Just Say No to 'Just Say No': Tensions in Organizational Approaches to Youth and Online Privacy in the Americas

by

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Abstract

This thesis examines organizational practices in the field of youth online privacy in the Americas. I describe harms created by protective, universalist, individualistic approaches that pose youth as conditional citizens, and make a case for approaches based instead on youth agency, intersectional views of privacy, collective responsibility, and the recognition of youth as subjects of rights today. I demonstrate organizational practices that align with this vision, such as codesign and institutional youth involvement; particular consideration of the needs and rights of marginalized youth; actions that emphasize the role of sociotechnical structures in the defense of youth's right to privacy; the creation of opportunities for intergenerational learning; the use of advocacy frames such as harm reduction and equality; and the reliance on local and creative narratives that resonate with youth. My methods consisted of eighteen semi-structured interviews and an organizational literature review of eighteen organizations that work at the intersections of youth development, personal data protection, digital rights, and countersurveillance.

Thesis committee: Sasha Costanza-Chock, Associate Professor of Civic Media (supervisor); Justin Reich, Assistant Professor.

Acknowledgments

When I met Henry Jenkins in Second Life, sixteen-year-old me marveled at the idea of a space where researchers studied the positive angles of video games and pop culture. I never imagined that, twelve years later, that path would lead me to publish this thesis on youth and media. And today I cannot adequately express the extent of my gratitude for Comparative Media Studies at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, the academic space of my dreams and beyond.

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Chapter 1. 'Think before you sext': Tensions between agency and protection in youth privacy

I arrived in Comparative Media studies after a decade of volunteering and working as a "technology capacity builder" in Mexico. I first identified as a technology capacity builder a few years ago thanks to an epiphany I experienced with my dear friend and collaborator Dirk Slater. It was through him that I learned about circuit riders, figures from the 90s in the United States who were part-time trainers, part-time consultants, part-time technology experts who floated between non-profit organizations to troubleshoot and to build technological capacity in them.[1]

What is relevant about this idea in the context of the research I present is that we get to promote conversations and witness the different relationships between technology and society across different sectors of the nonprofit movements. In my case, I worked in two different spaces: civic technology and digital rights through my work at SocialTIC[2] in Mexico, and youth and rights and development through my work for UNICEF and different youth activism networks such as Global Changemakers.[3]

Although "collaboration" has become *de rigueur* in grant proposals, I think it is fair to say that, more than collaboration between these two parallel movements, I saw strong tensions between them, both in my country and internationally. The snapshot that best captures one of these tensions in my experience comes from a global space, the Internet Governance Forum (IGF), a policy forum Internet Governance issues are discussed every year. The IGF features

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[1] McInerney 158.

[2] SocialTIC, www.socialtic.org, is a non-profit organization in Mexico that promotes the use of technology for social good.

[3] See http://www.global-changemakers.net.

dozens of sessions on all topics related to Internet and Society, and draws attendants from all the so-called 'stakeholder' groups: civil society, government, academia, corporations, and technical community. The most prominent players in the field of youth and media are there, and so are the most robust freedom of expression organizations. Youth and media advocates traditionally run "child protection online" sessions, and freedom of expression organizations run "human rights on the internet" sessions. When I participated as an Internet Society fellow in 2015, I went to all of the sessions of both teams and felt very alone in doing so. I did not find others who had an interest in what we can see as a battle between both sides of the coin.

I did not discover anything new. Researchers in media studies and in youth development have long described how this antagonistic framing of the tension between youth safety online and other digital rights, including the other rights of youth themselves, has limited the collaboration of youth rights and freedom of expression organizations in the Internet Governance ecosystem worldwide: "The problematic consequence is that highly protectionist or restrictive policies are advocated for children in ways that may undermine their freedom of expression or that trade children's particular needs off against adult freedoms online."[4]

Whereas there is little written organizational evidence of this, one of the individuals I interviewed for my research, Mariana Valente from InternetLab, a research organization in Brazil, articulated two elements of this tension very eloquently: "A few years ago, when we were speaking about digital rights and the role of most civil society organizations was to defend free speech or privacy online, it was as if you would not understand the other side of the table: police worrying about child pornography. [So] On one side, [it was about] prosecution of crimes online

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[4] Livingstone, Carr and Byrne 2015 5.

[the side of the police], and on the other, organizations trying to make the point that the internet was not all about crime - on the contrary, it was a place for the enjoyment of rights [digital rights organizations side]." Ultimately, it seemed, "Going for child rights was a way to bring authoritarian policies to the internet."

To me, it was an obvious red flag that one could see youth-related efforts as authoritarian. What are the implications not just for non-profit work, but for the market, for regulation, even for infrastructure, if the rights of youth and the rights of adults are framed as "either or"? Who benefits most from such an antagonistic framing?

This thesis will be published in a year where power and technology are very much part of the public discourse. In the United States, this conversation seems very loud, with the debate about the role of Internet companies and online media in electoral outcomes since Donald Trump's victory; the essentially weekly scandals fed by each ProPublica story; and each legislative outrage, from the repeal of net neutrality protections to the introduction of the "Stop Enabling Sex Traffickers Act", an internet censorship bill.[5] However, the divide I describe is the legacy of past contexts, before Edward Snowden confirmed surveillance capabilities and corporate cooperation so widespread and so deep that we could no longer ignore it. It has run long enough for institutional setups, from funding and long-standing relationships, to mirror it.

In digging deeper into this tension, the elements at stake are all related to our visions on childhood, youth, and technology, many of which we can pinpoint and diagnose through media. One of the most influential articles on technology and society in English-speaking outlets in 2017 links smartphone use with increased loneliness and sleep problems, sees phones as the

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[5] See Harmon 2018.

culprits of a youth mental health crisis and focuses on the difficulties they present for social

development. "Adolescence is a key time for developing social skills; as teens spend less time

with their friends face-to-face, they have fewer opportunities to practice them. In the next

decade, we may see more adults who know just the right emoji for a situation, but not the right

facial expression."[6]

Psychologist Jean Twenge, the author of the article "Have Smartphones Destroyed a

Generation?", and of a book on the same topic, is not the first person to present a pessimistic

view of the role of new technology in adolescents' lives. In 2000, Ellen Wartella and Nancy

Jennings looked at ways new technologies were received historically in regards to their potential

effects on youth and found that "each new media technology brought with it great promise for

social and educational benefits and great concern for children's exposure to inappropriate and

harmful content."[7] Moreover, Twenge's work does not go undisputed today: several rebuttals of

her piece and book have been published by other psychologists, like Sarah Rose Cavanagh, and

youth and media researchers and advocates, like Vicky Rideout.[8] What is at play?

Quoting another interviewee in this project, Andrea Clarke from Head and Hands, a

Montreal-based organization that supports youth using a harm-reduction approach, "There's this

tendency to be both dismissive and alarmist when it comes to youth use of technology. Somehow

they are victims of technologies, but we also have the feeling that they use technology too much.

Either they are savvy and competent, and we should work with them and trust them and grow our

knowledge with them, or they're just not, and they're at risk. There is this odd dichotomy of not

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[6] Twenge 2017.
[7] Wartella and Jennings 2000 31.
[8] See Cavanagh 2018; Rideout 2017.

trusting them, thinking they don't understand what privacy is, but also decrying the ubiquitous nature of tech in their lives."

Eduardo Carrillo from TEDIC, a digital rights organization in Paraguay, describes an underlying concern in the organization that has led them to get involved in youth rights issues: "I agree that there is a protectionist, dramatic, sensationalist discourse in regard to youth safety online, like we saw in regard to *Sarahah* and *Blue Whale* last year. There is little empowering discourse aimed at youth. And the topic in the background of all this is how youth today is understood as a passive subject in their community, not as a collective that can create change."

Our cultural visions of youth pose a list of other dichotomies that inspire or complicate the work of the organizations interviewed for this research. One such dichotomy is related to political status: youth are seen either as conditional citizens[9], or as subjects of rights—and the related challenge to create programs that do not reproduce existing oppressions. Conditional citizenship is a concept in the field of young people's participation that refers to the requisites youth must meet to be citizens, according to different modes of discourse.[10] Youth must be rational, engage with the system through the right channels, voice their dissent in adequate language. In other words, they have to comply with a set of characteristics aligned with the democratic interests of the agencies that govern them—an exercise that will ultimately subjugate youth further. As Catherine Hartung points out, ""Much of what is considered 'children and young people's participation' today is part of a wider neoliberal project that emphasises an ideal young citizen who is responsible and rational while simultaneously downplaying the role of

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[9] Hartung 2017.
[10] *Ibid.*

systemic inequality and potentially reinforcing rather than overcoming children and young people's subjugation."[11]

For Viviana Quintero in Red PaPaz, a network of parents working for the protection of child and youth rights in Colombia, the basis for the network's collaborations is an equal understanding of youth as subjects of rights today: "We see kids as subjects of special protection because of their developmental stage, but you cannot be an ally if you think that we are just doing kids a favor by granting them rights."

Jane Bailey and Valerie Steeves, researchers and project co-leaders at the University of Ottawa's eQuality Project, see digital literacy work as "rooted in citizenship, as opposed to a list of rules to ensure you behave well." They point to high school students' response to gun violence incidents in the United States and Canada in 2018, an instance where they are behaving as citizens. "It's transgressive work if you do it well"; they ultimately do their research in academia, rather than in the industry, "because [they] want to create a space where kids can transgress and resist."

Swinging between our visions of youth as victims of technologies or as savvy and competent, between youth as conditional citizens and as subjects of rights today, begs for the question of what our role as adult allies of youth should be. Anne Collier from the Net Safety Collective in the United States, the organization that operates the country's first Internet helpline for schools, recalls the early discourse in this field, which was originally called "youth online protection," and contrasts it with current conversations on "digital citizenship:"

> In the first 15-or-so years of Internet safety, all the messaging, from politicians to civil society
>
> organizations, was along the lines of 'be careful with what you post as it can come back to haunt you.' It

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[11] *Ibid*. xii.

was all about consequences to oneself and online in isolation—keeping yourself safe, your personal information private, your 'digital reputation' positive. Youth were represented almost entirely as potential victims. There was no focus on you as a stakeholder in a community—online, offline or both—on a participant in keeping things safe for yourself, your peers and your communities. Agency wasn't even a component of 'digital citizenship,' which, at least in the U.S., has been about good digital behavior typically for the purpose of "classroom management.

These visions are loaded not only with the idea of adults functioning as protectors versus as promoters of youth agency; but also of personal data protection as an individual exercise, or as a collective responsibility, and of relying on punishment or focusing entirely on development.

Think before you sext: 10 reasons not to sext*, a campaign in Mexico*

It is natural that these tensions and all the associated moral panics[12] would be amplified in youth online safety campaigns, especially when they are in that awkward intersection where they meet sexual and reproductive rights. "Think before you sext: 10 reasons not to sext." This message, reminiscent of the "conservative and moralistic package of 'family values'" that

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[12] Cohen and Young 1981.

promotes abstinence-based discourse in sexual education[13], was the title of a series of videos promoted by public institutions, corporations like Google Mexico, and a Spanish non-profit organization. The videos in themselves have more nuanced youth-friendly messaging about privacy, but this general campaign framing elicited responses from digital rights organizations—again, the other side of the coin—argued the campaign placed all the burden on the victim. Not on the person violating their consent by sharing their photo, on rape culture[14] and toxic and hegemonic masculinity,[15] or on the persistent power of patriarchy.[16]

Aimee Rickman in the United States, through her research on rural adolescence, girlhood, and media migration reminds us that fears for safety have long accompanied females' involvements in US society. These fears persist for young women in social media; Rickman cites studies where parents worry far more about their daughters' victimization online than their sons. [17] Again, a selective view of agency surfaces: "Girls seem to have agency in that their actions have an effect and they can be held responsible for them, but they also are construed as lacking agency in that their choices are seen as inauthentic or not intentional";[18] moreover, by focusing on this superficial view of agency, "this approach fits with contemporary discourses about girlhood that valorize self-determining, individualistic girls and concentrate anxiety on girls who do not achieve these ideals."[19] Framings like the one in this campaign support a narrative of kids with too much technical knowledge that leads them to spend too much time online and send too

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[13] Bay-Cheng 2003 63.
[14] Connell and Wilson 1974.
[15] Connell 2005.
[16] See Van Roosmalen 2000.
[17] Rickman 2018 103.
[18] Hasinoff 2015 11.
[19] Ibid. 107.

many pictures of themselves; but, at the same time, too ignorant to understand the implications of this.

Victim-blaming, "never post your images" campaigns sound like the current iterations of past "Just Say No" advice. For example, content analysis of reporting on children and online technologies in European papers found that reporters focused on risks and negative effects, as a combination of the "suitability of new media and childhood to be incorporated within a moral panic discourse on the one hand; and the concurring news values that guide the selection and editing of news, on the other."[20]

Victim-blaming versus collective responsibility is not the only gender-based tension embedded in the intersection of youth, privacy, and sexuality. Pensamiento Colectivo interviewees in Uruguay shared the different dilemmas that arise in the school outreach that has resulted from their viral campaigns on non-consensual image sharing; they recognize that gender is the underlying topic to discuss, and use their space to challenge the assumption that blaming the victim is "somehow good to coexistence", without wasting the opportunity to question other oppressive dynamics at play. Luciana Almirón and Cecilia López-Hugo say:

> The exposure of women's bodies is rooted in our culture. There is an entire apparatus saying that that is right. All cultural references reinforce these gender norms, leading women to self-objectify, believing that they are empowering themselves by posting pictures of themselves naked. To what extent is it empowering, to what extent does it only feed sexist culture? We are all becoming objects of consumption. And our idea behind the video was to show that there is a young victim suffering the consequences of this objectification.

Geographically close to Pensamiento Colectivo, Faro Digital, in the city of Buenos Aires, also uses their discussions around sexting, the creation and sharing of personal sexual images or

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[20] Ponte, Mascheroni and Bauwens 2009.

text messages via mobile phones or internet applications,[21] to address the underlying power dynamics. For Ezequiel, the conversations that Faro Digital facilitates among youth enable critical thinking on gender oppressions, otherness, and intergenerational trust. Faro Digital facilitators make a point of asking about the gender identity of those in the most famous cases or the "fad of spreading photos on WhatsApp"—and why do they think that is the case. "At this point, we have stopped talking about the internet itself, and now we are talking about society." For Patricia Hill Collins, sexuality constitutes "a specific site of intersectionality where oppressions meet."[22]

It would seem natural that the technology workshop quickly turns into a discussion about broader social issues, as "sexting raises key questions about privacy and consent in networked social environments, but these vital issues can get buried beneath the widespread anxiety about girls' sexuality."[23] Sexting researcher Amy Hasinoff discusses the different explanations given for girls' sexual behavior, from biology to media and cultural influence, and argues that the pervasive ways of understanding this phenomenon have led in the United States to its criminalization, and especially to criminalization disproportionately applied to youth who are queer, lower-income and from populations of color. This is consistent with the GSA Network's findings on LGBTQ youth of color and the school-to-prison pipeline: "[Gender non-conforming and] LGBTQ youth of color in particular face persistent and frequent harassment and bias-based bullying from peers and school staff as well as increased surveillance and policing, relatively greater incidents of harsh school discipline, and consistent blame for their own victimization".[24]

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[21] Ibid. 1.
[22] Collins 2009 138.
[23] Hasinoff 2015 1.
[24] Burdge, Licona and Hyemingway 2014.

The consequences of online risk, and of perhaps well-meaning but ultimately harmful adult interventions, do not affect all youth equally. Patricia Hill Collins' concept of the matrix of domination is productive to account for the burden faced especially by young women, gender non-conforming youth, LGBTQ youth, youth of color, and/or youth of low socioeconomic status. Collins approaches power not as something that groups possess, "but an intangible entity that circulates within a particular matrix of domination and to which individuals stand in varying relationships."[25]

Failure to understand the intersection between youth, technology and sexuality has led to interventions with oppressive implications that are reminiscent of self-esteem-based discourse that emerged in programming for girls in the 1990s:[26] "One of the key problems is that the focus on girls' lack of agency leads to policy and educational interventions that assume that girls—not men and boys—need to be controlled and managed and should undertake projects of personal improvement and change."[27]

Is it possible to talk about youth, privacy, and sexuality in a way that recognizes both risks and potential mitigations, as well as the importance of centering the needs and struggles of youth that are oppressed under different categories of the matrix of domination? When we look at the field of public health, the harm reduction paradigm, which views "individuals as responsible for their own choices and as both agents and recipients of environmental influence,"[28] can be useful to understand some of the windows of opportunity available to act with both pragmatic goals and empathy for youth participants.

