

List of publications

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List of publications

Journal Article

- Pastorino, A. (2020). Ethical Challenges in European Parliamentary Debates with regards to Audiovisual Sexual Risks on the Internet, Jurnal Komunikasi: Malaysian Journal of Communication, Bangi, Malaysia.

Book Chapter

- Pastorino, A. (2020). *The Use of Online Sexual Contents by Youths in the Absence of Sexual Education*. In Rafele, A., Aldama, F. L. (eds.), *Cultural Studies in the Digital Age*. San Diego State University, San Diego, USA.

Invited lectures

- Pastorino, A. (2019, November 13). *Freedom of expression and children protection within the European political debate concerning audiovisual sexual contents on the Internet*. Lecture presented at the International Communication Conference 2019 with the theme: "Nationality Without Boundaries: Communication and Media Challenges in Building Social Solidarity", invited by the Indonesia Communication Scholars Association (Ikatan Sarjana Ilmu Komunikasi Indonesia - ISKI), and in collaboration with Faculty of Communication of Universitas Padjadjaran, Banda Aceh, Indonesia.
- Pastorino, A. (2019, November 16) How to Surf the Turbulence of Information in Digital Era, Indonesia Universitas - Public Relations Study Program, Jakarta, Indonesia.
- Pastorino, A. (2019, February 19, San Diego, California). *The Perils and Pleasures of the Audiovisual on the Web. Ethical Challenges in Media Uses and Policy-Making*. Lecture presented at the Wenderlmoot Symposium Series in the San Diego State University, San Diego, USA.

Papers presented at international conferences

- Pastorino, A. (in press – 2020). *Ethical Challenges in European Parliamentary Debates with regards to Audiovisual Sexual Risks on the Internet*. Paper presented at the International Communication Conference 2019 with the theme: "Nationality Without Boundaries: Communication and Media Challenges in Building Social Solidarity", invited by the Indonesia Communication Scholars Association (Ikatan Sarjana Ilmu Komunikasi Indonesia - ISKI), and in collaboration with Faculty of Communication of Universitas Padjadjaran, Banda Aceh, Indonesia.
- Pastorino, A. (2018). *Freedom of expression and children protection within the European political debate concerning audiovisual sexual contents on the Internet*. Paper presented at the ICA International Communication Association Conference, Preconference Global Media and Human Rights, Prague, Czech Republic, CZ.
- Pastorino, A. (2017, May 2017). *Ethical considerations towards Online Audiovisual Sexual Risks within EP Debates*. Paper presented at the ICA International Communication Association Conference, San Diego, USA.

- Pastorino, A. (2017, May 26). *The impact of scientific knowledge in the policy-making process about children protection EP debates*. Paper presented at the ICA International Communication Association, San Diego, USA.
- Pastorino, A. (2016, October 27). *Social representations of online audiovisual risks within European Parliamentary debates*. Paper presented at the MediAsia Conference, Kobe, JP.
- Pastorino, Agnese (2016). *Social representations of online audiovisual risks within European Parliamentary debates*. Poster session presented at the ECREA European Communication Research and Education Association Conference, Pre-Conference on Youth and Media, Prague, CZ.
- Pastorino, A. (2016, June 7). *Adolescents and audiovisual sexual contents: analysis of the European policy*. Paper presented at the 6th European Communication Conference, ECREA, Prague, CZ.
- Pastorino, A. (2015, August 27). *Innovative methodologies for surveying online sexual practices of adolescents*. Paper presented at the 12th Conference of the European Sociological Association Conference, Prague, CZ.

Papers presented at national events

- Pastorino, Agnese (2013) Sesso online. I dati italiani sull'accesso alla pornografia da parte dei giovani, MARTE Mediateca, Winter School on Internet Studies, Salerno, Italy.
- Pastorino, A. (May 23, 2016). Le CERLIS: un lieu de départ pour un chemin dans la recherche européenne, Séminaire résidentiel du CERLIS Centre d'Etudes et Recherches sur les Liens Sociaux, Moulin d'Andé FR.

Collective papers presented at international conferences

- De Rosa, A. M. S., Dryjanska, L., Guraliuc, I., Gjorgjioska, M. A., Kuckharava, M., Arhiri, L., Pastorino, A., Tomicic, A., Gherman, M. A., De Neiva Forte, T. C. (2016). *The generativity of the social representations theory for multiple paradigmatic approaches along different decades and across various geo-cultural contexts – continents*. 13ème Conférence Internationale sur les Représentations Sociales, Marseille, FR.

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Project. Strengthening Public Health Preparedness and Response Activities in South Sudan – Risk Communication, Social Mobilization and Community Engagement

ABSTRACT

The on-going Ebola Virus Disease (EVD) outbreak in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC) highlights the vulnerability of South Sudan to the spread of EVD. Ongoing social science research undertaken by the CDC, IFRC and UNICEF in DRC has identified “community mistrust” of the response and health authorities as a key factor that continues to drive transmission and the epidemic in DRC. While the DRC is on the road to being declared free of Ebola, the danger still looms. As such the neighboring countries such as South Sudan remain at risk of EVD and thus preparedness efforts must not cease.

The aim of this project in South Sudan is to establish and implement a community feedback program to guide evidence-driven risk communication and community engagement activities that build, restore, and/or maintain community trust and confidence in relation to health authorities and response activities during public health emergencies. The proposed project - implemented during a worldwide COVID-19 pandemic - as well as the backdrop of the recent Ebola outbreak will establish a feedback system to inform responses to such a public health threat as COVID-19. It will establish a responsive and near real-time mechanism that - every two weeks - will allow program implementers to understand underlying social norms and local dynamics and quickly identify, analyze, characterize and respond to specific factors that appear to be influencing perceptions, mindsets, actions and trust levels in communities with regards to epidemics.

a. Purpose

This project aims to build, restore, and maintain a high level of social trust and confidence on the part of communities in high risk areas for public health prevention and outbreak control measures put in place by the health authorities and partners in South Sudan with regards to priority diseases, especially Ebola and COVID-19. The project will focus on evidence-informed and responsive community engagement and risk communication processes to increase message reach, acceptance, and behavior change.

b. Outcomes

This project is expected to lead to:

- Improved insights with regards to community understanding and perceptions about Ebola and COVID-19 epidemics, with the purpose to contribute to multi-stakeholders decision-making processes through monthly updates.
- Increased knowledge about the coping strategies adopted by the communities during epidemic diseases outbreak, like Ebola and COVID-19 (i.e. border countries, burials, self-isolation/quarantine, hygienic habits, non-biomedical health-seeking practices).
- Better understanding of the social and anthropological factors influencing “community mistrust” towards public health facilities and responses.

c. Strategies and Key Activities

A system will be established to collect questions, comments, ideas, and concerns from community members relative to the ongoing epidemics of COVID-19 and EVD in neighboring countries. Findings and

recommendations will be shared with health authorities, response leaders, and partners to inform their programming for relevant follow-up action.

Key activities are detailed as follows:

- 1. Recruitment of two managers.** The core team at the national level will be led by a social anthropologist and social sciences data manager, recruited on early March 2020.
- 2. Recruitment of data team and selection of social mobilisers (22 note takers, 11 data entry officers, 8 coders, 176 social mobilisers).** The two managers will recruit a team of 11 data entry officers, 8 coders and 22 note takers (2 per each county); they will also select 176 social mobilisers among the group already working with UNICEF partners. The ToRs for data entry officers, coders, note takers and social mobilisers will be prepared by the two managers by end of March, and the selection processes will take place until end of June. In the field, every note taker will work with 8 social mobilisers. A priority will be given to hiring 3 coders, 4 data entry officers, 8 note takers and 64 social mobilisers for the counties of Yei, Morobo, Kajo-Keji and Juba to conduct the pilot starting from mid-April. They will be contracted by UNICEF's implementing partners, which are TRISS in Yei, Juba and Torit (The Rescue Initiative South Sudan) and ECSS in Yambio. With ECSS, the partner working in the Yambio area, the recruitment will start mid-June and will end in mid-July. The team recruited for the pilot has been selected from the existing network of social mobilisers, by identifying the most qualified ones. The official recruitment will be carried out following the pilot and the PD amendments for a final selection of the best team members.
- 3. Amending Programme Documents with implementing partners.** In June and July, the Programme Documents with TRISS and ECSS will be amended, through the agreement with both partners on the budget devoted to the CDC project implementation. The two partners are already carrying out community feedback mobilization in the areas identified for UNICEF South Sudan.
- 4. Introductory meetings (with C4D implementing partners and key stakeholders).** The two managers first met the CDC team to discuss the scope of the project. By end of March, the team will introduce the project to the implementing partners in Juba and in the field offices and induct them on their role in the project. The implementing partners – who will help in the recruitment process - are local NGOs already working with C4D Unit to conduct their community mobilization activities. Therefore, they will help identifying the 176 social mobilizers for the 11 counties. In addition, during the first week of April, introductory meetings with key stakeholders will be organized, with the purpose of informing them about the project. UNICEF's main partners will be invited; among them, there will be the National Ministry of Health, WHO, ICRC, CDC, IOM, Internews, together with members of the Risk Communication and Community Engagement Technical Working Group, the National Task Force and the health clusters. For these activities, preventive measures for COVID-19 will be adhered to and key stakeholders will be met individually and/or online.
- 5. Testing data collection and coding tools.** Based on recent research on Ebola response carried out in DRC in 2018¹, UNICEF started testing the same protocol in February 2020 in Yei. Starting from March 2020, the two managers – together with the C4D team – will be adapting these tools for

¹ Bringing community perspectives to decision-making in the Ebola response in the Democratic Republic of Congo <https://odihpn.org/magazine/bringing-community-perspectives-decision-making-ebola-response-democratic-republic-congo/>

data collection and coding to the local context of South Sudan and the ongoing health emergencies. During the month of May, they will supervise the work of the offices of Yei, Kajo-Keji and Juba, which are respectively related to 5 out of 11 counties. While the pilot takes place, the managers will develop data collection tools specific for the South Sudanese context and adjust the protocols. Only passive note-taking methods will be used. A codebook will be developed through a collaborative approach with the data team during training days organized twice a week throughout May and June for the pilot in Juba.

6. **Pilot in Yei, Morobo, Kajo-Keji, Juba.** The C4D team will conduct a pilot survey by end of May. The pilot will be carried out for four weeks in the counties monitored by the Yei field office, which are Yei, Morobo and Kajo-Keji, and four weeks in the Juba office. The pilot will be a full implementation in a reduced area. Data will be first collected in a systematic way. In Juba, the use of Tablets and the ONA system will be tested.
7. **IEC Development.** Job aids, information collection and coding guidebooks, training materials and guides for data collection, and community field-books will be developed, translated, pretested, validated and printed between end of May and end of July. The concepts will be developed by UNICEF C4D team, whereas the production will be contracted to a professional agency.
1. **Training of data team and social mobilisers (22 note takers, 11 data entry officers, 8 coders, 3 supervisors and 176 social mobilisers).** During the month of April, the data team has been trained in the areas of Yei, Kajo-Keji and Morobo, following two days online training of trainers of the two managers and two days offline training in these counties. From early May 2020, social mobilisers have been trained in Juba together with another highly qualified data team, involving data entry officers, note takers and coders. The data team has attended eleven days of trainings during six weeks in the UNICEF office in order to understand the methodologies and to address specific challenges. In an effort to improve the capacity of the team, online and offline trainings will be carried out every week, until early August. During the first week of July, the full team of 11 data entry officers, 8 coders and 3 supervisors will be trained again by the two managers for two days. The following weeks, the C4D team will train the whole data team for two days. The 176 social mobilisers will be trained on the second day of the training. The training will take place at the respective offices of UNICEF and the implementing partners, with groups of no more than 10 persons each. However, meeting locations might be adjusted according to the measures implemented by the UN in South Sudan due to the evolving COVID-19 situation. For example, some activities might take place online; only the supervisor will attend them in person, whereas the C4D team in Juba will be connected through platforms for online training. A first training will take place in Juba for two days per team and it will involve the whole data team, divided into groups composed of supervisors, coders, and data entry officers and note takers.

	Day 1	Day 2	Day 3	Day 4
Week 1	Juba Data Team	Juba Data Team	Juba Coding	Juba Coding
Week 2	Kajo-Keji Data Team	Kajo-Keji Data Team	Yei Data Team	Yei Data Team
Week 3	Yambio Data Team	Yambio Data Team	Magwi Data Team	Torit Data Team

The Yei, Yambio, Juba and Torit data teams will be composed of supervisor, data entry officers and note takers. For two days, a coding team will be trained in Juba.

Before each phase of the implementation, the social mobilisers and note takers will be trained in their respective areas. Precisely, the training for the Juba-based team will take two days. During each half day, 1 trainer will train 1 data entry officer, 2 note takers and 8 social mobilisers. In Yei, the training will take 3 days per 58 participants. 12 participants will attend each training in the morning and in the afternoon (1 trainer, 1 data entry officer, 1 note taker and 8 social mobilisers). In Yambio, the training will last two days with 11 participants in the morning and 12 in the afternoon. Each group will include 1 trainer, 1 data entry officer, 1 note taker, 8 social mobilisers. In Torit, the training will take place in one day, with two different groups in the morning and in the afternoon. Each group will involve 1 data entry officer, 1 note taker and 8 social mobilisers. Below a table of the training in the field offices. The training of the Yambio team will last seven days. During the first and second day, 2 C4D trainers, 1 supervisor, 1 coder, 3 data entry managers, 3 note takers will attend. From day three to seven, 12 participants will attend the training, including 2 C4D trainers, 1 data entry officer, 1 note taker, 8 social mobilisers. Since the data collection will follow a phased implementation, the training will take place immediately before each phase of data collection.

