of personally damaging digital content could be controlled. One of the London juries recommended that people should be notified if material relating to them is screenshotted:

A: If you want to publish something, you are allowed to, but only if it's your own. If it's with someone else … you need to have a consent from that person to be able to post …anything.

B: What would be a good idea is if maybe there was some sort of notification when someone screenshotted a photo because … at least you could see and …would be able to judge what to do with it.

But several of the juries expressed frustration about the technical difficulties of preventing the unwanted archiving of personal material by people screenshotting it. Some interesting technical proposals were offered, such as this one from one of the Leeds juries:

> We were talking about tracking photos. We were saying before how websites tracking you and following your information can often be negative, but it can be used in positive ways as well. Because if you post a photo on the Internet, or a friend posts a photo of you on the Internet, then they've posted it and that's like an original source. When that's shared, copied, you know, sent to other people, it's all linked. So you've got this one original source and then you've got other sources coming out of it. Then when you go to the original source, or any of the others, you can delete that and it'll delete all the copies. So, it's kind of like… you have to have some way of tracking or following things to be able to keep them under your control.

This, and several other proposals, were constrained by the jurors' lack of technical knowledge. It was apparent that the jurors did not always know what happens to data generated about or by them, and most of them had little idea about what kind of technologies the major digital companies had at their disposal. In the solution stage of their deliberations about screenshotting, they moved between technological and regulatory possibilities, without knowing whether either would be feasible. They were very clear that the problem of screenshotting is one that leaves many children and young people feeling highly vulnerable online. But they felt uncertain about practical solutions because they had such limited knowledge about the architecture and codes of the Internet.

Despite the fact that the youth jury deliberations did not give rise to any simple solutions to the screenshotting problem, it was nonetheless valuable in exposing an under-considered risk and articulating a forceful normative case for young people's right to edit, delete, retract, correct and/or dispute content that they have created or that refers to them. The absence of discussion about screenshotting in the academic or

policy literature on online regulation suggests that the jury deliberations succeeded in identifying an important, but hitherto neglected, problem.

3.3. The Right to Safety and Support: A scenario about unhealthy dependence upon digital communication technologies.

A girl goes to bed on the night before a big exam. She leaves her phone by her bed. It constantly pings, reminding her of various messages and tagged comments being sent to her and her network. She tries to ignore them. She tries to tell them to get back to her once she has more time. Finally, she gets out of bed: the phone has won.

It became immediately clear that many jurors related to this scenario, often at a quite emotional level. They lost no time in sharing experiences of ways in which over-dependence on digital technologies – and especially online games - had had a disruptive effect on their lives:

> I've almost … actually I have missed an exam because of that … You can't restrict yourself from self-indulging. So, like, you know … you're getting messages and that and you can't stop yourself from looking at your phone and getting on your laptop and stuff like that. And it slows you down as a person and it affects you. So, because of that I've missed an exam and I can't like wake up next morning because I'm awake speaking to someone at four in the morning or something. Because someone hash-tagged something on Twitter or something. It happens all the time.

> I personally find it quite hard to stop checking social media, as I'll check Twitter and then I check Instagram and then I'll check Facebook and then I'll leave it and then I'll go back to Instagram and then check Facebook. Because it's up … because it's … as so many people use it it changes all the

time so you always want to see the next update on it. And I think that that's quite bad because we're all becoming very reliant on it and I think that if they were taken away we'd actually realise that we have a lot more time because most of its spent looking down at apps.

Yeah, I feel like sometimes if you know that a group chat or class chat exists there's kind of a pressure to be in it, even if you don't want to, because then that way you know what they're talking about. You know if they're talking about you and you kind of get quite paranoid if you're not, that you're gonna be out of the conversation loop or you're gonna get to school the next day and they're all gonna be talking about something and you don't understand and then your friends are gonna be, like, oh what you doing, kind of thing. And you don't wanna, sort of, be left out from the big crowd sometimes.

Last night my mate texted me saying 'I'm gonna do an all-nighter on the PlayStation'. I said, 'You do it, I'm not bothered'. And then next, at three o'clock in the morning he texted me and said 'I did it, I did it, I did it' and I woke up, and so I joined him and then in the morning – now - I'm so tired because I wish I never did it.