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[25] Collins 2009 292.
[26] Hasinoff 2015 19.
[27] Ibid. 13.
[28] Marlatt 1998 ix.

Patricio Velasco in Derechos Digitales, a non-governmental organization in Chile that does research on youth and privacy to be better equipped to navigate the discussion on personal data protection legislation in the country, shares their organizational approach: "The organization has addressed topics like sex in the online environment, and the message has never been to say 'you should not have sex online.' We have said that, if it's a practice you are considering, there are some things you need to have in mind; talking about risks, thinking about the underlying social structures and individual agency, is essential for a truly free choice. Ultimately, the question we ask ourselves is how to enable everyone to control their privacy the way they desire when not all of us have the same resources."

There is something positive to be said about the campaign discussed above, which is that at least in appealing to thinking before sexting, it concedes that youth have a choice, and their bet is in persuading them to make the choice they want them to make. Persuasion implies that efforts do not need to aim for the coercion of youth through permanent monitoring of their online activity and threats to take it away from them if they break the rules. This is not an approach that can be taken for granted.

The internet of parenting bloggers is full of posts sharing reviews of the latest monitoring software to use on your kids, tips on how to sneak into their social media accounts, and all sorts of ways to enact parental surveillance.[29] Parents who, in trying to keep their kids safe, decide to take any form of privacy away from them. Not only are the risks too significant—their kids cannot be trusted under any circumstances. Advocacy efforts like this have two layers to them. An understanding of risk that, according to one of my interviewees, is laughable; and, according

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[29] For example, see Rayworth's popular post on parenting.com, 'How to Spy on Your Child Online'.

to a privacy scholar, a misunderstanding of privacy. Patricio Velasco in Derechos Digitales says, "the logic of online protection presupposes more or less total knowledge of existing threats and best practices. Appealing to control relies on defined, limited situations that we get to know only from adult points of view. And it is an erroneous presupposition. To exert control over others tacitly implies that one is aware of all threats, and that aspiration seems laughable."

Even if it were possible to understand all the threats and all the best practices, privacy scholar Daniel Solove has described false dichotomy of privacy vs. security and debunked the myth that more surveillance will lead to more secure lives for everyone. Solove analyzes the response to terrorist incidents like the London subway bombing of 2005, such as the small number of random searches on the New York subway, and claims that not only is such response ineffective; he ultimately argues that the 'security theaters,' the security measures that make people feel more secure without doing anything to improve their security,[30] have sacrificed rights for lies, and are not worth the tradeoff in privacy and civil liberties.[31] Anne Collier explained her rationale for moving away from surveillance approaches to youth safety:

> For too long in the public discussion about youth online safety, we neglected the development of resilience and other internal safeguards such as media literacy and the skills of social-emotional learning (or "social literacy") in favor of surveillance and control: parental control tools, rules, policies and laws. These have their place, but there was an inherent imbalance. They're all external to the child and send the message that only outside forces, never their own and their peers' resources, are what keep them safe.

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[30] Schneier 2009.
[31] Solove 2011 38-46.

Nathan Fisk proposes to understand these safety education initiatives through the lens of "pedagogies of surveillance", "where "trusted adults" are final arbiters of risk and appropriateness, while casting suspicion on the everyday social practices of youth."[32]

The appeal to surveillance and control on the side of youth protection organizations has undermined their relationship with other organizations in the human rights ecosystem. Cédric Laurant, a personal data protection attorney and head of Articulo 12 in Mexico, explains:

> The reason why not many organizations want to work on youth issues is that many stakeholders use data protection of minors as a way to limit the freedoms of adults by enabling surveillance practices. For example, in the US there have been legislative attempts to 'protect kids from pornographic sites' by asking people to send a copy of their ID to use them. They wanted to protect kids but ended up reducing privacy.

The tensions between privacy and security are not only related to the use of technology. This discussion fits into a broader conversation about youth development, surveillance culture, moral panics, and oppression.[33] This conversation extends beyond social media; parenting movements like *Free Range Kids* or *Let Grow*[34] have arisen to challenge the normalization of surveillance culture in parenting.

I wholeheartedly believe that the desire to surveil youth online activity stems from adults' desire not to control them, but to protect them in an environment that they deem risky. Tijana Milosevic looks at recent youth and media research that shows that exposure to some of the risks is increasing in the European Union, for example, in comparison to past years; but asks if it will

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[32] Fisk 2016 70.
[33] *Ibid*. 23.
[34] See Skenazy 2009.

result in harm. "Whether risk will result in harm depends on a number of factors, which raises a key question: Under what circumstances does risk result in harm rather than in coping?"[35]

In Colombia, Viviana Quintero from Red PaPaz, a network of parents engaged in youth protection on different levels, defends another parental approach to risk-taking:

> Youth need to experiment, learn, start their individual use of these platforms and follow their rules in ways that allow them to develop their autonomy. It's about understanding that kids are in a development process that does not call for invasion, which would just break their trust. It's about thinking about how far your role as a parent can go.

Aside from the tension between learning-based approaches and surveillance, the presence of risk at the center of the youth and privacy discussion has led to the tension between fearmongering and the discussion of youth rights. Jane Bailey from eQuality Project poses the importance of favoring rights-based approaches:

> Rather than looking at kids as problems that need to be fixed, who wear miniskirts and posts pics of themselves online, we need to see them as rights-holders. They have rights of access to information, to cultural products, to media; and there is a rich interaction between various rights. Healthy and rights-informed environment for kids.

For the staff who work on youth and child issues at the Office of the Privacy Commissioner in Canada, kids' personal information is best protected through rights-based, not fear-based, approaches to privacy.

> In the mid 2000s, kids were getting on the internet, and there was this stranger danger and protecting kids' safety online and we always took the position that, if not our place to tell parents how to raise their kids, we should talk about the risks to their personal information online, and companies' practices. There was a lot of fearmongering in the past. But what our office focuses on is empowerment: giving info that is needed to

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[35] Milosevic 2017 25.

be digital citizens. We all recognize the benefits of the online world; so many new ideas that we get

exposed to. But we need to teach kids the critical thinking to recognize good and stay away from bad.

There is empirical research that supports this vision. In 2009, the Office for Standards in

Education, Children's Services and Skills (Ofsted) in the United Kingdom visited thirty-five

schools as part of a study to evaluate the extent to which schools teach kids to adopt safe and

responsible practices regarding their use of technology. "Pupils in the schools that had

'managed' systems had better knowledge and understanding of how to stay safe than those in

schools with 'locked down' systems. Pupils were more vulnerable overall when schools used

locked down systems because they were not given enough opportunities to learn how to assess

and manage risk for themselves."[36]

 So far, I have touched on four different tensions that I will explore in more depth

throughout this thesis. The first is the tension between youth protection and youth agency, visible

in underlying contrasts between dismissive and alarmist views of youth and technology use, the

vision of youth as passive subjects rather than as an active collective, and the dichotomy between

youth ability to choose and adult surveillance and control.

The second tension is between rights-based approaches, and approaches of conditional

citizenship: initiatives that see youth as subjects of rights to privacy and freedom of expression,

rights to be pondered equally as their right to safety; or that see youth primarily in regard to their

susceptibility to harm and risk.

The third tension lies between individual actions and collective responsibility, and it is

seen in initiatives that rely on victim-blaming messaging, like recommendations not to share

sexual content online, versus those that emphasize collective responsibility: young people as

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[36] Ofsted 2007 5.

responsible in managing others' information and not just their own, and, as I will discuss, the role of corporations and authorities.

Finally, the fourth tension I have touched upon is that between the universalist view of youth and privacy, which assumes that all youth are at equal risk of being harmed with privacy violations, and the intersectional view that recognizes that there are different and augmented harms for youth who occupy multiple burdened categories in the matrix of domination.

My research was informed by my commitment to the idea that youth education and services must be linked to the dismantling of systematic oppression. If as technology capacity builders, or as media-makers or researchers, we commit to investing ourselves in the dismantling of oppressions, we need to engage in initiatives where youth are recognized as subjects with specific developmental needs, but also with agency. We do not need to take choices away from them. We need initiatives where youth are not just potential citizens in the future but are seen as subjects of rights today. Those rights include the right to safety, privacy, and sexual and reproductive health. We need to shift the focus from individual actions to collective responsibilities and understand the sociotechnical entities that surround youth in every breach of privacy. We need to work towards a vision where technology, regulation, and practices are aligned both with youth and adult rights—especially those of marginalized individuals who have been targeted by surveillance structures put in place for the sake of 'protecting youth'.

Organizations worldwide, and in the Americas, already work to resist these practices. They already face the practical difficulties associated with these tensions and these visions of youth and safety online. And the cost of not addressing them is to the detriment of their work to support groups of youth targeted by law enforcement, gender-based violence and other forms of

oppression. In Latin America specifically, where digital rights organizations continue to develop under youth leadership, there are new campaigns, educational materials, research, legal analysis and advocacy that address youth privacy issues and begin to bridge the traditional divide. The purpose of this thesis is to share practitioner insights, and to show the ways that youth and privacy practice in the region can serve as a foundation for work that promotes youth agency, recognizes youth as current subjects of rights, and emphasizes collective responsibility.

For this thesis, I interviewed eighteen organizations in the Americas that work in the intersections of youth development, personal data protection, digital rights, and countersurveillance. I hoped to find organizations who did work in the field of youth and privacy, even if that were not the language they chose to describe their work. I interviewed people who work at organizations in twelve countries in the region, from Canada to Argentina; and also conducted a review of organizational literature, from privacy game proposals to classroom materials and campaign videos. Over the course of a year, I conducted hour-long semi-structured interviews with the individuals chosen by each organization; I then created drafts of blog posts about our discussions, which I sent back to the interviewees for feedback from themselves and others in their organizations. I then published each interview on the Center for Civic Media blog.

In this group review process, some suggested minor edits, while others became coauthors and suggested entire rewrites of the content. Some passages of said resulting blog posts have been quoted verbatim in this thesis. Throughout this process, I analyzed and put all of the findings from this interview and group editing process in conversation with academic literature on youth and privacy, surveillance studies and adolescent development.

I found these organizations through work I had done in the past: through my work with Youth and Media Lab at the Berkman Klein Center; through connections I made as a technological capacity builder at SocialTIC in Mexico; through my work with the Digital Communications team at UNICEF; and by attending regional events about digital rights. I was also able to find some organizations thanks to very helpful references from Lex Gill at the Citizen Lab, Javier Pallero in Access Now, Jason Norwood-Young from Open Up in South Africa and Heather Leson at the International Federation of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies.

Most of the groups I interviewed, thirteen out of eighteen, were registered nonprofits in their country. Out of those thirteen, eight worked in the digital rights space: Hiperderecho in Peru, TEDIC in Paraguay, InternetLab in Brazil, Mozilla Foundation in the United States/worldwide, Derechos Digitales in Chile, Sulá Batsú in Costa Rica, Artículo 12 in Mexico, and Datos Protegidos in Chile. The other five work on youth and technology issues: The Net Safety Collaborative (that runs iCanHelpline) in the United States, Red PaPaz in Colombia, Head and Hands in Canada, Faro Digital in Argentina, and Safernet in Brazil.

Out of the remaining five groups not registered as nonprofits, two of the organizations I interviewed were informal collectives: Pensamiento Colectivo in Uruguay and Internet Bolivia. Finally, there was also a research center in an academic institution, the eQuality Project at the University of Ottawa in Canada; a government office, the Office of the Privacy Commissioner of Canada; and a country office of an intergovernmental organization, UNICEF Brazil.

These organizations have initiatives based on communications campaigns and materials, educational efforts; and other forms of advocacy, such as legislative work, research, helpline

operations, and organizing multistakeholder collaborations. For the purposes of this thesis, in discussing organizations in each of the categories, I mention only their youth privacy-based advocacy; not their organizational efforts in general.

The approach I take is to value, reflect and amplify the experience of people working in these organizations; their decades of lived experience, of constant reflection on what works and what does not. However, most of the organizations and projects I discuss on this thesis have not used qualitative or quantitative research to assess the impact of their work, nor has their work been analyzed by external reviewers; this means that I do not make claims about their impact in this thesis. This is an area for further research and I hope that others will use these findings to start these evaluations.

The results I present in this thesis are my view on what research for advocacy can mean. Aside from my thesis, I decided to publish the individual blog posts about each interview on the blog of the Center for Civic Media. At the end of the publishing process, I intend to organize a conversation with all the research participants who are inclined to meet the others doing this work in the region to discuss the findings. This is not the participatory action research project I originally wanted to undertake, but I like to think that participation is a scale and that we can take some steps in the right direction through all social research.

One limitation of this research is that I analyze organizational practices only through the analysis of their texts, and through practitioner interviews; I make claims about their practices based on remote interviews, without having been an observer or participant in their activities. Another limitation that my methodology cannot overcome is that there were no youth involved, given that the interests of the youth organizations with whom I had relationships at the time were

not aligned with this project. This means that this thesis is one more document about youth

written by an adult. That is something that I commit to remedy after my stay at the Comparative

Studies Department, because this project and my experiences at MIT inspired me to engage more

in reclaiming technology discourse and development with the communities that have been

marginalized from shaping it.

Chapter 2. 'The comeback of the *Pyrawebs'*: Youth and privacy campaigns in the Americas

"We made an in-house campaign that cost us no money. The idea that arose from the long faces we saw in workshops when we told people that sexting meant images would get viralized. This messaging was too distant from their realities. We pragmatically took a stance: to repair damages, to concede that if you want to do it, it's your right, but you should think it through. We focused on anonymity and secure storage and messaging".
- Ezequiel Passeron, Faro Digital

Some of the organizations I interviewed for this thesis address youth and privacy through media campaigns across platforms in ways that center the importance of codesign, institutional youth involvement, as well as of creative local narratives. In this chapter, I explore the language they use to talk about their work, and how they run five communications campaigns across the Americas: Unicef Brazil's *Caretas Project*, Faro Digital's *Sexteá con la cabeza* (Sext with your head), Pensamiento Colectivo's *El video del verano* (The video of the summer), TEDIC's *El retorno de los Pyrawebs* (the comeback of the surveillants), eQuality Project's *#DisconnectionChallenge,* and Safernet's different campaigns on non-consensual image sharing. I analyze their tactics to create campaigns that reach and resonate with youth, and their stances regarding values of youth agency, collective responsibility, rights-based approaches, and the recognition that multiply-marginalized youth face amplified consequences of privacy violations.

The organizations featured in this thesis cannot be found online by using "youth" and "privacy" as search terms. That is partly because my chosen frame of 'youth privacy' does not necessarily reflect what they call their work; it only serves as an umbrella for the ten framings that arose in interviews. Whereas it can feel tempting to say that few organizations address youth and privacy issues in the Americas, and especially in Latin America, they do exist—and their

work should be amplified, not substituted, by external stakeholders interested in promoting this ecosystem.

If "youth privacy" is the lens of this thesis but not their chosen form of self-identification, why would it matter to note what these organizations call their work? Social movement literature discusses the importance of frames in movement-building. Frames are essential to collective identity formation that can lead to action; they also "function as modes of attribution by making diagnostic and prognostic attributions."[37] For example: to choose to work in the field of youth online protection in the United States implied, as I cited from Anne Collier in the introduction, that "it was all about consequences to oneself and online in isolation—keeping yourself safe, your personal information private, your 'digital reputation' positive. Youth were represented almost entirely as potential victims." Protection as a frame implied a diagnosis that led to solutions aligned with a discourse about individual consequences.

Table 1: Frames chosen by the organizations

Chosen frame	Organizations that use it
Responsible use of Information and Communication Technologies (ICT)	Faro Digital (Argentina), Pensamiento Colectivo (Uruguay), Red PaPaz (Colombia)
Digital citizenship	UNICEF Brazil, Safernet (Brazil), Pensamiento Colectivo (Uruguay)
Defense of right to privacy	Derechos Digitales (Chile), InternetLab (Brazil), Office of the Privacy Commissioner (Canada), eQuality Project (Canada), Hiperderecho (Peru), Red PaPaz (Colombia)
Equality	InternetLab (Brazil), eQuality Project (Canada)

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[37] Snow and Benford 1992 137.