2. **Data collection in 11 counties.** Starting from end of August, data will be collected on a daily basis by the 22 note takers who will team up with 176 C4D social mobilisers across all 11 counties. Each note taker will visit three households per day for 20 days a month, to be selected randomly. Every visit will last about 30 minutes. Each note taker will work every day with one of the eight social mobilisers who will accompany them to three households during their awareness raising activity.² Whereas social mobilisers talk about a variety of health issues, they will be instructed to focus more on topics related to COVID-19 and EVD during this data collection process. In total, an estimated 990 households per month will be visited³. Households visits will carefully respect COVID-19 preventive measures for gatherings, such as physical distancing, limited number of participants, frequent handwashing, wearing hand-made masks, etc. The eleven data entry officers will report to the field offices of Yei, Torit and Yambio, and to the main office of Juba. The table below illustrates the data team per county.

Data team per county						
Counties	UNICEF Offices	Supervisors	Coders	Data entry officers	Note takers	Social Mobilisers
Juba		1		3	6	48
Magwi				1	2	16
Yei		1		2	4	32
Lainya						
Morobo						
Kajo-Keji				1	2	16
Yambio		1		3	6	48
Nzara						
Ezo						
Maridi				1	2	16
Ibba						

² In some counties, such as Kajo-Keji, it's been observed that one note taker cannot follow eight social mobilisers due to the long distances. Therefore, the number of 8 social mobilisers for each note taker will be reduced in some areas and specified after the pilot.

³ During the pilot, several challenges have limited data collection, such as insecurity, political reasons and illnesses.

Total	3	8	11	22	176
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Data team per county in Greater Equatoria

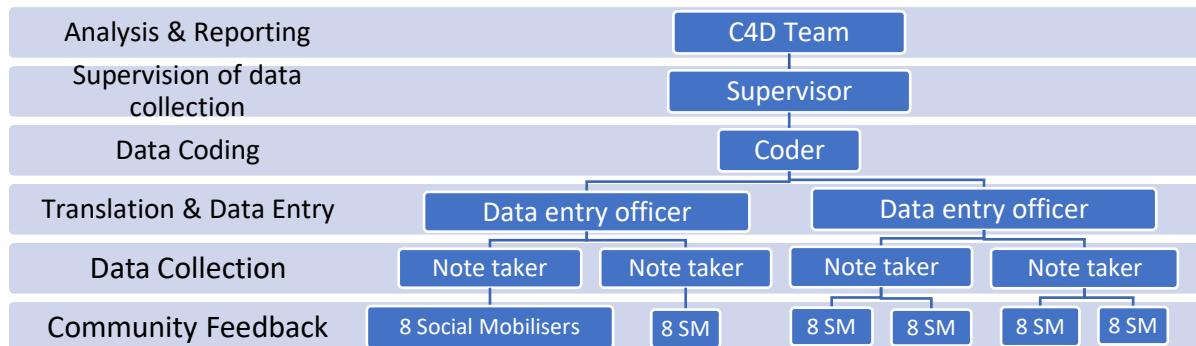
Each note taker will send the data manually or electronically collected to an assigned data entry officer. The 22 note takers will each be provided with a tablet, a SIM card, solar battery, SD card, a notebook and a pen for taking notes and sharing them with the data entry officers. Similarly, the 8 data entry officers will use 2 tablets each to upload the data in the ONA platform⁴. The C4D team in Juba will receive data from about 245 household visits once a week. Data collection will go on for seven months through end of December 2020. All the activities of data collection and coding will be monitored by 3 supervisors, respectively based in the UNICEF offices in Juba, Yei and Yambio. Data collection will follow a phased implementation. The first two weeks will start in the four counties of Juba, Yei, Kajo-Keji and Morobo. Then, on the second two weeks, data will be collected also in the other four counties of Lainya, Magwi, Maridi, and Ibba. Finally, after one month, by end of August, data collection will cover the last three counties of Yambio, Ezo and Nzara. These three groups of note takers and social mobilisers will start and end collecting data with a time difference of two weeks.

3. **Visits for quality control.** The monitoring team will conduct quality control visits once every two months in all the counties, by travelling to Yambio, Yei, Maridi and Magwi. The visits will take place in alternating weeks. The goal of quality control will be to verify the correct implementation of the protocols for data collection and coding. Each visit will enable further improvements and will imply additional training for all the data team. This activity will be carried out for six months, from July to December 2020. Additionally, the 3 supervisors - based in the UNICEF offices of Juba, Yei and Yambio - will play a key role for quality control. They will have a supervisory role that includes a monitoring activity aimed at quality control between visits. They will provide a link between the data collection and coding processes and the managers in Juba, through a weekly online meeting. Nevertheless, visits for quality control will only take place when there won't be any travel ban in South Sudan. During these periods, quality control procedures will be performed by implementing partners and where possible by supervisors in the field offices. The managers shall continue to oversee the entire process online and on phone through weekly meetings.
4. **Data transcription, translation and coding.** In the UNICEF offices of Juba, Yei and Yambio, the 11 data entry officers will type from paper to electronic format the notes taken – when needed. Then, they'll translate them. It will take one day to type each conversation and one day to translate it. Eight data coders will be in charge of the coding process. Each coder will be provided with a software for qualitative data analysis installed (ATLAS.ti, annual lease). Therefore, the UNICEF office in Juba will receive about 495 typed and translated forms and 245 coded conversations per month. Data coding will last from end of July until end of December. These processes – in the field offices - will be supervised by the three supervisors in Juba, Yambio and Yei by the two managers through online/offline activities.
5. **Data analysis.** Data analysis will be an ongoing process, which will accompany each of the above-mentioned activities of collecting, translating and coding data, with the purpose to produce relevant outputs for stakeholders. The total data collected will be regarded as a sampling frame. Therefore, we will continuously analyze randomly sampled data points from the total data collected monthly. Approximately, every two weeks 120 data points will be analyzed to produce

⁴ The ONA system is a mobile survey software, used by UNICEF to collect and manage data. <https://ona.io/>. However, other tools will be tested during the pilot for the possibility to entry data offline.

updated reports. The reports for each county will be primarily managed by the two managers and the C4D team in Juba. The following visual flowchart shows the data flow, including team roles. See also attachment 2 for an expanded flowchart in the eleven counties.

Typical data flow structure for one county



6. **Share key findings with stakeholders for their relevant action and programming.** Due to the extent of the community feedback mechanism in 11 counties, processing of data will last more than two weeks during the first two months. Starting from end of August, the turnaround time for producing reports will be reduced to two weeks. Therefore, bi-monthly reports by county will be sent and presented to all stakeholders through a near-real time reporting mechanism. Final analysis of the results will be shared during an organized event and through a detailed report at the end of December 2020. Any proposed meetings will have to adhere to the COVID-19 preventive measures. Therefore, in some cases, they might be conducted through online platforms.
7. **Documentation of key lessons (infographics, info sheets/learning note, design, printing and dissemination).** Key learnings will be produced throughout the project, from the first data analysis.

d. Activity timeline

Activity description	M	A	M	J	J	A	S	O	N	D
1. Recruitment of two managers										
2. Recruitment of data team and selection of social mobilisers										
3. Amending programme documents with implementing partners										
4. Introductory meetings										
5. Testing data collection and coding tools										
6. Pilot in Yei, Morobo, Kajo-Keji, Juba										
7. IEC Development ⁵										

⁵ IEC Development (Information Education Communication Development): development, translation, pretesting, validate and printing job aids, information collection, coding guidebooks, and community feedback field books, leaflets/brochures, infographics.

8. Training of data team and social mobilisers																		
9. I. Data collection for the pilot (4 counties)																		
II. Data collection in 4 counties																		
III. Data collection in 3 counties																		
10. Quality control																		
11. Data coding																		
12. Data analysis																		
13. Share key findings with stakeholders																		
14. Documentation of key lessons																		

e. Collaboration

UNICEF will leverage its current leadership position as the Co-Lead of the Risk Communication, Social Mobilization and Community Engagement Technical Working Group (RCSMCE TWG), and its linkages with partners and other TWGs as relevant.

UNICEF co-leads the RCSMCE TWG which is chaired by the Ministry of Health (MOH). UNICEF is working closely with MOH, and all the RCSMCE TWG partners including CDC, IFRC/SSRC, WHO, IOM, GOAL, Internews, and several local NGOs, both for field implementation and monitoring, to support the overall coordination of all RCSMCE interventions.

A collaboration with CDC South Sudan CO and the Ebola Response Behavioral Science Task Force at CDC in Atlanta, which may include:

- Technical support through the deployment of a CDC risk communication technical advisor and/or behavioral scientist
- Remote technical assistance and online support and mentoring by senior technical risk communication and behavioral science staff from CDC Atlanta

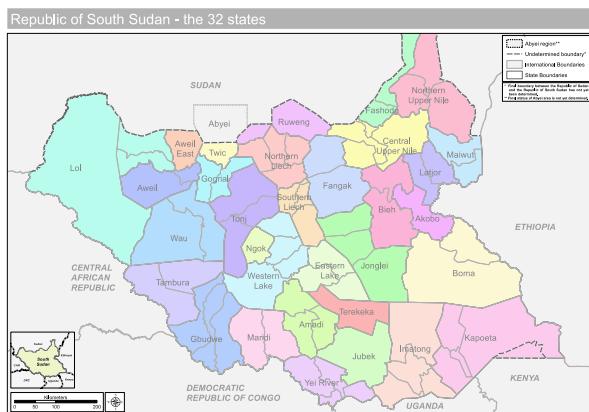
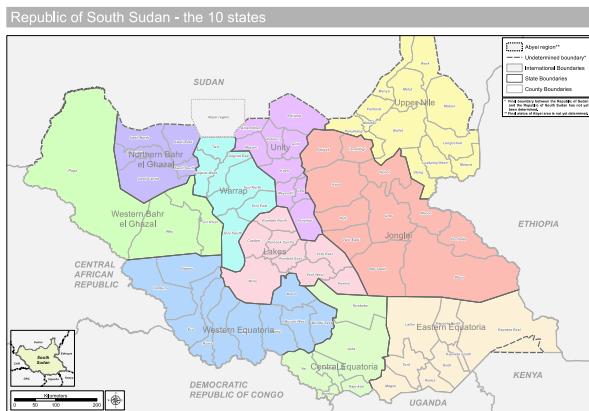
Financial and technical support for the recruitment and deployment of a social science research expert and a social science data manager in Juba. Moreover, UNICEF supervisors will be identified, in the UNICEF offices of Juba, Yei and Yambio and with the implementing partners, TRISS and ECSS, to support supervision of data collection.

f. Organizational capacity to implement the approach

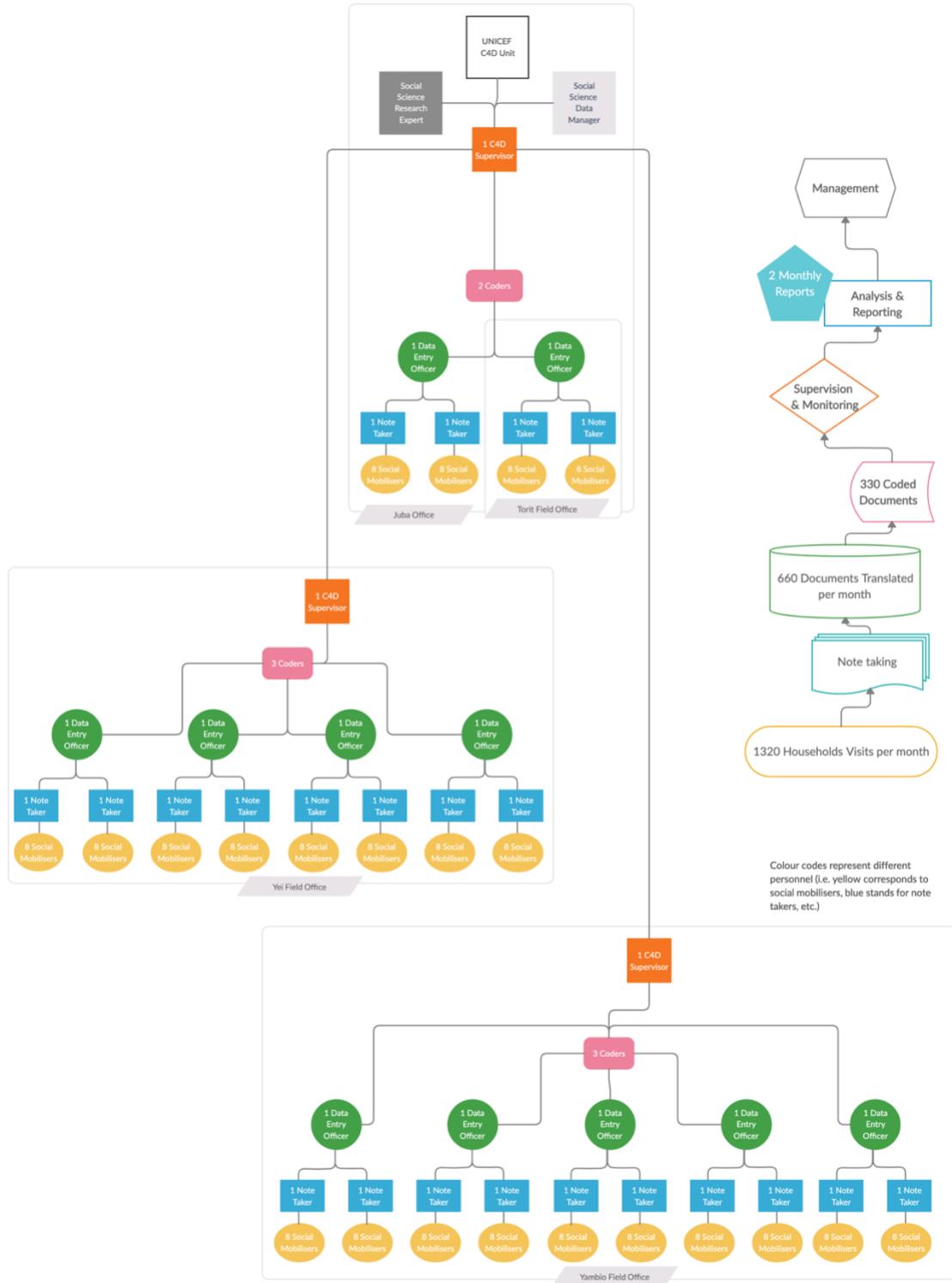
UNICEF has established an Integrated Community Mobilization Network (ICMN) of nearly 2,500 mobilizers and supervisors country-wide, which has been in operation for two years in the areas of EPI, polio, cholera, nutrition and EVD awareness/engagement in the high-risk States. Although social mobilizers focus on several topics during their awareness raising activities at households, the 176 social mobilizers will be trained to be focused on a variety of health topics, with special attention to COVID-19 and EVD, through a new protocol. For this reason, the most skilled 176 social mobilizers will be selected among the 2500 social mobilizers. UNICEF has been implementing a rumor tracking tool and collecting data from the community during the past year. This tool will provide a basis for the new protocol and the information collected. UNICEF has already recruited two managers, a social anthropologist and a social sciences data manager.