It was one thing to recognise the dangers of over-dependence, but quite another to define the problem that needed to be tackled. Some jurors took the view that young people should take responsibility for their own behaviour. Many others suggested that it was unreasonable to place all of the burden upon young people; the problem, they argued, was cultural and it was up to society in general – and the digital industry, in particular – to help to avert over-dependence. This led to some very interesting deliberation around possible solutions. More than one jury considered the idea of having 'time limits' on Internet (and other digital technology) usage. Observing the process whereby jurors

moved from recognising a problem, to considering solutions, to working out what would work in practice was fascinating:

A: I know the reason why my mum started to take my phone off me was because I'd get nasty texts or whatever that would actually stop me sleeping. So she just said 'I'm gonna just take it off you' … It was just so I couldn't get nasty texts before I went to bed.

B: They could make an app that locks Facebook or Twitter.

C: You could set it to a time.

B: Because they do on X-Boxes and things. They have like parent timers, where they can say it switches off at this time. Or like the TV; you can do it with the TV, where it's like at half eleven the TV will switch off.

D: It's the parents … what the parents decides.

A: But then, is that fair on the child if they have, I can't think of the right word … if their parents aren't as responsible as perhaps other people's?

C: Or like the children like me in care.

B: If they're in care, then who's gonna take that responsibility for them? Who's gonna do it? Because if the parents don't want to take responsibility, then the children aren't going to.

A: If the child realised that they're not getting enough sleep, they could do it themselves and make is so it locks out automatically at a certain time.

D: Or you could say to someone, can you do it for me? Put a password on it.

A: So, like, putting like a lock on.

This jury ended up presenting a quite elaborate policy recommendation about time limits for Internet use. Others called for the availability of helplines to support children and young people who were feeling trapped in the web of digital networks. This recommendation leads on to the next scenario.

3.4. The Right to Informed and Conscious Use: A scenario about how online networks can affect young people's self-esteem by leaving them feeling excluded or anxious.

A girl is receiving a succession of text messages from her friends telling her how wonderful and exciting their lives are. She is feeling lonely and has nothing to do this evening. As more and more texts arrive, telling her how great everyone else's lives are, she ends up feeling anxious and sad.

This scenario clearly hit a lot of nerves. A lot of jurors wanted to speak about how this kind of situation affected them or people they knew:

> I think it's like really, really relatable, because some people feel the need to document every single thing of their life, like they'll go somewhere and they, most of the time they go out with their friends, and most of the time all they'd be doing is checking in on their Facebook and posting pictures. They won't really be focused on having a good time. They'll just be focused on showing people that they are having a good time. So I think that's just something that is like really, really irritating.

> Sometimes looking at peoples' newsfeed … is slightly depressing. Because you sort of … you get into a sort of friendship group and … My best example is after being bullied in key stage 3, I've gone on to make a couple of more friends … and then I heard that they were going to see the Hunger Games, the new Hunger Games film, and the only way I found out about it was on Facebook after

they'd been. And I really like Hunger Games. And I was just … it's sometimes depressing because you think, 'Oh, I would have wanted to come to that'.

I feel like you have an increased anxiety whether you're doing enough now because you see people going to parties, going out or doing revision and you think, 'Oh, they've done six, I'll have only done four'. And you always, kind of, compare yourself to the average. Like, you create a fake average in your head.

I had a friend … it was like dating season … everyone was getting boyfriends and stuff. And she kinda felt left out. So she decided to make a fake boyfriend with like a fake social media account for him. And she got these pictures from … it was this Australian guy who was kinda really popular and like a star in Australia. And because no-one knew him they wouldn't … we wouldn't know he was fake. So she made a fake Instagram for him … Snapchat. And like, yeah, she kinda got trapped into it. Then we kind of found out afterwards that he was fake.

I had a friend and she was on Facebook and she didn't have as many friends as other people did. So she went through adding loads of different strangers, and then they were accepted and she had loads of problems about all these strangers saying 'Do you wanna meet up' and everything, and she had a massive problem about it. Because … just because she wanted as many followers as someone else. So she had loads of trouble with that.

I actually think that this can be a big issue for a lot of people and … most of these people don't actually bring it up, because it's affecting their self-esteem. They probably don't want more attention for all these things. Or they

might think that other people will judge them because they feel this way.

