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Reimagining online safety education through the eyes of young people:

co-design workshops with young people
to inform digital learning experiences



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Young & Resilient Research Centre

The Young and Resilient Research Centre is an Australian-based, international research centre that unites young people with researchers, practitioners, innovators, and policymakers to explore the role of technology in children's and young people's lives and how it can be used to improve individual and community resilience across generations.

westernsydney.edu.au/young-and-resilient

The PROJECT ROCKIT Foundation

The PROJECT ROCKIT Foundation serves the vision and mission of our sibling social enterprise, PROJECT ROCKIT, by delivering priority support to schools facing socio-economic and geographic access barriers. Our vision is a world where kindness and respect thrive over bullying, hate and prejudice, and every young person is free to realise their potential.

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Executive summary

Online safety education is typically designed by adults for young people. As a consequence, it often reflects adult perspectives and concerns. While existing education has been somewhat successful in raising young people's awareness about online harms, young Australians report gaps in their online safety skills and knowledge. This is particularly true when it comes to managing difficult experiences online and supporting others through negative experiences.¹ Young people also describe feeling misunderstood and disempowered by current online safety messaging.²

With funding from the eSafety Commissioner's Online Safety Grants, and in partnership with the PROJECT ROCKIT Foundation, this project aimed to create online safety learning experiences with and for young people to better meet their needs and address their concerns. To inform the design of these learning experiences, the Young and Resilient Research Centre (Y&R) at Western Sydney University (WSU) led a survey and a creative and participatory process to co-design youth-centred online safety education with young people.

This report contains the findings from:

- a survey of 104 young people aged 13–17 across Australia
- six online creative and participatory workshops led by PROJECT ROCKIT youth facilitators with 31 young people aged 12–17 from four states and territories.

What we heard from the young people in this project is that conventional online safety education does not always resonate with their everyday experiences or key concerns. As a result, online safety education can inadvertently reproduce the idea that adults don't 'get it' and reinforce the idea of an intergenerational disconnect. In this report, we narrate young people's vision for (online) safety education that meets the needs of young people. Importantly, the young people we spoke to suggested it is not just a matter of tweaking current online safety education, but rather we need to reimagine and rebuild (online) safety education from the ground up.

To better support young people, this new vision for (online) safety education decentres the extreme and the online. It focuses on the more routine, everyday safety issues young people deal with, and within which extreme risks are embedded. It also more explicitly acknowledges that online safety issues play out across both online and offline settings. An integrated approach to (online) safety education gives young people both the online-specific technical skills they need to manage risks online, and the (digital) capacities to navigate the full spectrum of everyday experiences and concerns, both online and offline.

In this report, we use brackets for (online) and (digital) when referring to this reimagined model of (online) safety education. This model expands beyond the online and the digital to encompass young people's capacities, experiences and sense of safety, whether that is mediated by the digital or not.



¹ eSafety Commissioner 2021, *The Digital Lives of Aussie Teens*

² Third A, Collin P, Walsh L and Black R (2019) *Young People in Digital Society: Control Shift*, Palgrave Macmillan, London; Moody L, Marsden L, Nguyen B and Third A (2021) *Consultations with young people to inform the eSafety Commissioner's Engagement Strategy for Young People*, Young and Resilient Research Centre, Western Sydney University: Sydney

(Digital) capacities

To participate and engage ethically and effectively as (digital) citizens, young people require a set of (digital) capacities grounded in social and emotional intelligences, (digital) citizenship, participation and ethical behaviour. These (digital) capacities cut across online and offline settings and enable young people to deal with multiple, diverse issues and scenarios.

The young people we spoke to shared five key (digital) capacities, which they say are essential for navigating online and offline worlds safely and ethically.

- **Communicating effectively:** communication is the process of transmitting and receiving ideas, thoughts, opinions and knowledge. Effective communication involves a consideration of audience and channel, messages that are clear, precise and complete, and a process of active listening.
- **Building respectful relationships:** respectful relationships are built on mutual respect, trust, honesty and acceptance, and are central to human flourishing. Building respectful relationships requires boundaries, effective communication and resilience.
- **Establishing, maintaining and respecting boundaries:** boundaries are crucial to establishing one's identity and are a critical component in respectful relationships. Establishing and maintaining boundaries requires a process of identifying values and expectations in different relationships, clearly communicating one's needs, and respecting the needs of others.
- **Cultivating resilience:** resilience is the process and outcome of adapting to difficult or challenging life experiences. To cultivate resilience young people must have the opportunity to navigate risk while being confident that they have the individual and communal resources to do so successfully.
- **Thinking critically:** critical thinking is a process of questioning, analysing, interpreting, evaluating and making judgements about content, whether that content is produced by others or by the young person themselves. Critical thinking contributes to effective communication.

Decentring extreme risks

Reimagining (online) safety education to meet the needs of young people requires us to decentre extreme risks, and instead focus on the lower-level risks and everyday issues in young people's lives.

- **Connecting and interacting with others:** cyberbullying and online grooming are often the focus of conventional online safety education. While young people are concerned about these extreme risks, their everyday concerns are about navigating the complexities of social relationships and the daily dramas that play out within friendships and peer circles. In addition, being told not to talk to strangers online is at odds with many young people's everyday practices of connecting with people they don't know on social media, and in games. They want to know how to manage and navigate these interactions safely, not be told to avoid these interactions entirely.
- **Consent and agency:** conventional online safety education about privacy and security has a focus on online fraud, hacking and identity theft, and skills to protect your data online. For the young people in these workshops, their concerns about privacy and security are situated within the more expansive issue of consent and agency over their personal information. These concerns play out in their daily experiences and interactions with others both online and offline, from friends, family and peers through to organisations and institutions.
- **Getting support and supporting others:** online safety education teaches young people about help-seeking for online risks and harms. While it is essential for young people to know where they can seek help if they encounter harms online, the young people we spoke to have concerns about the dynamics and complexities of giving and receiving support for a wide range of experiences – not just those related to risks or harms.



Delivering (online) safety education

To ensure that (online) safety education is effective and engaging for young people, the delivery and learning experiences should be guided by a set of interrelated and interconnected principles.

- **Youth-centred:** mitigate the power imbalances between young people and adults by acknowledging young people's existing knowledge and practices. Create spaces for young people and adults to work effectively together, drawing on the strengths of each.
- **Grounded in diversity:** ensure presenters are diverse, relatable and respect the different backgrounds and experiences of the audience.
- **(Inter)active:** provide practical, dynamic and multi-modal learning experiences that allow learners to engage with content in a variety of ways.
- **Open and collaborative:** ground learning in a multidirectional exchange of knowledge and experience between participants, and between participants and presenters. Allow young people to have a say in what and how they learn.
- **Authentic:** centre young people's lived experiences and allow room for making and learning from mistakes. Embrace complexity and avoid oversimplification.
- **Original:** create innovative learning experiences which break away from formulaic and predictable online safety content and delivery.



Introduction

Online safety education is typically designed by adults for young people. As a consequence, it often reflects adult perspectives and concerns. While existing education has been somewhat successful in raising young people's awareness about online harms, young Australians report gaps in their online safety skills and knowledge.

This is particularly true when it comes to managing difficult experiences online and supporting others through negative experiences.³ Young people also describe feeling misunderstood and disempowered by current online safety messaging.⁴ Indeed, ask young people for their opinions on online safety education and many will agree that, *'The current way just doesn't work, isn't engaging [and doesn't] teach a lot.'*⁵

With funding from the eSafety Commissioner's Online Safety Grants, and in partnership with PROJECT ROCKIT, this project aims to create online safety learning experiences with and for young people to better meet their needs and address their concerns. To inform the design of these learning experiences, the Young and Resilient Research Centre (Y&R) at Western Sydney University (WSU) led a creative and participatory process to co-research youth-centred online safety education by asking young people:

- What are their experiences, perceptions and concerns about online culture and online safety education?
- What is missing from current online safety education, and what is needed to better equip them with the skills they need to navigate online environments safely?
- What constitutes their ideal online safety education experience?

This report presents the findings from a survey with 104 young people aged 13–17 from all states and territories, and online creative and participatory workshops led by youth facilitators with 31 young people aged 12–17 from four states and territories.

In the next phase of the project, PROJECT ROCKIT will channel the findings from this report into the development of digital learning experiences created by and for young people.⁶ We hope this report also inspires critical conversations among parents, educators, other adults and organisations working to keep young people safe online, and encourages us to reflect on the ways we educate, talk with and listen to our young people about their online lives.

Throughout this report, we use the term 'young people' to reflect the insights of the people who participated in this project. We acknowledge young people are a heterogenous group with diverse and varied values, anxieties and desires. We therefore encourage readers to bear in mind that these findings were generated with a particular group of young people in Australia at a particular time.

What young people are saying here is not new. They are calling for a different approach to online safety education, in solidarity with young people who have made a similar call from different places at different times.⁷ We implore adults to listen carefully and act responsively, and we hope that young people find resonances with their real, everyday experiences.



³ eSafety Commissioner 2021, *The Digital Lives of Aussie Teens*

⁴ Third A, Collin P, Walsh L and Black R (2019) *Young People in Digital Society: Control Shift*, Palgrave Macmillan, London; Moody L, Marsden L, Nguyen B and Third A (2021) *Consultations with young people to inform the eSafety Commissioner's Engagement Strategy for Young People*, Young and Resilient Research Centre, Western Sydney University: Sydney

⁵ Quote from a participant who took part in the co-design workshops

⁶ PROJECT ROCKIT will roll out pilot programs in schools across Australia in early 2023

⁷ Moody L, Marsden L, Nguyen B and Third A (2021) *Consultations with young people to inform the eSafety Commissioner's Engagement Strategy for Young People*, Young and Resilient Research Centre, Western Sydney University: Sydney; Third A and Moody L (2021) *Our rights in the digital world: A report on the children's consultations to inform UNCRC General Comment 25* (London and Sydney: 5rights Foundation and Western Sydney University); UNICEF (2017) *The State of the World's Children: Children in a Digital World*. doi:10.18356/d2148af5-en; Third A, Collin P, Walsh L and Black R (2019) *Young People in Digital Society: Control Shift*, Palgrave Macmillan, London.