Youth online safety	iCanHelpline (United States), Safernet (Brazil), UNICEF Brazil, Red PaPaz (Colombia)
Youth protection	Red PaPaz (Colombia)
Personal data protection	TEDIC (Paraguay), Articulo 12 (Mexico), Office of the Privacy Commissioner (Canada), Safernet (Brazil), Datos Protegidos (Chile)
Harm reduction and risk prevention	Pensamiento Colectivo (Uruguay), Head and Hands (Canada)
Digital security	Sulá Batsú (Costa Rica), Internet Bolivia, TEDIC (Paraguay), Hiperderecho (Peru)
Internet health	Mozilla Foundation

Responsible use of Information and Communication Technologies (ICT)

Faro Digital is a brilliant and young organization in Argentina made up of communications professionals that all worked for public institutions on youth issues and decided to come together in a non-profit organization to do the meaningful work their previous positions did not allow. They work with youth through co-design workshops and talks. Ezequiel Passeron, director of Faro Digital, argues that connecting adults and youth can allow them both to reflect and learn together about *responsibility online*, which is the frame that the organization favors to articulate its mission. However, they are aware that "responsible use of ICT" is not necessarily a catchy term that will get youth excited about a workshop. A lot of their work aims to find shared vocabulary that generates empathy among youth; not to impose formal terms, but to use the terms youth already use. They do not want youth to feel like they are subjects of study, but rather

collaborators, people who are having fun. At the same time, they also want young people to reflect on what they do online. Their overall frame of responsible use of ICT sometimes takes form in conversations about what it means to take care of oneself and others online; about bullying, sexting, and non-consensual image sharing.

Through co-design, the responsible use of ICT becomes a discussion on digital citizenship's hottest issues. What are the underlying power dynamics that get uncovered through these conversations? For Ezequiel, the conversations that Faro Digital facilitates among youth enable critical thinking on gender oppressions, otherness, and intergenerational trust.

Faro Digital collaborate with academics like Lionel Brossi in the University of Chile, who are moving forward more participatory approaches to youth and media research in the south. To quote Ezequiel Passeron: "To raise awareness in youth, we need to co-work rather than just bring an adult-centric view of responsible use, safety, privacy." This addresses what Valerie Steeves, Cheryl Webster, and other youth privacy researchers have pointed to as the gap between youth privacy attitudes by adults, and youth behaviors and social roles.[38] Codesign is a way not only to respect agency but also to have a chance to bridge the gap and do effective campaigns.

What does this look like in practice? Faro Digital's workshops with teenagers always involve design. They start with an analysis of their own media practices, then help them identify the things they like and the things they find problematic, and then put them in a position to create solutions for those problematic things. This helps move beyond "don't do this, don't do that" and think critically about what is at stake in sharing our or other people's information.

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[38] Steeves and Webster 2008 14.

This creative methodology helps address some of the difficulties related to working as external forces in a setting where they will have a minimal amount of time with the youth. "At first, it's challenging to build trust and participation. That's why we speed into creative work; to help them feel comfortable with us and like they belong in this activity. For me, one of the most effective tactics is to turn fast when there are awkward silences. If we think there is a lack of participation because it's a painful or boring topic, we try to improvise and deviate the conversation from there."

This means that difficult conversations do not need to be boring; and, according to Ezequiel, the power of the co-design process can be seen in the energy that's generated in these spaces. "What educators who are there every day tell us that their kids struggle to feel interested, to engage in everyday activities like this. And the high level of interaction we see shows that this is working. We can see the interest and genuine answers about what they think."

The lessons they have learned in Argentinean schools and youth spaces inspired Faro Digital to do a campaign on sexting. When they saw the disconnect in youth's perceptions between sexting and non-consensual image sharing and contrasted it with victim-blaming campaigns against sexting, they decided to take a different stance. The core of the message is not abstinence, but safer sexting, like anonymous sexting. They remind youth that it is their right to sext, but they should do so responsibly: opting for anonymity and secure messaging and storage.

'#SextWithYourHead. Best to cover yourself now than pick disguises later.'

Equality

As their name suggests, eQuality Project at the University of Ottawa work under the frame of the promotion of *equality*. Just as all things related to privacy bubble up immediately when they start conversations with youth, talk about equality surfaces quickly—without the term needing to come up. "You won't get very far if you talk about equality. Discrimination is different. Sometimes they know what adults want to hear. But other times if you ask them how their life is they bring up issues of inequality. Gender, race, sexuality. So I think these are actually the issues that they think are important to them. But sometimes they are facing them without really good input from adults because they are worried about things they are not worried about online."

For Jane Bailey at the eQuality Project, the relationship between privacy and equality has been more problematic than some would grant. "Because of my background, I have a feminist perspective. And, from a theoretical standpoint, I have a lot of questions about privacy, and whether it is beneficial to groups like women, or if it only privatizes the wrongs done to them. And being in the field and talking to young people about what is happening in their lives, the connections between privacy and inequality are clear to me all the time."

"Corporations, adults, other institutions are doing things that are inconsistent with kids' rights and make it clear that privacy and equality are connected. Kids' experiences prove that. If you're not out and you can't control your audiences, your capacity to use social media sites is controlled by platforms. In terms of feminist history, it's all very familiar. Stupid user mantra, victim-blaming. If you look at how free speech is exercised in networked spaces, it's gendered, racialized: a cacophony to push them out."

Jane also speaks of how these inequalities have recently surfaced in judicial discussion about youth and privacy in Canada. "There is a case coming before the Supreme Court [highlighting the tension between] privacy and equality. It involves a teacher that used to take a camera to take photos of students' breasts; the Court had ruled that they had no expectation of privacy. We are trying to drive home to the core that this is not just a privacy issue, but an equality issue, and that the finding that they had no expectation of privacy has grave implications for their equality. To attend a space to go to school where your bodily integrity is not protected from the use of pen cameras by your teachers, you are not standing with an equal footing with boys who aren't targeted by this kind of activity."

Codesign is also present in their work with youth on a campaign called the #DisconnectionChallenge, which began when eight teenagers contacted Valerie Steeves at the eQuality Project to explore "the impact of their own media use on their sense of connection to themselves, to others and to nature."[39] "They wanted to think about their own relationship with technology, so they did participatory action research and they came up with idea of media diary for a week. What came out of that project was that they were so excited about their own experiences that they wanted to challenge other kids on this. #DisconnectionChallenge got lots of press, and adults around them took them seriously. Since then, we've heard from a lot of teachers using it in their classrooms. There is value in having youth create materials for others in a way that speaks to them. Adults tend to talk about them and tell them what the problems are. And there is a gap, seen in our research, about what adults think the problems are and what youth's problems actually are."

What do youth see as their problems? eQuality research on defamation involving Canadian youth shows, for example, that they see "individual, corporate and government intrusions on privacy as harms in the online context, most of which they felt were unfair, but many of which they felt they had little choice but to accept."[40] Youth who participated in interviews spoke of non-consensual image sharing incidents in their circles, corporate tracking, and government surveillance of social media as problems that they had to accept—all of which challenges adult views of youth as uninterested in topics of privacy, or ignorant about the consequences of personal data misuse.

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[39] See eQuality Project 2017a.
[40] Bailey and Steeves 2017 80.

Still from the #DisconnectionChallenge video, made by eight teenagers who reflected on their 7-day social media fast.

In the case of the eQuality Project, another aspect of participation is institutional youth involvement. eQuality have a youth advisory board. "In talking with young people about privacy, inequality and their lived experience, we recognize the importance of developing our work in ways that are consistent with them. We've been lucky to have a number of young people from spots across Canada with a wide variety of interests, areas of expertise."

They present an excellent rationale for it in their published guiding intentions, which were inspired by the practice of two of their partners, the Ottawa Coalition to End Violence Against Women and the Youth Services Bureau: youth engagement is not a program, one person cannot represent many, and debate is a learning tool.[41]

Digital citizenship

Pensamiento Colectivo in Uruguay push messages about responsibility, and their desire to use it to talk about broader social dynamics, through another frame: *digital citizenship*. Andrea

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[41] eQuality 2017b.

Salle explains that in Uruguay, where Plan Ceibal, the local One Laptop Per Child initiative, has been one of the internet access policies since 2007, "the State made an effort to train educators, to get kids to use a computer at home, but from a very technical side; not from a digital citizenship perspective. It was viewed from a sense of universal access. And it went well; access is almost total. In almost every house, there is a device. Public plazas have wifi. We have fiber optic at home." A 2016 survey showed that, over a decade, the number of households with an internet connection increased by 70 percentage points, and 82% of households in Uruguay have broadband.[42]

"The State tried to democratize access to technology, but didn't promote the social learning about it." Luciana Almirón: "We work to give information that helps people take a stance. Apart from chatting, hanging out online, there are risks. So we suggest tips for people to take care of their data. E-government, personal data protection, those fields are already developed; we are interested in the aspect of human connections, interpersonal relationships. We think that our role is in giving information, giving a human perspective based on empathy to improve our relationships. We ask ourselves what people need. What are parents facing at home? We try to help them in this social construction woven by new technologies. We are in a different scenario of coexistence that calls for new norms."

Pensamiento Colectivo's work began with a campaign. Cecilia López Hugo explains that "the first stage [of our work], dealing with attention from media and culture, generated discussion. In January the summer starts [in Uruguay] and not much is happening. So it was the ideal time to push a new message: don't share. Don't continue this humiliation. We realized we

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[42] Agesic 2018.

weren't reaching the youth, who were the ones sharing these images [non-consensually], and that's when we decided to create the video. Using the same means of the aggression, viralization, to counter the speech."

'If you receive a video that exposes the intimacy of people, humiliates them or makes them vulnerable; don't share it.' Stills from Pensamiento Colectivo's El video del verano.

Pensamiento Colectivo's campaign started with a video where a girl walks on the beach, telling the story of how everyone in her social circle will watch the video before she asks the viewer what their role will be in that process. "And it worked. We were surprised by the reach. We were surprised to see it work across borders. As a collective we didn't want to openly work on technology, digital citizenship; these actions led us into the topic, made us read, and made us realize that it's needed and an opportunity and this is where we saw the opportunity to work on these topics from Uruguay."

The relatable nature of the story, told by a young woman in Montevideo, gave a local face to the phenomenon of non-consensual image sharing. This was important in a Spanish-speaking context where this phenomenon is sometimes erroneously called 'sexting', the

English term, rather than described with local language.[43] This speaks to one of the critical roles that organizations have played in youth and privacy campaigns: the creation of narratives that make the topics relatable and show their local relevance. This was a successful approach for Pensamiento Colectivo, whose video, without any paid promotion, had reached over 770,000 views by June 2018.[44]

The citizenship angle is also interesting in Brazil, where two of the participating organizations, UNICEF Brazil and Safernet, claim to work in the field of youth and digital citizenship. For Safernet, work on digital citizenship is a way to reconcile the history of youth online safety issues with current understandings of human rights and the internet. Rodrigo Nejm of Safernet explains:

> "As an organization that works on human rights online, we historically focused on the protection of children and youth. In 2003-2004, a bit before the organization was formalized, there was a clear problem of exploitation online. But for us now the right to protection cannot be delinked from freedom of expression or privacy, which are very clearly stated in our legal framework because of the Convention on the Rights of the Child. Our legal framework speaks clearly about the right to privacy, the right to public life. It's not just about protection or privacy and freedom. We have to contemplate all at the same time. It's not simple, but it's the notion of indivisibility of human rights. In very specific cases, law enforcement will evaluate the extent to which it is possible to maintain privacy in the attempt to protect."

However, this does not mean that a perfect balance has been achieved in practice. "We find a vision that excludes kids and youth in certain legislative attempts, and in the work of the police. There are many law initiatives that seem related to child protection, but we know that sometimes they mask other interests, rather than promote their protection." A lot of the work

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[43] See El Debate, which discusses a bill introducing the criminalization of sexting in a local congress in Mexico.
[44] Pensamiento Colectivo 2016.

done by Safernet has consisted in accompanying legislative and judicial processes to ensure that all, not just some, of youth and children's rights will be respected. "In 2008, we made an effort with federal Senate and the Federal Police to work on child pornography, but the change in legislation at the time was very balanced. Even on questions related to the internet. But you have to bear in mind that, at any moment, new projects hidden from public view could be passed to threaten this balance. It is a constant danger and organizations in Brazil must keep an eye on it."

This constant struggle, witnessed since the early 2000s by the civil society organizations and citizen groups that eventually became involved in the 'digital rights' movement,[45] inspired years of advocacy that resulted in a strong law that governs the use of the internet in Brazil today: Marco Civil, the Brazilian Civil Rights Framework for the Internet, which establishes rights and obligations for internet users, as well as guidelines and limits for State intervention.[46] "Finally [the Marco Civil law] meant we achieved a good balance between all rights, including child protection, privacy, personal data protection." At a time when governments in the region demonstrate an interest in integrating digital citizenship contents into their formal education curricula, it is unclear what digital citizenship means. The Marco Civil framework provides civil society organizations in Brazil with a guiding vision for their next advocacy efforts, including those in defense of youth's right to privacy.

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[45] Rodrigues Rezende and Rodrigues de Lima 2016.
[46] See Law 12.965/2014, Marco Civil da Internet, on the website of the President of Brazil: http://www.planalto.gov.br/CCIVIL_03/_Ato2011-2014/2014/Lei/L12965.htm. It has been translated into English by Carolina Rossini at Public Knowledge: https://www.publicknowledge.org/assets/uploads/documents/APPROVED-MARCO-CIVIL-MAY-2014.pdf.
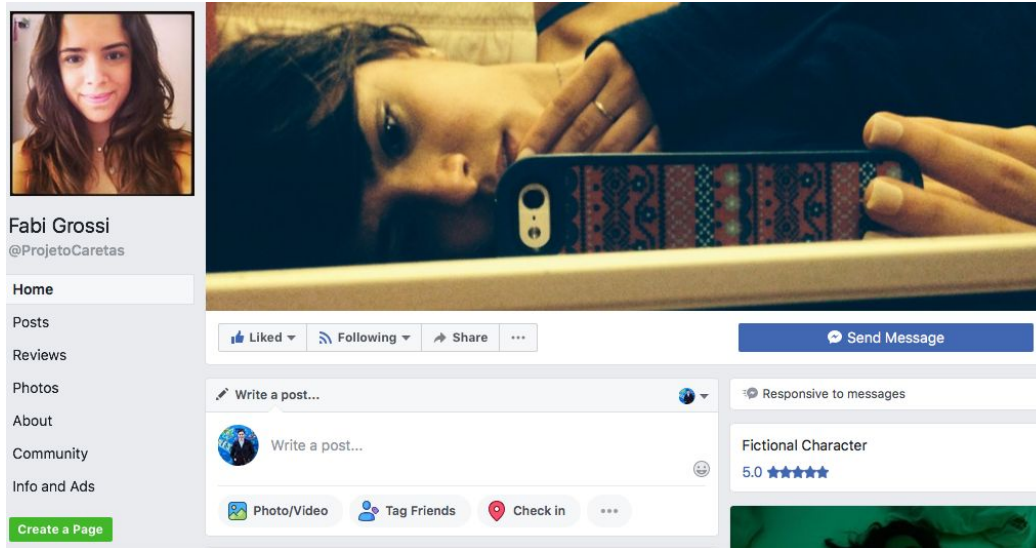
The Caretas Project *page on Facebook has been made to simulate the personal profile of Fabi Grossi, the fictional character that engages users in a conversation about non-consensual image sharing.*

Also in Brazil, digital citizenship is a programmatic area for the local UNICEF office, and it plays out in their campaigns. In 2015, they launched a campaign called *Internet sem vacilo*, 'Internet without slips', to discuss safe web surfing. It was a public advocacy campaign with a series of videos, images and a quiz on attitudes towards topics like image-sharing.

> "One of the goals of this program area, adolescent citizenship, is online citizenship. Right to access, yes, but also to be safe. To give adolescents information to use the online environment more safely, having the benefits and avoiding the risks".

"At age 17, Jéssica lived one of the worst nightmares of an adolescent". Still from one of the Internet sem vacilo *videos.*
"How to protect your privacy online, and that of your friends too" image with tips.
"Your sister (or brother) has a really strange face on a photo you took. What do you do with the photo? Image from an Internet sem vacilo *quiz.*

UNICEF Brazil included messages on responsibility towards others, such as "don't share intimate photos or information of other people", and on harm reduction, such as "Avoid showing your face or attributes that would make you identifiable, such as tattoos or scars," but ultimately

relied on prohibitive messaging that appeals to individual responsibility: "Don't send intimate images and videos. Not even to close friends."