Additionally, 176 social mobilisers and 22 note takers will be selected from the existing pool of social mobilisers. Eight coders and eleven data entry officers will be recruited.

Attachment 1. Republic of South Sudan – Counties



Attachment 2. Extended Data Flowchart per 11 counties



UNICEF Community Feedback to Inform COVID-19 Response Efforts – August 2020

Community Misperceptions on the COVID-19, South Sudan COVID-19 Response

This report describes community misperceptions on COVID-19 during the outbreak in two time periods: April 16-May 15 and May 16-June 15, 2020. Misperceptions have been identified on the following different aspects of COVID-19 response: existence of COVID-19 in South Sudan, how the virus is spread, its signs and symptoms, the prevention, the sources, the treatments, the mortality risk.

Data Source and Analysis

Data source

The data include community feedback from a database of 317 comments made about COVID-19 misperceptions by people living in three counties of South Sudan, Yei, Kajo-Keji and Juba. The data have been collected for a pilot survey aimed at implementing a methodology for data collection in remote areas through the ONA system and the use of Tablets. While developing an innovative protocol, data have been collected through paper forms of community feedback. Misperception collected during two different main time periods have been compared: April 16-May 15 and May 16-June 15, 2020. The pilot survey has been conducted from early April to early June 2020. These records are taken from a larger dataset of 878 comments made by the community during the activities of social mobilization organized by UNICEF for COVID-19 response. Respectively, in Juba, 275 comments have been collected, in Kajo-Keji, 101 comments and in Yei, 502 comments.

Creation of the analysis dataset

During the piloting period, a codebook has been developed, which highlighted the differences between correct knowledge, misperceptions and questions with regards to several aspects of COVID-19 response. Comments from the dataset were filtered through the query tool in order to identify those coded through the following 7 misperceptions-related codes: 1. misperceptions about the existence of COVID-19 in South Sudan, 2. misperceptions about how the virus is spread, 3. misperceptions about its signs and symptoms, 4. misperceptions about the prevention, 5. misperceptions about the sources, 6. misperceptions about the treatments, 7. misperceptions about the mortality risk. Any comment coded with the above-mentioned codes and with the two specified time periods was included in the dataset and distinguished temporarily.

Qualitative data analysis

Each of the 317 comments were synthetized in a code cooccurrence table, which showed the correspondence between time periods codes and each of the seven main misperceptions. In the following summary, representative comments are shown.

	Time period 1: April 16-May 15, 2020	Time period 2: May 16-June 15, 2020	Total
Misperception about the existence of COVID-19 in SSD	3	8	11
Misperceptions about how COVID-19 is spread	27	2	29
Misperceptions about signs and symptoms of COVID-19	2	2	4
Misperceptions about artificial, natural or supernatural sources of COVID-19	34	3	37
COVID-19 has an artificial source	20	3	23
COVID-19 has natural sources	11	0	11
COVID-19 has supernatural sources	3	0	3
Misperceptions about prevention of COVID-19	20	17	37
Misperceptions about treatments	49	37	86
Non-biomedical/Traditional treatment types of COVID-19	22	29	51
Supernatural options of treating COVID-19	9	5	14
Misperceptions of mortality risk for COVID-19	9	2	11
Total misperceptions	209	108	317

Table 1. Misperceptions by time periods

During the first period of the outbreak, several misperceptions referred to **how COVID-19 spread, its sources and origins**, with a vast majority of rumors referring to artificial sources, such as political and economic reasons also inspired by conspiracy theories. Another main rumor questions the animal origin of COVID-19. However, these rumors have a relevant decrease from the first to the second time period of the pilot.

Other misperceptions are diffused in the community with regards to **prevention and treatments**, with an increased attention paid to non-biomedical/traditional treatment types of COVID-19. A wide variety of food and drinks are thought to be able to prevent and/or treat COVID-19.

Misperception 1. Existence of COVID-19 in SSD

Time period 1: April 16-May 15, 2020

Statements about the non-existence of COVID-19 in South Sudan with reference to specific areas (2 quotations)

- “I heard that coronavirus is not in Yei and it will not reach Yei.” (St Mary, Yei, late April 2020)
- “I heard that people in Yei are believing that the disease exists.” (Jigomoni, Yei, early-May 2020)

Distrust towards the Government with regards to the non-existence of COVID-19 (1 quotation)

- “She wasted her money for school fees for nothing and there is no COVID-19 in South Sudan, government should refund their school fees back.” (Kator West, Juba, early-May 2020)

Time period 2: May 16-June 15, 2020

Statements about the non-existence of COVID-19 in South Sudan (3 quotations)

- “What can you do to people who believe that Corona virus is not there?” (Juba, late-May 2020)
- “And also there are people who are saying this disease is not their.” (Luri Rokwe, Juba, late-May 2020)
- “I heard that people who has COVID-19 is still in their house, meaning there's no COVID-19.” (Hai Buluk, Juba, early-June 2020)
- “Other people don't believe in Coronavirus; they said it is just wasting of time.” (Juba, late-May 2020)
- “If COVID-19 exists, what is the role of Government on protecting people from the virus?” (Juba, early-June 2020)

- **Lack of media information on the existence of COVID-19 in South Sudan (2 quotations)**
- “If COVID-19 exists, how comes that we had not the live coverage of COVID-19 patient in SSTV ?” (Hai Buluk, Juba, early-June 2020)
- “They did not see anybody with COVID-19 in South Sudan on TV, like other countries.” (Juba, early-June 2020)

Recommendation 1.

Misinformation about the non-existence of COVID-19 in specific areas of South Sudan highlights the **need to increase risk awareness locally**. Inhabitants of villages may feel less at-risk to get infected by COVID-19 due to the lack of information on the spread of the illness in their Payam.

Therefore, **more accurate information per Payam** should be provided, through peer-to-peer, media and online communication channels.

Furthermore, the **role of the institutions** in COVID-19 response needs to be highlighted during awareness raising activities in order to address concerns, fears and reasons for distrust.

Misperception 2. Spread of COVID-19

Time period 1: April 16-May 15, 2020

Overrepresentation of the rise of COVID-19 cases in their area (1 quotation)

- “I heard that there are about 300 confirmed cases of COVID-19 in Juba in one day.” (Kator West, Juba, early-May 2020)

Spread of COVID-19 in South Sudan from neighboring countries and counties (4 quotations)

- “I heard that COVID-19 was brought by a Kenyan driver to the country.” (Kanjoro, Yei, early-May 2020)
- “I heard that COVID-19 came from Kenya to reach South Sudan.” (Lire, Kajo-Keji, early-May 2020)
- “We are worried of people coming from Juba who will bring it to us.” (Kajo-Keji, early May 2020)
- “I think it is the human beings who are the ones who brought this virus to the country, not any other animal.” (Hai Delep, Yei, late April 2020)

Spread of COVID-19 worldwide (4 quotations)

- “I believe that this virus is a manufactured disease from the Canadian laboratories and spread to China from America.” (Dilimoko, Yei, early-May 2020)
- “I heard that Coronavirus came from India.” (Lire, Kajo-Keji, early-May 2020)
- “The country where this virus came from should stand questionable, because it has infected many people in the world.” (Lire, Kajo-Keji, early-May 2020)
- “I heard that coronavirus started from Egypt on 28/10/2019.” (Kanjoro, Yei, early-May 2020)

Transmission of COVID-19 through contact with objects (3 quotations)

- “Those making the local breads on the roadside are the ones most likely to be infected, because they receive money before washing hands; they turn back to continue baking the bread.” (Jigomoni, Yei, early-May 2020)
- “How do we handle the issue of money, since it circulates over the whole country?” (Jigomoni, Yei, early-May 2020)
- “I believe that honeybees can cause COVID-19 and Ebola because the bees used to collect their honey from different wild trees.” (Lire, Kajo-Keji, early-May 2020)

Spread of COVID-19 for economic reasons (1 quotation)

- “I think COVID-19 spread to South Sudan because we like money, our aim as South Sudanese is to get funds from the International NGOs.” (Hai Leben, Yei, late April 2020)

Time period 2: May 16-June 15, 2020

Misperceptions with regards to the transmission of COVID-19 through contact with objects (1 quotation)

- “Circulations of money can increase the likelihood of COVID-19 cases.” (Kator Centre, Juba, late-May 2020)

Recommendation 2. Misperception about the spread of COVID-19

Initial rumors explored different aspects with regards to the spread of COVID-19, such as the contamination from neighboring countries and areas, the international diffusion of the virus, the transmission through objects, the economic or political origins, among others.

Nevertheless, these rumors **seem to have decreased** over time. This reduced number of community misperceptions on the spread of COVID-19 may be due to the correct and updated information.

Therefore, the **awareness raising efforts tackling misinformation on the spread of COVID-19 should persist** through the current channels of communication.

Misperception 3. Signs and Symptoms of COVID-19

Time period 1: April 16-May 15, 2020

Confusion with the signs and symptoms of other diseases (1 quotation)

- “I heard that the disease is similar to a previous disease called like HIV/AIDS which [has] no cure.” (Kanjoro, Yei, early-May 2020)

Racist beliefs associated to the risk of death (2 quotations)

- “I heard that this virus is not killing the blacks because their blood is strong and they take kombo sodium chloride.” (Luparate 1, Yei, late April 2020)
- “I heard that in Europe only the whites are dying, but the blacks are not dying because they have strong body immunity.” (Hai Gezira, Yei, late April 2020)

Overrepresentation of the mortality risk (3 quotations)

- “I heard that anyone infected with Covid-19 will not survive” (Gizira, Yei, late April 2020)
- “I believe that, if COVID-19 reaches Yei, it will kill many people because people in Yei are not practicing preventive measures.” (Hai Gezira, Yei, late April 2020)
- “I believe COVID-19 and EVD are dangerous diseases that can both kill.” (Lire, Kajo-Keji, early May 2020)

Underrepresentation of mortality risk (2 quotations)

- “I heard of COVID-19 being in Juba with no reported death.” (Lire, Kajo-Keji, early May 2020)
- “Our country registers no death so why are we fearing of this COVID-19?” (Lire, Kajo-Keji, early May 2020)

Time period 2: May 16-June 15, 2020

Confusion with the signs and symptoms of other diseases (1 quotation)

- “I heard that COVID-19 can burn someone blood.” (Kator, Juba, early-May 2020)

Underrepresentation of mortality risk (1 quotation)

- “People who have COVID-19 are not dying here in South Sudan.” (Kator Centre, Juba, late May 2020)

Difficulty in identifying the risk of death due to COVID-19 or other diseases (1 quotation)

- “People are dying silently in their houses, is COVID-19 killing them or something else? (Hai Buluk, Juba, early-June 2020)

Recommendation 3. Misperception about signs and symptoms of COVID-19

Signs and symptoms of COVID-19 **may be confused with other diseases**. The community needs clear information on the ones that are typical of COVID-19 and on how to distinguish them from the signs and symptoms of other diseases, in particular the main killing illnesses in South Sudan.

The rate of mortality risk for COVID-19 is **sometimes misrepresented by the community**. They need to get a realistic perception of the mortality risk, for example with data from other African and neighboring countries.