Unlike the other scenarios, this one inspired some jurors to argue that it was depicting a non-problem. In some cases, this was because they considered much of what their peers wrote about their lives to be more gloss than reality:

I feel like, most people, what they put on Facebook, it's not really what happens in real life. Like, they do it to make themselves feel good that they're doing something … But other people might interpret that in different ways. They might think they're rubbing it in their faces. Or they might just think that they do this all the time. But it's like, how you interpret it.

Some people just use like Facebook and Instagram and things like that just to promote how good their life is and make it seem much better than it actually is and make other people … feel really bad.

Others felt that the girl in the scenario should have been less sensitive:

To be honest I kind of think it's a little bit pathetic. Because you shouldn't let other people bring you down because of the fact that they've got plans and you haven't. If you haven't got plans then make plans and actually just do something that makes you happy.

If you see something online … your friends are at a party and you're not … don't over-analyse it. If you're not there, you're not there. I think people are making themselves feel like the way they do. I don't think you should over- analyse it to a point where like 'I'm not there, I'm going to go cry about it'. It's just a picture of someone having fun. Just scroll down, whatever. I think it's down to the people who are looking at it and getting upset by it.

As the deliberative process went on, these initial dismissals began to soften. One feature of deliberation is the generation of empathetic reasoning. The more that the subject was discussed, the more likely were jurors to relate to situations in which others were suffering. It is difficult to know how many of the jurors had suffered from anxiety or sadness as a result of feeling 'less' than the images they encountered online. Some of the less sensitive responses may well have been defences against the exposure of their own wounded feelings. Through empathetic moves, whereby jurors began to talk about the pressures that some people might be experiencing, discussions worked their way towards recommendations designed to support such people. Before arriving at any solutions, jurors asked themselves whether this was specifically an online problem or a more general one:

A: But is there anything to do with the internet itself or is that just people?

B: It's just people.

C: No, I think it makes it worse… just search through twitter feed for depressed girls or suicide. There's a massive group of teenagers and they're just surrounded with the same ideas and the same values and those are the only people they feel that they can relate with.

B: You get sucked into online.

C: Yeah, exactly … and when people start to notice it then, they're so different that we literally can't rescue them and we can't save them and they harm themselves and it just makes me hurt.

B: It's very true actually.

Several of the juries called for online helplines and counselling services to be set up, with opportunities for children and young people to interact via audio and video:

> Charities like Childline and Samaritans need to have more presence online and be able to talk to people. Like, if you can shove shoes and clothes in our face, then you should be able to shove Childline and people you can talk to … you can see Adidas adverts on your Facebook page like three times a day, but you hardly ever see Childline or Samaritans or charities that you can talk to.

One jury came up with the creative suggestion that...

> …whenever you log onto Facebook, you have to write down the things you like about yourself that day … something that's made you feel good … Because then it would boost you up a bit.

In some respects, more shifts of perspective were observed during the deliberation following on from this scenario than from the three preceding ones (although all triggered significant changes in the ways that problems and solutions were framed). The peculiarity of this scenario was that jurors began by identifying vociferously with the situation depicted by the actors, but were then reluctant to regard it as a problem requiring policy attention. It was only by talking at some length that they began to acknowledge the blurry borders between digital experience and experience in general. As it occurred to them that problems did not have to happen solely online to be online problems, the jurors began to explore ways in which the online environment could be made less socially competitive.

3.5. The Right to Digital Literacy: The plan for this final scenario was different from the others. Having seen the actors present a series of scenarios, we wanted jurors to work with the actors to devise short scenarios about ways in which digital literacy could enable children and young people to create and share digital content.

Even the best planned research projects rarely achieve everything that they set out to accomplish. Most of the juries ran out of time before we reached this final part. There was a good reason for this: jurors were very talkative and wanted to develop their recommendations thoroughly before moving on to the next issue. In the few juries where this scenario did take place there were some creative and insightful interactions between the actors and jurors. Several of them wanted to depict projects or campaigns that they had instigated or seen online. There was clear support for schools to do more to foster digital literacy, by which jurors were not simply referring to lessons on how to access and produce content, or on how to remain safe online, but;

> There should be some sort of education in the general education system not only about all the sort of cyber bullying and stuff, but just generally about how the Internet and companies on the Internet work … and they're not necessarily doing everything in your favour. Yes, it is great - the Internet is amazingly useful, but you have to sort of know how to behave, not just about towards other people but how much data you should be giving out and what's realistically going to be happening to it.