Methods

We used qualitative methods to talk to young people across Australia about:

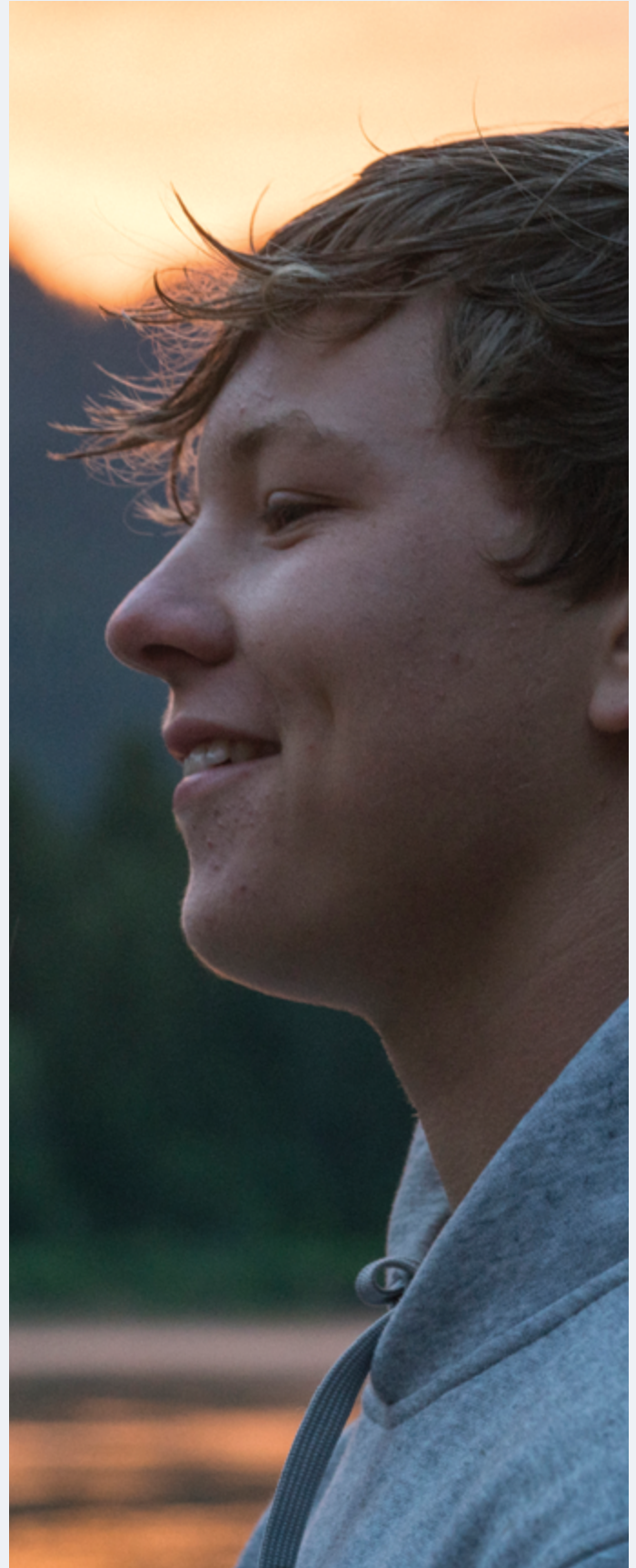
- their experiences and perceptions of online issues
- the root causes of their online safety concerns
- their everyday experiences of positive and negative online cultures
- their ideal online worlds
- their perceptions of current online safety education and what their ideal learning experience would look like.

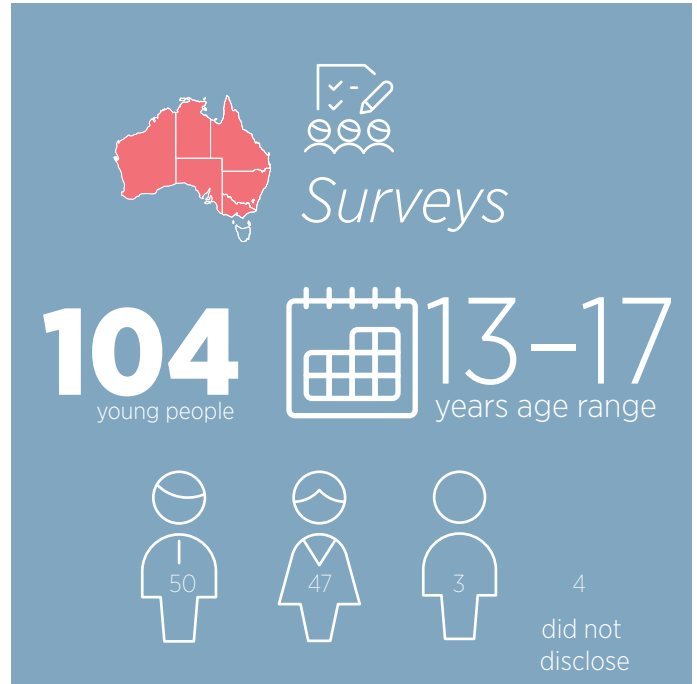
The youth-centred, creative and participatory co-design workshops were created through a collaborative and iterative process with input from PROJECT ROCKIT and their Creative Youth Advisors. We trained two young facilitators to conduct three series of two, two-hour online workshops with other young people aged 12–17. This approach meant that the process of conducting workshops was youth-led and youth-centred. Workshops were run using Zoom and Miro to create a fun and collaborative virtual workshop space. Participants were recruited through youth-facing organisations and schools across Australia. Specific organisations, including those supporting homeless young people, Indigenous communities, young males, LGBTQIA+ youth and multicultural youth, were contacted to ensure a diverse group of young people were invited to the workshops. This enabled the inclusion of young people who were culturally and linguistically diverse, disadvantaged, living with a disability, rural and regional, and gender diverse.

At the outset, we conducted an online survey with 104 young people across Australia to scope which online safety concerns the study should prioritise, and what young people think they need to learn about being safe online. The survey findings were used to inform the workshop design and the qualitative insights used to supplement the analysis of the workshop data.


In total, the study heard from 135 young people aged 12–17 from cities, towns and rural locations across Australia.

Each young person and their caregiver were required to give informed consent prior to participating in the workshops and survey. The project has ethical approval from the Western Sydney Human Research Ethics Committee (Protocol numbers H14753 and H14267). A detailed methodology can be found in the Appendices.





In this project, our main aim was to learn with and from young people. But we also wanted to create an open and accepting environment, driven by mutual curiosity, in which young people could enjoy sharing their everyday experiences and learn from and about one another. The workshops with young people used a youth-centred participatory approach that aimed to encourage discussion, question and stories. We designed workshop activities that were fun, interactive and creative and attempted to change up the traditional educational formats young people experience at school. But the game changer was employing and training two young facilitators to lead the workshops with young people. The two young people participated in a 90-minute training session, in which we walked through our process, our ethical and safeguarding procedures, and the detailed workshop activity plan. Facilitators were provided with a comprehensive workshop manual and they then lead all six online workshops with young people. Feedback from participants suggested that the youth-led space of the workshops really helped them feel understood and validated. And, as you will see through this report, the data that resulted was very rich.



What Young People said about our Workshops

'It's nice to have a format to discuss these things, [it] makes me feel that my thoughts and opinions were put into effect.'

'Happy to see that there is genuine research going into ways to make programs better for young people.'

'[The best part of the workshop was] seeing everyone's opinions on various topics; being told that our opinions matter.'

'It was interesting to think about stuff I wouldn't normally talk about.'

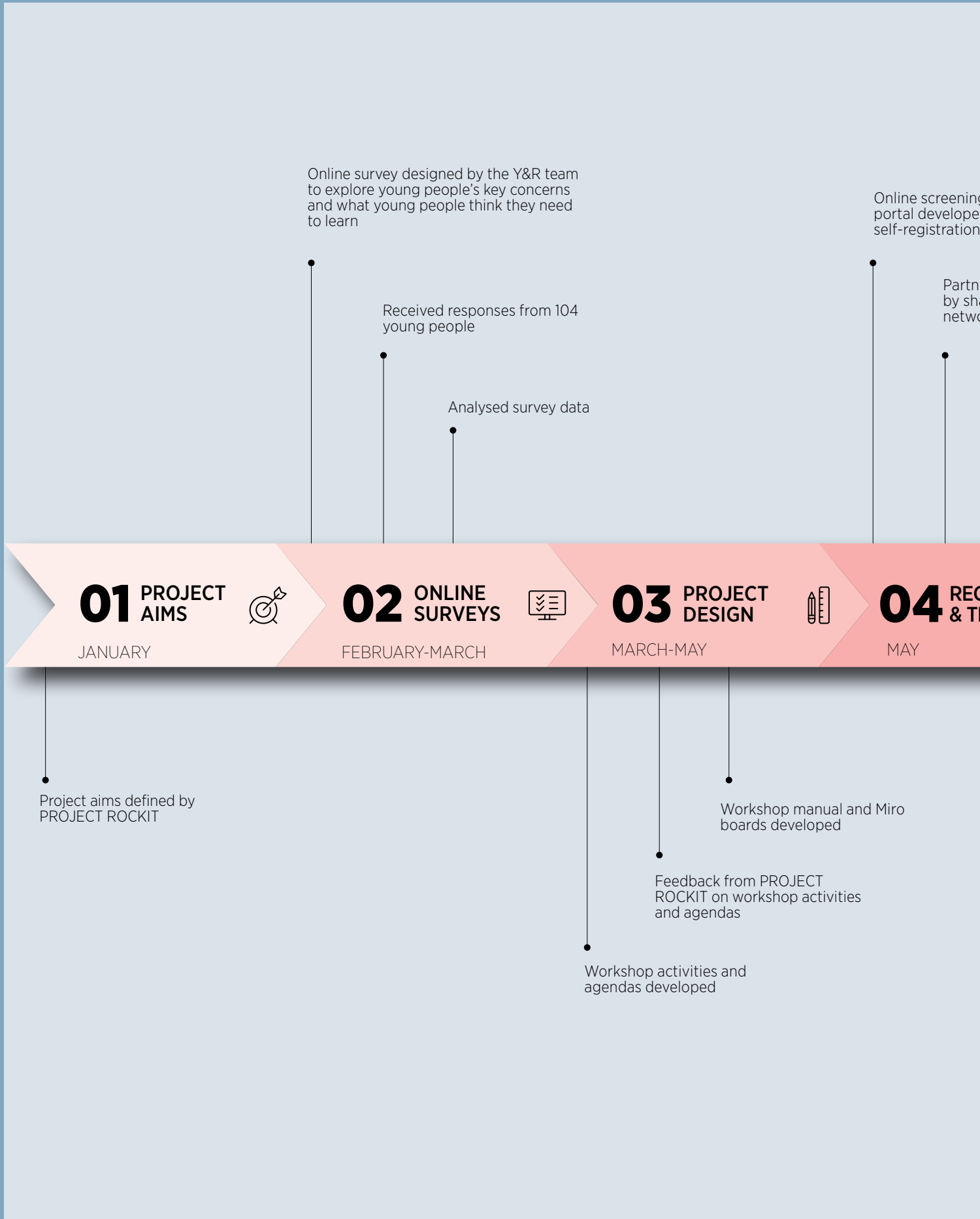
'[My favourite part was the facilitators] being really keen on wanting insight and our views and feelings.'