To continue this line of digital citizenship campaigning, UNICEF Brazil came up with an intricate storytelling project. They have been hugely successful in reaching youth through the *Caretas Project*, a theatrical experience on Facebook where youth engage with a chatbot and a series of audiovisual materials that immerse them in a scenario that deals with non-consensual image sharing, and "experience it in a safe way." "They know the risks of the internet, of sending private photographs, but how can we really impact the behavior of these adolescents? We decided to create a strategy so they can live a real life experience and think about it and its impact at the end of the experience. And give them tools to protect themselves, their friends, and respect the privacy of third parties", says Nelson Leoni, one of the communications officers behind this project.

Caretas is a fictional theatrical piece inside Facebook Messenger that relies on the use of a chatbot; this seizes a window of opportunity that opened in April 2016 when Facebook launched the Messenger Platform for developers, giving them the possibility to create their chatbots on Messenger.[47] The experience starts when users visit the *Caretas Project* page on Facebook, which has been made to look like a young woman's profile: Fabi Grosso, a twenty-one-year-old from Brazil. A conversation starts on Facebook Messenger and, after a few minutes, Fabi will say, "Man, it's kind of strange. I don't know where to begin. It's messed up. But if I don't talk about this, I will blow up. Let me tell you: my ex sent a video of us to a site. A

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[47] Facebook 2016.

video of us, get it?" After setting this scene, Fabi starts to ask for advice. What should she do? Should she tell her parents?

According to Leoni, the interactions in this experience are designed to "to ask users to involve themselves in the issue; not only receive information but to participate in the process and figure out how they could move forward in a different way. Sometimes adolescents receive problems. They don't know how they can solve them. So we have to give them the opportunity to solve problems."

The story-building process behind *Caretas* started almost two years ago, when a company proposed a concept and script to UNICEF. They started working on the character development: what actress, where she would live. A group of adolescents vetted the text the bot would use, meaning that the institution aimed for youth involvement. "It was a six-hand production: UNICEF, the company, the adolescents. The development lasted six months, and after this we started the pilot."

The entire experience lasts 48 hours, and it was hugely popular. In the first week, ten thousand users participated; forty days after the launch, eighty thousand users had taken part. UNICEF Brazil staff think it went viral because it is an environment never seen before, so adolescents share this experience and invite their friends to participate. Moreover, again, because a local face and slang were used to make an otherwise seemingly abstract, technology-related problem, relatable.

Through codesign, institutional youth involvement and the use of local narratives in creative formats, Pensamiento Colectivo, Safernet and UNICEF reached large amounts of youth either by creating engaging content or experiences, in the case of Pensamiento Colectivo and

UNICEF Brazil, or by creating alliances with spaces that were visited by people, as in the case of Safernet with the local movie theater chain. Safernet and UNICEF Brazil's campaigns were the results of months of work.

Even if none of these campaigns included impact assessment to gauge any changes in attitudes or behaviors, their numbers of exposure set them apart from other campaigns that fail to reach people. However, a limitation that these campaigns have not overcome is their appeal to the idea of citizenship without a clear vision, accessible to youth, about what digital citizenship means, beyond changes in particular information-sharing behaviors. This leads us to a related frame that is also used to talk about youth and privacy work.

Right to privacy

Some organizations recognize themselves in the field of the *defense of the right to privacy*. Derechos Digitales in Chile, despite having a mission that does not overtly contemplate youth rights, became involved in the fight for youth privacy because it is "related to a bunch of problems we see today. Non-consensual image sharing is an extreme case of this; but also the management of personal data in an environment of big data; bullying in online environments. For Derechos Digitales, it is a deeper concern that goes beyond specific cases or public discussions."

Researchers at the eQuality Project also recognize their work in the field of youth and privacy; however, their conversations with youth do not necessarily allude to it. "You don't go in asking about privacy, or about violence. But within ten minutes of the start of the conversation with youth, all things of privacy, drama, get brought up. They talk about

the constraints they're facing: spying, creeping. 'My parents are spying on me', 'My parents ask my cousin to creep on me to see what I'm doing'. 'Old men are spying on me on Instagram and that's creepy'. We draw on our research side and we talk with the words they're experiencing. They hate the fact that they're being watched all the time. Last time we were in the field it almost felt like they were defeated, being surveilled in school all time."

None of the campaigns analyzed for this thesis featured messaging specifically on the right to privacy.

Youth online safety, youth protection

Some organizations identify their work in the field of *youth online safety* and *youth protection*. A notable case is that of Red PaPaz. In 2008, the ICT Working Group that they chair in Colombia was concerned with youth privacy and the risks related to the oversharing of personal information. This then evolved into a concern for vulnerable youth targeted by sexual predators in situations where kids were posting about their geographical location, which prompted them to work with parents on ways to promote safer uses of social networking sites.

How does Red PaPaz's work relate to critical thinking on youth privacy when their work is under the umbrella of safety? "When promoting general skills to guarantee the safety of kids online, there is a moment at which we must talk about privacy; about the conversations we must have with kids to help them judge the difference between what's public and what's private."

In Brazil, Safernet has worked on many protection-based media campaigns in the last decade, and their messaging has relied on two different sides of the coin. One resembles

traditional framings that rely on individual responsibility: their latest campaign was a collaboration with movie theaters, where they included made up movie posters along with those of real movies, as if private videos were part of the movie roster. "Proving that sharing a video can have greater exposure than that of a blockbuster."[48] However, they have also made poster campaigns with a different type of messaging, like that of one of their latest campaigns on non-consensual image sharing, targeting the people who would share the images sent by others.

'Send me a nude, go—I will not show it to anyone.' 'Sharing others' nudes without authorization is a crime. Were you a victim? Reach out to helpline.org.br.

Whereas in this thesis I argue in favor of agency-based, not protection-based approaches, the idea is not easy to dismiss. Not only does the frame of youth protection resonate with parents, as Red PaPaz have learned in their vast parental network throughout Colombia; it also resembles child protection, the language used in legislation, policy and activism on child rights to refer to preventing and responding to violence, exploitation, and abuse against children.[49] This brings

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[48] Safernet 2017.
[49] UNICEF 2006.

existing robust institutional frameworks to the discussion on youth and technology, including perspectives and threat models that, if not read critically and adapted, could lead to the denial of youth agency, rights, and of collective responsibility.

In Latin America and the Caribbean, child protection systems have dealt to a great extent with sexual exploitation and human trafficking,[50] and Colombia is no exception, as efforts against sexual exploitation are among the stated lines of work of the System of Child Protection of the National Police.[51] Work against the sexual exploitation of children assumes an age-based power imbalance between children and predators, as well as the possibility of physical harm, both of which validate police intervention. Youth and privacy issues online deal with much more diverse threat models such as peer aggressions where no adult perpetrators are present, and where the sharing of information does harm. Organizations that pursue this line of work need to be critical not to extend past models of protection to a different set of issues.

Personal data protection

Another common umbrella that organizations used to describe their work was that of *personal data protection*. This is obvious in the case of the Office of the Privacy Commissioner of Canada, which is an office of the federal Parliament whose mandate is to oversee compliance with the Privacy Act, which governs the handling of personal information by the public sector, and with the Private Sector Law, which governs the handling by companies. However, it is also the case for other organizations in the region partly because their inspiration to become involved

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[50] Ibid.
[51] Policía Nacional de Colombia.

in youth and privacy issues, to begin with, was the discussion of data protection legislation in their country. This was the case of Derechos Digitales and Datos Protegidos in Chile, as will be discussed in chapter four on regulation, and of TEDIC in Paraguay.

As a digital rights organization, TEDIC is best known in Paraguay and Latin America for the campaign that led them to one of their big legislative wins. On the face of a data retention bill, they created a campaign, Pyrawebs, that remixed a guarani term for citizen informants that enacted State surveillance in times of Stroessner's dictatorship. The campaign, which had strong support from youth groups in Paraguay, eventually succeeded in stopping the bill.[52] Now their primary focus is research on the implications of open government data for personal data management. They partnered with an online outlet, El Surtidor, to create a second Pyrawebs campaign and raise awareness about corporate surveillance.[53] This time, a beautifully illustrated scroll website explains personal data law and corporate surveillance practices in Paraguay, in a youth-friendly language.

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[52] See Rodriguez 2015; García-Montes 2015.
[53] TEDIC 2017.

Over 6000 telephone numbers were reported [for spamming or scamming in Paraguay]. How do these numbers get our data?" One of the illustrations on <u>El retorno de los Pyrawebs,</u> "The comeback of the Pyrawebs."

Both data protection campaigns by TEDIC, the first one on State surveillance and the second one on corporate actions, dealt with the struggle of making such topics relevant to people who have "nothing to hide,"[54] or more urgent problems to address, by linking them to a local narrative on State informants. The first Pyrawebs campaign took place in 2015, a time when most campaigns on online privacy were created in the global north, using messages and relying on values that were foreign to contexts like Latin America; showing the significance of privacy in relation to a past political experience to which Paraguayans could relate was a key catalyst of public discussion that led to involvement and, eventually, to their first legislative win.

Harm reduction

Head and Hands in Canada works under the framework of harm reduction with marginalized youth. Harm reduction is an international movement in public health that views individuals as responsible for their own choices and as both agents and recipients of environmental influence. Alan Marlatt cites research that claims the origins of this movement as an approach to drug problems can be traced back to the 19th century, although it arose in contemporary advocacy in response to the growing AIDS crisis in the 1980s.[55] In Canada, harm reduction was first recommended as the framework for the national drug strategy in 1987.[56]

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[54] Solove 2008.
[55] Marlatt 1998 30.
[56] Riley 1994, cited in Marlatt 1998.

One of the key characteristics of the harm reduction framework, which makes it productive for the discussion of youth and online safety issues, is that it is a public health alternative to the moral/criminal and disease models of drug use and addiction.[57] "The focus is not on whether the specific behavior is good or bad, right or wrong; in harm reduction, the emphasis is on whether the behavior is safe or unsafe, helpful or harmful. Harm reduction is about what works (pragmatism) and what helps (compassion)."[58]

One of the critical strategies in harm reduction is to work and talk with, not at, individuals or groups; and engage them "where they are," on their terms. The framework itself emerged primarily as a "bottom-up" approach based on addict advocacy; needle exchange programs for injection drug users began in the Netherlands in response to input from drug-using participants in a research project.[59] Other strategies rely on modifying the environment, and on implementing public policy changes.

Head and Hands' work in harm reduction is not overtly related to online privacy; they focus on providing medical services, street work like needle exchange and clean inhalation gear, and counseling to navigate the judicial system in Canada. Online privacy is a component of their sexual education curriculum.

The harm reduction framework can be useful to make sense of youth and online privacy as a phenomenon where youth have agency and, at the same time, are recipients of environmental influence: the practices of their peers and the adults around them, and the sociotechnical conditions that shape their information-sharing. Youth and privacy advocacy can

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[57] Marlatt 1998 49.
[58] Ibid. xvii.
[59] Ibid. 52.

seek to modify the environment by, for example, pushing for social media platform design that is aligned with youth's right to privacy. It can also seek to implement public policy changes, and I will analyze organizational work in this regard in chapter four on regulation.

Other frames

The last two descriptors that arose in this research were related to other particular missions of the organizations I interviewed. Sulá Batsú in Costa Rica, TEDIC in Paraguay, Hiperderecho in Peru and Internet Bolivia identify their youth and privacy efforts as part as their general programming on digital security; and Mozilla Foundation sees youth and privacy work as part of their undertaking to promote what they have recently denominated internet health.[60]

In this chapter, I have focused on organizations in the field of youth and privacy that have created notable campaigns in terms of their reach, like Pensamiento Colectivo, Safernet and UNICEF Brazil; in terms of their alignment with youth perceptions, like eQuality Project, Faro Digital and UNICEF Brazil; and of their impact on legislative efforts, like TEDIC. I showed that these organizations relied on codesign, institutional youth involvement, and creative, local narratives in their campaigns to reach and resonate with youth on issues like the responsible use of ICT, equality, digital citizenship, the right to privacy, youth online safety and protection, and personal data protection. I have also discussed some of the challenges posed by these frames, such as the lack of definition in appeals to digital citizenship and the loaded history of protection efforts; and some of the windows of opportunity they create, such as the productive framework that harm reduction provides to address the tension between youth agency and protection.

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[60] Mozilla 2018.

Organizational tactics like codesign and youth institutional involvement are also ways that organizations align themselves with the value of youth agency. Harm reduction as a campaign framework productively conceptualizes the relationship between youth agency and environmental influence. The use of digital citizenship and right to privacy as frames places youth and privacy conversations among rights-based approaches, and the use of equality as a frame supports the recognition of amplified consequences of privacy violations for youth most oppressed in the matrix of domination. Narratives like Pensamiento Colectivo's *Video del verano* emphasize collective responsibility as a counter to individualistic discourse.

All of these campaigns had different budgets, institutional constraints and timeframes. In this regard, Pensamiento Colectivo's campaign is paradigmatic: a simple video produced by six young women who came together with the utopian desire of promoting reflection on an issue. Their video promotes youth agency, points to collective responsibility, and encourages people to have empathy for those affected by non-consensual image sharing. It was viewed over 770,000 times; it received video responses from different individuals who held handwritten signs of the campaign slogan; and it was featured on mainstream media in Uruguay. This shows that youth across the Americas are eager to consume, share and create content on the issues that affect them the most, and for which they have not received much relevant, non-judgemental, and constructive advice.

Chapter 3. 'We reflect on terms of service': Educational efforts

"Campaigns weren't enough. Through our own networks, educational institutions started to ask us if we had workshops for teenagers in this topic. So we thought: the next step is doing workshops."
  – Cecilia López-Hugo, Pensamiento Colectivo

One of the main areas of advocacy among the organizations I interviewed was the creation of educational materials or experiences on youth and privacy topics. Red PaPaz in Colombia and the Office of the Privacy Commissioner of Canada's efforts focus on formal education through the school system; TEDIC in Paraguay, Sulá Batsú in Costa Rica, Hiperderecho in Peru, Safernet in Brazil, Faro Digital in Argentina, InternetLab in Brazil, Pensamiento Colectivo in Uruguay, and Head and Hands in Canada work through self-organized workshops, or workshops in collaboration with other non-profit organizations, or with schools.

In this chapter, I discuss the topics covered by organizations in their educational efforts and the key elements of their work. For instance, it is no surprise that many of the organizations I interviewed use interactive or media-based experiences as a way to approach topics of privacy with youth. These organizations developed online or tabletop games and comics, and they rely on audiovisual content in their workshops. For instance, for Ezequiel Passeron at Faro Digital, "some topics are always more successful than others, but a lot of it comes down to how you present them. I think audiovisual content is essential in this. When we play videos, there is no one who doesn't pay attention; they are used to consuming this type of content." Luciana Almirón at Pensamiento Colectivo says that "some [audiovisual materials] make you think or pose you a different situation where kids have a moment where everything clicks, and where

they think something else can happen." After all, schools contacted Pensamiento Colectivo after their audiovisual content "went viral."

Another element in common among many of the organizations I interviewed were their efforts to facilitate conversations that were relevant, meaningful and even fun for audiences. This might sound obvious, given the social nature of advocacy; but the organizations I interviewed shared insightful reflections about some of their planning efforts behind each conversation, especially those that attempted to bridge the intergenerational gap on youth and privacy issues.

Some organizations emphasize collective responsibility, rather than individual action. Moreover, some deal with these topics through youth privacy narratives that do justice to those most affected by rights violations in their context, and therefore resonate with their audiences.

Regardless of the field in which organizations identify their work, or what language they use in their campaigning, the eighteen organizations interviewed cover the following twelve topics: screen time, digital footprint, information quality, risk, data, sexting, grooming, cyberbullying, sharenting, parental control, human rights and digital security. The four most common topics included in organizational outreach and education efforts are human rights, data, digital footprint and digital security.

Table 2: Topics covered by each of the organizations interviewed for this research.

	Screen time	Digital footprint	Information quality	Risk	Data	Sexting	Grooming	Cyberbullying	Sharenting	Parental control	Human rights	Dig. security
TEDIC											X	X
Faro Digital		X					X	X				
InternetLab						X					X	
Unicef Brazil						X					X	
Safernet		X		X	X			X			X	
Artículo 12						X					X	X
Red PaPaz	X	X	X	X					X	X		
Derechos Digitales											X	
Sulá Batsú						X						X
Pensamiento Colectivo					X	X	X		X			
iCan Helpline						X		X				
Mozilla					X							X
Equality Project		X			X						X	
Head and Hands		X				X						
Office of the Privacy Commissioner		X			X						X	
Internet Bolivia				X							X	X
Datos Protegidos					X	X	X	X			X	
Hiperderecho											X	X

Digital footprint and data

Eleven organizations said their programming includes aspects of digital footprint and data, especially personal data. Even though mentions of these topics came up separately in the interviews with organizations, both topics are interlinked. This is clear, for example, in the way Pensamiento Colectivo describe the topics of their workshops in Uruguay: "Our workshops are about digital citizenship: best practices on social media and the internet. We work on digital footprints, 'my data online' and how to take care of my and others' data, the influence that I and others can have on different digital footprints."