Indeed, by the end of each jury session, there was a clear sense in the room that children and young people wanted to know more about how the Internet worked than they were being told as part of the current school curriculum.

4. WHAT DID WE LEARN?

The conventional wisdom is that children and young people, having been born into a digital communications environment, feel at ease navigating and negotiating its circuitous pathways. Previous research has shown that children and young people often experience problems

and anxieties that do not fit into the adult-framed agenda of 'risk protection'. They have grown up into a fast-evolving media ecology in which they often find themselves encountering challenges that seem unreasonable or unfair. (Livingstone and Haddon, 2014) We wanted to explore the extent and depth of these concerns; to hear accounts from children and young people about the hidden transcripts (Scott, 1990) of their private worlds.

Alongside many positive stories in the youth juries about how invaluable digital communication technologies were, it was impossible to miss the expressions of frustration and anxiety about how these same technologies seemed somehow out of control. Three key themes ran across the nine juries; transcending the online-offline dichotomy, coming to terms with regulation, and finding efficacy.

4.1. Transcending the online-offline dichotomy

A first, inescapable insight from this research is that children and young people are far less conscious of the distinction between 'online' and 'offline' reality than many social commentators are. Fifty years ago, people used to speak about how they had 'spoken to X on the telephone'. These days they are more likely to just say that they had spoken to X. Distinctions associated with the medium of communication are no longer considered important enough to register. For most of our jurors, interaction with their peers was neither 'virtual' nor 'face-to-face', but both. As Slater (2002: 538-9) suggests, 'the impression seems to be that by going online one is automatically involved in new social processes'. While it is certainly true that going online involves a number of practices that are specific to the technology, these are experienced as just another aspect of social reality.

One implication of this blurring of the artificial lines between 'online' and 'offline' is that children and young people expect their online experiences to be governed by the same moral standards as the offline world. Their deliberations about third parties holding or profiting from

information about them provided a vivid illustration of this point. Jurors were aware that when they go shopping with their parents in the local high street, shopkeepers and supermarket owners are not allowed to collect private information about them or pass on their details to other businesses. They were aware that, being under eighteen, they could not be asked to sign away their rights during the course of a physical transaction. They do not expect agents from one shop to follow them down the street to keep track of their purchasing habits. These being reasonable expectations in the 'offline' world, they expect exactly the same moral principles to apply online. This is not because they are naïve or immature, but because they are consistent and sensible.

Similarly, when they came to consider young people's right to edit or delete content that they have created or that damages their reputation, jurors were quick to recognise that children and young people have a responsibility to think about the consequences of their actions before leaving online traces. At the same time, however, they were aware that in everyday life people who make mistakes receive second chances: opportunities to repair the effects of ill-considered behaviour. They wanted to know why such opportunities were less available online; who made decisions about what would or would not be removed; and how accountable these decision-makers were to them and their parents or carers. They were not asking for special privileges online, but for moral consistency.

In seeing the online environment as a part of their broader social worlds, children and young people expressed the view that who they were amounted to more than just their online identity. They understood from their own experiences that online boasts, sneers and snubs could have consequences beyond social media networks. And they realised that human relationships amounted to more than technical connection; that true friendships were rather more important than 'likes'.

As the online-offline distinction becomes less meaningful to a generation that regards both terms as indispensable aspects of the

social, it is less relevant than ever for policy-makers to think in terms of 'online solutions'. For our jurors, what applies to the offline world should apply by default online, for online is neither virtual nor simulated reality, but social life with all of the attendant necessities for rights and responsibilities. Notions of fairness in everyday life are taken very seriously by children and young people (Padilla-Walker and Carlo, 2004: Dalbert, 2009) and they are quick to recognise inconsistencies between offline norms of justice and breaches of such norms in online environments. The policy implication here is clear: children and young people expect to have the same rights and responsibilities online as they have offline.