'Workshops like these allow you to fully express yourself.'

'[The workshops] makes you think about real issues in your own life.'

'[It was] super fun! Pretty swaggy. Cool.'

Project on a page



g and consent
d for participant
s

er organisations promoted project
aring with young people in their
orks

Two youth facilitators trained to deliver
online workshops

Data exported from Miro boards and
entered into analysis spreadsheets

First round of coding for pre-defined
priority themes

Second round of coding for
emergent themes

CRUITMENT
RAINING



05 ONLINE
WORKSHOPS



MAY-JUNE

06 DATA
ANALYSIS



JUNE

07 WRITE
UP



JULY - NOVEMBER

Workshop 2:

Co-designed online safety education
Designed young people's ideal online
safety learning experience

Workshop 1:

Explored what matters most to young people about their
online experiences, their concerns, and why
Surfaced authentic experiences

- Participants take part in two x 2-hour
online workshops on one of the following
topics:
 - Connecting and interacting online
 - Privacy and security
 - Getting support and supporting
others online

Copyedit
and design
of final report

Final draft of
report completed

Feedback from PROJECT
ROCKIT on first draft of
report

First draft of report
completed

Young people's experiences of the online world

To deliver online safety education that resonates with young people's experiences and addresses their needs, we need to first understand how young people experience the online world, what their concerns and motivations are, and what safety means to them in online environments.

For young people in this project, the online world is primarily social. It is built on relationships and a sense of connectedness to friends, family and peers. It is also a place of belonging because people in real life *'might not understand what we want to vent about, but people online will'*.

Because of this, many young people see the online world as a safe haven; somewhere they feel comfortable being vulnerable, where they can *'vent/feel safe'* and be emotionally supported. They are part of online communities (for example, LGBTQI+) that are *'accepting, and no[t] prejudice[d]'* and have access to *'YouTube videos of people going through similar things'* that validate their feelings and experiences.

They value opportunities to communicate online with loved ones *'who I don't live near'*, and strangers alike. Although the young people in this project were diverse, they overwhelmingly believed these are not the sinister strangers of their parents' warnings. These are everyday strangers they meet in games, on Instagram, and in other corners of the internet. In fact, most young people have shared experiences of encountering and interacting with people they don't know online. This does not always equate to *'unwanted contact'* – in many cases, it's welcomed. For them, *'strangers aren't always bad'*; it's a normal part of their [online] lives, like groups of adult strangers who form connections over mutual support of a sporting team.

But, of course, the online world is a spectrum of experiences. Many young people experience moments of discrimination, judgement and bullying online. Some also have stories of receiving *'gross imagery'*, threats or *'unexpected and random messages from strangers'*. Others have had unintentional encounters on apps or have *'been followed by the same person on multiple accounts after ... block[ing] them on their other accounts'*.

For the young people we spoke to, the online world is simultaneously a refuge and a place of potential harm. It's a nuanced constellation of experiences that are not black and white, *'good'* or *'bad'*. Instead, the online world is composed of shades of grey.

Young people resist adults' depictions of the internet or social media as *'somehow entirely bad'*. Rather, they see the internet as the sum of a collection of interactions with other humans; it is *'dependent on the people'* – some with good intentions and some with bad. Social media and the internet are the product of *'relationships'* in all its varied forms.

Indeed, young people feel a disconnect between adults' perceptions of their online worlds and young people's everyday experiences. They see this disconnect rooted in generational differences because older generations *'did not grow up immers[ed] in the online world by being online most of the day like my generation'*. Because of this, adults often don't see that young people's experiences are not structured between online/offline divides. Instead, they *'move seamlessly [and] continuously from one realm to [the] other'*.

Young people say this disconnect manifests through what they see as adults' extreme and, at times, unbalanced concerns about young people *'being addicted to online games'*, *'posting illegal or bad things'*, or *'video games making kids violent'*. These framings are projections of adult concerns that do not consider the nuances and shades of grey in young people's everyday experiences. Instead, they reflect one-sided anxieties that only serve to alienate young people and further cement the disconnect.

Young people's concerns are much more everyday. They worry about *'how to balance time management and avoid procrastination'*, *'keeping up with trends on social media'*, *'becoming reliant on constant validation'*, and *'unreal standards and comparing [our]selves'*.

Young people say that a by-product of the intergenerational disconnect is that they often do not feel comfortable turning to the adults for support with their online lives. If they share their experiences with adults, they fear they will receive *'discouragement instead of guidance'* and be subjected to *'stigma, judgement'* and *'lofty expectations'*. Rather than authentically listening to their experiences, *'adults tell us what we can think and feel'*.

The young people in this project yearn for adults to listen to and understand their everyday experiences; to approach them with curiosity and acceptance rather than judgement and discipline; and to help them create online worlds that are safer, fairer and more inclusive.



Young people's ideal online world

What are young people's highest ideals and aspirations for their online worlds, and what do these safer, fairer and more inclusive worlds look like? Where do they want to get to?

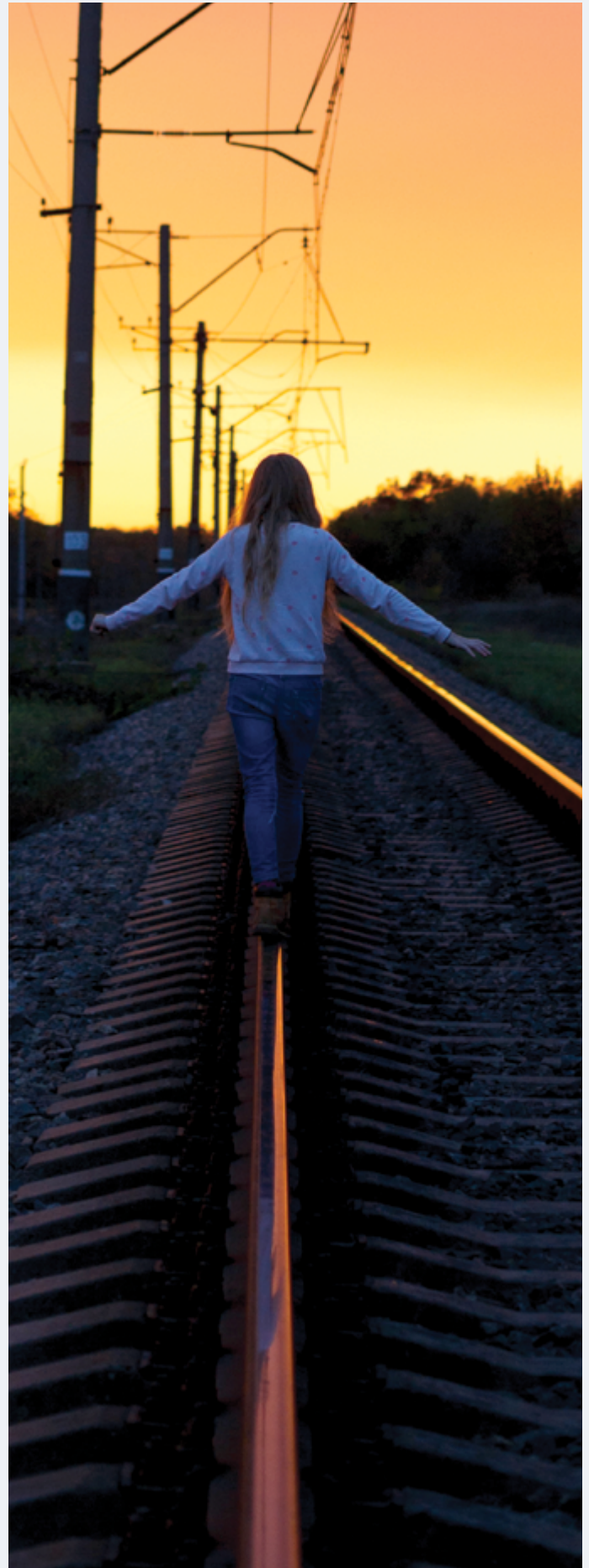
Above all, this ideal online world is one of belonging and acceptance. It's a place *'where people feel like they don't need to change who they are to have a sense of belonging'* and *'where everybody is welcoming'*. It's inclusive, free of discrimination based on age, gender, race, sexuality, disability or religion, and it's a *'non-judgement zone'*.

In this ideal world, young people are confident, *'able to speak to people openly'* and can express *'feelings and emotions with others, [instead of] bottling it up'*. Insecurities are accepted, stigmas are broken down and boundaries are respected.

If they need help, *'support is available online whenever it is required'*. In addition to feeling like they can talk to adults when they need to, peer support plays a vital role. *'Young people could be involved by supporting each other and staying safe online as well as in real life'* and *'peer support [is] structured and even more accessible'*. In their ideal online world, some young people seek *'initial support by peers with the option to escalate to adults'*.

In this world, young people are taken seriously and treated as equals. They relish the *'freedom to speak without being seen as lesser or naive because we're young'*. At the same time, they are free to try things and fail because *'we are still learning and growing, [and] we need to make mistakes in order to learn from them'*. Adults don't discourage, judge or *'tell us what we can think or feel'*. They are there to *'give guidance from experience'* and to *'give children opportunities to reach their full potential'*. Ultimately, in this ideal world, adults *'look past their own views and keep an open mind about the current generation and world'*, they are available when young people reach out to them, and they support and guide without judgement.

When young people narrated their ideal online world, they did not simply point toward one in which risks or harms cease to exist entirely. It is a world in which young people feel safe enough to take calculated risks, and in doing so build their resilience. Therefore, this concept of safety is not about the absence of danger, but about both the individual and the collective feeling respected, accepted and supported.