The link between both topics is also clear in Safernet's work in Brazil. "Our broad topics are safety online and digital citizenship. With teens, we work on the idea of personal data protection, like understanding how Facebook, Instagram, and other apps register data. We do practical exercises so that, since their youth, people can understand the [data collection] dashboards of Google and Facebook and relate them to their own digital footprint. We reflect on terms of service." Safernet holds discussions on these topics as a way to promote reflection on responsibility online: responsibility that does not only rely on the acts of users, but also of the corporations collecting their data.

Faro Digital in Argentina talks about the digital footprint with all age groups in their workshops as a way to talk about people's relationships with others. By discussing what youth find when they look for themselves on a search engine, and what they expect jobs will be able to find when they look for them after high school, they talk about one's control in using the internet as a business card—an unrealistic stance. "We try to talk about the role of the other—the impact

that sharing photos without consent, or tagging those who don't want to be tagged, can have on these searches."

Faro Digital in Argentina have two types of sessions that they hold in schools that invite them: one-hour, to fit into the periods that schools grant them, and the longer two-hour. In the one-hour sessions, they spend fifteen minutes interacting with the youth, asking what they like about the internet, what they do not like about the internet, and what they would like to learn about it that nobody has taught them. They play a couple of videos, and kids are asked to come up with solutions to the problems they identify. In the two-hour sessions, participants are divided into small teams. They start out each session asking youth to map out the online media they consume and spaces in which they participate: video games, social networks, influencers. As a consensus-building exercise, they choose one of the networks or games they included, and then analyze what they like, what they would change, and what they find bothersome about them. For Ezequiel Passeron, that's where critical thinking begins. Participants then are asked to pick a problem and think of solutions for it in different formats (campaigns, applications, even emoji). After this exercise, they wrap up the last twenty minutes with a conversation on digital citizenship topics, depending on the age of the group with whom they work.

The educational materials created by the Office of the Privacy Commissioner of Canada explore ideas about the digital footprint and personal data in ways that help students understand the ecosystem around them, beyond individual actions. Anne-Marie Cenaiko explains,

> "it's not given that a student that goes through the system will understand [the basics of privacy]. So we
> have developed products to address this: lesson plans on topics like how hard it is to take back what's out
> there, the economics of personal information."

The OPC's work is in aligning Canada's educational practices on privacy with international resolutions, as well as using their topical expertise to supplement the materials available to education districts and educators at the local level. In Canada, provinces are responsible for education, which limits the role of the federal government in this regard; the OPC must do this work with provincial partners, who are the ones reaching schools. Data Protection and Privacy Commissioners from around the world, in one of their international conferences (held in Marrakesh in 2016), adopted the Resolution for the Adoption of an International Competency Framework on Privacy Education. So the OPC worked with provincial and territorial offices in Canada to write a joint letter to the Council of Ministers of Education to encourage the clear and concrete inclusion of privacy in digital literacy curricula, after seeing the topic being "inconsistently applied" across the country.

The Office of the Privacy Commissioner in Canada made a graphic novel, *Social Smarts*, which is also their most popular publication. It tells the story of teenagers at school that deal with issues like digital footprint, insecure passwords, imagined audiences, online harassment, and data economies; a discussion guide for in-classroom use also accompanies it. Why use public resources to come up with a graphic novel? "Storytelling makes privacy relatable to youth. Privacy means a lot of things to different people, but it is in our mandate to talk about data protection laws, so we reach out to youth to talk about how to protect your personal information."

Also in Canada, Head and Hands' framework for talking about the digital footprint comes from their other efforts in sexual education: creating workshops where concepts are described in several ways, and where youth can explore the implications of different decisions. Their

educational efforts deal with the implications of youth's sexual activity and their mobile phones. "We believe youth make decisions that make sense to them and, given information, they will use it to make their own decisions. We speak about the permanent nature of taking and sharing photos, how they can be propagated, what it means for your future. Consent in the context of receiving, sending and sharing pictures."

Organizations have found angles for this discussion that are not all about youth's actions as they relate to data collection or digital footprint. Red PaPaz in Colombia raises awareness on the kids' digital footprint created by parents themselves. With parents of older kids, they talk about "the three rules of the internet: everything is public, things will be on it forever, and not everything you find there is true."

Human rights

Eleven organizations mentioned that their outreach and educations efforts include information on human rights, and especially the right to privacy. Understanding one's rights and obligations is an essential part of rights-based approaches that have come up in response to other more prohibitive discourse.

Red PaPaz raises awareness about the rights of youth with the different audiences they target in Colombia. With educators, for example, they run workshops where they analyze cases and address specific challenges, like professional management of their digital spaces (a topic ignited by too many cases of educators communicating with kids under 12 on WhatsApp) and ways to explore technology in the classroom without putting their students' rights at risk. With journalists, in a context where they routinely publish personal information of children who have

been victimized in notable cases, they also work on coverage that protects and supports child rights, and relies on consent, rather than revictimizing through stories.

Similarly, Safernet works with educators and parents in Brazil "to balance protection without stimulating the violation of privacy: adults who consider their kids have no right to protection of personal information. We need conscience with more flexibility for private spaces and information, and not a full inspection of their digital data, which is very common in Brazil. There are parents who think that, up to age 18, they can control all the data of their kids, even using strange things like parental apps. We consider them forms of violence against youth and children. Teens also have right to the protection of their data, of their privacy, even if limited in some ways; but parents and public spaces need to know this to respect their personal spaces. It's only in bad cases of the violation of rights that we should allow parents and government to go into these spaces."

Hiperderecho in Peru had to find ways to promote these conversations especially with youth studying technical careers, and the ended up relying on open questions. "We spoke a lot with engineering students, and it's interesting to talk about ethics with them especially. Privacy by design, privacy by default, is not getting discussed there. I like the idea that privacy is not a binary, that there is no public-private. For example, the name of your partner or your birthday is not something you would mind telling to a friend, but you wouldn't tell a stranger if they walked up to you on the street. We spoke about software decisions aligned with this ethics, like the Twitter button that allows you to delete all locations—that was designed by thinking of people who no longer want to share this kind of information."

Also a proponent of engaging educational materials, Hiperderecho was not only preparing to release their annual report in comic format; they made a coloring book about the ten digital rights that every Peruvian should defend following the format of the book of activities for the summer given at the end of the school term, and that must be handed in, complete, at the start of the following term.

In Uruguay, Pensamiento Colectivo places a heavy emphasis on the responsibility to others as the best way to protect our rights. "We talk about ethics, but without saying what is right or what is wrong. We work towards the respect of others and empathy. Because, if we don't feel like we have to respect others, I won't act in accordance with ethics or legality. And in Uruguay we don't yet have legislation that is relevant for these issues. Which is why we have to talk about individuals making decisions and caring for others. Citizenship implies ethics and legality; respectful coexistence", says Andrea Salle.

They see their approach as a different way to talk about civics and rights; one that makes youth reflect in ways that they do not in other spaces. "We all had civics and ethics classes in school. It was all about norms. It was never about talking about the human side, people's emotions. About what goes beyond the State", says Luciana. "And, in our workshops, a 14-year-old once said, as we were talking about empathy and the other, 'Yes, the thing is we are always being told what to do to others but we are never told of how to treat and love ourselves'. There is a lot about self-love that has an impact on how we treat others."

Rights-based education is present in the Office of the Privacy Commissioner (OPC) of Canada's materials as well. As education tries to go beyond the instruction of declarative knowledge, the holy grail of youth privacy activities is to help kids reflect on their practices and

the privacy implications they have for their current and future selves, as well as for those of others. How do the OPC materials try to achieve this? Kasia Krzymien answers,

> "The activities in the lesson plans address this. They are about reflection, asking kids to describe situations. Youth may seem very tech-savvy but don't necessarily understand already what is on the lesson plans. They need to learn about their rights and their responsibility to others' information."

School poster for youth in grades 4-6, created by the Office of the Privacy Commissioner of Canada.

The Office of the Privacy Commissioner of Canada works on educational materials that promote, with different age groups, the idea of privacy as a human right. They "created a poster for 4th to 6th graders with easy tips to protect one's privacy, for use in schools across the country." Apart from the lesson plans and poster, the resources section of the OPC website features privacy activity sheets, discussion topics, presentation packages for different age groups, videos, a graphic novel, and an ample collection of external resources.

The importance of local narratives on privacy, especially those that explore the implications for those most affected by violations of the right to privacy, are visible in rights-based approaches too. TEDIC in Paraguay have worked hard to leave beside the traditional lines of digital rights advocacy to focus on what surveillance means for trans people, women, and now also for youth. It is by looking at the way the most marginalized populations are surveilled that we will learn about the workings of the system, and about the most creative forms of resistance, too.[61] Internet Bolivia, a citizen collective that promotes awareness on digital rights, is working on privacy awareness especially for Bolivian individuals who have gone online for the first time in the last two years, who comprise 27% of the country's population, according to official statistics.

In the case of Sulá Batsú in Costa Rica, a cooperative that does technological capacity building to promote local development on the face of globalization, local narratives are essential in their thematic and pedagogical choices. After working with mothers who have children who use ICT, they decided to provide training that would address the digital gap they witnessed between both generations. They focused on giving them options that would help mothers keep

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[61] Costanza-Chock and Schweidler 2017.

their privacy in devices that were also touched by small, agile hands. They frame these workshops as "Digital technologies," or as "Computer use" in some communities, depending on the local language. "In our workshops, it's about listening to people's realities and adapting to them. With some of these women, we end up taking a computer apart so that they can see where the internet comes from. For them, being able to see where their information is being stored is very eye-opening."

Digital security

Some of the organizations who belong in the field of digital rights see their youth outreach as part of their general digital security efforts, which means that their messaging is adapted from the workshops and advocacy they would do on this topic with other adult populations. TEDIC in Paraguay hosts its workshops, generally digital security workshops, outside of formal education spaces, either on its own or in collaboration with other non-profit organizations in Paraguay or South America. In its workshops, TEDIC "always does a general overview at first; then we talk about the global context of digital security and espionage. Then we translate it to our particular context so that people understand it from their own experience. Then we go into measures that can be taken to address certain situations. Finally, we discuss help channels." They contemplate "holistic security practices, which aren't necessarily just digital, but also legal, physical and emotional."

How does TEDIC try to get participants to think critically about privacy in Paraguay? Eduardo says they do so, again, by "talking about concrete cases that have local implications." In the digital security workshop with trans women mentioned previously, they spent a long time

doing critical readings of the terms of service, and the implications of real name policies for trans women in a context like Paraguay. "People start to share and dialogue is ignited. It sometimes shows a lack of understanding of the technological landscape, but solutions arise from participants themselves too." This is a response to what Eduardo describes as a common phenomenon in the digital rights world: "Organizations losing their grassroots perspective" on the face of the global implications of internet debates. This approach, however, depends on the climate at the workshop or event. "If people don't know each other, it doesn't get personal quickly. If there is a sense of belonging, it becomes easier. In the first case, leaving time for people to approach you after the workshop ends."

Internet Bolivia offered four different courses (Introduction to the internet, digital marketing, online banking and e-commerce, digital security) and realized that digital security was their least demanded one. "We had trouble promoting it, but we made some posters, kind of yellow journalism, saying, 'Learn to help your teen avoid risk', 'How to avoid having your account hacked'. It's not about calling it 'privacy' but about being able to explain the things as they relate to people's lives." They use this advocacy space to change people's perceptions around phenomena like child pornography and sextortion to explain the local legal framework that can be used to defend victims, and the general tips that can be followed by new users when they encounter risk online.

Regarding gaming, Sulá Batsú is currently in the development of a tabletop game for use in their workshops. After a five-month research process with Fundación Telefónica, they decided to make the learning more fun through a game called *Huellas*, or *footprints*. Two to six players have to match online risk scenarios with good practices to accumulate the highest amount of

tokens. The goal is to "identify scenarios where they know they are at risk of having their rights violated online, so that they can identify and adopt good practices for safe use of the internet."

Why a fun take on security training for youth? "We feel that there isn't much information for youth on this topic. And they can believe that their own information is not important." Vivian says that their work was motivated partly by prominent cases where personal data of youth were misused in Costa Rica (like in many other of the contexts described by interviewees in this blog post series), as well as cases where young people were expelled from schools because of incidents related to privacy.
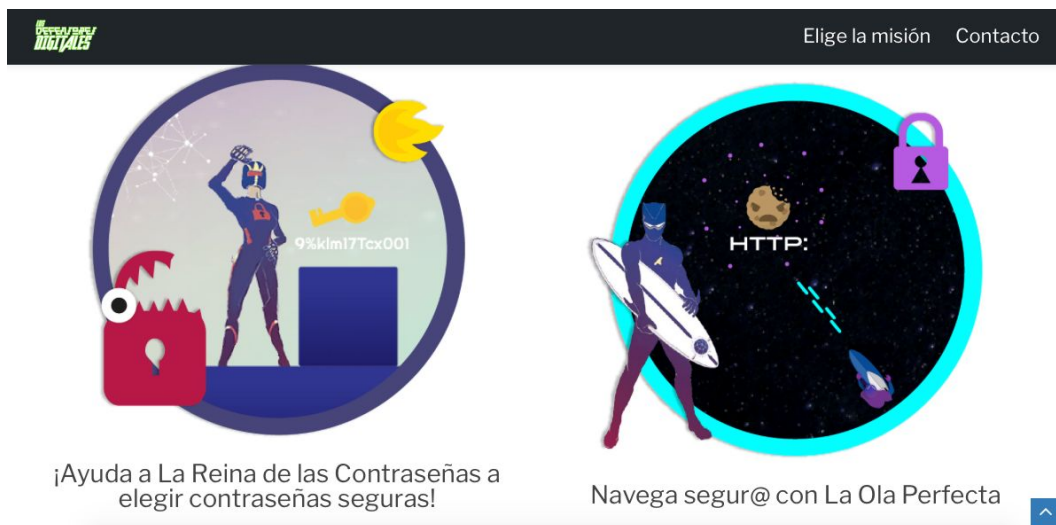
The two missions on Artículo 12 and EDRi's choose-your-own-adventure digital security game: secure passwords and safe web surfing.

Another project on gaming was Artículo 12's translation of European Digital Rights' (EDRi) "Digital Defenders" materials into a book and the adaptation of its characters into two web games intended to teach digital security to 9-14 year-olds. Cédric from Artículo 12 in Mexico thinks that "EDRi's guide is interesting: it addresses the topic from the hero's perspective, with a narrative adapted to discuss privacy, while engaging youth. They presented

heroes that, instead of broadly protecting society, protect your privacy. They also presented evil characters. Someone protects your passwords, and there is an enterprise trying to steal your information."

Many of the organizations I interviewed are doing their fair share of school visits to reach youth and their parents, but Hiperderecho in Peru intentionally visits the spaces where youth are already present; especially young adults. Hiperderecho started a university tour inspired by LibreBus: "We wanted to produce a 3-4 hour event and replicate it in the biggest possible number of universities. We called it 'Privacy self-defense', and two people carried it out: half of the content was legal, half of it was technical. We talked about karate-move-inspired ways to preserve privacy. How to ask questions to those collecting your data, use of plugins. We did it five times. Bruce Lee with a floppy disk."

Moreover, Hiperderecho started a youth league for the defense of digital rights with college students. One of their projects, carried out by law school students, aims to create repositories where students from different schools can share learning resources.

Other topics

One of the topical areas that some of these organizations cover is related to parent-youth relationships and to bridging the intergenerational gaps that make youth and privacy conversations more difficult. I have touched briefly on it as I described Red PaPaz and Safernet's efforts in digital footprint and human rights education, but other topics come up, such as risk, grooming, and sharenting.

Red PaPaz in Colombia work with educators to promote understanding of youth and

technology issues, but they also have dedicated educational efforts for parents. They create

online content (for social networks, an e-bulletin, online courses); yearly face-to-face

conferences in each area of the country, and online events (monthly conference, generally

attended by 2000-3000 people; smaller expert conversations for specific audiences, like

institutional leaders).