Misperception 4. Prevention of COVID-19

Time period 1: April 16-May 15, 2020

Unproven beliefs that some food may prevent COVID-19, i.e. alcohol, lemon, kombo, local herbs, such as “tegiri”, “majeje”, “goti” and “lomureju” (10 quotations)

- “I heard that the virus in general fears bitter sources of foods like the “tegiri” blood night shade.” (Jigomoni, Yei, early May 2020)
- “Taking a traditional herb like Ant malia (majeje).” (Jigomoni, Yei, early May 2020)
- “I heard drinking alcohol prevent the spread of COVID-19.” (Lire, Kajo-Keji, early May 2020)
- “I heard people saying that eating and taking lemon juice can prevent COVID-19.” (Lire, Kajo-Keji, early May 2020)
- “We have resorted to alcohol as a way to prevent Coronavirus.” (Lire, Kajo-Keji, early May 2020)
- “I think COVID-19 will not infect any person, because the kind of food we eat is cooked with kombo (Common Salt).” (Lire, Kajo-Keji, early May 2020)
- “I believe that I’m very safe from COVID-19 because I eat lemon daily.” (Kajo-Keji, early May 2020)
- “I also smoke and drink which can fight COVID-19 in case of any attack.” (Kajo-Keji, early May 2020)
- “We boil local herbs (goti & lomureju) and drink it to protect us from contracting COVID-19.” (Kajo-Keji, early May 2020.)
- “I drink alcohol and I am very sure that COVID-19 will not attack me.” (Kajo-Keji, early May 2020)

Wrong belief that medicines may transmit COVID-19 or may be deadly (2 quotations)

- “I heard that the drugs that are imported to Yei have the virus of COVID-19” (Jigomoni, Yei, early May 2020)
- “We don’t want the vaccine because they are planning to kill Africans.” (Lire, Kajo-Keji, early May 2020)

Limited preventive practice to hand washing or physical activity (3 quotations)

- “We only believe in hand washing.” (Lire, Kajo-Keji, early May 2020)
- “We wash our hands with lemon juice to prevent infection from COVID-19.” (early May 2020, Kajo-Keji)
- “This COVID-19 can’t infect us because we do exercise like digging in the field daily.” (Lire, Kajo-Keji, early May 2020)

Time period 2: May 16-June 15, 2020

Unproven beliefs that some food may prevent COVID-19, i.e. tea with salt, fruits, lemon, ginger, traditional medicine, aloe vera, garlic, mango leaves, hot water, tomato, onion, tree leaves, alcohol (16 quotations)

- “I heard that eating or using traditional method of food and drink can prevent you from contracting COVID-19.” (Kator East, Juba, late-May 2020)
- “I heard that tea with salt can treat and prevent COVID-19.” (Kator, Juba, late-May 2020)

- “I heard that all types of fruits are necessary for prevention of COVID-19.” (late May 2020, Kator, Juba)
- “I heard that eating lemon can prevent COVID-19.” (Kator, Juba, late-May 2020)
- “I heard that drinking of ginger and traditional medicine can prevent COVID-19.” (Hai Buluk, Juba, early June 2020)
- “I heard that drinking aloe vera, garlic and mango leaves mixed together can prevent and cure COVID-19.” (Hai Buluk, Juba, early June 2020)
- “I heard that drinking hot water can prevent you from COVID-19.” (Hai Buluk, Juba, early June 2020)
- “I heard that also drinking lemon can prevent and protect you from COVID-19.” (Hai Buluk, Juba, early June 2020)
- “Eating tomatoes and onions can boost your immune system that can help you in a fight against COVID-19.” (Hai Buluk, Juba, early June 2020)
- “Drinking of lemon with ginger.” (Juba, early June 2020)
- “Different combination of tree leaves to be boiled and drunk.” (Juba, early June 2020)
- “Eating bananas, oranges.” (Juba, early June 2020)
- “Drinking hot water.” (Juba, early June 2020)
- “Eating ginger and garlic.” (Juba, early June 2020)
- “Drinking alcohol.” (Juba, early June 2020)
- “Drinking of traditional medicine.” (Juba, early June 2020)

Recommendation 4. Misperception about the prevention of COVID-19

Community strongly believes that some food and drinks may prevent COVID-19. Feedbacks need to be given to the community with the aim to **avoid the risk of abuse of some substances**.

Particular attention should be paid to products that may affect their health and economic condition, such as **alcohol, salt and sugar**.

Misperception 5. Artificial, natural or supernatural sources

5.1. COVID-19 has an artificial source

Time period 1: April 16-May 15, 2020

Misperception that COVID-19 has been manufactured like a weapon or a missile, especially for conflicts between China and the USA (7 quotations)

- “I heard that the Chinese fired a missile into the air following the direction of USA; unfortunately, it started killing them first because it infected the people who were operating the missile, and after some time it reached USA that's why more people are dying in USA.” (Luparate 3, Yei, late April 2020)
- “I heard that corona is a manufactured virus by the Chinese, for example some years ago they manufactured the ak47.” (Luparate 3, Yei, late April 2020)
- “I heard that COVID-19 is a man-made (manufactured in the laboratories) virus to kill the Americans because the Chinese had war history.” (St Mary, Yei, late April 2020)
- “I heard that the person who manufactured the chemical weapon in China died immediately when the missile exploded before firing it to America.” (Luparate 1, Yei, late April 2020)
- “I heard that the Chinese manufactured the virus in form of chemical missile to destroy America but the missile exploded in China before the time.” (Luparate 2, Yei, late April 2020)
- “I believe that this virus is a manufactured disease from the Canadian laboratories and spread to China from America.” (Dilimoko, Yei, early May 2020)
- “The COVID-19 is introduced to test powers between China and America.” (Lire, Kajo-Keji, early May 2020)

- “This virus is intentionally produced to fight the world powers like America.” (Lire, Kajo-Keji, early May 2020)

Misperception that COVID-19 has been produced to reduce the population, either the Chinese one or the elderly (2 quotations)

- “I heard that COVID-19 was man-made (genetically modified) in order to reduce the large population in China.” (x2) (Kanjoro, Yei, late April 2020)
- “We heard that this disease is introduced to reduce the number of elderly people in the world.” (Kajo-Keji, early May 2020)

Misperception that COVID-19 has been manufactured for economic or political reasons (3 quotations)

- “I heard that COVID-19 was manufactured with an aim of creating business to the NGOs.” (Luparate 3, Yei, late April 2020)
- “I sometimes believe that this virus is a game between politicians.” (Lire, Kajo-Keji, early May 2020)
- “I believe that this virus is made from China to fight the world economy.” (Lire, Kajo-Keji, early May 2020)

Generic misperception that COVID-19 is produced by humans or scientists. It may be differentiated from diseases or viruses mentioned in the Bible or created by God (4 quotations)

- “I believe that anything called virus is not from God but a man-made sickness.” (Jigomoni, Yei, early May 2020)
- “Previously the diseases were from God but nowadays the diseases are manufactured by the scientist.” (Jigomoni, Yei, early May 2020)
- “I believed that COVID-19 is a manufactured virus that is why it is still new and spreading through body contact.” (Ronyi, Yei, early May 2020)
- “I know COVID-19 was a manufactured virus, because it is not among the list of diseases mentioned in the Bible, like HIV, malaria.” (Luparate 3, Yei, early May 2020)

Time period 2: May 16-June 15, 2020

Misperception of COVID-19 being manufactured in China (1 quotation)

- “I heard from someone that COVID-19 is created in China lab.” (Kator, Juba, late May 2020)

Misperception that COVID-19 has been produced to kill Africans (1 quotation)

- “COVID-19 was designed specifically to kill Africans.” (Kator, Juba, late May 2020)

Generic misperception that COVID-19 is produced by humans (1 quotation)

- “I heard that COVID-19 is a man-made virus.” (Kator, Juba, late May 2020)

5.2. COVID-19 has natural sources

Time period 1: April 16-May 15, 2020

Wrong beliefs or doubts about the causes of COVID-19 transmission, for example through animals (8 quotations)

- “I heard that the Chinese eat every kind of animals such as frogs, bats, monkeys, tortoise, snakes, all these combined together resulted into COVID-19 outbreak” (St Mary, Yei, late April 2020)
- “How many animals were having the Virus before it spread to human?” (Hai Leben, Yei, late April 2020)

- “If Chinese bats and snakes have the Virus of Covid-19, does it mean the bats in South Sudan also have the corona virus?” (Hai Leben, Yei, late April 2020)
- “We would like to know where exactly the bat got the virus from.” (Hai Leben, Yei, late April 2020)
- “What is the name of the animal that caused COVID-19?” (Yei, late April 2020)
- “I heard that the bats of South Sudan do not have corona virus because they are too small compared to those of China which are big enough to accommodate the Coronavirus” (Mission Area, Yei, late April 2020)
- “On what animal was the virus contained in Juba?” (Kanjoro, Yei, early May 2020)
- “We want WHO to tell us the animal that caused corona and shouldn’t be eaten, so that we stop eating it.” (Jigomoni, Yei, early May 2020)

Belief that COVID-19 is caused by food (2 quotations)

- “I heard that COVID-19 is got from eating dead animals and drinking dirty water.” (Lire, Kajo-Keji, early May 2020)
- “I believe that honey bee can cause COVID-19 and Ebola because the bees used to collect its honey from different wild trees.” (Lire, Kajo-Keji, early May 2020)

5.3. COVID-19 has supernatural sources

Time period 1: April 16-May 15, 2020

Belief that COVID-19 has been caused by negative supernatural forces, i.e. demons, Satan, Evil (3 quotations)

- “I think this year is just a curse from God. It is a year where every sort of Evil has to happen, e.g. dying of people, outbreak of unexplained viruses, murder, rape, etc.” (Hai Tacha, Yei, late April 2020)
- “I heard that COVID-19 was a demonic contamination of the atmosphere.” (x2) (Hai Gezira, Yei, late April 2020)
- “I believe Satan is taking over the whole world hence closure of religious institutions.” (Hai Gezira, Yei, late April 2020)

Recommendation 5. Misperceptions about artificial, natural or supernatural sources

Misperceptions about the sources of COVID-19 were particularly diffused during the **first time period**, with several references to **artificial and natural sources**.

A possible hypothesis for their **decrease during the second time period** might be that these rumors have been correctly addressed through community mobilisers and other communicative channels.

However, due to **possible new rise** of this kind of rumors, it is recommended to provide **correct verified feedbacks**, especially with regards to **conspiracy theories** and **animal sources** of COVID-19.

Misperception 6. Treatments

Time period 1: April 16-May 15, 2020

Misperceptions with regards to possible vaccine which may transmit COVID-19 (2 quotations)

- “I heard that the vaccine of corona was sent to Yei and Lainya for trial and people refused to be vaccinated since the vaccine has the virus.” (x2) (Kanjoro, Yei, late April 2020)
- “The vaccine will introduce another Coronavirus.” (Lire, Kajo-Keji, early May 2020)

Racist beliefs that the vaccine for Africans and black people is different from the one for white people or that its testing should be done either on black or on white people (5 quotations)

- “I heard that the vaccine for COVID-19 is out but needed to be tested first on the Africans by the whites, because they are black people with strong immunity.” (Dilimoko, Yei, early May 2020)
- “Why does the country that introduced or produced coronavirus disease want to test the vaccine in Africa?” (Kajo-Keji, early May 2020)
- “I suggest that if the vaccine for COVID-19 is available, they should first test with the whites because it was their disease.” (Dilimoko, Yei, early May 2020)
- “I heard that they have introduced a vaccine to be tested in Africa.” (Kajo-Keji, early-May 2020)
- “The people who produce COVID-19 vaccine should first test with themselves before bringing it to Africa.” (Lire, Kajo-Keji, early May 2020)

6.1. Non-biomedical/Traditional treatment types of COVID-19

Time period 1: April 16-May 15, 2020

Misperceptions about form of treatment made with food, such as alcohol, hot drinks, hot water with lemon and salt, tea, oils (25 quotations)

- “I also smoke and drink which can fight COVID-19 in case of any attack.” (Kajo-Keji, early May 2020)
- “I drink alcohol and I am very sure that COVID-19 will not attack me.” (Kajo-Keji, early May 2020)
- “We wash our hands with lemon juice to prevent infection from COVID-19.” (Kajo-Keji, early May 2020)
- “I think people should drink hot drink for prevention of COVID-19.” (Kator West, Juba, early May 2020)
- “I heard that the use of hot water with lemon and salt can treat COVID-19; the virus fear acidic substance.” (Kator West, Juba, early May 2020)
- “I heard that an herbal medicine has been discovered in Madagascar which is on the market now.” (x2) (Kanjoro, Yei, early May 2020)
- “I heard that the virus in general fears bitter sources of foods like the “tegiri” blood night shade.” (Jigomoni, Yei, early May 2020)
- “Taking a traditional herb like Ant malia (majeje).” (Jigomoni, Yei, early May 2020)
- “I heard that taking muringa alofera daily cures COVID-19.” (Jigomoni, Yei, early May 2020)
- “I heard that people in villages are drinking alcohol as a prevention measure of COVID-19” (Jigomoni, Yei, early May 2020)
- “I heard that tea leaves - when mixed with salt - can cure COVID-19.” (St Mary, Yei, late April 2020)
- “I heard that coronavirus disease can be cured, when you take tea leaves mixed with salt and some local herbs such as jinga.” (x2) (Jansuk, Yei, late April 2020)
- “I heard coronavirus can be cured when you eat “mile kombo” sodium chloride.” (Hai Delep, Yei, late April 2020)
- “I heard that COVID-19 will be cured when you take marijuana mixed with alcohol and the virus will not work.” (Luparate 3, Yei, early May 2020)
- “I heard that “lobutere and tegeri” is a good African sauce especially in South Sudan. It contains a chemical which can surely treat COVID-19.” (Ronyi, Yei, early May 2020)
- “I heard drinking alcohol prevent the spread of COVID-19.” (Lire, Kajo-Keji, early May 2020)
- “COVID-19 can be treated with local herbs, like Majigo, Luguo and Lomureju.” (Lire, Kajo-Keji, early May 2020)
- “I heard people saying that eating and taking lemon juice can prevent COVID-19.” (Lire, Kajo-Keji, early May 2020)

- “We have resorted to alcohol as a way to prevent Coronavirus.” (Lire, Kajo-Keji, early May 2020)
- “I think COVID-19 will not infect any person, because the kind of food we eat is cooked with kombo (Common Salt).” (Lire, Kajo-Keji, early May 2020)
- “I believe that I'm very safe from COVID-19 because I eat lemon daily.” (Kajo-Keji, early May 2020)
- “We boil local herbs (Goti & Lomureju) and drink it to protect us from contracting COVID-19.” (Kajo-Keji, early May 2020)
- “I believe we are protected with our local herbs like “Majigo & Luguwo” to prevent COVID-19.” (Kajo-Keji, early May 2020)
- “I am not happy because some people said that alcohol is a drug for coronavirus, making elders, youth and children at least take litters of local breweries.” (Hai Tacha, Yei, late April 2020)
- “I heard that people's hair is a medicine for COVID-19 when you burn it and mix with hot water it turns oils”. (Hai Gezira, Yei, late April 2020)

Time period 2: May 16-June 15, 2020

Misperceptions about form of treatment made with food, such as lemon, Vitamin C, hot sauce, local ash, alcohol (local siko), tea without sugar, lemon tea, ginger, tea with salt, fruits, hot water, aloe vera, garlic, mango leaves, tomato, onion, tea leaves (29 quotations)