Reimagining (online) safety education

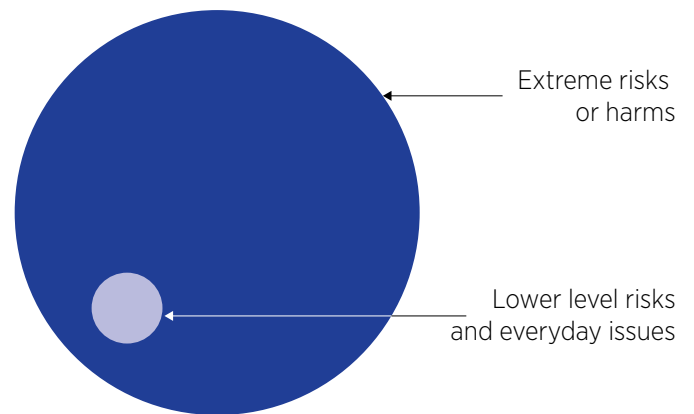
In this section, we narrate young people's vision for (online) safety education. This vision goes beyond conceptualising (online) safety as the absence of risk or harm and imagines it as a state of belonging, respect and support for all people. **Importantly, the young people we spoke to suggested it is not just a matter of tweaking current online safety education. It requires us to reimagine and rebuild (online) safety education from the ground up.**⁸ Below, we lay out a framework based on what young people in this project told us.

Traditionally, online safety education focuses on specific, often extreme risks that play out in the online environment. The issue with this approach is that it is largely driven by adult anxieties about digital technologies and does not reflect young people's everyday experiences, concerns or the ways they imagine safety.

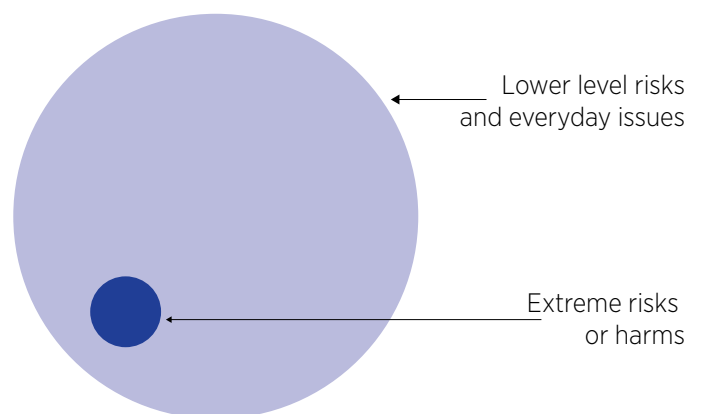
Firstly, only a small number of young people encounter these extreme risks online. Secondly, and perhaps because of this, young people's primary concerns do not relate to these extreme risks, but rather the lower-level risks and everyday issues in their lives, such as connecting and interacting with people – of which cyberbullying and online grooming are extreme manifestations. Thirdly, the sense of safety conveyed by the young people we spoke to is not about the absence of these risks, but about individual and collective feelings of belonging, respect and support. Finally, the young people we spoke to did not use the online/offline distinction to structure the narration of their experiences.

The implication of the risk-focused approach of traditional online safety education is that it reproduces the idea that adults don't 'get it' and further reinforces the intergenerational disconnect. As a result, young people do not feel comfortable seeking advice from adults about their safety concerns and tend to disengage with online safety education because it does not provide them with the guidance they need to grapple with the more mundane, but equally important, issues in their lives.

To better support young people, online safety education needs to decentre the extreme and the online. Instead, it needs to focus on the everyday issues within which the extreme risks are embedded and acknowledge that these issues play out across both online and offline settings. Cyberbullying becomes connecting and interacting with others. Privacy and security become issues of consent and agency. Seeking help for risks and harm becomes about getting support and supporting others. This shift in focus requires a reimagined approach to (online) safety education that supports young people to develop a set of (digital) capacities that are grounded in (digital) citizenship and social and emotional intelligences.