With parents of adolescents, Red PaPaz talks about ways to teach kids how to recognize

risk and to always count on adults who can support them. They also teach parents ways to teach

their kids about respectful relationships online without relying on parental privacy invasions or

surveillance,

> "not to spy on them, but to engage them, ask them what they like, what they use it for. To talk about the
>
> contents they post. You won't know as much as your kids do about their lives, but your kids need their own
>
> discernment skills; and when someone approaches them with bad intentions, your unconditional support
>
> will be needed."

Part of Red PaPaz's work also deals with the facilitation of conversations; they talk with

parents about ways that can start conversations with their kids. When Red PaPaz launched as a

network of parents in Colombia, one of the first courses they offered was "Critical televiewing,"

where they helped parents analyze the violence in the content kids were consuming through

narco-soaps and reality TV. This legacy of critical viewing has persisted in the organization as it

has moved into the field of ICT.

> "When parents reach out to us about phenomena like the Blue Whale game or the cinnamon challenge, we
>
> help them analyze sources and websites, learn to make assessments about the quality of the information.
>
> We also teach them what needs to be done to face risk. We don't try to teach them what grooming or

sexting are, but how to react if something bad happens. What to do if you see your kid is having too much info; how to have conversations about this at home."

An intent to bridge the intergenerational gap is visible as well in the case of Faro Digital in Argentina. As young communications professionals, they have always shared a vision with the youth they serve: social media are great tools for communication. However, they see that the adults around youth do not always share that view. Faro Digital see a need to explain to adults what is going on with youth in digital spaces, and to promote adult involvement in youth's digital lives. They want to bridge this intergenerational gap by connecting adult family members with their children, and teachers with their students. Ezequiel Passeron argues that connecting adults and youth can allow them both to reflect and learn together about responsibility online, which is the framing that Faro Digital favors to articulate its mission.

Pensamiento Colectivo in Uruguay describes a similar intent behind their workshops, which they hold with parents and with students separately. Luciana and Cecilia: "The intention of workshops with parents and children is to narrow the technology gap between them, open up a dialogue, and find a path towards prevention and a better coexistence in the digital world, where on and offline lives are entirely mixed. We believe it's in exchange with kids and parents that we can all enrich our experiences."

Pensamiento Colectivo promotes their messaging on empathy not just in their youth workshops, but in their workshops with parents, too, which focus on sharenting—the practice of sharing representations of one's parenting or children online.[62] "With parents, we talk about empathy. We believe that the development of empathy is a way to take care of oneself and of

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[62] Blum-Rose and Livingstone 2017.

others. This is a hyperconnection that disconnects us, and it is good to bring up the idea that there is someone crying at the other end of the screen."

In Uruguay, Pensamiento Colectivo also visits schools for short workshops with teenagers. Cecilia and Luciana explained:

> "We ask them things and rely on their inputs and participation to see what happens. It's not a lecture. When we give them a voice without judging what they say, sometimes we see very intense dialogues between them, and educators themselves tell us about the level of attention they witnessed from the students. We are talking about teens, youth, who sometimes are portrayed as kids who are all the time on their phones, but we see incredible things. Their capacity to reflect and be critical has been kept silent by system that forces them to do things all the time.[...] Kids haven't been given this space to ask, reflect."

How is it that Pensamiento Colectivo achieves such level of exchange and critical thinking in these conversations?

> "We hold onto stories that arise from what they are saying and we ask people what they think. Critical thinking comes from that, from showing something different. From seeing that things can be done differently. If it all goes viral, what happens? What happens to me, to someone else? Could something else have happened? It's about asking these types of questions."

Apart from highlighting stories and other possible scenarios, they drive the conversation in ways that make risks more tangible.

"We try to make the concepts related to the internet more tangible. We bring them down to earth with numbers. 'X people in Uruguay are connected to the internet. X in the world. This is what it means for me to lose control when I put something online'. It's about being graphic about what internet means, what reach means. That's when we see faces of, 'Oh, this is bigger than I imagined'. We compare things to analogical situations like leaving doors open. These contrasts promote a form of communication."

Faro Digital works on different topics depending of the age group of participants. With 9 to 11-year-olds, they talk about grooming, "the process by which a child is befriended by a

would-be abuser in an attempt to gain the child's confidence and trust, enabling them to get the child to acquiesce to abusive activity".[63] Their conversations on grooming do not rely on stranger danger narratives; they are about showing that meeting people online is not bad, and about restoring trust on the adults around them. "The objective is for them to understand that adults must take care of them, even if they don't understand ICT. That sometimes, even if their first reaction if we tell them we are being sextorted is to be angry, their anger is related to their fear for us. And to not let that anger stop us from asking for help." In Argentina, there is a public phone line against grooming, as well as legislation.

Head and Hands in Canada host their workshops, too, but they are not dedicated technology workshops; they fit into their broader sexual education curriculum. Their first effort is to train peer educators; they are all youth under twenty-five, and have the assignment to lead conversations with the youth they serve. Head and Hands staff leave space for youth to decide topics that are relevant to them, and they only "try to provide them with information to open up the conversation about consent and information sharing. To talk about their own experience in answering", says Andrea Clarke.

In this chapter, I discussed the key elements of the work organizations are doing on youth and privacy education in the Americas, including the topics they cover: digital footprint and data, human rights, digital security, among other topics. As the initial quote by Cecilia López-Hugo of Pensamiento Colectivo reflected, some of the organizations interviewed for this thesis see educational outreach as a way to go deeper into the issues for which they advocate. As we

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[63] Gillespie 2002.

already saw in their campaigns, their educational work stands out for their use of engaging and interactive materials like games and graphic novels; their meticulous efforts to find relevant examples, especially on the implications for those most affected by privacy violations; and their work to facilitate conversations, rather than just lecture and share content unidirectionally, and especially in ways that bridge the intergenerational divide seen in youth and privacy issues.

Educational programming in these organizations supports an emphasis on collective responsibility: by discussing digital footprint and data, Safernet promotes discussion about the role of the corporations that make up the social media ecosystem where most privacy breaches take place. By including discussions about otherness and our responsibility to others, Faro Digital and Pensamiento Colectivo shift recommendations away from individualistic approaches that place all the burden on the victim. By creating reflection opportunities for technical students in university, Hiperderecho advocates for recognition of the role of technical structures in the fulfillment of youth rights.

This educational programming also shows ways that organizations in the region commit to intersectional analysis and explore the implications of privacy violations for those most burdened in the matrix of domination. TEDIC sought to do digital security workshops and discuss privacy policies with trans women in Paraguay; Internet Bolivia created educational offerings for the 27% of Bolivians who went online for the first time in the last two years; and Sulá Batsú created programming for mothers who have been alienated from technological spaces in the past.

One limitation is that most of the organizations interviewed have little or no contact with the formal education system in their context; only the Office of the Privacy Commissioner in

Canada, a government body, is concerned with the creation of materials that can be included in school curriculum. In the interviews, we did not openly discuss the reasons why organizations do not engage in formal education, or if they aim to do so in the future. This seems to be a missed opportunity in promoting impact beyond the small circles that these organizations can reach directly through their workshops.

Chapter 4. 'The Body is The Code': Regulation

"Our judicial research was a way to say that we can care about this issue *and* about digital rights. We were able to say this only because we read over a hundred decisions of the Sao Paulo court system and interviewed people involved in them. We felt that what advanced the discussion in a progressive way was producing data, because we didn't have to be stuck in the old paradigm in our discussions."
- Mariana Valente, InternetLab

Another dimension of the work of organizations in the region is that related to regulation. Organizations with legal capacity provide law and policy-makers with recommendations, and this is particularly evident in the context of organizations in Chile, where the discussion on personal data legislation prompted Derechos Digitales and Datos Protegidos to move their work towards youth and privacy issues; in the context of InternetLab's work in Brazil, where they examined the judicial outcomes of non-consensual sex cases in Sao Paulo to give policy recommendations; in the Office of the Privacy Commissioner as a parliamentary entity in Canada; in the eQuality Project's recommendations to policy-makers in Canada on different issues related to youth and technology; and in Mozilla Foundation's support to activists who identify local legislative battles. They work to bring perspectives on youth rights and needs to legal and policy analysis, an essential step in the recognition of youth as subjects of rights today—and not just as conditional citizens.

Other organizations explore regulation as relates to corporate proceedings. One example is Article 12's advocacy on youth-friendly terms of service for companies, and their support of letters on youth and privacy addressed to companies like Facebook. The Net Safety Collaborative's operations of iCanHelpline in the United States also pose an interesting example

of content escalation, intermediation between users and social media companies that has become one of the primary content moderation strategies. I focus on their efforts to address gaps in available services, which is essential in the push to emphasize collective responsibility.

Finally, I also discuss the work that organizations do to promote multistakeholder collaboration. The most prominent case is Red PaPaz's in Colombia, where they chair an ICT Working Group with all stakeholders, and where they collaborate with different levels of government and law enforcement. Here I focus on their work in institutional capacity building for collective responsibility.

Legislation and policy work

As strategic litigation organizations or government bodies, Artículo 12 in Mexico, Derechos Digitales and Datos Protegidos in Chile, the eQuality Project and the Office of the Privacy Commissioner in Canada, InternetLab in Brazil and Mozilla Learning in the United States/global are all involved in legislative and policy discussions about youth and privacy issues.

Staff in Artículo 12, Derechos Digitales, and Datos Protegidos do not see their organizations as 'youth organizations'; they ado not necessarily focus on youth rights. However, their advocacy began to contemplate this topic as personal data laws were introduced again in the Chilean Congress, and later approved in May 2018.[64] In these discussions, a prevailing view is that current provisions are insufficient to protect the privacy of youth and children. Derechos Digitales and Datos Protegidos research the implications of this law for minors.

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[64] Bastarrica 2018.

Derechos Digitales, a digital rights organization, started their research with a simple prompt: "if the protection that the State can give is not as good as the one we want, we need to see what's happening on the other side: youth. What are the abilities of children and youth to effectively manage their internet resources?" They recognize that risks still exist, and adequate institutional protections are necessary, "but the context still begs the question." This led them to make comparisons of Global Kids Online data gathered in Latin America, and to start local research projects on youth and privacy with university students.

Concerning kids' privacy practices, Global Kids Online data studies kids' ability to delete web history, to block people with whom they do not want to speak, and to change their privacy settings on social networks. In their comparison, Derechos Digitales found a relation between privacy choices and the household income of different participants and looked at other factors like class and gender. One of the key findings in their research was that household income is an important risk factor: in their comparison of Global Kids data from Brazil, Poland, and Turkey, they found that Brazilian kids of lower socioeconomic status were more likely to share information such as their physical address online.

> "Research like this shows interesting tensions in the narratives around youth: challenging the common framing of kids as people who are incapable of understanding the perils and threats of the internet and therefore should be controlled, by showing that, like everyone else, they can contemplate different threats and especially the practical skills needed to deal with them."

For Derechos Digitales, research is the first step that will then feed other forms of youth and privacy advocacy. Patricio Velasco thinks the organization might use this research to think of youth capacity building the way their research on gender has led them to develop special privacy workshops for women and journalists.

Datos Protegidos, a personal data protection organization, decided to focus their initial national survey on children after they gave advice on child consent under the Chilean law to UNICEF Chile and analyzed the use of data that corporations in the country had been doing. They ultimately wanted to raise awareness about the importance of protecting personal data starting early on in life and saw the need to understand the youth landscape in Chile: kids' perceptions on privacy and freedom of expression. "We focused on 9 to 13-year-olds, the age range immediately before the time they can consent to opening accounts on social networks, according to United States legislation; six out of ten kids in Chile had a Facebook before reaching this age of consent." In Datos Protegidos' research, 62% of 9 to 13-year-olds disclosed the use of social media as their first, second, or third priority when they were online.[65]

Datos Protegidos' research makes two conceptual recommendations. First, they found a need to raise awareness about the different components of personal data among kids. They found that kids identified their name and RUT, the national identification number in Chile, as personal data, but did not do the same regarding images, opinions posted online, geolocation, information about their school, or even their physical address. Second, they also identify the need to raise kids' awareness about their digital footprints, while creating legal and technical frameworks that allow them to deindex content tied to their identity as they age.[66]

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[65] Fundación Datos Protegidos 2017.
[66] Ibid.
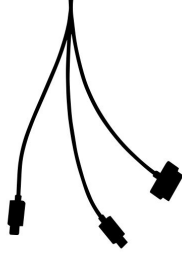
O CORPO É O CÓDIGO

The body is the code*, InternetLab's book on non-consensual image sharing*

Regarding the implications not just of legislation but of actual judicial outcomes, InternetLab's research in Brazil intends to renew discussions on freedom of expression, privacy, and human rights, and one of their most significant projects in this regard is their research on non-consensual image sharing. They read over a hundred decisions of the Sao Paulo court system and carried out interviews, backing up with numbers and qualitative information that this phenomenon discriminates primarily against young women.

"There was a general understanding in groups defending women's rights that it was impossible to prosecute crime online. So there were not many resources for victims. And we knew that focusing on crime would be controversial in that stage of the discussion. We knew research would open up new possibilities by shining the light on controversies that weren't getting discussed. There is the side of anonymity, then the side of those who didn't like it. But when interviewing police we realized that anonymity was not an issue because the way this violence occurs has much to do with social surroundings, communities; it's rare that a victim

won't know who started disseminating her image. [...] It was a way to say that we can care about this issue AND digital rights."

One of InternetLab's key recommendations is the need to rethink public policy discussions to fight violence against young women online in a way that will overcome reductionism. Specifically, they note that the Brazilian Marco Civil provisions on non-consensual image sharing might prove insufficient to deal with harmful cases that do not necessarily involve nudity. Focusing primarily on image sharing has taken attention away from the threats and extortion associated with it, and private companies' terms of service pose pornographic content and nudity as if they were the only contents that could harm women.[67] They also argue against the criminalization of youth for the sake of 'protecting' young women, and instead argue in favor of the inclusion of equality topics in the gender and sexuality section in the National Plan for Education in Brazil, which conservative representatives successfully lobbied against in 2014.[68]

One of the main areas of work in the eQuality Project in Canada is policy outreach and interventions. "Working closely with external project partners, we will also inform Federal, Provincial, and Territorial policy through our policy and community partners, who are looking for innovative ways to advance policy beyond the "zero-tolerance" approach, and to actively encourage and promote healthy online environments and respect for diversity and equality online."[69] Jane Bailey and Valerie Steeves of the eQuality Project mention their rationale behind advocating for youth rights through research at an academic institution:

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[67] Valente, Neris and Bulgarelli 2015.
[68] Ibid.
[69] eQuality Project 2017c.

One of the factors for organizations operating in this space are the massive funding problems, resource

problems. And one of the things that an academic grant can do is create a pool of resources to get things

done in this area for organizations craving them, and to do it in a way that makes sense for their

communities, rather than having to take an off-the-shelf technology product not geared for the members of

the community they serve. Bringing the research project together with those organizations made a lot of

sense because we were able to bring resources; not just money, but also expertise regarding data gathering,

law, pieces of a puzzle relevant to various organizations we worked with.

Some of their most recent policy recommendations on privacy were published in

MediaSmarts' *Young Canadians in a Wired World*, written by Valerie Steeves.[70] One of the key

recommendations is the creation of anonymous and non-commercial spaces where youth can

interact without constant adult monitoring, especially in educational settings, as the current

model based on data collection and commodification "is out of keeping with the nuanced ways in

which young people seek both privacy and publicity online, and ignores the social norms they

have developed to negotiate a comfortable level of both."[71]

The eQuality Project's research on youth and privacy covers teens' decisions about

photographs on social media, their perspectives on defamation, Google data, and a participatory

research project on disconnection. They also have research and policy projects on the internet of

toys, the networked classroom, algorithmic discrimination, and cyberviolence.

Another that supports campaigns targeted at legislative processes is Mozilla Foundation,

which has long been one of the key players in the digital rights space globally. In recent years,

their Learning Initiative (which is the part of the organization I interviewed) has produced

notable materials on different issues related to what they call "web literacy", the web being a

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[70] Steeves 2015.
[71] Steeves 2015.

central part of the work of Mozilla. However, in interview with Chad Sansing, something that shone through is that, for a geographically distributed community, the push is to support local leadership and become embedded in the youth and privacy battles with local leadership.