- “We heard that eating of lemon and other vitamins C fruits can treat Coronavirus.” (Kator Centre, Juba, late May 2020)
- “I heard that - eating hot sauce mixed with local ash (filtered liquid food ingredient) - the hotness and acidity of it can treat COVID-19.” (Kator Centre, Juba, late May 2020)
- “If someone takes alcohol (local siko), he/she will not be infected with COVID-19.” (Kator Centre, Juba, late May 2020)
- “I heard that drinking tea without sugar can prevent someone from COVID-19.” (Kator East, Juba, late May 2020)
- “We heard that drinking lemon tea with ginger can treat COVID-19.” (Kator East, Juba, late May 2020)
- “If you eat our local traditional food, it can treat and prevent you from COVID-19.” (Kator East, Juba, late May 2020)
- “I heard that eating or using traditional method of food and drink can prevent you from contracting COVID-19.” (Kator East, Juba, late May 2020)
- “I heard that eating too much salt can cure COVID-19.” (Kator East, Juba, late May 2020)
- “We heard that drinking tea without sugar can prevent you from COVID-19.” (Kator East, Juba, late May 2020)
- “I heard that people from the neighboring countries are using lemon tea with ginger to treat COVID-19.” (Kator East, Juba, late May 2020)
- “I heard that tea with salt can treat and prevent COVID-19.” (Kator, Juba, late May 2020)
- “I heard that combination of lemon and ginger can cure COVID-19.” (Kator, Juba, late May 2020)
- “I heard that all types of fruits are necessary for prevention of COVID-19.” (Kator, Juba, late May 2020)
- “I heard that consuming traditional medicine can treat COVID-19.” (Kator, Juba, late May 2020)
- “I also heard that consuming hot water mixed with salt can cure COVID-19.” (Kator, Juba, late May 2020)
- “I heard that eating lemon can prevent COVID-19.” (Kator, Juba, late May 2020)
- “Eating traditional food for prevention of COVID-19.” (x3) (Kator, Juba, late May 2020)
- “I heard that drinking of ginger and traditional medicine can prevent COVID-19.” (Hai Buluk, Juba, early June 2020)
- “I heard that drinking aloe vera, garlic and mango leaves mixed together can prevent and cure COVID-19.” (Hai Buluk, Juba, early June 2020)
- “I heard that drinking hot water can prevent you from COVID-19.” (Hai Buluk, Juba, early June 2020)

- “I heard that also drinking lemon can prevent and protect you from COVID-19.” (Hai Buluk, Juba, early June 2020)
- “Eating tomatoes and onions can boost your immune system that can help you in a fight against COVID-19.” (Hai Buluk, Juba, early June 2020)
- “Drinking of traditional medicine.” (Juba, early June 2020)
- “Drinking of lemon with ginger.” (Juba, early June 2020)
- “Different combination of tree leaves to be boiled and drunk.” (Juba, early June 2020)
- “Eating bananas, oranges.” (Juba, early June 2020)
- “Drinking hot water.” (June, early June 2020)
- “Eating ginger and garlic.” (Juna, early June 2020)
- “Drinking alcohol.” (Juba, early June 2020)

6.2. Supernatural options of treating COVID-19

Time period 1: April 16-May 15, 2020

Belief that religious practices can cure or prevent COVID-19 (11 quotations)

- “Prayers alone can stop the spread of COVID-19 in South Sudan.” (Hai Leben, Yei, late April 2020)
- “I believe that, when you greet an infected person and mention the name of Jesus, you will be safe from the Coronavirus” (Mission Area, Yei, late April 2020)
- “By grace of God, our health condition is ok and I know it will always be well since God is the only creator who saves lives.” (Kanjoro, Yei, late April 2020)
- “I think COVID-19 is real; it kills when your time of death comes as planned by God.” (Luparate 3, Yei, late April 2020)
- “I believe that it's only God who can cure COVID-19.” (St Mary, Yei, late April 2020)
- “I believe that it's only God who can cure this disease, but when everybody puts his or her trust in Him.” (Jansuk, Yei, late April 2020)
- “I know COVID-19 can only be cured when you pray hard day and night.” (Luparate 1, Yei, late April 2020)
- “I believe in our African Gods to protect our family and people from COVID-19.” (Kajo-Keji, early May 2020)
- “I pray to my ancestors to protect us during the period of COVID-19.” (Kajo-Keji, early May 2020)
- “I believe in my prayer, so - by praying - COVID-19 will not infect me.” (Kator West, Juba, early May 2020)
- “We pray our ancestors for protection.” (Lire, Kajo-Keji, early May 2020)

Time period 2: May 16-June 15, 2020

Belief that religious practices can cure or prevent COVID-19 (3 quotations)

- “We heard that believing in prayer can lead to healing COVID-19, if you contracted it.” (Kator Centre, Juba, late May 2020)
- “I don't believe in any rumors of COVID-19; only God can help in this difficult situation.” (Hai Gunya, Juba, early June 2020)
- “Only God can help in this difficult moment not the government or the Ministry of Health.” (Juba, early June 2020)

Recommendation 6. Misperceptions about treatments

The misperceptions about possible treatments occupy a key place in the community's conversations with a wide variety of solutions mainly focused on **natural resources and traditional methods**. The application of these treatment may imply **the risk to abuse the consumption of unhealthy food**.

Information on the health consequences due to the excessive use of substances such as alcohol, salt and sugar should be provided.

Furthermore, some racist beliefs about the differences between treatments for black and white people should be addressed through **appropriate anti-interracial hate and scientific information**.

Ethical Challenges in European Parliamentary Debates with regards to Audiovisual Sexual Risks on the Internet⁶

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ABSTRACT

Within European political debate on audio-visual sexual risks for children on the Internet, liberal positions on freedom of expression (Article 19 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, 1948) are balanced by protectionist approaches highlighting the need for children protection (UN Convention on the Rights of the Child, 1989). Moreover, other political issues are raised with regards to ethical concerns, such as cultural diversity, censorship, or children protection. These ethical considerations vary among European media systems, due to different historical, cultural and political backgrounds. The hypothesis is that ethical arguments reflect the diversity of historical and cultural background within the European scenario. Based on this assumption, the piece of research retrieved ethical reflections focused on the diffusion of audio-visual sexual risks on the Internet and the European media policy regarding children protection. A field study has been carried on the online archive of the plenary of the European Parliament. The corpus collected 45 European Parliamentary debates held between 2001 and 2016. Firstly, content analysis has been applied with ATLAS.ti; secondly, a hierarchical descendant classification has been carried on with the Alceste method (IRaMuTeQ). As a conclusion, freedom of expression was balanced with protectionist values, such as consumers' and children protection. The defence of these values was justified by violence prevention. Ethical issues were related to product placement and protection of cultural diversity. Four main themes are shown, such as the equilibrium between public service and commercial interests, child-pornography and sexual exploitation of children, the balance between freedom of expression and children protection, the relation between freedom of expression and censorship.

Keywords : *risk, media, children, Europe, Parliament.*

INTRODUCTION

The spread of harmful contents through the Internet has raised different forms of “public anxiety” and “moral panic” in public debates⁷, especially towards the use of violent and sexual materials

⁶ Please refer to this paper as follow: Pastorino, A. (under review - 2020). Ethical Challenges in European Parliamentary Debates with regards to Audiovisual Sexual Risks on the Internet, Jurnal Komunikasi: Malaysian Journal of Communication, Bangi, Malaysia.

⁷ Critcher, C. (2008). Moral Panic Analysis: Past Present and Future, *Sociology Compass*, 2 (4), 1127-1144

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among children and youths. Risky contents are building up as a danger for society, particularly since social media are becoming the first place of socialization for young people ; also, they are evolving into various forms of extreme violence, such as child-pornography. Public debate has tackled three sexual risks : child abuse material, grooming and online pornography⁸. Discourse on ethical issues related to the use of online technology has been guided by the idea of risk society theorized by Ulrich Beck.⁹ On this concern, some authors have underlined the need to renovate the forms of prevention towards the emergence of new risks in a socio-cultural liberal context.¹⁰ In European media representations, attention to risks prevails¹¹, but it varies according to cultural and historical variables¹². The online availability of sexual risks, such as pornography, child-pornography and grooming, appears to be one of the most urgent debates in policy-related challenges on the Internet, related to children protection. The issue has been tackled through a multi-stakeholders approach, aimed at implementing regulatory, self-regulatory or co-regulatory solutions¹³. Governments and public opinion in the US and the EU have been building up pressure to fight harmful contents in social media companies. These corporations have been responding in a self-regulatory manner, by forming coalitions, making declarations, signing agreements, and by calling for more media literacy so as to address the responsibility of users. Several solutions are proposed : legal initiatives through State intervention, especially in the cases where youths and children are involved ; self-regulatory initiatives from media services; media literacy promoted by public and civil society sectors, and aimed at risk prevention and youth empowerment through education ; co-regulation, involving all the above. The *Audiovisual Media Services Directive* (2010/13/EU, revised in 2016)¹⁴, the *Better Internet for Kids program* (COM 2012 196 final)¹⁵ and the *Directive on combating the sexual abuse and sexual exploitation of children and child pornography*¹⁶ are among the main European regulatory and self-regulatory initiatives regarding sexual risky contents, the youth and online companies. Further activities of media literacy and fight against child-pornography have been organized by the UNESCO and the UNICEF.

RESEARCH BACKGROUND

⁸ McKee, A., Albury, K. and Lumby, C. (2008). *The porn report*, Melbourne: Melbourne University Press.

⁹ Beck, U. (1992). *Risk society: Towards a New Modernity*, London: Sage Publications.

¹⁰ Frau-Meigs, D. (2011) *Socialisation des jeunes et éducation aux médias. Du bon usage des contenus et comportements à risque*. Erès : Paris.

¹¹ Haddon, L. and Stald, G. (2009). 'A comparative analysis of European press coverage of children and the Internet', *Journal of Children and Media*, Special Issue, 3 (4), 379-93.

¹² McKee, A., Albury, K. and Lumby, C. (2008). *The porn report*, Melbourne: Melbourne University Press.

¹³ O'Neill, B., Staksrud, E., McLaughlin, S. (2013, eds.) *Towards a Better Internet for Children? Policy Pillars, Players and Paradoxes*, Nordicom.

¹⁴ Directive 2010/13/EU of the European Parliament and of the Council of 10.03.2010 on the coordination of certain provisions laid down by law, regulation or administrative action in the Member States concerning the provision of audiovisual media Services (Audiovisual Media Services Directive)

¹⁵ European Commission (2012) Communication from the Commission to the European Parliament, the Council, the European Economic and Social Committee and the Committee of the Regions. European Strategy for a Better Internet for Children, Brussels.

¹⁶ Directive 2011/92/EU of the European Parliament and of the Council of 13 December 2011 on combating the sexual abuse and sexual exploitation of children and child pornography, and replacing Council Framework Decision 2004/68/JHA

Public debate, animated by pressure groups, politicians and media, has raised the attention on the need for a protectionist approach towards the access to online sexual contents, especially among children and youth. Following the spread of such media panics, effects research has provided evidence on children's use of sexual contents, by focusing on potential harmful consequences; and mass communication research has studied them in the perspective of risks and safety. An example of this second approach is the cross-cultural European survey EUKidsOnline¹⁷. Nonetheless, these theories have been criticized for being too deterministic, in comparison with liberal positions which emphasize the positive sides of exposure to sexual images; these latter perspectives defend the potentiality of breaking out repressive or normative expressions of sexuality¹⁸. Furthermore, limits of research results on sexual contents on children and youths are due to ethical implications and lack of empirical evidence of harm¹⁹. In what concern this latter aspect, the relation between sexual risk and psychological or physical harm strongly varies²⁰. Recent research on the use of sexual contents by young people show how they can express personal opinions on this subject²¹, and they are aware of the falseness of media representations. Ethnographic research has demonstrated how exposure to pornography is rarely traumatic, but it is part of sexual initiation or education and the possibility to experience pleasure²². Another major issue pointed out by several researchers is the ubiquitous access to pornographic content²³. Beyond pornography, new devices and social networking platforms have facilitated the diffusion of other modalities of exchange of audiovisual sexual contents, including self-produced material. "Sexting" is the term used to indicate the online exchange of sexual contents, which is increased by anonymity, if compared to other forms of sexual communication via other media²⁴. From the perspective of the youths, based on results of focus groups, sexting is described as a modality of filtration²⁵. News has often transmitted narratives on the diffusion of illegal sexual contents produced and diffused by adolescents²⁶. The scientific debate on sexting is controversial on the risky effects of this practice among young people; in specific cases, sexting may have harmful effects, for example when the images are sent accidentally to wrong receivers

¹⁷ Livingstone, S., Haddon, L., Görzig, A., & Ólafsson, K. (2011). *Risk and safety on the Internet: The perspective of European children. Full findings*. London: EU Kids Online Network.

¹⁸ Flood, M. (2009). *The harms of pornography exposure among children and young people*, Child Abuse Review, 18 (6).

¹⁹ Helsper, E. (2005). *R18 material: Its potential impact on people under 18. An overview of the available literature*, London: Ofcom.

²⁰ Livingstone, S. (2009). *Children and the Internet*, Cambridge: Polity Press.

²¹ Buckingham, D., & Bragg, S. (2004). *Young people, sex and the media: The facts of life?* London: Palgrave-Macmillan

²² Buckingham, D., Willett, R., Bragg, S. and Russell, R. (2010). *External research on sexualized goods aimed at children*, Equal Opportunities Committee Report; Rovolis, A., Tsaliki, L. (2012). *Pornography*. In S. Livingstone, L. Haddon, A. Görzig (Ed.) *Children, Risk and Safety on the Internet: Research and Policy Challenges in Comparative Perspective*. Bristol, UK: Policy Press.

²³ Ey, L.A., Cupit, C. G. (2011). 'Exploring young children's understanding of risks associated with internet usage and their concepts of management strategies', *Journal of Early Childhood Research*, 9 (1), pp 53-65.