The term 'youth jury' was intended as more than a metaphor. We wanted jurors to focus upon a clear set of recommendations and told them that we would do our best to put these on their behalf to Government policy-makers and industry chiefs. There was a remarkable degree of agreement across the nine juries about the kind of recommendations that seemed reasonable. But different juries expressed ideas in different ways. The list below summarises the juries' recommendations in relation to the need to transcend the online-offline dichotomy:

4.1.1. Removing content

- Allow users to select specific people who can see their posts. (This option would allow for inside jokes to be shared. In the offline world, when people tell jokes, they do not have a megaphone and tell everyone. This logic should apply to the Internet).
- Users should have overall power to delete content that they post online. However, companies should still be able to keep records of users' posts, just in case it becomes necessary as evidence.
- A self-tracking tool should be made available for individuals to see where information and photographs have gone.

- Users should be sent clear messages about the consequences of their choices.
- Users should be required to obtain formal consent from all the people featured in material that they intend to publish or share online before such material becomes accessible online.
- Facebook accounts should be private and not open. Facebook should create a function to enable automatic blocking of any other users connected to the user who is banned from accessing/viewing their profile. This function is necessary for preventing access by the blocked users to the relevant profile via his/her networks that may still be connected to that account.
- Every 'take down' notice or report of inappropriate content should be noted and taken seriously, otherwise people may be discouraged from making reports or complaints, so that problems or online abuse go undetected.
- Young people should have more control over their photographs. Companies should only have access to selective content, as opposed to blanket access to all data.
- Everyone should have the right to permanently remove unwanted material from all databases, unless such material can be proved to be in the public interest.
- Social media platforms should create a privatised chat mode, so that users can select who they want to communicate with and limit the scope of people who can see their private messages.
- Companies should be obliged to report incriminating content posted or shared on their platforms or websites to police or relevant authorities. This obligation is required to counter-balance the right to permanently remove unwanted data from the Internet, and to maintain the benefits of the Internet in tracking criminals.

- A fine should be applied to people posting inappropriate material online.
- Libel law (relating to defamatory written comments published online by one person about another) should be updated and extended to cover communication on social media networks.

4.1.2. Screenshots

- People should not be allowed to screenshot.
- Enable only victims should be able to take screenshots in cases of cyber-bullying. Before screenshots can be taken in such cases, users or victims need to receive permission from the websites or platforms on which such incidents take place.
- Screenshot blockage and limited viewing functions for users should be made available.
- Pop-up notifications and permission requests should be available for when someone is taking or attempting to take a screenshot of users' content or content relating to users.

4.2. The role of regulation

According to a NSPCC survey of 851 5-18 year-olds on their uses of the Internet, 63% thought that primary responsibility for ensuring online safety rested with themselves, followed by parents/carers, internet companies and teachers; 43% felt that parents/carers should choose what they could access depending on age; 56% thought that all illegal or inappropriate content should be blocked automatically; and 42% said that they would be safer if parents or guardians blocked inappropriate content (submitted to House of Commons Home Affairs Select Committee, July, 2013). It is hardly surprising that a majority of respondents to this survey believed that it was their own responsibility to keep themselves safe online. For young people, spaces of independence are cherished and notions of regulation are often

associated with unwanted interference and unaccountable rule-setting. As Livingstone and Bober (2006:101) point out, 'While parents' strategies for managing their children's use of the internet are emerging, so too are children's tactics for evading or resisting', resulting in what they refer to as a 'tactical dance' between parents/carers and children. In short, the concept of regulation has come to be understood by young people as a form of imposition.

The youth juries created two conditions that resulted in a rather different approach to regulation. Firstly, the juries were not dominated by a safety-dominated agenda. In encouraging jurors to think about the many kinds of challenge that they experience online, they were less likely to respond by imagining online activity as a purely individual journey. In focusing on problems relating to third-party information storage, the right to remove data and over-dependence upon certain games or services, jurors found themselves thinking about the Internet as a social space. Just as in any other social spaces, from schools to amusement arcades, structures of power and norms of behaving are not fixed forever, but are – or ought to be – open to negotiation. Secondly, because they were deliberative events, the youth juries did not close down the discussion as soon as children and young people had expressed their initial thoughts. Unlike surveys, which are good for discovering the range of distribution of opinions and attitudes, stating responses to a problem in the jury context was only the initial stage of a deliberative process that often either moved beyond such responses or resulted in them being elaborated upon in a more sophisticated fashion. It was interesting to observe how, in each of the juries, young people moved from having very little interest in how the digital industry works – after all, even for most adults questions of Internet governance and regulation are hard to comprehend, often entailing complex trade-offs and mechanisms of control that seem to be the exclusive domain of lawyers – to thinking imaginatively about how Internet service providers should be urged, or compelled, to act. Indeed, the jurors were more fearless in their insistence that companies should be

compelled to adhere to reasonable norms than their more resigned elders might have been.