Through research into youth personal data management capacities and practices in in Chile, combined with analysis of judicial outcomes that affect young women primarily, and using global resources to support local legislative battles, these organizations show what it can mean to bring youth perspectives to legislation and policy-making. One limitation I found is that, even though some projects interview or survey youth directly, youth were not typically involved in research design, analysis of findings, or the final writing or advocacy processes.

Corporate policy

A lot of the work of the Office of the Privacy Commissioner of Canada is in investigating complaints regarding the ways companies deal with kids' information for commercial purposes. For example, this year they published a report on the vulnerabilities and resolutions carried out by VTech, a toy manufacturer in Hong Kong that had a data breach that potentially compromised the data of 316,000 Canadian children; they analyzed their safeguards measures, from maintenance to their cryptographic protection, and concluded that the matter was well-founded and resolved.[72] They also provide law-makers with advice, such as their draft Position on Online Reputation, which supports the idea of regulation that enables youth to request the de-indexing or removal of existing content displaying their data[73].

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[72] Office of the Privacy Commissioner of Canada 2018.
[73] Office of the Privacy Commissioner of Canada 2017.

In Mexico, Articulo 12 is an organization that carries out litigation and advocacy to close the gap between data protection legislation and practice, and works primarily with adults. However, they have worked on a few youth personal data protection initiatives because

> "there is a whole discourse that says that kids don't worry about anything; however, when we take a closer look, youth are generally more familiar with digital tools than adults sometimes. [...] So we need to teach them and give them more ways to protect themselves. Help them understand how their personal data can be abused."

Part of this understanding could stem from youth-friendly language on privacy notices, one of the things that Articulo 12 advocates for. "Age-appropriate language would help youth not feel powerless before a privacy notice. Sometimes, youth don't know what to do, how to complain about what's happening. Even on websites and sites that are clearly intended for youth, the [privacy] language is like that of lawyers communicating to adults." Jane Bailey of eQuality Project thinks, moreover, that this is part of a larger disconnect between privacy law, corporate actions, and the perceptions of the youth with whom she works: "Corporations have relied on kids' consent. Any kids you'll talk to will tell you 'that's nothing to do with privacy'. It's not just what you show, but who looks. The informational control model misses the point. All it does is legitimize large corporations' use of data." Cédric in Artículo 12 thinks that the understanding on the side of youth users is necessary to close the gap. When users know their rights are violated, they can seek out organizations that will help them challenge corporate practices.

Artículo 12 seizes the opportunities provided by privacy controversies to advocate for the rights of youth. When a leak on *The Australian* showed that Facebook had allowed advertisers to target their publicity to youth filtering by mental states, affecting over six million

psychologically vulnerable teenagers,[74] they wrote a letter to the Facebook office in Mexico and the National Institute for Access to Information and Protection of Personal Data to find out if a similar experiment had been carried out in the country. They also joined organizations led of the Trans Atlantic Consumer Dialogue in writing a letter that urged Mark Zuckerberg to adopt the General Data Protection Regulation of Europe as a baseline for all Facebook services.[75]

Another characteristic of work being done to defend youth rights is how they address the gaps in available services. I want to highlight, in this case, work taking place in the United States. Anne Collier is well known in the youth media field for her sensible, informative and nuanced writing on youth and online safety over the last two decades. She follows academic research, understands the corporate and school ecosystems, and works with parents. The window of opportunity she found in the United States was an internet helpline "where schools and districts can call or email to get help in resolving problems that surface in social media—problems that threaten students' safety such as cyberbullying, impersonation, harassment and sexting." Before Anne set out to do this, the United States did not have an internet helpline—an established line of communications that functions as an "new intermediary layer that helps both users on the ground and the services in the cloud. Users get help and perspective, companies' moderation teams get pre-screened context."

At a time when content moderation escalation is one of the main models in response to online harassment, iCanHelpline found an opportunity to use this mode of work to defend youth rights and support at-risk youth. However, the discussion on content escalation is complicated: to what extent do intermediaries like iCanHelpline amplify the youth rights agenda in the social

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[74] Machkovech 2017.
[75] Trans Atlantic Consumer Dialogue 2018.

media ecosystem, and to what extent do they reduce the public pressure that would lead companies to treat youth issues with the same level of importance they grant to, say, cooperation with law enforcement? Is it better for social media companies to take on this form of content moderation, or are third parties the best actors for this purpose? Who should these third parties be—nonprofit organizations, the State, other companies? How should this work be funded?

iCanHelpline, run by the Net Safety Collaborative in the United States, and Safernet, in Brazil, are the two organizations that I interviewed that run internet helplines as part of their services. Why a helpline? Anne Collier of iCanHelpline recalls that, in 2006, when kids were adopting MySpace and other platforms, many initiatives were undertaken to fill in the knowledge gaps for parents, policymakers, and media, from taskforces to Anne's writing on Net Family News. To her, "now, at the beginning of this decade, it felt more and more like we could keep writing and trying to guide parents, but it wasn't going to get us anywhere." Anne looked at the practical approaches that served youth in English-speaking countries, and found early examples of helplines in the United Kingdom, Australia and New Zealand, as discussed in interview with her.[76]

In addition to these countries, the European Commission had funded helplines in many EU countries; however, the United States did not have what's called an "Internet helpline" yet. Anne worked with other colleagues from the world of net safety to set up a pilot, modeled after the UK's internet helpline, and explore different sustainability models. Today they use a school subscription model and have received grants from internet companies to fund their operations in specific locations.

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[76] See
https://civic.mit.edu/2018/02/27/social-media-helplines-for-positive-and-safe-school-climates-icanhelpline/.

iCanHelpline, through the support that it provides to schools in the operations of its internet helpline, is in constant collaboration with social media companies. "Because social media use is as individual as anyone's social life," Anne Collier says, "maybe the most practical way to educate adults about the pluses and minuses of teens' social media use on a case-by-case basis, through a helpline that meets caregivers' need to resolve problems when they arise." By taking calls from school personnel trying to address cyberbullying and other social cruelty online, Anne and her helpline collaborators "are trying to steer schools away from defaulting to law enforcement and see if they can work on a solution with the students who want the problem resolved." Anne says nearly two-thirds of cases they have received were raised to administrators by students, who do not like drama and social cruelty any more than adults do. By working with students, she said, administrators see that students are "part of the solution much more than they're part of the problem, honoring their agency and potential for digital leadership. Internet helpline work, she said, is "much more about adolescent development than crime and punishment, and we want to see more and more schools focus on restorative rather than punitive approaches to online problems as well as offline ones."

> School personnel calls the helpline most often to try to get harassing content taken down. "Which is fine. Let's meet that need, and in the process send the message that even problems in and with tech are actually more about humanity than technology. That's not always easy to hear, but our process is simple. We find out what's going on, what platform's involved—sometimes it's more than one—if local media have reported on it, if schools have reported it to the internet companies and if they need help with that. [...] And in order to do that, many times they need help from students because they don't know how to use the app."

Once schools have reported the problematic content, iCanHelpline leverages its relationships with different internet companies to help expedite the process. Anne says that companies are "typically very responsive" in getting harmful content deleted. This is all part of the complaint escalation model, which has complications: It means that only users who understand the abuse reporting tools or have access to the correct intermediaries are likely to see a prompt response to their reports, largely excluding users outside the global north.[77] Some of the interviews supported this point in this project; groups like Pensamiento Colectivo in Uruguay operate with the understanding that Facebook and Google representatives are not available for them in Latin America. Andrea Salle explains: "We don't have any contacts there to ask for help. We don't have the possibility to request takedowns."

It also means that intermediaries like iCanHelpline and other helplines cannot always meet callers' expectations because they cannot themselves act on Internet companies' Terms of Service or community guidelines; only the companies themselves can. These intermediaries also bear the responsibility placed on them by the public without being able to guarantee a satisfactory outcome and without remuneration from the companies for making their users' experiences safer. However, as of today, companies still fail to respond to requests in a timely manner in the face of masses of user-generated reports, and the role of intermediaries like iCanHelpline has been essential both in helping companies address time-sensitive issues more promptly and in helping users understand the reporting options available to them. "Schools and other institutions responsible for user safety don't understand social media companies and systems, and a lot of the reports companies receive are not actionable because of a lack of

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[77] Athar 2015.

context for what's being reported," Anne said. Most of the reports are what the companies call 'false positives,' coming in with inaccurate or inadequate information."

Working with, not for, youth is not the only way that organizations practice what they preach. For organizations that advocate for improvements in corporate policy, it is essential to align their own confidentiality practices with the demands they make of corporations. Rodrigo Nejm of Safernet, one of the oldest youth online safety organizations in Latin America, explains the importance of confidentiality in their helpline service in Brazil:

> "In the helpline, we propose a space to listen to youth with maximum protection of their privacy. [A space] that is safe, without adult judgments. In general, family and protection services are very judgemental of youth behaviors. So the helpline is a space to talk freely, anonymously. No identification is necessary to use the chat. We never request real names or identifying data. And we use encryption."

This intentional alignment of institutional confidentiality practices and privacy policy with the defense of youth's right to privacy is also visible in the work of Head and Hands, an organization also in Canada who works on harm reduction with young people. Quoting Andrea Clarke, the director of Head and Hands, "When we get phone calls from parents, we will not confirm or deny that they are beneficiaries. We give them confidential names in the clinic. Referrals from institutions—we will only give the info with client consent." She describes their work as similar to that of other organizations who know about the privacy invasions that take place when youth have undue contact with the judicial system.

Many of the organizations I interviewed work to address corporate policy through letters to companies, work with regulators, and intermediation between companies and the general public. This advocacy has developed through the efforts of organizations like iCanHelpline and Safernet to address gaps in available services, such as helping schools and youth deal with

conflict that arises due to content posted on social media. It has also brought forward policy analysis and youth-centered recommendations for companies to allow youth to deindex their personal data when it is posted by their parents or schools, or for schools to provide anonymous, non-commercial spaces for online interaction. It also highlights, in the case of Safernet, an important consideration: the alignment of institutional practices, such as confidentiality and privacy notices, with the practices organizations demand from corporations.

Organizing multistakeholder collaboration

Even though all of the organizations collaborate with groups and organizations in other stakeholder groups, Red PaPaz's work in Colombia is notable in this regard. Their national reach and scope of work are such that they are a key regional ally for child and youth rights online. They have been influential in youth privacy legislative processes and private operations in Colombia, in large part due to their facilitation of the child and youth rights Information and Communications Technologies (ICT) Working Group, which brings together government, civil society, and industry. This constitutes the first effort in Colombia to mobilize all of these stakeholders for the protection of youth rights in technological development, as well as in the legislation, policies and educational efforts that result from it.

Red PaPaz is a network of parents. They accept that parents themselves have a stake in preparedness and response to risk, but also admit it is hard for "adults who grew up believing that screens shouldn't be touched to educate kids with smart screens. We need support from the government and from the industry, too." Their work on the Child and ICT Working Group has brought together companies that compete with each other in the market, from Internet Service

Providers (ISP) to Over The Top (OTT) services, and government officials to work together on child protection.

Red PaPaz's work with a broad spectrum of stakeholders brings us to the audiences and collaborations that the participating organizations have promoted through their work, as not all youth rights advocacy takes place directly with youth: some also work with schools, governments, parents, school personnel and librarians, and the media. Most of these audiences and collaborations shine through in other sections of this thesis, but one specific audience is worth highlighting here: social media, technology and telecommunications companies.

Their work with Colombian authorities is particularly interesting and related to Te Protejo, Red PaPaz's internet helpline. They are members of the International Association of Internet Hotlines (INHOPE), which means that they are in a position where they deal with cases of kids who are victims of crime, in collaboration with the police and other authorities. Beyond their collaboration on actual cases, Red PaPaz provides training to public servants on secure communications channels and approaches to vulnerable kids' personal information.

The role that Red PaPaz plays in the articulation of non-profit, corporate, and governmental collaborations means that they are in a position to do institutional capacity building in ways that advance their vision on youth and privacy.

In this chapter, I have focused on the work of organizations to address regulation. I first looked at legislative and policy efforts, including social research to support data protection law discussions in Chile, school and corporate policy recommendations in Canada, legal research on non-consensual image sharing in Brazil, and support for local legislative battles. I argued that

this line of work is an excellent example of the ways organizations can bring youth perspectives to legislation and policy-making. I looked at their work in corporate policy, from letters to companies to intermediation between companies and the general public, and the ways they fill gaps in available services, such as helping schools and youth deal with content disputes. I also showed the alignment of their organizational practices with those they demand from corporations. Finally, I looked at an example of multistakeholder collaboration, and the way one organization uses institutional capacity building to advance their vision of youth and privacy. I also discussed the limitations of some of these endeavors, like the limited input and participation from youth, and the North/South disparities seen in practices like content escalation.

Conclusions

In this thesis, I have examined the practice of eighteen organizations in the field of youth privacy advocacy in the Americas through the lens of four tensions between modes of discourse and practice: youth protection and youth agency, universalist and intersectional views of privacy, individual action and collective responsibility, and youth as subjects of rights and as conditional citizens.

Youth protection might be well-intended, and is an action frame that aligns youth rights discussion with existing human rights and institutional efforts worldwide, as I discussed in Chapter 2; but it has also been proven ineffective in educational interventions. Moreover, its harms are not experienced by all youth equally, which challenges the universalist view of privacy: protection has been particularly harmful to young people who occupy 'multiply burdened' positions in the matrix of domination, or in other words, are marginalized in terms of race, gender identity, sexual orientation, class, migration status, indigeneity, language, and/or other axes of power. They face more risks and greater potential harms from many different actors: other young people, adults, and institutions including schools and police.

The alternative is to favor youth agency and intersectional views of privacy; many of the organizations I interviewed have practices that support those approaches. Harm reduction advocacy in particular, as practiced by Head and Hands in Canada, provides a good framework to rethink the ways we work. Harm reduction allows us to make sense of youth and online privacy as a phenomenon where youth have agency and, at the same time, are recipients of

environmental influence. It provides an alternative to the moral and criminal models of privacy advocacy and proposes working methods based on speaking with, not at, youth.

Approaches based on the idea of youth agency reinforce youth decision-making. This is best seen in codesign approaches in communications workshops and campaigns like those of Faro Digital in Argentina, youth involvement in UNICEF Brazil's *Caretas Project* theatrical storytelling experience on Facebook, formalized institutional participation as in eQuality Project's youth advisory board in Canada, and in Hiperderecho's youth league in Peru.

In recognition of the inequality of the distribution of harms among youth, the programmatic choices made by organizations support intersectional views of privacy. Gender was an especially important consideration for many of the organizations, which provide dedicated digital security workshops to trans youth in Paraguay, host discussions on the gendered implications of sexting in Argentina and Uruguay, and analyze judicial outcomes for young women in non-consensual image sharing cases in Sao Paulo. Derechos Digitales' research showed class divides in privacy behaviors among children in Chile, and north/south inequalities became visible in contrasting the content escalation capabilities of the organizations. The eQuality Project at the University of Ottawa's consideration of equality at the center of their research and advocacy on youth and privacy is one of the strongest programmatic commitments to intersectionality I found in this research.

Framing privacy as a consequence of individual responsibility, through prohibitive advocacy that is reminiscent of 'Just Say No' anti-drug campaigns, places the burden of action on youth who are already in marginalized positions. Regarding privacy and sexual content, the consequences of such advocacy are gendered. Asking girls not to share their content feeds into

victim-blaming culture, like asking women not to wear miniskirts as a way to eradicate sexual violence. Individual responsibility asks marginalized youth to be the ones to undertake projects of personal improvement to deal with the negative consequences of privacy violations.

Through the lens of collective responsibility, organizations in the Americas, mostly ignited by issues like sexting and non-consensual image sharing, have found ways to shift the burden away from youth individual decision-making and instead recognize the role of individuals around them, as we can see in Pensamiento Colectivo's campaign and workshops against victim-blaming in Uruguay, and Faro Digital's emphasis on one's responsibility towards others. They also emphasize the sociotechnical structures at play in youth information-sharing practices, like TEDIC's campaigns on State surveillance and corporate data practices in Paraguay, Article 12's corporate advocacy to promote youth-friendly privacy notices, Hiperderecho's outreach to technical students, and iCanHelpline and Safernet's intermediation between social media companies and users through their internet helpline services. Finally, they create a ground for intergenerational understanding and learning, like Pensamiento Colectivo's workshops with adolescents and with their parents, and Red PaPaz's training for parents on ways they can speak with their own kids about technology.

Finally, the view of youth as conditional citizens would seem to excuse both sociotechnical structures and organizational programming that violate some of the rights that youth have today. By seeing youth as conditional citizens, adults exercise a role as protectors who are sometimes excused to violate the privacy of the youth they live or work with; privacy is a right to be enjoyed later in life.