²⁴ Subrahmanyam, K., and Smahel, D. (2011). *Digital youth: the role of media in development*, New York: Springer.

²⁵ Lenhart, A. (2009). *Teens and sexting: How and why minor teens are sending sexually suggestive nude and nearly nude images via text messaging*, Washington, DC: Pew Internet and American Life Project.

²⁶ Arcabascio, C. (2010). 'Sexting and teenagers: OMG R U GOING 2 JAIL???' , *Journal of Law & Technology*, 16 (3), 1-43; Sacco, Argudin, Maguire, and Tallon, 2010.

or are modified²⁷. Other arguments focus on the “hyper-sexualization” of the female body²⁸, sexualizing children or grooming through sexual images²⁹. Concerns towards online risk have not explored much on its link with sexual development in adolescence³⁰ or sexual education. Other authors distinguish criminal activity from sexual experimentation³¹. Despite the fact that sexting is not deeply surveyed within EUKidsOnline, some researchers of the network highlight the importance to pay attention to cross-cultural analysis, with particular attention towards interreligious diversity in European countries³². Nevertheless, reflections on the diffusion of online sexual contents in contemporary society go well beyond the widely adopted perspective of online risks and refer to crucial changes in social and intimate life; for instance, they may be related to phenomena such as the transformation of intimacy³³, the frailty of sentimental relationships³⁴, or the raise of emotional capitalism³⁵.

METHODOLOGY

Corpus construction

Database of parliamentary debates is composed of 45 texts, some of which supported by video recording. The 45 debates were downloaded through an online search on the Plenary section “debates and videos” of the European Parliament’s website. The search keywords were: “Internet”, “better internet for kids”, “safer internet”, “pornography” and “audiovisual”. After the first research by keywords, a second check verified the presence and use within the text of words, such as “child*”, “adolescen*”, “young” and “youth”. Several debates, especially the most recent ones, were not translated and every intervention was in the original language. Table 1 shows the search criteria adopted :

Table 1: Search criteria on the website of the European Parliament

Website	Keywords	Additional keywords ³⁶	Search type
European Parliament Section : Plenary	“Internet”	“child*” “adolescen*”	Mainly within

²⁷ Barak, A. (2005). ‘Sexual harassment on the Internet’, *Social Science Computer Review*, 23 (1); Ybarra, M., Mitchell, K., and Wolak, J. (2006). Examining characteristics and associated distress related to internet harassment, *Pediatrics*, 118 (4), 1169-77.

²⁸ Ringrose, J. (2010). ‘Slut, whores, fat slags and Playboy bunnies: teen girls’ negotiations of “sexy” on social networking sites and at school’. In C. Jackson, C. Paechter and E. Renold (eds) *Girls and Education*, 3-16, (pp. 170-82) Maidenhead: Open University Press, p. 179

²⁹ Davidson, J. and Gottschalk, P. (2010). *Internet child abuse: Current research and policy*, London: Routledge.

³⁰ Stern, S. (2002). Sexual selves on the world wide web: adolescent girls’ home pages as sites for sexual self-expression. In J. Brown, J. Steele and K. Walsh-Childers (Ed.) *Sexual teens, sexual media*, (pp. 265-85) Mahwah: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.

³¹ Wolak, J. et Finkelhor, D. (2011) ‘Sexting : a typology’, *Research Bulletin* (March), Durham, NH: Crimes Against Children Research Center, University of New Hampshire.

³² Livingstone, S., and Görzig, A. (2012). Sexting: the exchange of sexual messages online. In S. Livingstone, H. Leslie, A. Görzig (Ed.) *Children, Risk and Safety on the Internet: Research and Policy Challenges in Comparative Perspective*. Bristol, UK: Policy Press.

³³ Giddens, A. (1992) *The Transformation of Intimacy. Sexuality, Love and Eroticism in Modern Societies*, Diane Publishing Company, Collingdale.

³⁴ Bauman, Z. (2003) *Liquid Love. On the Frailty of Human Bonds*, Wiley.

³⁵ Illouz, E. (2007) *Cold intimacy: the making of emotional capitalism*. Polity, Cambridge.

³⁶ A double-check was made through a second search on the text.

Subsection : Debates and videos	"better Internet for kids" "safer Internet" "pornography" "audiovisual"	"young" "youth"	the text
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Following the first selection of debates, an email was sent to the *Citizens Enquiries Unit (Ask EP)* of the European Parliament³⁷ to request additional information, such as potential availability of unpublished online documents, translations of the most recent documents and the legislative procedure of the European Parliament. The answer indicated that documents had been produced and received since 3 December 2001, multilingual documents were published as verbatim reports, and were not translated into all languages. Nevertheless, the recording of the plenary debate was accessible on the Web TV of the European Parliament, where language may be chosen from a drop-down menu in the "Listen in" box below the video. Consequently, the procedure adopted consisted first in translating the text through *Google Translate*, then in watching the video and correcting the text. More in detail, the first step consisted in translating each written speech in the official language through Google Translate, to have a general idea of the content. The second step revised and corrected the text, by listening to the spontaneous translation which accompanied the videos.

A final revision of documents distinguished them according to their agendas, titles and main themes. Through a careful content analysis, three thematic areas were identified: 1. audiovisual policy and regulation; 2. children protection and safer internet use of the Internet; 3. fight against child pornography.

Although the entire corpus may not be made available in the context of this paper, a selection according to subthemes and dates is proposed in the following table 2.³⁸

Table 2 Corpus of debates of the European Parliament

Audiovisual regulation and policy	Safer Internet use and children protection	Combating child pornography	Freedom of expression
<i>Audiovisual regulation</i> ³⁹	<i>Safer Internet Use</i> 01 December 2004	<i>Combating child pornography on the Internet</i> 10 April 2000	<i>Freedom of expression</i> 05 September 2000
06 September 2001	16 May 2006	03 February 2009	18 December 2003
14 June 2001	20-22 October 2008	12 February 2015	06 July 2006
03-04 October 2001	15 December 2008	11-12 March 2015	10 March 2009
04 September 2003			26 March 2009
06 September 2005	<i>Children protection</i> 11 April 2002		22 November 2010
13 December 2005	06 September 2005		
12-13 December 2006	15-16 January 2008		
28-29 November 2007			
20-21 February 2008	19-20 November 2012		

³⁷ www.europarl.europa.eu/askEP/en

³⁸ The corpus was constructed for a previous research carried on at the Sorbonne University.

³⁹ The abbreviation is used to indicate the theme of debates, in the extracts, in relation with the date.

13 December 2010
20-22 May 2013.

Audiovisual policy
04 October 2000
22-25 November 2010
12 March 2014

Research design

The research design was based on a multi-methodological approach with triangulation of two methodologies, content analysis and descendant hierarchical cluster analysis through the Alceste method. The preliminary content analysis was aimed at selecting parts of the speeches on ethical reflections, via the ATLAS.ti software. The code "ethical reflections" refers to considerations about the limits of control and freedom, but also concerning values, norms, moral, and responsibilities. Third, a hierarchical descendant cluster analysis has been conducted through the IRaMuTeQ software and five clusters have been identified. Following initial coding and data collection, a semantic analysis identifies thematic categories (Flick, Foster and Caillaud, 2015, p. 75 ; Dany, 2016). The Alceste Method has been developed by Reinert between 1997 and 2003 and has been widely adopted by scholars of the social representations theory; it consists of a series of calculations aimed at reconstructing lexical composition of discourse and involves a descendant hierarchical cluster analysis, based on a semantic approach to the automatic treatment of discourse. Therefore, Alceste is a statistical methodology through which occurrences of words are identified. As Kalampalikis and Moscovici explain it, the Alceste method :

« is based on a breakdown of the corpus in relatively similar size fragments, called "elementary contextual units". These fragments are then statistically classified in a descendant hierarchical process [...] The goal of this descendant hierarchical classification is the distribution of statements in classes marked by the contrast of their vocabulary »⁴⁰

The result of the analysis are clusters, classes of words corresponding to different lexical universes associated according to the organization of discourse.

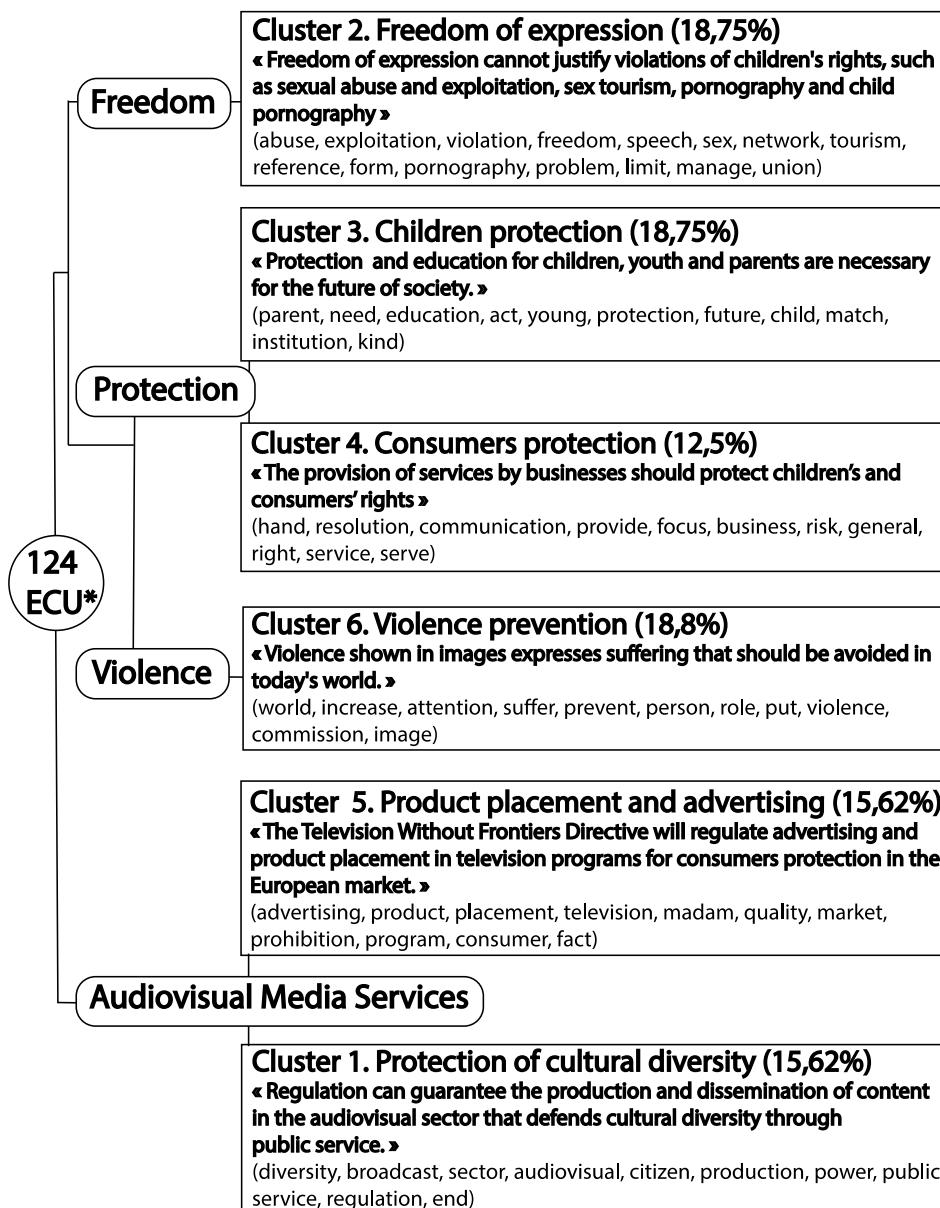
RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Ethical reflections on online audiovisual sexual contents were retrieved within 45 European parliamentary debates and then analyzed through an original methodological protocol which triangulated statistical calculation, carried on with the Alceste method⁴¹, with a qualitative content analysis made through ATLAS.ti. The arguments of parliamentary speakers were retrieved through word occurrences, showing the most used clusters of words. By examining each group of words, their meaning and correlations in the debates, I attributed a descriptive title and a sentence. With a graph, the most significant information is gathered. Therefore, six clusters were identified and semantically interpreted. They were respectively entitled protection

⁴⁰ Kalampalikis, Moscovici, 2005, p. 15.

⁴¹ This method was applied through the *opensource* software IRaMuTeQ.

of cultural diversity (1), freedom of expression (2), children protection (3), consumer protection (4), product placement and advertising (5), prevention of violence (6).



*ECU: Elementary Contextual Unit

Figure 1: Descendant hierarchical classification of « ethical reflections »

Cluster 1 corresponds to 15.62% of the corpus and it was entitled *protection of cultural diversity*. Its meaning is summarized as follow : « Regulation can guarantee the production and dissemination of content in the audiovisual sector that defends cultural diversity through public service. » This cluster is related only to cluster 5. The words included in cluster 2 cover 18.75% and are referred to *freedom of expression*. It is related to clusters 3, 4 and 6. Its meaning is that :

« Freedom of expression cannot justify violations of children's rights, such as sexual abuse and exploitation, sex tourism, pornography and child pornography ». Interestingly, cluster 2 mainly reproduces positions expressed in debates on the Directive on combating the sexual abuse and sexual exploitation of children and child pornography (2011/92 / EU). Cluster 3 matches 18,75% of the corpus and it refers to *child protection*. It states that : « Protection and education for children, youth and parents are necessary for the future of society. » Cluster 4 fits 12,5% with reference to *consumer protection* ; it is associated with cluster 3. Its key message is the following one : « The provision of services by businesses should protect children's and consumers' rights ». Cluster 5 covers 15.62%, it mentions *product placement and advertising* and is related to cluster 1. It is mainly composed of words from debates prior to 2007, the year of publication of the Audiovisual Media Services Directive. Its meaning can be summarized as follows : « The Television Without Frontiers Directive will regulate advertising and product placement in television programs for consumers protection in the European market ». Clusters 1 and 5 refer in particular to debates on the two directives, in which terms related to technology are widely used. In this regard, the focus is on the public service and the audiovisual sector in cluster 1 and on advertising and television in cluster 5. Cluster 6 refers to 18,8% of the corpus on *violence prevention*. It could be summarized as follows : « Violence shown in images expresses suffering that should be avoided in today's world ».