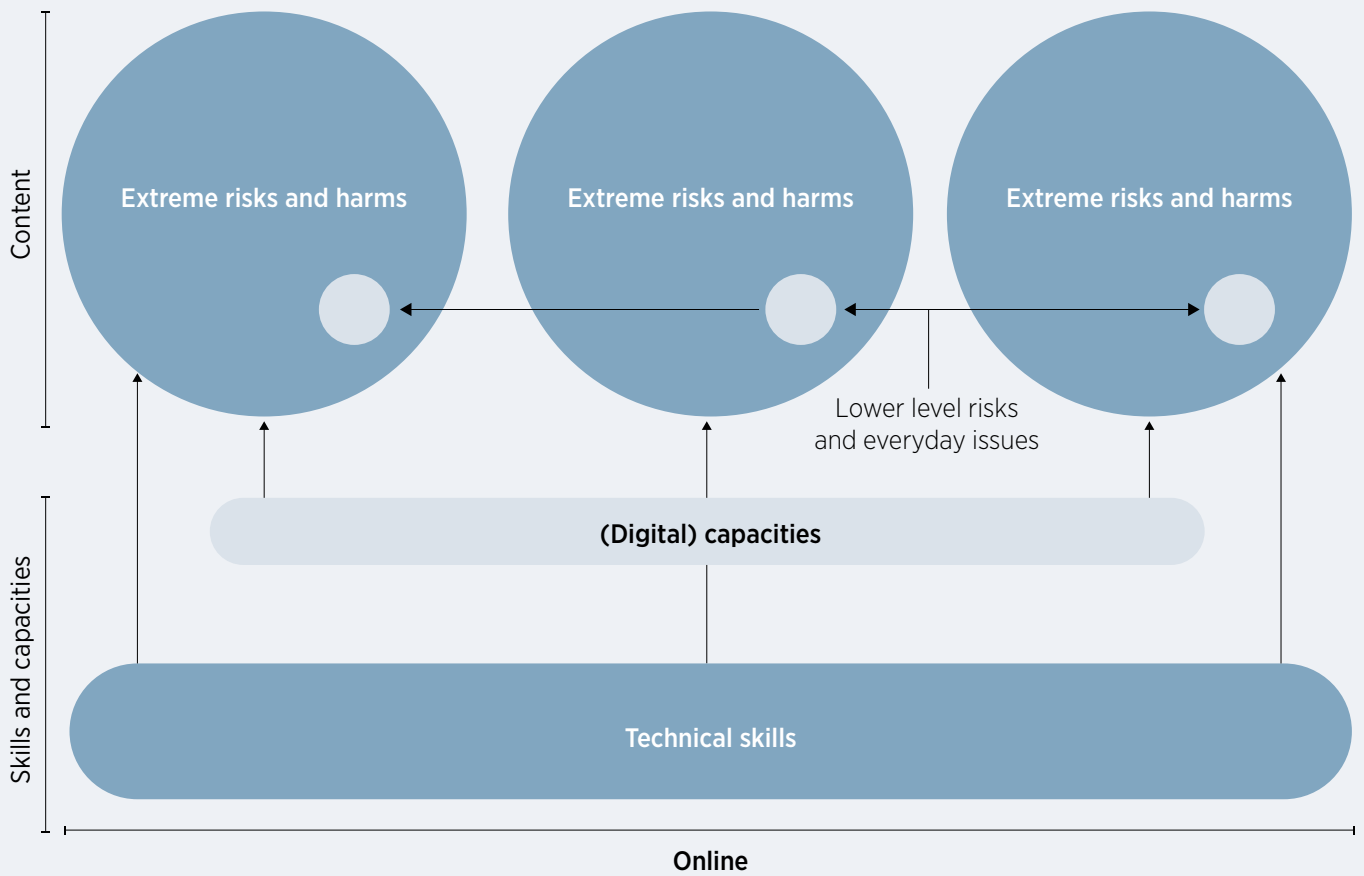


Conventional online safety education

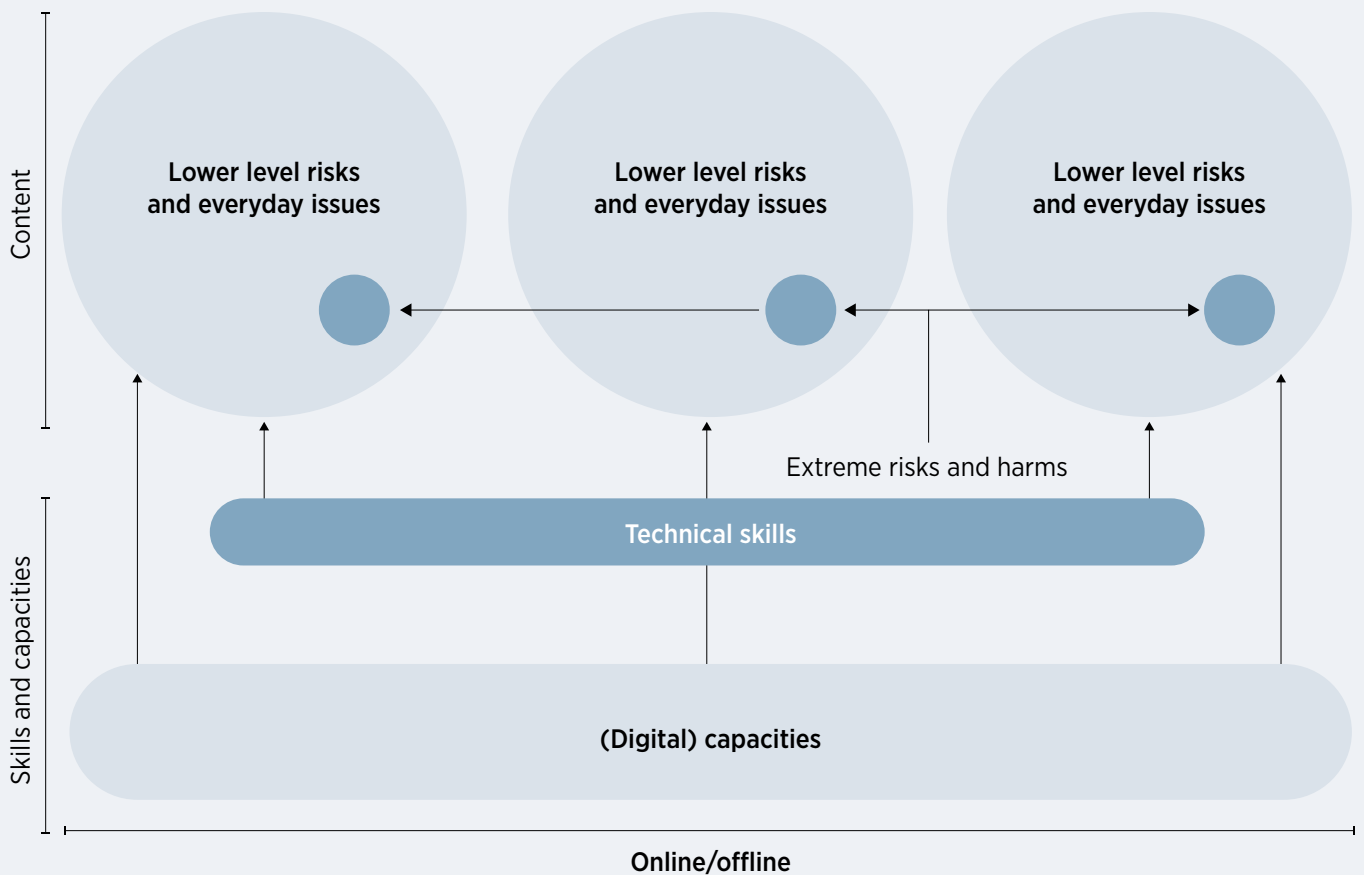


Young people's experiences

⁸ In this report, we use brackets for (online) and (digital) when referring to the reimagined framework of (online) safety education. This model expands beyond the online and the digital to encompass young people's capacities, experiences and sense of safety, whether that is mediated by the digital or not.



Conventional online safety education



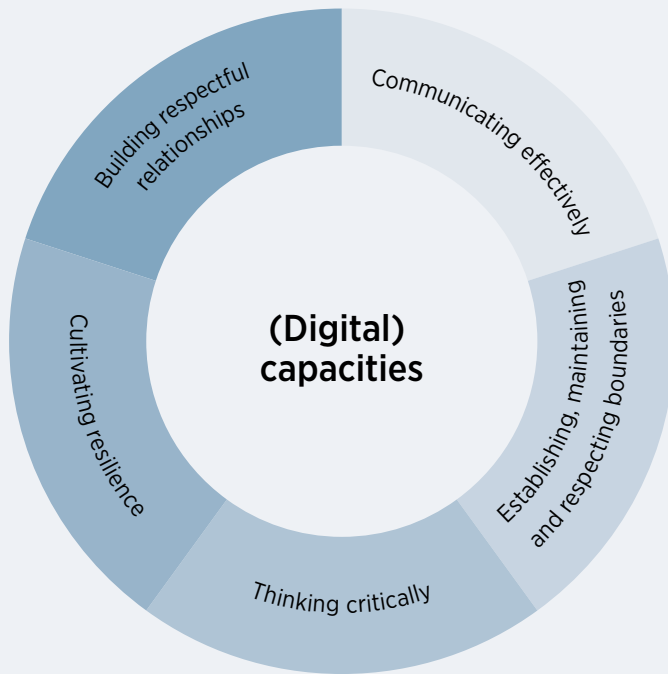
Reimagined (online) safety education



In the next section, we lay out the **five key areas** young people say are important for (online) safety education to address. We call these **(digital) capacities**. These (digital) capacities cut across both online and offline settings and provide young people with the resources to deal with multiple, diverse issues and scenarios. An integrated approach to (online) safety education would build young people's specific, technical skills in managing risks online, as well as the (digital) capacities they need to navigate life online and offline. It is our contention that this reimagined approach to (online) safety education will help to create the online worlds young people desire and instill an expansive sense of safety across online and offline spaces, which is grounded in belonging, respect and support for themselves and for others.



(Digital) capacities



Communicating effectively

Learning how to communicate effectively and respectfully is crucial for managing a range of online and offline safety concerns, as well as cultivating (digital) citizenship and an ethics of (online) engagement. Effective and respectful communication can help to navigate interactions with friends and others young people have not yet met. Communicating effectively is also critical to conversations about consent, for example around image sharing, and to support friends who may be experiencing a challenging situation. In extreme cases, it is needed to *'stand up to cyberbullies and call people out on harassment'* or respond to hate or criticism online. It can also help to set clear boundaries and better understand the boundaries of others – both online and offline.

While effective communication is critical for both online and offline contexts, there are some unique characteristics of the online that warrant specific attention. Young people identify that sometimes, because they are *'unable to see the body language [of others, it's difficult] to gauge their feelings'* and interactions can sometimes become fraught, resulting in *'miscommunication'* when people *'misinterpret what you are saying online'*. They understand that small miscommunications can sometimes result in larger problems and affect their relationships in the offline world as well as the online. Young people want help to communicate effectively and manage situations of miscommunication.

'It is important for young people to learn how to be courteous online and ensure they gain consent before sharing any information about others, or before sharing personal information with others. This would help ... build respectful communication skills.'



Building respectful relationships

Building respectful relationships is just as critical to online interactions as it is to offline interactions. For young people, this includes learning *'how to be respectful of others' and to 'interact with the right people in the right way'*. It is also about knowing how to respond respectfully when you *'lose an argument'*, or how to repair a friendship that has been damaged if you *'fight with a friend ... and [later] realise it's [your] fault'*. These behaviours help to reinforce feelings of safety and inclusion for young people. *'Keep[ing] an eye out for each other'* and *'show[ing] respect and love'* helps to create *'a better community to keep people safe'*, where *'[no one] feels left out'*.

Building respectful relationships online can have some distinct challenges. Some young people already recognise steps they can take, including something *'as simple as putting pronouns in bios shows respect'*. However, the aspect of anonymity can be harder to navigate, as one participant points out *'just because it can be anonymous, doesn't mean you shouldn't stay respectful'*. Young people also convey that when they are online, communication can become more complicated and boundaries can become blurred, and it is therefore important that they are supported in managing and building relationships.



Establishing, maintaining and respecting boundaries

Young people want to learn how to set healthy and clear boundaries around matters that impact them. Boundaries are one of the keys to cultivating resilience and protecting young people's physical and mental wellbeing. Establishing boundaries requires young people to think critically about what is important to them. This includes knowing what they are comfortable sharing with others and understanding appropriate limits in relationships. It also necessitates effectively communicating with parents, friends and others what is and is not okay by them. Young people identify that it can be *'a bit embarrass[ing]'* or intimidating to talk to adults and friends about these things. But they desire the skills to talk openly about their boundaries and they want to learn how they can better respect other people's boundaries. There is an important rights and help-seeking aspect to boundaries because knowing their rights helps them know where to set boundaries and empowers them to *'take further action when needed'*, such as when these boundaries are crossed.

Young people experience *'people not respecting [their] boundaries'* in multiple forms, some of which are specific to the online context. Their parents can cross boundaries when it comes to monitoring their digital technology use, sharing images of them online, or *'getting involved with relationships'*. Young people experience peers and friends crossing boundaries when they *'threaten to show [you] something you don't want them to'*, *'share your photos without regard'*, offload emotional problems on them without warning or get mad when they don't reply instantly. Young people are seeking the skills to know how to respond to these situations, as well as how to know how to talk about, maintain and respect the boundaries of others.



Cultivating resilience

Young people are regularly exposed to challenges, risks and harms both online and offline. These provide opportunities to develop both individual and community resilience. Some of the young people in this project expressed an understanding of these aspects of resilience. They indicated that it's possible to turn negative experiences and challenges *'into a positive thing'*, and that resilience can have flow-on effects to others *'within [their] group'*. However, they mostly expressed that they *'need strategies to help avoid letting things get to them'*, *'to feel more confident and less intimidated'*, and to build resilient personalities.

While acknowledging the benefits of the online world, young people communicated that sometimes it can feel like a barrage of negativity, for example, unrealistic beauty standards, trolls and judgmental comment sections, violent content, and negative news streams. For these young people, knowing how to fortify themselves against this negativity is crucial. They want to learn self-care and coping mechanisms to support their wellbeing, and so they can *'deal with the emotions that come up'* when things happen online.

They recognise that sharing everyday experiences of overcoming adversity can be helpful, for example, as one participant indicated, her *'posts about body image [can] affect people positively'*, and another appreciates *'people sharing their experiences with mental illnesses and giving tips on how to deal with it'*. Young people want others to *'know that you don't have to suffer in silence.'* Cultivating resilience is not just about *'bouncing back'* for these young people – it's about cultivating strategies and mechanisms for self-care, recovery and support – and it's deeply rooted in connection to others.



Thinking critically

Young people expressed a desire to be empowered with knowledge and the skills to make informed decisions. They need to develop ways of assessing and responding to the ubiquitous content, information and news that is available to them in their everyday lives. They need to understand when, how and what they are consenting to when they use and share information. They want to know when a conversation with a friend needs to be elevated to alternative sources of support and how to find the right support for them.

There are things specific to the online world they want to understand, for example, *'how phones are designed to keep you hooked'*, *'how big social media platforms keep us engaged'*, and *'why we need to know more about (cyber) safety'*. They also need critical thinking skills when interacting with others online and to determine the roles individuals play in the online world, for example, the ability to tell *'who is a scammer, a biz or a friend'*.

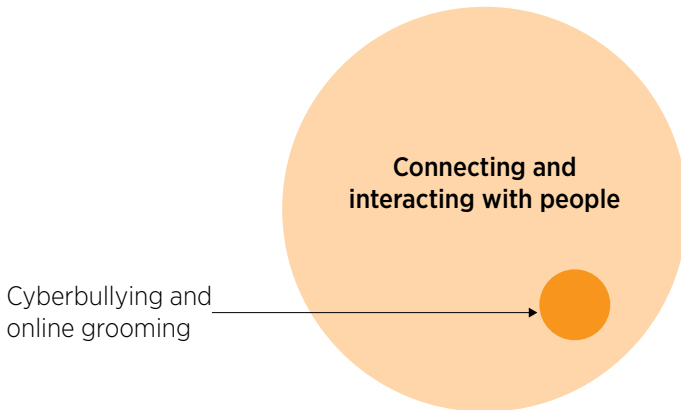
Importantly, young people want the skills to tell for themselves if the *'information and facts [come] from trustworthy websites/people'* rather than just having adults tell them. In the words of one participant, *'Instead of giving rules on how to use the internet, say the reasons why; the philosophy/mindset behind it so kids can accept it better'*.