The balance within most of the jury deliberations between appeals to self-responsibility and calls for regulatory change demonstrated remarkable maturity. Discussions would often start with some quite harsh comments about young people needing to take responsibility for whatever happens to them online. As jurors began to tell their own stories and think a little more about how problems can arise online, the discussions became more empathetic. At this point, individual dilemmas began to be reconceived as social predicaments and jurors attempted to identify actors or structures that seemed to be standing in the way of just outcomes. On the whole, the jurors were pragmatic regulators; they recognised that competing interests were often at stake and they tended to tailor their recommendations with a view to arriving at feasible, rather than ideal, end results. As will be clear from the recommendations below, the juries concluded that much could be done through sensible regulation to make children and young people's experiences online not only safer, but happier. Specifically jurors recommended:

4.2.1. Third party data-gathering and storage

- Websites should give users a choice as to whether to let them keep users' data.
- Users should be able to input a code to prevent information being shared – or different codes on each site so it cannot be shared with others.
- A limit on the number and type of companies that can access user information and track their online activities should be put in place.
- Users should be able to pick the kinds of companies that can share their information and track their online activities.

- Companies should request permission to save users' personal details. If users do click it (the check box), they should be able to reverse it and completely erase their details later on.
- Personal contact details should always be hidden/protected.
- Location services should be turned-off (an opt-in approach).
- The length of time personal data (such as personal addresses or bank details) can be kept should be limited to 3- 6 months maximum. The limited period of time for which personal data can be kept is likely to limit the chance of such information being shared with third parties without users' informed consent.
- When users delete personal data using a web interface, the personal data that they want to delete should be deleted from the database.
- An interactive ICT curriculum that teaches children in (primary) schools how to protect their computers from cookies and spyware, and how to privatise their information/personal data, should be introduced.
- Awareness should be raised in schools and young people should receive better education so that they understand how their online activities can be tracked, recorded and used.
- The users' ownership of their own data should be clear. Users should have ownership of any content they publish and have the final say on that content.
- Companies should NOT keep users' personal data, but if this happens, users should be. Create a function for online shopping so that a verification code is sent to parents when young people make an online purchase.
- Introduce a certification system to verify that certified websites do not track and share users' information and online activities.

- A customer rating system should be introduced across the whole of the Internet for best practice in personal data sharing and protection of users' privacy.
- A company should be established that can monitor the data collection/usage activity of Internet companies and that can produce certain rules to protect or warn users about what those companies are doing.
- An age rating system should be available through a full-screen pop-up to verify whether the users are of age (18+) or are within the age range that is compatible with the kind of content or experience they will get from the websites, games or applications that they are accessing.
- Third-party companies that share personal data without user informed consent should be legally prosecuted.
- Microsoft and Sony should increase the security (firewall) for their server.
- A group of experts (e.g. a think-tank) should be established to continuously update Internet regulations so that regulations stay abreast with the fast changing Internet and online activities.
- Users should be asked for consent before someone can share their information. Users should be informed about who is receiving their information and what their information is being used for.

4.2.2. Clearer and more accessible terms and conditions

- Audio terms and conditions like Siri should be available, so that users can listen and not scroll down.
- A single set of terms and conditions should be established for the whole Internet (or at least as many websites as agree to take part.)

- Terms and conditions should be displayed in video format so people can watch and listen to them. This format makes it easier and faster for people to digest and process information.
- Terms and conditions should be displayed using bullet points. Important details should be highlighted or put in bold so as to catch users' attention.
- Terms and conditions should be brief and easy to read and should contain all information about user privacy.
- A moderation board should be established to go through all the terms and conditions of websites, games and applications. A taxing system or fine should be introduced for terms and conditions that do not comply with the word limits or clarity requirement. This can take a form of hygiene rating.