Therefore, ethical considerations related to audiovisual sexual risks on the Internet allude to several values and rights, including protection of cultural diversity, violence prevention, children protection and education, consumers' protection and freedom of expression. Protectionist approaches are expressed in different contexts : *a.* children protection associated with the education of young people and parents (cluster 3) ; *b.* consumers protection from advertising and service providers (cluster 4) ; *b.* children protection to prevent violence (cluster 5). Furthermore, differently from the discourse on violence, ethical considerations on audiovisual media services also imply challenges related to product placement, advertising and protection of cultural diversity.

Ethical considerations

Ethical considerations raised within debates distinguished four main themes : first, the European audiovisual media system is defined as dual, since it combines commercial goals and information functions ; second, some forms of violence against children, such as child pornography and sexual exploitation, are extreme ; third, a balance between child protection and freedom of expression is pursued ; and finally, it's hard to find an equilibrium between online censorship and freedom of expression. These four positions are described in the following paragraphs. Therefore, nonconsensual arguments refer to the following interrogatives: what are the limits of freedom of expression? How does European media system may be characterized? How would it be possible to impede the increasing diffusion of child pornography? What is the right balance between children protection and freedom of expression ?

The « dual system » of audiovisual media : public service and commercial interests

The first controversial representation regards the European audiovisual media system. The dual system is depicted as a balance between universal public service and market-oriented audiovisual environment, which allows to defend democratic values and protect the most reliable groups in society. This equilibrium is considered to be the basis of pluralism in European media, by guaranteeing a coexistence of public information and commercial messages. The dual system is thought to be a typical European-style media paradigm, opposite to the American panorama dominated by advertising. In 2006, the proposal for a directive on audiovisual media is aimed at adapting the audiovisual industry to « technological and commercial developments » in line with democratic values, among which children protection, cultural diversity, social cohesion, editorial competition, pluralism, freedom of expression, rights of information are evoked. The demand is to find an intelligent balance between a renewal that guarantees legal security and respect for values, defined as the cornerstone of a democratic society. The role of media in defending democratic values is at the foundation of a hegemonic representation of public service. Additionally, public service is viewed as a guarantor of public space, free from political interference and characterized by high-quality programs and objective information. Priorities of Member States should be to « provide sufficient resources », even digitizing the public service and combating « digital divide ». In fact, the dual system should be guaranteed by institutions, also in the digital age. In the implementation of the Audiovisual Media Services Directive, in 2013, freedom of expression and media pluralism are listed among the objectives. A socio-political function in determining the values and opinions of citizens is attributed to the media system, as being one « among the most important sources of information available to citizens in the EU Member States » (AR.06.09.05; AR.12.12.06; AP.25.11.10; AR.22.05.13). Public service is seen as a guarantor of freedom of expression by some speakers:

« In my opinion, it is an absolute fundamental right and vital to freedom of expression that there is a public channel which is maintained publicly and which concentrates on producing topical and up-to-date information for citizens both in the nation states and across Europe. »
(AR.22.05.13)

Nevertheless, through the adaptation of legislative framework, the purpose is to encourage new technological developments and promote the dissemination of European content. Competitiveness of audiovisual industry is expected to be incentivized, even though internal market should confront ethical aspects to avoid the danger of television which depends on market principles. Solutions proposed in the Directive lay the foundations for an audiovisual system, which is neither dominated by advertising in American style nor regulated by law (AR. 12.12.06).

Therefore, private and public media are represented as complementary and mutually beneficial in guaranteeing the quality of information, as described in these two statements :

« I am convinced that a well-balanced, high-quality public media environment also has a positive influence on the level of private media »
« The coexistence of public service broadcasters and commercial broadcasters has ensured a wide range of programming ». (AP.25.11.10).

A speaker expresses his doubts on the possibility of designing a paradigm different from the dual system in which public or private sector would prevail. In fact, a fully public system would have

the limit of a lack of competitors, which may stifle even more the « drive towards efficiency » to the detriment of consumers. In addition, a public system would imply restricting market access to new actors, through « enormous barriers to entry ».

A transformation over time of the social representation of media panorama is suggested by the historical transition from a State-owned broadcasting system to a dual one in which there is a need to strike a balance between public and private media, as described below :

« In the 1970s, commercial and private actors fought to obtain broadcasting frequencies against State monopolies. Today, the large number of opportunities for consumers to access multimedia means that we must balance the public service with the private media ». (AP.25.11.10).

However, public and private systems should remain independent from « political and economic pressure » to ensure the promotion of European democratic values.

« On the other hand, - the speaker continues - a purely commercial television system might not have any interest in pursuing objectives of general interest or broadcasting educational programs, which are not always profitable in terms of audience figures, but which are, by their very nature, necessary » (AR.22.05.13).

Accordingly, a consensual representation of the dual system is shared within the debate on audiovisual regulation based on a liberal democratic ideology, common to the European political space. Nevertheless, different historical-cultural experiences of European Member States evoke a variety of representations of media system and lack of consensus on the implementation of directives. In fact, representatives of more liberal democracies tend to have a positive attitude towards public media systems, as guarantors of democratic values, especially freedom of expression, whereas those who experienced the influence of political parties on national media environments are less optimistic on the socio-political role of public service (AR.06.09.05). For example, new Member States – such as Hungary - have media systems born « under party control during the years of dictatorship », arising from « established monopolies »; as a result, in these countries, regulation has not promoted « plurality of views » (AR.12.12.06). Consequently, neglect of pluralism and liberalism is associated with differences among European media landscapes; in fact, some Member States are dominated by commercial media, whereas in others public service has a major influence on public opinion (AP.22.11.10)

Furthermore, these positions – based on different European political ideologies – highlight the need for a balance between economic goals and democratic values. In particular, Greens/EFA refuse a European television in American style and don't support references to product placement, "single spots" and limits of the advertising market in the directive. Thus, amendments of GUE/NGL group are supported by several speakers; in favor of a European quality television, they recommend that content and advertising remain separate, without changing the times of audiovisual programs and commercial breaks. In this way, they propose to prevent future television from becoming a « slave of the laws of advertising ». On the contrary, EPP-ED and Social Democrats express their favorable position towards six-minute advertising in the space of 36 minutes of the program for any format (AR.12.12.06). Therefore, the degree of regulation and State control in the European internal market of audiovisual media generates opposite views, as described in this intervention:

« There is also the extreme represented by those who believe that everything must be regulated by law, who want to change society solely by means of the law, sometimes on the

basis of values that we may even share, or on the pretext of protecting the weakest members of society, the young and others whom we all want to protect. Such people believe that that must be done solely and exclusively by means of the law, imposing burdens which make open commercial television impossible and unviable, or restricting legitimate business freedoms that exist in our market systems and in the European internal market » (AR.12.12.06)

Extreme violence in child pornography and sexual exploitation of children

References of child pornography raise strong ethical considerations. Being defined as « one of the most sordid moral deviations of our modern society » and a « crime against humanity » accessible through the Internet. Faced with the difficulty to control ethical rules regarding technological development, the need for regulation of child pornography is recognized to be essential for Member States (AR.12.12.06).

Child pornography is denoted as a penalty for punishing such crimes, which could include « hardest punishments », among which « death penalty for pedophile network organizers » (CCP.03.02.09). « Reintroduction of the death penalty » is once again proposed in 2015. Also, another speaker expresses a position in favor of « restricting access to illegal content » (CCP. 11.03.15).

A quote from a poet Zbigniew Herbert is mentioned to express the need to say "no" to different forms of violence and evil, such as sexual exploitation of children, depravity, online pornography and sex tourism :

« We must learn to say "no" [...] "no" is a very important part of the discourse. It is the disagreement with evil » (CCP.03.02.09).

Interventions concerning the diffusion of child pornography are connected with different political ideologies. For instance, a member of the TDI group associates the diffusion of child pornography with the permissiveness promoted for more than 30 years by some political groups and criticizes the fact that this attitude did not reconcile with social problems caused by it :

« But what progress do we see, except progress in the loneliness of our peers, the broken families and the children left to fend for themselves who, almost naturally, turn to drug addiction, sexual promiscuity, sects and alcoholism » (AP.10.04.00)

Within the same intervention, diffusion of child pornography and pedophilia are linked with the trivialization of homosexuality. In addition, with regard to the possibility for same-sex couples to adopt children, the interests of childhood were not upheld, but those of adults. In the view of the speaker,

« This is necessarily the first step on the road which leads ultimately to the deviancies of child pornography » (AP.10.04.00)

Child pornography is correlated to abortion, as a « horrendous decline in moral standards » and ends with a provocation presented in the form of a question :

« Why, when one is prepared to accept State-controlled hospitals organizing terminations of unborn children, should one find it absolutely scandalous in moral terms to abuse children, once born, for the sexual pleasure of adults? » (AP.10.04.00)

This speech provokes strong reactions at the European Parliament.

The relation between freedom of expression and censorship

Another crucial issue on audiovisual media policy pertains to the balance between freedom of expression and censorship, which are polemically represented with references to non-European States. The ideas of censorship connote it negatively and oppose it to freedom of expression, interpreted as a basic value of democratic societies. Nevertheless, freedom of expression is supposed to be inherent to responsibility, since it implies the risk of spreading « anti-democratic and immoral information ». On the other hand, the Internet is depicted as « an anarchic for nature » medium; in the words of the speaker it is a :

« Thorn for governments and bureaucrats, who are not absent from the cradles of democracy such as Europe and the United States. » (FE.06.07.06)

Hence, an Internet management system could be used to restrict illegal activities, including child pornography and « uncomfortable truths ». Measures proposed through motions for resolutions on freedom of expression are aimed at improving internet governance and tackling human rights violations. Respect for human rights can be achieved by virtue of guaranteeing freedom of expression on the Internet and preventing "censorship", "persecution" and "imprisonment". Overcoming the digital divide between rich and poor countries has made censorship methods more difficult to implement.

Another subtle form of censorship, existing even in Europe, is linked to the market of advertising of web pages on search engines. In other words, « search engines are now adapting their power to the rules» so that exclusively advertised content can be found. In front of « the temptation or threat » still existing of a total censorship of the network, one could limit the block to singular pages (FE.06.07.06).

Representations of freedom of expression are related to different cultural, historical and political contexts from non-European countries. In fact, access to the media is not free all over the world, for example, in some countries the Internet is the only channel of communication for political opposition. Limits to freedom of expression are often due to media concentration. Yet, the resolution seeks to:

« Roundly condemn the restrictions to freedom of expression that certain governments impose via the Internet, and in particular the acts of persecution and detention that some of them carry out » (FE.06.07.06)

Examples of "Internet restrictions" are in China, Cuba, Burna and Belarus. The Internet in these repressive governments is described as a « wild and dangerous river», whose flux should be regulated; the Internet is perceived as a « threat to any totalitarian country or any country that restricts access to information». Although « trade and communication with these countries can often have a beneficial influence», freedom of trade should be balanced with protection of individual freedoms. For example, in China, people have been imprisoned for expressing themselves on the Web. The Chinese government has also created a police service to check the correct use of the Internet by users; violations consist of up to 10 years of labor camp. In Internet cafés, staff controls online surfing and filtering takes place through keywords.

Additionally, in many countries, companies have accepted limits to freedom of expression; for example, Google, Microsoft, Yahoo in China, Secure Computing and Fortinet in Tunisia and Burna. Also, European companies have followed this trend; that's the case of Telecom Italia in Cuba and Wanadoo (France Telecom) in Tunisia. In this regard, it is estimated to be :

« Not tolerable that Western companies help repressive governments to trample on human rights » (FE.06.07.06).

Yet, European institutions should ensure that companies commit themselves not to « have a hand in action for repression » through the implementation of codes of conduct (debate on freedom of expression, 06 July 2006). Another example of excessive control is in the United States, where:

« I keep in mind, thanks to the United States, that the legitimate fight against crime and criminals can degenerate into a systematic, illegitimate and immoral surveillance of all citizens and a violation of their rights, freedoms and their privacy » (FE.26.03.09)

The Internet is recognized to favor freedom of expression, political action and association potentially; and on the other hand, it can also pave the way for criminal activities, such as increasing child pornography. Numerous attempts have been made to censor the Internet, which appears as « a thorn in the side of the inquisitors controlling the media » (FE.26.03.09).

Thus, cases presented within debates polemically represent limits to freedom of expression with regard to human rights, while creating a hegemonic representation of the Internet as a liberal space. This latter is designated as a medium, whose freedom should be defended, although limiting criminal activities. The examples contemplated bear upon systems authorizing censorship for political reasons (i.e. China, Cuba, Burna, Belarus, etc.); the only exceptions are the United States, where control is justified by legal and ethical reasons, to defend civil society from criminals.

The balance between children protection vs freedom of expression

Ethical considerations on restriction to freedom of expression are motivated by children protection. Nevertheless, extreme violent content – such as child pornography and right-wing extremism – are seen as “pretexts” for limiting freedom. These two phenomena highly differ, since the former is interpreted as a crime, whereas the latter manifests itself in political life and has to be resolved at this level.

On this subject, a speaker suggests adopting « avoidance tactics, such as discussing issues on which we can only exercise moral influence ». Other positions highlight the importance to tackle technological issues by fostering respect for true freedom, in defense of humanity.

« Modern technological problems extend much further the purpose of technology and become moral problems. We should encourage true freedom, namely freedom from evil, and not obstinacy and anarchy that destroy and degrade humanity. » (FE.06.07.06).