Decentring extreme risks

These five key (digital) capacities have application across multiple issues and risks. In this section, we propose three topic areas for (online) safety education which decentre extreme risks and reflect the everyday experiences of young people we spoke to in this project. We outline how (digital) capacities can be applied across all topics, and what young people say they want and need to learn about each.

Connecting and interacting with others



Much conventional online safety education focuses on more extreme risks associated with interacting with people online – from cyberbullying to online grooming (to the extent where some young people report an oversaturation and fatigue around cyberbullying messaging and education⁹). Therefore, conventional interventions naturally centre on the acquisition of technical skills and some (digital) capacities to manage these risks because they have very harmful consequences for young people. It follows then, that young people are deeply attuned to these risks. They worry about *'friends masking their identity and bully[ing]'* or people using *'fake ... or anonymous accounts to send mean messages online'* and in their accounts, they reflect cautionary messaging that cyberbullying *'can be life-threatening for some'*. Similarly, young people know that talking to strangers can be risky and that *'there are some bad people online who mainly target teenagers'*, which can result in online grooming and sexual exploitation.

While it is critical that young people learn how to report and where to seek help if they encounter these risks online, these risks do not resonate with most young people's everyday experiences of the online world – particularly when it comes to contact with strangers online. Forming relationships with strangers online is a commonplace practice among many young people, in part because these interactions are built into the fabric of today's internet – for example, gaming with strangers or building extensive follower bases on Instagram and TikTok. For most young people who interact with strangers online, these interactions are primarily positive and do not bring with them risks of online grooming or kidnapping. Strangers are just friends they haven't met yet, and so *'speaking to strangers can be alright in certain circumstances'*.

Rather than being taught strategies to manage relationships with unknown people online, young people are repeatedly told, *'don't talk to strangers'*. This messaging is at odds with young people's everyday experiences, and being told *'if they're not your friend in real life, they're not your friend online'* fails to understand that talking to unknown people is part of their online cultures.

Further, and perhaps more problematically, messages to abstain from contact with strangers directly contradicts the reality of the adult world they observe, which is based on online interactions with strangers – from building professional networks on LinkedIn to meeting prospective partners through online dating apps. These are practices that young people will soon enough feel expectations to engage in by employers and peers respectively. Because of this, focusing online safety strategies on avoiding communication with strangers is simultaneously incongruous with what they see and downplays young people's experiences. This further reinforces the disconnect between adults and young people. Instead, young people want to learn how to manage and navigate these interactions safely.

⁹ Moody L, Marsden L, Nguyen, B and Third A (2021) *Consultations with young people to inform the eSafety Commissioner's Engagement Strategy for Young People*, Young and Resilient Research Centre, Western Sydney University: Sydney



In the same way that conventional online safety education does not equip young people with the capacities to safely navigate interactions with people they don't know online, the focus on cyberbullying displaces young people's more prevalent and everyday concerns about the daily dramas that play out within friendships and peer circles at school and on social media. The young people we spoke to are concerned about navigating the complexities of these social relationships and don't always feel like they have the skills to manage them. In online settings, daily dramas can be *'more subtle ... so it kind of creeps up on you'*. They want to learn the (digital) capacities that help them to *'read and understand the nuance and sometimes lack of nuance in online chats'* and to recognise the warning signs so that they can *'be better at noticing when [relationship dramas] are starting'*.

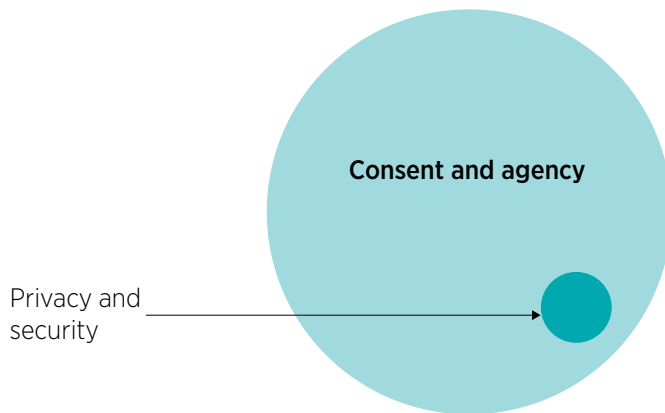
In a reimagined version of (online) safety education, young people learn critical thinking skills to identify fake accounts and (un)trustworthy people before they form relationships with them. They understand the hallmarks of healthy and respectful relationships and know how and when to draw boundaries with friends and peers if online or offline dramas go too far, or if a relationship with an unknown person crosses a line. (Online) safety education provides young people with communication skills to stand up for themselves or others in these situations or if they are being bullied at school or on social media, and how to ask for help if and when they need it. Finally, they learn how to cultivate resilience and are equipped with emotional coping strategies to deal with conflict and risks if they occur.

Young people want to learn:

- how to navigate the nuances of relationships with friends and peers
- strategies to support themselves or a friend who is experiencing relationship difficulties
- how to respond when they experience or observe disrespectful behaviours
- who to tell if online relationship problems develop into more significant problems like cyberbullying
- coping strategies to manage relationship challenges
- how to identify a fake account
- how to recognise the characteristics of an (un)trustworthy person
- when it is safe to share more about themselves with an online friend
- online-specific technical skills to manage potentially harmful online interactions (for example, how to mute, block, report).



Consent and agency



Young people are aware of the multi-faceted ways their privacy and security can be breached online because this is what traditional online safety education teaches. However, for the young people in these workshops, their concerns about privacy and security are situated within the more expansive issues of consent and agency over their personal information. These concerns play out in their daily experiences and interactions with others both online and offline, from friends, family and peers through to organisations and institutions. If online safety education is solely focused on privacy and security, it misses the more nuanced and everyday instances where consent and agency are relevant.

Conventional online safety education about privacy and security has a focus on online fraud, hacking and identity theft¹⁰ and skills to protect your data online (for example, password practices and management).¹¹ Given this focus, it follows that young people are aware that *'if someone knows your info, they can use it against you (blackmail) or someone can use it for fraud'*, and they understand that *'if there isn't proper security, things can get hacked easily'*. Learning ways to manage and mitigate these risks is therefore an important component of (online) safety education.

However, the narrow focus on these privacy and security risks (and the associated skills) does not capture the everyday experiences of most young people. The young people we spoke to were more concerned about situations where they feel a lack of consent or agency over their personal information, particularly in their relationships with friends, family and peers.

They describe regular experiences where parents, friends and peers post or share their personal information and images without their consent, *'Friends have posted photos of me on Facebook without me knowing before'*. In peer cultures where sharing devices and platforms is common, friends and peers sometimes *'tak[e] advantage of [their] social media accounts'*, impersonate them and circulate images, even when they take steps to retain agency over their personal information. These experiences are concerning because they know that online content can be misused, for example *'people [might] screenshot personal information'* or that *'arguments can be recorded over messages, screenshotted and used against you'*.

In a reimagined version of (online) safety education, young people learn (digital) capacities relevant to consent and agency that assist them to navigate specific risks of privacy and security both online and offline. Critical thinking skills help them identify scams and hackers and developing the capacity to create and maintain boundaries helps them to exercise their agency around what personal information they want protected and how. They need effective communication skills to have conversations about consent and convey these boundaries to others, and resilience to manage and respond when personal information is shared against their wishes.

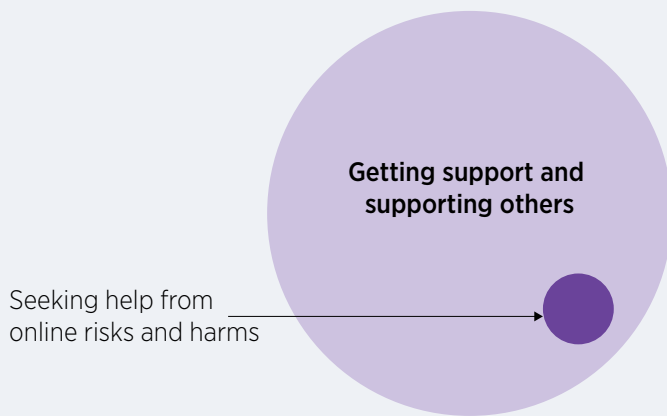
Young people want to learn:

- about consent and how to discuss it with peers, friends and families
- how to decide what to share and what not to share about themselves and others
- how to exercise agency over their personal information, images and accounts online
- how to identify possible scams and hackers
- how their personal data is collected, used and retained on different platforms
- how data longevity might impact them now and in the future
- online-specific technical skills to protect personal information and data (for example, programs that can protect information, password management).

¹⁰ Finkelhor D, Walsh K, Jones L, Mitchell K and Collier A (2021) Youth internet safety education: Aligning programs with the evidence base. *Trauma, violence, & abuse*, 22(5), pp.1233-1247

¹¹ Quayyum F, Cruzes DS and Jaccheri L (2021) Cybersecurity awareness for children: A systematic literature review. *International Journal of Child-Computer Interaction*, 30, p.100343

Getting support and supporting others



Conventional online safety education focuses on help-seeking from online risks and harm. This is important – young people do want to know where they can seek help if they experience risks such as cyberbullying, privacy breaches, or discriminatory behaviours such as *'racism, homophobia, sexism'* online. They want to know where they can go to speak to people trained in *'online safety issues in general and those specific to particular platforms'*. Learning about the professional services available to them, how they can access them, as well as technical skills in reporting risks are essential in the digital age.

But beyond knowing where to go to seek help about a specific risk, the young people we spoke to have concerns about the dynamics and complexities of giving and receiving support for a wide range of experiences, not just risks of harm. They do not feel that support-seeking is always a positive experience. It *'can be super scary seeking support'* and young people are concerned about their confidentiality being breached or being shamed. Seeking help from adults, such as parents and teachers, can sometimes be challenging as young people share that they receive *'stigma, judgement'* and *'discouragement instead of guidance'* and support. Not feeling equipped or confident to ask for the support that they need can exacerbate the situation.

The young people we spoke to also expressed concerns about how to provide support to friends and others for all kinds of issues, and how to set boundaries when they are unable to provide that support. They feel a pressure to provide support when *'people I don't know vent to me with no warning in DMs or on my story'* and feel disappointed when attempts to provide support are taken advantage of, such as *'when one of my online "friends" [was] only friends with me because I offered support when she needed to vent'*. They want to feel they *'are allowed to step back from situations/not be vented to without feeling bad or being shamed for it'*.