4.3. Finding efficacy

A third theme emerging from this deliberative exercise was a conspicuous increase in jurors' confidence as social actors. To put it simply, most jurors entered the process with minimal expectations regarding their capacity to exercise significant control over their online lives. Asked before beginning the jury sessions whether they believed they had 'any say at all in how the digital world works', over a third (35%) said that they had 'no say'. In the same pre-jury survey, they were asked whether they 'should have more say in how the digital world worked'. 14% said that they didn't know and 22% said they were 'not bothered'. At the end of each jury, participants were asked whether 12-18 year-olds should have a bigger say on how digital technologies and services are run. 83% said that they should, with 84% stating that they wanted to take more charge of their online activities and experience.[1]

[1] Responses to the post-jury survey questions were on a scale of agreement ranging from 1 to 10, with 83% and 84% of respondents to these questions choosing a number between 5 and 10.

This was powerfully summarised by one juror – a fifteen-year-old girl – who, having participated in one of the juries, offered the following thought to her fellow jurors:

> I think it's down to ourselves personally as people. Because, you know, we have a say. It's our lives and it's down to us to control that. And sometimes we think the Internet is taking over our lives, but I think we need to take over the Internet and we need to stand up and make that change because we can and … We've spoken a lot about the fact that we know what we're doing. We know ourselves what our limits are. We know what we want to achieve in life. And the Internet can definitely help us with that. We just need to stand up and stop the Internet from taking us over.

One consequence of this enhanced sense of efficacy was that jurors felt comfortable speaking about their rights as users of digital technologies. One juror defined rights as 'something that you should have and … no one should take away from you'. Children and young people are bombarded with messages about their responsibilities and, although they are sometimes taught about what their rights are, they do not spend much time being urged to think about what their rights should be. Encouraging young people to deliberate together about what they require to become the kind of human beings they aspire to be enables them to learn a form of civic language that will equip them for future democratic engagement. Rights-talk is not always easy; it often involves having to discover the confidence to speak up in response to bad arguments or cynical interests. One of the significant achievements of the youth juries was that jurors left feeling more determined to have a say about how digital technologies and services are run and more confident of a link between their voices and their rights. As one of them put it,

> It's important for young people to have a say in these things because a lot of older people try to think about what it would be like as a young person on the Internet, but they don't realise how vulnerable young people are, so it's important that young people get this chance to speak for ourselves.

In order for young people to increase their confidence and meaningful participation in the digital world, jurors recommended:

4.3.1. Awareness raising/improving Internet literacy

- Cautions should be placed on the page when you post to make you think more.
- Users (particularly young people) should receive more education about the reality of the Internet, which makes it very difficult for users to remove or delete any content that they have posted online.
- New websites should be established where people can go to learn how to delete things AND enable users to delete from there.
- Awareness-raising workshops should be established to warn people about the consequences of what they post online and educate them about what is appropriate or inappropriate to post online and the consequences of their posts.

4.3.2. Responsible adults and technologies to help children exercise self-control

- A health warning pop-up should be available on users' phones, computer screens and other connected devices. Pop-ups should be generated which pause a game, Internet use or mobile use after users have completed a level or spent an hour and a half online. Pop-ups should also be generated which state that users are reaching their time limit. Coding in games themselves should be

introduced to stop users going into their settings to change the time and keep playing. A condition should be created for users to take a 15-minute break before returning to use their gadgets.

- A cut-off point should be created for all Internet use to help them better manage their time spent online.
- Timer: Websites should have a timer and a recommended usage period with government guidance.
- Tax: After the recommended time limit, users should be forced to pay. This is based on the logic that people spend so much time on the Internet because it is free, while other activities incur costs and the Internet is easily accessible. So, if users are taxed on the hours they spent online beyond the recommended use, they would cut down on the amount of time they spend online.
- Users should ask friends to intervene for them and find other activities. (But providers should not be able to regulate or 'throttle' users, as mobile companies throttle data after users pass their limits).
- Children should be encouraged to socialise more when they are younger. Schools should arrange more outdoor activities.
- A notification time zone should be applied to all Internet users, which automatically switches the Internet off between 9.30pm and 7.00am.

4.3.3. Awareness raising and education

- Warnings about upsetting content should be posted, so that users see them when they log-on to social media sites and blogs.
- People should be encouraged to be more considerate about other people's feelings and opinions in their posts.
- Awareness should be raised about human competitive nature and how people can present themselves as being better than how they actually are online in order to make themselves feel better and/or to put others down.