Organizational practice shows what the recognition of youth as subjects of rights today looks like in practice. In addressing systemic subjugation, this work is best seen in Derechos Digitales and Datos Protegidos' research about youth privacy practices in Chile to advocate for the inclusion of their rights and needs in data protection legislation, which highlighted the importance of expanding on children's concepts of personal data and consent; Article 12's focus on youth-friendly privacy notices; Red PaPaz's efforts to promote youth privacy in their capacity building efforts with the Colombian government; and the Office of the Privacy Commissioner's recommendations on youth data protection to legislators and corporations operating in Canada. InternetLab's work to understand the outcomes of these systems, as seen in court rulings on non-consensual image sharing, advances this mission as well.

Apart from approaching legislators and regulators, these organizations bring a youth rights perspective to regulation by providing services that fill existing gaps, such as iCanHelpline, Red PaPaz, and Safernet, who provide internet helplines and therefore become stakeholders in content moderation issues, as well as institutional capacity builders.

Efforts in codesign and institutional youth involvement are essential to address the subjugations created by organizational programming. Moreover, one of the most notable practices in this regard is the alignment of the organization's confidentiality practices with their vision on youth privacy. Head and Hands in Canada and Safernet's helpline in Brazil pose excellent organizational standards.

Beyond the lenses through which I analyzed organizational practices, other commonalities emerged. Many of these organizations devote part of their work to the creation of conversations that challenge what they consider to be pervasive views on privacy. InternetLab's

judicial outcomes research on non-consensual image sharing in Brazil revitalized an old discussion that framed gender equality versus freedom of expression by showing that they are not opposed in reality; that the old debate on anonymity did not reflect the cases that women in Brazil were facing, and that the elimination of anonymity is not a good solution. Sula Batsu saw the creation of a tabletop game in Costa Rica as a means to reach youth in their digital security efforts, recognizing the boredom and unwillingness they had witnessed in previous attempts to talk.

For these organizations, their most meaningful work is that which ultimately resonates best with youth. They achieve resonance through codesign and institutional youth involvement, through local narratives and programming that do justice to those most marginalized, through going to the spaces where youth already are, and through interactive and media-based approaches. We see it in Internet Bolivia's outreach to the 27% of Bolivians that went online in the last two years; Head and Hands' confidentiality practices to sustain their work with youth affected by undue contact with the justice system in Canada; in various organizations' facilitation of workshops in youth spaces; and in efforts to think outside the technology branding, like Head and Hands' inclusion of privacy topics in their sexual education programming. These organizations' advocacy campaigns were notable in terms of reach, alignment with youth perspectives, and their impact on legislative processes.

Future research might address some of the limitations in the field that I made visible in this thesis. One of these limitations is the lack of a common vision in topics such as digital citizenship, a term that has become popular in youth and technology efforts from policy to non-profit advocacy; researchers can find the topics, frames, and skills used by different actors

under the umbrella of digital citizenship, and find ways to unify and strengthen advocacy in this regard. Another limitation is the small range of opportunities for youth participation at all levels of programming, outside of the organizations that use codesign in their work. Organizations should build youth participation structures into their work, and researchers can contribute to identify the best ways to build participation capacity in organizations. I also found that there is little cooperation between educational programming in nonprofit organizations that work on youth and privacy and the formal education system, and this should change. Research can be undertaken to study the reasons for the scarcity of cooperation between both, and the pathways to bring them together. Finally, most of the organizations in this research described projects that have not been evaluated independently; research can play a role in the impact evaluation of all these initiatives.

However, even if this research shows the limitations in the field of youth and privacy in the Americas, it also shows the richness, depth, and innovations of the practice already taking place. The eighteen organizations I interviewed work on advocacy for the right to privacy that is not blind to the needs of marginalized individuals, especially youth, and that does not violate youth rights. If we are genuinely committed to promoting youth rights and the right to privacy, we need to support and amplify their work. Their work shows us that, in the Americas, it is no longer necessary to rely on ineffective, outdated campaigns for youth and privacy issues. We have a solid foundation, and it is time to just say no to 'Just Say No.'

Appendices

Appendix A: Participating Organizations

Datos Protegidos, Chile

https://datosprotegidos.org

Datos Protegidos is an organization that began to carry out research on personal data protection

and childhood in Chile to better understand the challenges and create evidence-based youth

outreach workshops. They focus on issues of consent, digital footprint and digital security.

Derechos Digitales, Chile

https://www.derechosdigitales.org

Derechos Digitales is a digital rights organization doing qualitative research on youth and

privacy as part of its work to improve data privacy legislation in Chile.

eQuality Project, Canada

http://www.equalityproject.ca

eQuality Project at the University of Ottawa carries out participatory research to promote healthy

relationships and respect for equality online. Their collaborations with youth and community

organizations explore new and rights-based approaches to digital literacy.

Faro Digital, Argentina

http://www.farodigital.org

Faro Digital works with youth in Argentina, through co-design workshops and talks, to discuss topics related to digital citizenship and the responsible use of ICT. This work in schools and spaces helped them create a notable campaign on safe sexting.

Head and Hands, Canada

http://headandhands.ca

Head and Hands is a youth harm reduction organization that works with marginalized youth in Montreal, Canada. They align their organizational practices with their beneficiaries' right to confidentiality, and explore the implications of personal data for consent in their sexual education efforts.

Hiperderecho, Peru

https://hiperderecho.org

Hiperderecho is a digital rights organization in Peru that did a university workshop tour to raise awareness about privacy among youth: privacy self defense, covering both the legal and technical steps participants could take.

iCanHelpline – The Net Safety Collaborative, United States

https://icanhelpline.org

iCanHelpline is based in the United States, and run by The Net Safety Collaborative. It is a service where schools and districts can get help in resolving students' problems that surface in social media.

Internet Bolivia, Bolivia

https://internetbolivia.org

Internet Bolivia is a citizen collective that promotes awareness on digital rights, including the right to safety and privacy online. Their work focuses on people who have gone online for the first time in the last two years; 27% of the Bolivian population, according to official statistics.

InternetLab, Brazil

http://www.internetlab.org.br

InternetLab is a human rights research focused on internet policy issues in Brazil. In their quest to find evidence that challenged inequitable narratives about technological change, they studied judicial sentences of non-consensual image sharing, an issue affecting primarily young women, and embarked on a journey of advocacy on the topic.

Mozilla Learning – Mozilla Foundation, United States/global

http://learning.mozilla.org

Mozilla Foundation works for internet health by supporting local activists and educators in their work for privacy and security. They are known for their online curriculum on privacy and web literacy.

Office of the Privacy Commissioner, Canada

https://www.priv.gc.ca

Office of the Privacy Commissioner of Canada, which protects Canadian children and youth's rights to privacy through the investigation of complaints, guidance provided to different levels of government, and work undertaken with local education authorities to promote rights-based approaches to privacy as part of the curriculum.

Pensamiento Colectivo, Uruguay

https://www.facebook.com/pensamientocolectivouy/

Pensamiento Colectivo is a collective of women that started out by producing viral videos to challenge victim-blaming culture in Uruguay and Latin America, and have since started doing talks in schools to raise awareness on gender-based violence online, change-making and collective responsibility.

Red PaPaz, Colombia

https://www.redpapaz.org

Red PaPaz is a network of parents working for the protection of child and youth rights in Colombia, and their work in ICT has led them to facilitate a working group bringing government, industry and civil society together on child and youth rights and technology.

Safernet, Brazil

http://www.safernet.org.br

Safernet is an organization in Brazil that has long worked on issues of child safety online. They operate an internet helpline; advise youth, parents and educators on topics of digital citizenship, data protection; and work in an ecosystem of organizations exploring internet and human rights in the Brazilian context.

Son Tus Datos – Artículo 12, Mexico

https://sontusdatos.org

Artículo 12's data protection program called "Son Tus Datos" carries out litigation and advocacy to close the gap between data protection legislation and practice in Mexico, which places them in the ecosystem of digital rights organizations in the country—and they use their platform to address the implications for youth rights.

Sulá Batsú, Costa Rica

http://www.sulabatsu.com

Sulá Batsú is a cooperative in Costa Rica promoting local development through information and communication technologies; to address the topic of digital security with youth, they designed a tabletop game.

TEDIC, Paraguay

https://www.tedic.org

TEDIC is a digital rights and free/open culture organization best known for their campaigns on privacy to resist State and corporate surveillance, and they address youth and gender-based issues in their workshops on digital security.

UNICEF Brazil

https://www.unicef.org/brazil

UNICEF Brazil, as part of their work on youth citizenship and technology, is exploring new avenues for storytelling for problem-solving and empowerment with youth. One of these is the Caretas Project on non-consensual image sharing.

Appendix B: Semi-structured interview guide

Introductory questions
- What is your organization's mission and long term goals?
- Who is your organization working with? What communities / what kinds of young people?

What is privacy awareness (or chosen frame)?
- In your work with young people do you talk about privacy? Security? Consent? Harm reduction? Fighting surveillance?
- How does privacy awareness or chosen frame support your organisation's mission and long term goals?
- How do you define privacy awareness or chosen frame?
- When do you consider someone privacy aware or chosen frame?
- What do you think the people you work with should be able to do if your work is successful?
- What problems related to privacy awareness motivated you to undertake this type of work?

Methodology
- What are your methods for helping people achieve privacy awareness? (Training, Mentoring, Hands-on assistance, etc) + where, for how long
- In the past 3 months, what privacy awareness-related activities have you carried out?
- What resources have helped you inform and develop your privacy awareness methods?
- Who do you see as leaders in the youth privacy awareness or chosen field?
- Whose work in the field inspires you, or do you try to emulate?

Critical thinking/Ethical reasoning
- In your youth privacy awareness work, what do conversations look like? What topics do they cover?
- How do you try to get participants to think critically about privacy?
- Do you ever discuss values or personal motivations in this work? What shape does that take?
- Do you discuss ethics in your work with youth?

Sustainability
- How do you sustain your privacy awareness work? What are your main sources of income to conduct it?
- Have you received any funding or sponsoring for your work? From who and how did you use it?
- Is it volunteer work, or do you get paid for it? If it's volunteer work, do you have to put your own money into it?

- What would you do if you had more resources?
- Possible areas to add:
  - Framing/how they talk about the work
  - Any tensions they see with mainstream narratives (and policies, initiatives, practices) around youth, privacy, technology
    - What do you think about the idea of telling youth not to post their content online? In a similar situation, some organizations would consider inadmissible to tell women, for example, not to wear miniskirts.
  - Outcomes: how do they think about success? Do they have stories of success, or victories, related to youth, privacy, technology?
  - If they see a mismatch between mainstream narratives and what young people really need, why do they think that is happening?

Appendix C: Organizational resources

Educational

Faro Digital, Argentina – Digital coexistence guide, published with Unicef Argentina (in Spanish)

http://www.farodigital.org/portfolio/guia-de-convivencia-digital/

Faro Digital, Argentina – Awareness raising pamphlet for youth, published with Facebook (in Spanish)

http://www.farodigital.org/portfolio/triptico-de-concientizacion-con-facebook/

Head and Hands, Canada – Description of their harm reduction workshops:

http://headandhands.ca/programs-services/sense-project/

Mozilla Learning – Mozilla Foundation, United States/global – Easy ways to protect your online privacy, and protect others

https://learning.mozilla.org/blog/privacy

Mozilla Learning – Mozilla Foundation, United States/global – Teaching and web literacy activities on different topics, including privacy

https://learning.mozilla.org/en-US/activities

Office of the Privacy Commissioner, Canada – Social Smarts, privacy graphic novel for youth

https://www.priv.gc.ca/en/about-the-opc/what-we-do/awareness-campaigns-and-events/privacy-education-for-kids/social-smarts-privacy-the-internet-and-you/

Office of the Privacy Commissioner, Canada – Educational resources for teachers

https://www.priv.gc.ca/en/about-the-opc/what-we-do/awareness-campaigns-and-events/privacy-education-for-kids/educational-resources-for-teachers/

Office of the Privacy Commissioner, Canada – Tips and tools for parents

https://www.priv.gc.ca/en/about-the-opc/what-we-do/awareness-campaigns-and-events/privacy-education-for-kids/tips-and-tools-for-parents/

Red PaPaz, Colombia – Webinar on parental support of youth on social media (in Spanish)

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=w0HRNNZz4gs

Son Tus Datos – Artículo 12, Mexico – Defensores Digitales, website with games on privacy for youth

https://defensoresdigitales.org

Research

Datos Protegidos, Chile – Privacy perceptions of 9 to 13 year-olds in Chile, research report (in Spanish)

https://datosprotegidos.org/proyectos/percepcion-de-la-privacidad-de-ninos-y-ninas-entre-9-y-13-anos/

Derechos Digitales, Chile – Boys, girls and youth's behaviors and skills regarding online privacy, research report (in Spanish)

https://www.derechosdigitales.org/wp-content/uploads/privacidad-niños-niñas-adolescentes.pdf

eQuality Project, Canada – To Share or Not To Share: teens privacy decisions about photos on social media, research report

http://www.equalityproject.ca/teens-privacy-decisions-about-photos-on-social-media/

eQuality Project, Canada – Privacy (child rights) academic publications

http://www.equalityproject.ca/resources/research-publications/#Privacy

iCanHelpline – The Net Safety Collaborative, United States – Anne Collier's extensive writing

on youth and privacy issues: https://www.netfamilynews.org

InternetLab, Brazil – The Body Is the Code, research on non-consensual image-sharing

http://www.internetlab.org.br/en/news/internetlab-releases-the-book-the-body-is-the-code/

InternetLab, Brazil – Neither revenge, nor porn: analyzing the online exposition of adolescent

women in Brazil (in Portuguese)

http://www.internetlab.org.br/wp-content/uploads/2015/11/NemRevengeNemPorn_Portugues.pd

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Office of the Privacy Commissioner, Canada – Youth-related updates

https://www.priv.gc.ca/en/search/?t=youth&Page=1

Office of the Privacy Commissioner, Canada – Research on Canadian youth and privacy

https://www.priv.gc.ca/en/opc-actions-and-decisions/research/explore-privacy-research/?q[0]=64

&Page=1

Advocacy

eQuality Project, Canada – #DisconnectionChallenge, youth advocacy video

http://www.equalityproject.ca/disconnectionchallenge/

Faro Digital, Argentina – Press coverage of "Sext with your head" campaign on safe sexting (in

Spanish)

https://www.pagina12.com.ar/8451-los-cuidados-a-la-hora-del-sexting

Hiperderecho, Peru – Safe sexting guide created by the Hiperderecho Youth League (in Spanish)

https://hiperderecho.org/2018/05/sexting-consejos-para-estar-mas-seguros/

iCanHelpline – The Net Safety Collaborative, United States – How iCanHelpline works

https://icanhelpline.org/how-the-helpline-works/

Internet Bolivia, Bolivia – Guide to resist the online harassment of women (in Spanish)

https://internetbolivia.org/8m/

Mozilla Learning – Mozilla Foundation, United States/global – A Healthy Internet Is Secure and Private

https://www.mozilla.org/en-US/internet-health/privacy-security/

Office of the Privacy Commissioner, Canada – Guidance for businesses that collect kids' information

https://www.priv.gc.ca/en/privacy-topics/privacy-and-kids/gd_bus_kids/

Pensamiento Colectivo, Uruguay – The video of the summer, viral video on non-consensual image sharing (in Spanish)

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=tWHbE5cLpds&t=13s

Red PaPaz, Colombia – Te Protejo, Red PaPaz' internet helpline (in Spanish)

http://www.teprotejo.org/index.php/es/

Safernet, Brazil – Internet helpline

https://new.safernet.org.br/denuncie

Safernet, Brazil – "Nudes on the billboards", campaign on non-consensual image sharing

https://www.youtube.com/watch?time_continue=113&v=OgmzHjew-q0

TEDIC, Paraguay – The return of the surveillants, graphic campaign to raise awareness on the personal data market in Paraguay

https://elsurti.com/pyrawebs/

TEDIC, Paraguay – Electronic Frontier Foundation's analysis of TEDIC's first (and successful) counter-surveillance campaign

https://www.eff.org/deeplinks/2014/12/pyrawebs-paraguayans-rise-against-mandatory-data-retention

UNICEF Brazil – Caretas Project, theatrical experience on non-consensual image sharing on Facebook Messenger

https://www.facebook.com/ProjetoCaretas/

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