In a reimagined (online) safety education, seeking help for online risks is decentred (although not ignored) and an expanded focus on getting support and supporting others in online and offline situations is introduced. The focus is now on developing young people's (digital) capacities so that they can think critically about a situation and decide if, when and where the most appropriate support can be found. It is about learning how to communicate your needs effectively and asking for help when you need it, as well as setting and maintaining healthy boundaries around the support they provide to others. Importantly, it is how to build respectful relationships with others that are mutually supportive.

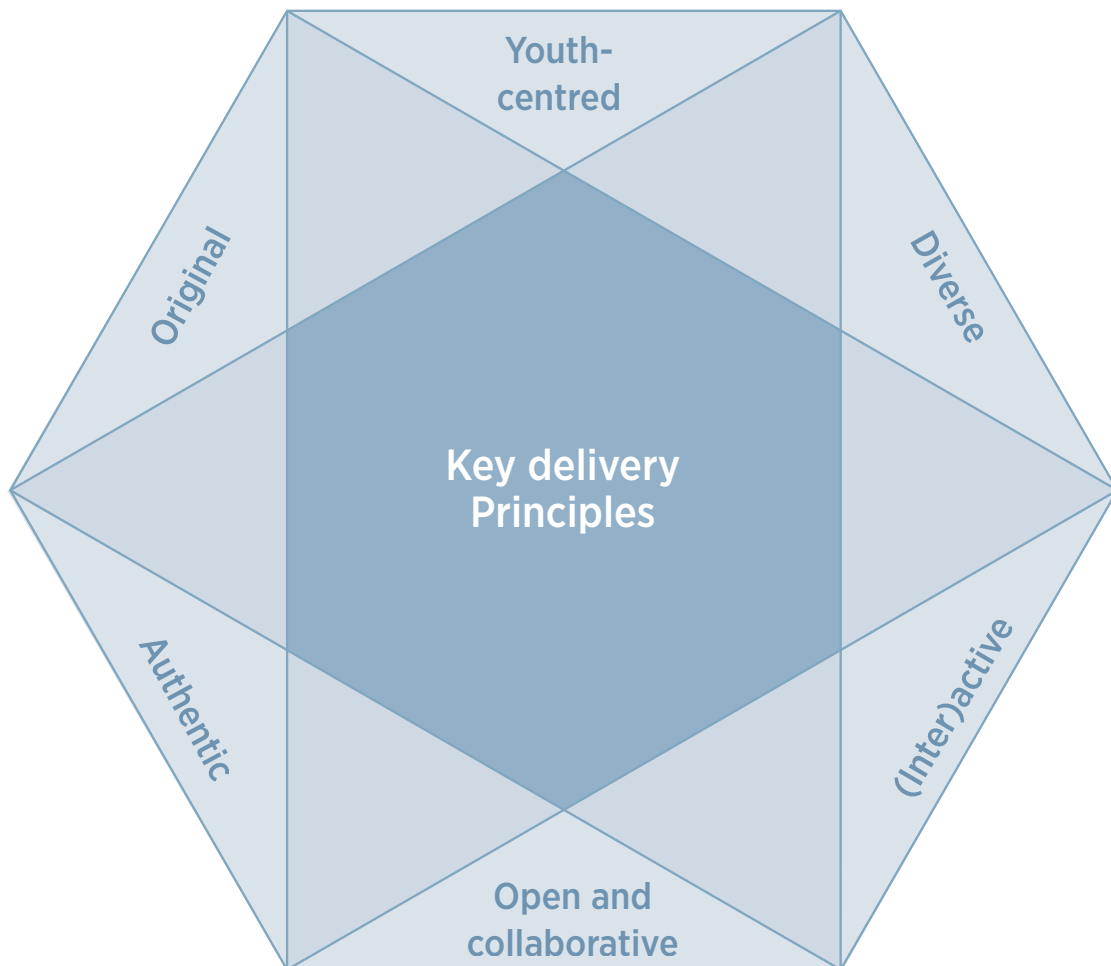
Young people want to learn:

- how to provide good peer support (while maintaining boundaries), such as speaking out when boundaries are crossed (for example, unwanted content sharing) or when they witness racism, sexism and homophobia online
- how to establish boundaries with others to protect themselves from emotional overload
- about formal and informal peer support mechanisms available to them, and how to access and effectively utilise them
- how to have conversations with adults in their lives about something they need help with (and how to manage adults if they are not supportive in the ways they need)
- where and how to seek formal support (online and offline), and how to make good decisions about where to seek support.

Delivering (online) safety education

The previous sections explored what young people say they want and need to learn to keep themselves and others safe online. In this section, we outline how young people say they want to learn about (online) safety, through a set of interrelated and interconnected principles for delivering (online) safety education.

Young people's ideal (online) safety learning experience is one in which young people's everyday experiences are centred and acknowledged. It reflects their desires for their ideal online world, which is an inclusive and judgement-free space where belonging and acceptance are the norms. To move toward this ideal online world, (online) safety education needs to reflect these principles, respond to these desires of young people, and allow them the opportunity to practice their (digital) capacities.





Youth-centred

Mitigate the power imbalances between young people and adults by acknowledging young people's existing knowledge and practices. Create spaces for young people and adults to work effectively together, drawing on the strengths of each.

'I want there to be no hierarchy between teachers and students'

Young people want (online) safety education to centre the concerns of young people, value their experiences, and recognise their unique knowledge and skills. However, they also acknowledge and appreciate the contribution adults can make.

Specifically, they want adults to *'give guidance from experience'*, and *'help [young people] to discover'* and *'manage [their] online lives'*. They sometimes feel that some adults give the impression that they *'know everything/have more power'* which makes young people feel *'patronised'*, *'babied'*, or like *'[they] know nothing'*. Instead of feeling like this, they want educational settings to centre their everyday experiences, and provide opportunities for them to *'have a bigger say in things'* (for example, what they learn).

This can be achieved through creating space for *'authentic peer-level experiences'* and open dialogue between educators and young people in which young people can learn from each other and adults. Rather than authoritative rules, adults and young people work collaboratively to *'create the ... safe spaces that we need'*, online and offline.

Grounded in diversity

Ensure presenters are diverse, relatable and respect the different backgrounds and experiences of the audience.

Young people want a *'diverse presenting group'*, *'not just straight, old, white men'*. They also want presenters to see the young people they are presenting to are *'diverse ... with lots of different opinions, experiences and thoughts'* and be open to the breadth of their everyday experiences of the online world, not people *'pushing stereotypes onto us'*. Presenters must be *'relatable'* and act with *'kindness, patience and respect'* and who *'ask students about their opinions'* and *'want to hear [their] input'*.

[Inter]active

Provide practical, dynamic and multi-modal learning experiences that allow learners to engage with content in a variety of ways.

Young people express a strong desire to have interactive, practical and dynamic (online) safety learning experiences. They resist the idea of long lectures, where young people are *'being talked at for an hour on end, with no interaction and no breaks'*. Young people appreciate *'situational demos of specific scenarios on particular platforms'* and *'examples of how to do things'* to ground the material in a practical and meaningful way. They want *'games and activities'* to maintain their interest, and content delivered in varied ways, including visual, written and verbal. (Online) safety education needs to be *'not just sitting there staring at the board'* to allow for different learning styles and concentration capacities.

Open and collaborative

Ground learning in a multidirectional exchange of knowledge and experience between participants, and between participants and presenters. Allow young people to have a say in what and how they learn.

Young people are clear that lectures delivered to *'the whole year level in one room'* are not acceptable. It needs to be *'more of a mutual discussion than just someone talking at us'*. They want small group-based discussions where they can contribute and have a choice in what they want to learn. They don't want to be told, *'Sit down, and we tell you what to learn'*. Instead, they want a *'more discursive, share what we want to learn and teach dynamic'*. They want *'group collaboration'* and the opportunity to share *'our perspective'* and get *'support and help and understanding (not judgement)'*.

Authentic

Centre young people's lived experiences and allow room for making and learning from mistakes. Embrace complexity and avoid oversimplification.

Young people want (online) safety education that understands the complexity of their real experiences, both online and offline, and doesn't oversimplify by making statements such as *'just don't share your personal info'* or *'it's easy, just don't talk to creepy people'*. They want room to learn from mistakes and how to mitigate and manage problems as they arise; *'instead of saying to abstain, say how to manage'*.

Original

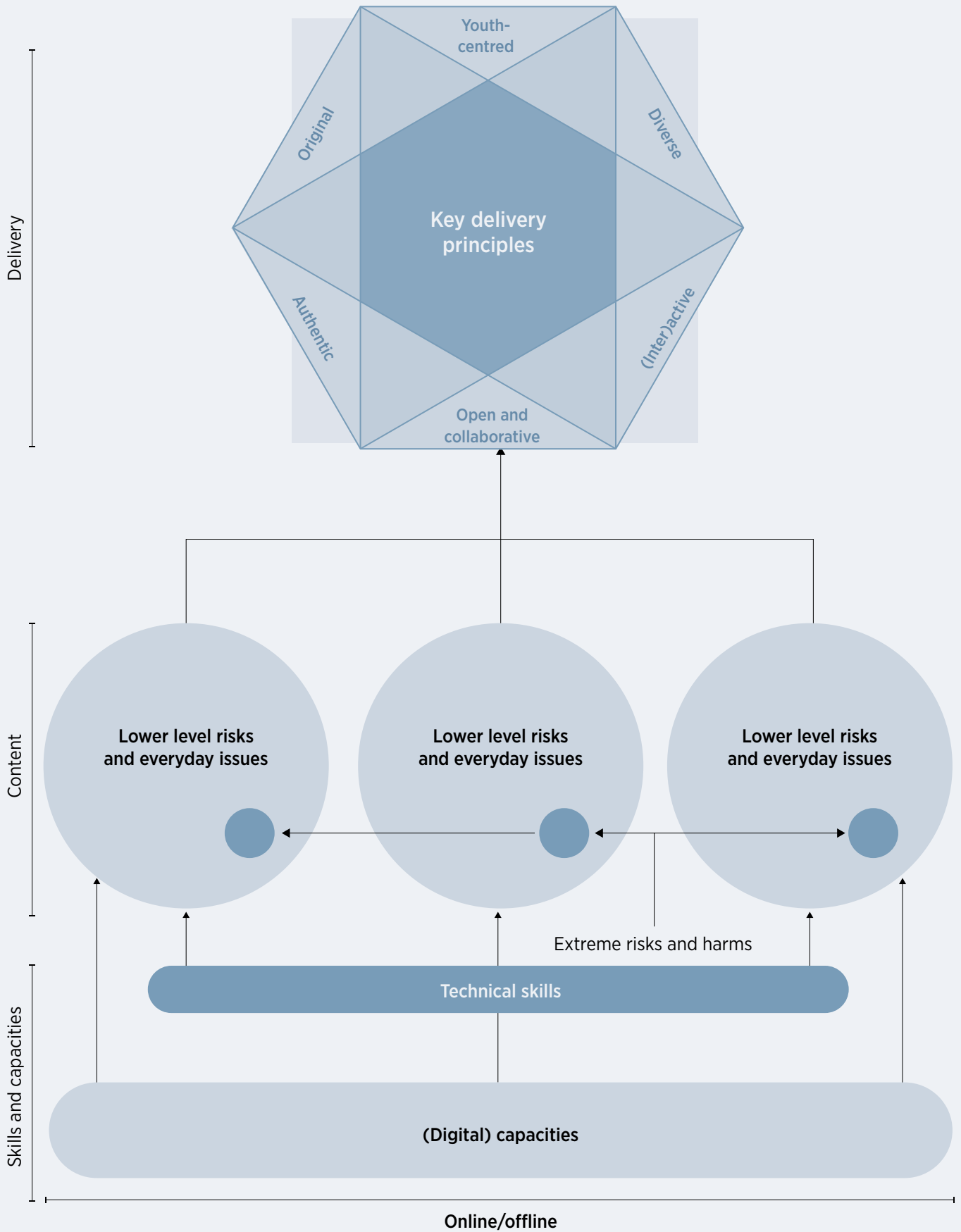
Create innovative learning experiences which break away from formulaic and predictable online safety content and delivery.