- Warnings and more support groups should be provided for people who have gaming addictions.
- A happy page should be set up with happy quotes and pictures.
- The gap between the rich and the poor, which is highlighted by some content on the Internet, should be narrowed. High-income earners should be required to put some of their money into charities to support marginalised groups or people who are at a disadvantage.
- People should be helped to make new friends and discover new hobbies (get out into the fresh air and not online).
- Anonymous hotlines and/or online counselling should be available for people suffering from problems such as anxiety, feeling low or Internet-dependent. An example of such a service is kooth.com.
- A peer-group advice service should be set up with people who have been in the same situation as you – can be face to face or via Skype.
- A physical support centre should be provided.
- A helpline should be established on the main social media websites so that people who develop anxiety or depression having used the social media services can seek help.
- An online platform should be created for people to volunteer to help other people who experience problems as a result of their Internet experience.

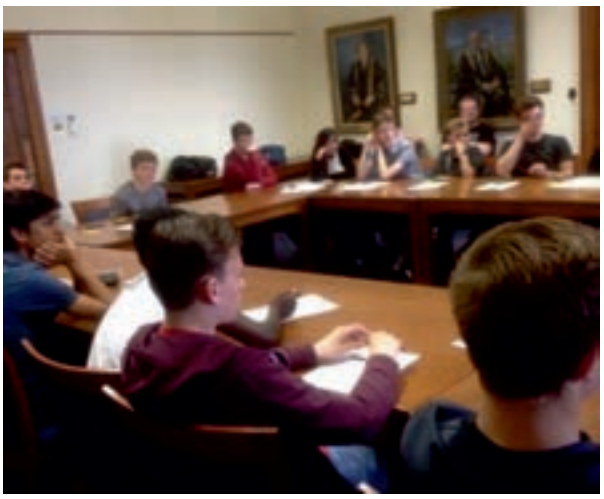

Image from Nottingham's Jury

5. WHAT NEXT?

In the time this research has taken to complete, we have seen an explosion of interest in a rights approach to children and the Internet. It has become clear to all that, in the digital world (soon to include Artificial Intelligence and the Internet of Things), on and offline no longer pertains in the life of a child or young person. In order for a child's rights to be meaningful, they have to apply wherever they are – both on and offline.

From the United Nations to big business, from teachers to policy-makers, in and out of government, it is increasingly understood that children need a new deal online. A deal that recognises their age and delivers on their rights.

Even before the ink was dry on this report, more research has been commissioned based on its findings (e.g. unbias.wp.horizon.ac.uk). And many approaches have been made to both 5Rights and to the research groups to build on this thinking and build a stronger place for young people's voices in the design and delivery of digital technology, in both research and real-world settings. We are currently working on an Open Educational Resource and practice that will better enable educators, parents, carers and community leaders alike to engage youth in a conversation about their digital rights.

One of the compelling findings was how consistent the views of the juries were. Whilst disagreements were had, and experiences differed, the juries in different parts of the UK, irrespective of age and gender or presentation format (i.e. live acting vs. short videos), came up with the same set of issues and the same demands of how they wished to be treated.

- They wish to be treated by the same moral and social standards on and offline.
- They wish to have meaningful control over their data.
- They wish to be offered more visible and trustworthy support.
- They wish for choices to be meaningful and transparent.
- They wish for comprehensive digital education – not just e-safety.

Their wishes are our commands. The report itself, the 5Rights framework and the ideas contained within, will reach policy-makers, Government, UN agencies, businesses with digital services, tech companies, educational organisations, third sector, health professionals and parents.

We call on all who participate in the digital world to read the words and recommendations of these young people and recalibrate both how they perceive children vs. the internet, and how they design their services that children use.

THE 5RIGHTS

1. THE RIGHT TO REMOVE
2. THE RIGHT TO KNOW
3. THE RIGHT TO SAFETY AND SUPPORT
4. THE RIGHT TO INFORMED and CONSCIOUS USE
5. THE RIGHT TO DIGITAL LITERACY

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5Rights Youth Juries Open Educational Resource (OER) project

We have designed the OER to offer others the opportunity to facilitate their own Youth Jury. If you would like to be part of this project and deliver your own session, please contact:

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NOTES

5Rights

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