Young people feel *'exasperated because it's always the same old information'* when it comes to conventional online safety classes. They want innovative, fresh content. *'Repetition of basic topics/concepts'* is unappealing, as is *'talking about how things were years ago'* and *'the same people presenting the same thing in the same way'*. Content needs to be current and relevant; young people don't want to continue to cover the same ground, or educators continually *'warning us about stuff we already know'* or *'very obvious information that we've already heard 10 times over.'*





Reimagined (online) safety education



Conclusion

To date, young people's voices have been largely absent in conversations about what and how to educate young people about online safety. The result is that learning experiences reflect a wholly adult paradigm which does not resonate with what matters most to young people, let alone provide space for young people to exercise agency and autonomous decision-making commensurate with their evolving capacities. This adult paradigm tends to present online safety in black-and-white terms, focused on risks and harms rather than balanced with benefits and opportunities, and prioritises rights to protection over provision and participation. From young people's perspective, it carries with it a language of alarmism and adult anxiety which paint a narrative of young people in need of safeguarding, both from the dangers of technology and their own unchecked impulses. Young people absorb these framings into their own understandings and expressions of online safety, but if we listen carefully to what young people have to say, an alternative framework for (online) safety education emerges.

The aim of this project was to invite young people to share their aspirations for online safety education, and to create a framework for organisations looking to develop genuinely youth-centred learning experiences for young people. What we found was that the visions of young people in these workshops require us to incorporate young people's ideas into the existing framework, but also to **reimagine and transform, from the bottom-up, the structures that shape the ways in which we think about, talk about and teach online safety.**

According to the young people in this project, adults need to think more expansively about (online) safety education, to broaden it beyond mitigation of extreme online risks to address the full breadth of young people's experiences, both online and offline. (Online) safety education also needs to include learning experiences that grow (digital) capacities grounded in social-emotional intelligences, (digital) citizenship, participation, and ethical behaviour. We need to think beyond (online) safety as the absence of risks and harms and begin to imagine it as an individual and collective state of respect, acceptance and support. When we design the mechanisms of these learning experiences, we need to use innovation and creativity, and create open and interactive environments that are grounded in authenticity and fact. Importantly, adults need to learn to share power with young people in the design, development and delivery of these learning experiences.

This reimagined (online) safety education framework acknowledges the online world is relational and comprised of shades of grey, and in doing so, it resonates with young people's everyday experiences and reflects their aspirations. However, the framework described herein should not be considered a finished product. This is a starting point from which adults should work together collaboratively with young people to build a new approach to (online) safety education that is genuinely youth-centred and grounded in a vision to create more inclusive, ethical and safer online worlds for all generations.



Recommendations

Guided by the insights of young people, this report recommends that (online) safety education be reimagined and rebuilt collaboratively with young people to produce a new innovative youth-driven model that meets young people's needs and strives toward building more inclusive, ethical and safer online worlds for all internet users by:

- embedding the insights and key principles from young people contained in this report into the design, content and delivery of (online) safety learning experiences
- adopting an integrated approach that addresses the online and offline dimensions of young people's experiences, key concerns and online risks
- decentring extreme risks and instead focusing on young people's everyday concerns, of which extreme risks are a smaller part
- integrating the development of (digital) capacities grounded in social-emotional intelligences, digital citizenship and ethics, with online-specific technical skills
- providing young people with decision-making power at all stages in the design, development, delivery and evaluation of their online safety learning experiences
- applying innovation and creativity to the delivery of learning experiences which prioritises opportunities for young people to collaborate with and learn from their peers.



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Appendices

Appendix A: workshop model and activities

Participants were invited to take part in two workshops. The first workshop was based on one of three topics: connecting and interacting with others online, privacy and security, and getting support and supporting others online.

Participants were invited to choose which workshop topic they participated in. The workshop topics were informed by the survey data, which provided insights into which online issues young people think they need to learn about.

The top issues from the survey were clustered into three broad topics. These topics were further defined with PROJECT ROCKIT, to ensure the workshops were not limited to discussing specific issues (for example, bullying), but rather, broader themes of life online (for example, connecting and interacting with others).

The first workshop primarily aimed to be exploratory and provide young people with the opportunity to share their authentic experiences and stories, and tell us what matters most to them about life (on)line. The second workshop built on the discussions of the first but led with a co-design focus.

Here, young people were encouraged to tell us what they really think about current online safety education and were given the opportunity to design their ideal learning experience.

For the first workshop, a generic workshop agenda was developed and then contextualised to each workshop topic. For the second workshop, the same agenda was used for all groups.

The research team designed the workshop activities to include a mix of individual, small group, and large group work activities. A workshop manual was developed to assist PROJECT ROCKIT youth facilitators to run the online workshops. The manual provided a step-by-step guide to setting up and running the workshops on how to ensure the safety of the participants, user guides for Zoom and Miro, a guide to troubleshooting common questions and detailed activity instructions.

Workshop one (Exploratory)

Word association: explore young people's initial perceptions about the workshop topic (connecting and interacting with others/privacy and security/getting support and supporting others online) and any issues or concerns that surfaced.

Gen X vs Gen Y: identify the issues that matter most to young people in relation to the workshop topic.

Three whys: critically reflect and examine the root cause of young people's concerns.

My journey: explore young people's positive and negative lived experiences of online cultures to understand their authentic experiences of digital participation, digital ethics and online cultures.

What have you seen?: encourage participants to share their thoughts and ideas relating to positive online cultures and the workshop topic.

Workshop two (Co-design)

The low-down: encourage participants to recap the last workshop and what is most important to them.

Utopian city: creatively explore young people's positive and ethical online cultures and understand what they need to achieve their ideal online world in relation to the workshop topic.

What's the vibe?: critically examine young people's feelings on current online safety education and how online safety and digital ethics education should be delivered and designed to meaningfully and effectively engage young people.

Design your ideal learning experience: encourage young people to think how they should receive online safety and digital ethics education to foster the knowledge, skills and support they need to create kinder and positive online spaces.

Appendix B: online survey questions

Survey questions	Options
How old are you?	13 14 15 16 17
How do you describe your gender? (Gender refers to current gender, which may be different to sex recorded at birth and may be different to what is indicated on legal documents.)	Man or male Woman or female Non-binary I use a different term Prefer not to answer
What is your postcode?	[text entry]
My top five worries about being online are... (Please select five and tell us why you chose each one.)	That I might come across fake news and misinformation and not be able to tell the difference That I might be judged or put down by peers for something I saw or share online That my personal photos or information might be exposed without my consent (for example, doxxing online) That some people are more vulnerable than others online (for example, minorities) can be at a greater risk That I might be contacted by strangers with bad intentions online That I might be sent inappropriate images from people online without my consent That I might be cyberbullied or harassed That I might be tricked by fake accounts or identities (for example, cat fishing) That I might be targeted by hackers That my computer might be attacked by scams or malware That I might come across content that is not appropriate for my age online (for example, porn, explicit advertising) That I don't know where to get help if something bad happens to me online That I have to deal with lots of advertising and pop-ups trying to sell me things That I might be tricked into an unsafe situation by someone older pretending to be my friend online (for example, grooming) That someone might access my personal information and steal my identity That the things I share online will be online forever Something else (please specify and tell us why) [text entry]



Survey questions	Options
I think young people really need to know... (Please select five and tell us why you chose each one).	<ul style="list-style-type: none">How to support and treat each other well onlineHow to do the right thing and make good judgements onlineHow to make sure everyone is safe and included onlineAbout image-sharing risksAbout consent online (for example, asking permission from others to share a photo of them)How and where to seek help for online safety issuesHow to be a good 'citizen of the internet' (being respectful to others, responsible and following rules)How to interact safely with people online and deal with unwanted contactHow to stand up to cyberbullying and harassment onlineHow to stay safe from hackers, scams and malwareHow to protect and respect privacy onlineWhat young people's online rights are and how we can be aware of themSomething else (please specify and tell us why) <p>[text entry]</p>

Appendix C: analysis and reporting

The online platform Miro was used to gather the research data. Workshop activities were set up using frames on Miro. Participants used text, drawings and emojis to complete the activities. After each workshop, the data was exported from Miro, manually transferred into a standardised template, and stored in a secure online repository for analysis.

The team used inductive and deductive thematic analysis to code and analyse the data from the workshops and the survey. The research team first coded using a predefined list of codes developed based on key research questions. A secondary set of codes were then developed based on themes that emerged from the data and the dataset was coded according to these themes. Members of the research team checked and validated coding before the final analysis was produced.

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