Because of the « destructive nature » of child pornography and related abuses, respect for human dignity is reiterated and need for policies on children protection, which enable young people to have as essential points of reference « goodness, truth and beauty ». The speaker continues stating that « capitalism » could be transformed into a « socio-economic system centered on man and the satisfaction of needs ».

Children protection – together with safety and well-being – is amongst the reasons for abstention. On the opposite side, abstentions are motivated by the will to guarantee freedom of expression from « control drifts ». On this second argumentation, proposed measures are evaluated as excessively safe to the detriment of civil liberties and fundamental rights through a form of « supervision of all by all ». As a result, a speaker says that :

« And as I know that child protection is often used as a Trojan horse to restrict freedoms more broadly, in the end I have abstained on this resolution because the protection of the rights of the child should not be exploited. » (CCP.11.03.15)

The directive is interpreted by some as an attempt of controlling the Web and concealing an « authorization for the European Parliament to censor the Internet », which could involve the risk of « total tutelage », as in the following phrase :

« This is the introduction to total supervision under the guise of protecting children »
(CCP.11.03.15)

On the other hand, responsibility for children protection is entrusted to legislators and education agencies, and it expresses the human values of society (CCP.11.03.15).

CONCLUSION

With regards to ethical reflections, online audiovisual risks are polemically represented, relying on political agendas and national differences; these latter vary depending on different cultural and historical backgrounds among the Member States and other non-European countries. Agendas diversify themes debated and political priorities, either self-regulation or regulatory initiatives of the Web. No great variations are subject to the year of debate and minor diversity of views is conditioned by political beliefs. Main ethical considerations are motivated by the balance between private and public sectors in the European audiovisual panorama, the penalty for child pornography, avoidance of excessive regulatory control and limit to freedom of expression. Ethical considerations refer to the need to find an equilibrium between commercial offer and public service to defend democratic values, especially freedom of expression. Although dual system might express the idea of European democratic liberalism, media landscapes are differentiated according to their socio-cultural backgrounds and economic goals. However, these arguments are only tackled within debates on audiovisual media services directive from 2005 to 2013. Controversial views of public service are suggested by speakers from ex-totalitarian systems, where public information has been controlled by political parties for several years. Therefore, these representations highlight the risk of excessive regulation, State control or political interference on media environment. Also, defense of economic interests is contradicted by a polemical representation according to which an American-style television dominated by advertising should be avoided. Political ideologies of European parties also influence controversial positions regarding a balance between advertising and information.

Ethical considerations on child pornography are mentioned within debates on the Audiovisual Media Services Directive in 2000 and 2006 and in debates on child pornography in 2009 and 2015. Although they are very few, ethical issues raise very controversial positions towards this topic which is tackled in some interventions through an extremist attitude. An example is a very controversial position expressed by a member of the TDI Group who finds that the diffusion of child pornography is the consequence of moral permissiveness; he bears in particular on ethical issues, such as legalization of abortion and social acceptance of homosexuality. The speaker also enforces his position by stressing social problems provoked by moral deviance, including loneliness, broken families, drug addiction, sexual promiscuity, sects and alcoholism. This intervention – based on a political ideology - results to be very controversial within the European

Parliament, by provoking strong reactions. Child pornography is considered to be a crime against humanity which is combined with other grave forms of violence against children, just as sexual exploitation, depravity, online pornography, and sex tourism. Some speakers propose the reintroduction of the death penalty.

Other ethical considerations on freedom of expression and censorship are raised within debates on freedom of expression in 2006 and 2009. The defense of freedom of expression is opposed to the excessive restriction in some non-European countries, forms of censorship and compromises accepted by Western companies, including European ones. The need of Internet governance against human rights violations is highlighted. Also, limits on freedom of expression are discussed to avoid the spread of anti-democratic and immoral information.

Freedom of expression is even balanced with children protection in debates on freedom of expression in 2006 and child pornography in 2015, with references to violent content and especially child pornography. In the first group of debates, child pornography is considered to be – together with right-wing extremism - as a pretext to restrict fundamental freedoms. Some speakers consider that children protection has been used as a “Trojan horse” to control the Web. Reasons for abstentions postulate the need to find a right balance between children protection and freedom of expression. Also, the issue is to defend true freedoms, which should be freedom from evil and not a form of anarchy, which destroys and degrades humanity.

Several interrogatives for policy implementation are raised by ethical considerations: which are the right limits to freedom of expression on the Internet? Which is the extent for advertising and commercial audiovisual productions in European media panorama? What are the moral causes of the diffusion of phenomena such as child pornography? May moral permissiveness be in relation with the diffusion of extremely violent content? What is the fair penalty for such crimes against humanity, for example child pornography? What are the right limits to freedom in the European scenario, governed according to the idea of liberal democracy?

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Online Audiovisual Sexual Contents used by Youths in the Absence of Sexual Education

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The use of mobile devices, inaccessible to parents either for their characteristics of portability or difficulties encountered by "digital immigrants", increases the possibility for children of escaping parental control. In the so-called "bedroom culture" (Bovill and Livingstone 2001), peer communication through ICTs becomes central to relational dynamics and processes of identity development. First audiovisual media and then the Internet give rise to a "childhood transformation", where social norms of interaction - whether among children or between children and adults - change remarkably. The concept of "child" is radically transformed by the spread of the Internet (Meyerowitz, 1985). Children are no longer excluded from the information of adult life and their contact with the external world may no more be managed by parents. Already the advent of television and cinema had introduced words and images which were at first forbidden in private houses; nowadays, the Internet makes even less controllable the access to social contacts, information and content available for children (boyd and Hargittai, 2010). A whole generation - called Y ("Why") by Monique Dagnaud - grows with an imaginary distant from the one of previous generations. Youths are strongly determined by the external world; and their choices depend on "peer approval", rather than on parent education (Dagnaud, 2011).

A European survey on online risks and opportunities for children: EUKidsOnline. A snapshot of young people's online practices in European countries, particularly regarding to the use of sexual contents, is provided by the 2010 study EuKidsOnline. This survey has been carried out by the London School of Economics and Political Sciences in 25 European countries, funded by the Safer Internet Programme (European Commission) and aimed at investigating online uses by children aged between 9 and 16 years. The research teams identify four types of risks - aggressiveness, sexuality, values, commercial -, classified into three categories : content risks (where the child is a mass production receiver), contact risks (where the child participates in activities initiated by adults), and conduct risks (where the child is an actor as responsible or victim, Hasebrink, Livingstone, Haddon, and Ólafsson, 2009).

Amongst others, sexual risks have the main diffusion in the forms of pornographic contents (14%, content risk), sexting (15%, contact risk), and communicating with unknown people (30%) then met offline (9%, conduct risk). Audiovisual contents are involved in pornography and sexting, which respectively correspond to content and conduct risks. The survey shows how sexual images are related to the child age. One-third of children between 15 and 16 years old (36%) report seeing these images much more than 9 to 10 years old (11%). Use of sexual contents takes place mostly online (14%). Girls watch them less than boys (12% vs. 16%), but they may remain shocked from this vision (39% vs 26% of boys). The risk of watching them is prevalent among children aged 15 to 16. The younger children are the more they might be shocked using sexual contents (56% for children of 9-10 years, 24% for children of 15-16 years). The most exposed children to online sexual contents reside in Northern countries (Norway, Denmark, Sweden, the Netherlands, and Finland) and Eastern Europe (Czech Republic, Lithuania, Estonia, and

Slovenia). A reliable exposure of children concerns Germany, Italy, Spain, Ireland and the United Kingdom. Children use them on video-hosting sites (such as YouTube, 5%), on adult/X-rated websites (4%), social networks (3%), other sites (3%), video game sites (2%), peer-to-peer file download sites (2%). Sexual material reproduces bare people (11%), explicit sex (8%), genital organs (8%), or violent acts (2%) (Livingstone, Haddon, Görzig, and Ólafsson, 2011).

*Sexual audiovisual risks for youths on the Internet: pornography and sexting*⁴². Scientific tradition on media effects has mainly looked at the impact of pornography on children as harmful, by highlighting the need of children protection, especially towards online sexual contents. Nonetheless, these theories have been criticized for being too deterministic, in comparison with liberal positions which emphasize positive sides of exposure to sexual images; these latter perspectives defend the potentiality of breaking out repressive or normative expressions of sexuality (Flood, 2009). Another major issue, pointed out by several researchers, is ubiquitous access to pornographic content (McKee, Albury, and Lumby, 2008; Ey and Cupit, 2011). Limits of research results on these topics are due to ethical implications and lack of empirical evidence of harm (Helsper, 2005). Also, the relation between sexual risk and psychological or physical harm strongly varies (Livingstone, 2009).

Research on the use of pornography by young people shows how they can express personal opinions on this subject (Buckingham and Bragg, 2004; McKee et al. 2008) and they are aware of the falseness

⁴²In the book *Children, Risk and Safety on the Internet: Research and Policy Challenges in Comparative Perspective*, within chapters dedicated to the use of pornography signed by Antonis Rovolis and Lisa Tsaliki (2012), and the exchange of online sexual images written by Sonia Livingstone and Anke Görzig (2012), the authors present the most recent advances on these two phenomena, even based on their experience of the EUKidsOnline survey. Their considerations were the starting point for my analysis of the literature on the subject and they are reported in this paragraph.

of media representations. Ethnographic research has demonstrated how exposure to pornography is rarely traumatic, but it is part of sexual initiation or education and the possibility experiencing pleasure (McKee et al. 2008; Buckingham et al. 2010; Rovilos and Tsaliki, 2012).

Beyond pornography, new devices and social networking platforms have facilitated the diffusion of other modalities of exchange of audiovisual sexual contents, including self-produced material. “Sexting” is the term used to indicate the exchange of sexual content through the Internet, which increases with online anonymity if compared to other forms of sexual communication via other media (Subrahmanyam and Smahel, 2011). From the perspective of adolescents, based on results of focus groups, sexting is described as a modality of filtration (Lenhart, 2009). The scientific debate on sexting is controversial on the risky effects of this practice among young people; in specific cases, sexting may have harmful effects, for example when images are sent to accidental receivers or are modified (Barak, 2005; Ybarra, Mitchell, and Wolak, 2006). Other arguments focus on the “hyper-sexualization” of female body (Ringrose, 2010, p. 179), on sexualizing children (Greenfield, 2004) or grooming through sexual images (Davidson and Gottschalk, 2010). Concerns towards online risk have less explored the relation with sexual development in adolescence (Stern, 2012) or sexual education. Other authors distinguish criminal activity from sexual experimentation (Wolak, 2011). Even though sexting is not surveyed in depth within EUKidsOnline, same researchers of the network highlight the importance to pay attention to cross-cultural analysis particularly with regards to interreligious diversity (Livingstone, and Gorzig, 2012).

In media representations, discourse on risks prevails, for example in European countries (Haddon and Stald, 2009). Besides, media and social representations of risk change across countries and periods

(McKee et al 2008). The focus on risks contributes to the proliferation of public anxieties and moral panic (Critcher, 2008; Tsaliki, 2011). News have often transmitted narratives on the diffusion of illegal sexual contents produced and diffused by adolescents themselves (Arcobascio, 2010; Sacco, Argudin, Maguire, and Tallon, 2010). Public debate tackles three sexual risks: child abuse material, grooming and online pornography (McKee et al., 2008).

Quali-quantitative survey in Italy on the use of online sexual contents. Based on these international findings, on March 2012, I conducted a quali-quantitative sociological survey in Italy focused on the main online risks, pornography and sexting, under the supervision of Monique Dagnaud. The sample was composed of 206 young Italian students aged between 16 and 20 years old, belonging to diverse sociocultural backgrounds⁴³. Participants were selected in three high schools in the city of Salerno (Southern Italy), chosen according to their socio-cultural background and gender. By surveying their practices and opinions, I wanted to answer to the following questions: how do youths receive online sexual contents? How do these contents transform the activities of their daily life? How does the use of sexual contents modify their social life and relationship with others?

The survey showed how the use of sexual contents online is aimed at satisfying youths' needs, curiosity and desires; moreover, it's related to sexual practices, relational dynamics and processes of identity development during adolescence. The methodological tools adopted have been an online questionnaire and focus groups. Quantitatively, the survey analyzed online practices, especially the use, exchange and production of sexual contents. Qualitatively, it

⁴³ The survey was carried out within the Master in sociological research of the EHESS Ecole des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales in Paris in 2012.

surveyed the opinions of youth on the link between pornography and love, female body, and children. Focus groups were composed based on sex (either female, male or mixed ones) and sociocultural background of participants. Many methodological precautions were adopted, so that young people could openly talk about their online “sexual” practices, which are mainly solitary from parental control. Several challenges were related to the topic, such as the difficulty to talk about sexuality with young people and to propose the research topic to schools’ directors; these methodological difficulties are present also in other pieces of research on children, which highlight vulnerability, anonymity, confidentiality, consensus, agency (Lobe, Livingstone et Haddon, 2007). Online surveys were developed through the LimeSurvey software and submitted in computer rooms at school. 53% boys and 47% girls answered online questionnaires. Most of users declare having watched sexual contents (59%), precisely all boys (106) and a minor group of 16 girls. Three different groups may be distinguished based on two variables: willingness (either voluntary or involuntary) and frequency of use (either occasional or usual). These groups are composed of occasional voluntary users (20%) and involuntary accidental users (9%). More than the half of the surveyed population (52%), mainly boys, declares to voluntarily use sexual contents either usually or occasionally. These different types of users correspond to the following profiles :

- *Usual voluntary users* (32%, 66 participants): the use of pornographic sites takes place mainly at home (98%), through the computer (82%), in the afternoon (64%), when most of their parents are at home. The presence of parents at home doesn't influence the use of pornographic sites, which confirms to be a solitary practice (96%). Time spent on pornographic sites is quite limited (between a quarter to half an hour – 80%). The most visited websites are YouJizz.com (42,86%) and the

network of pornographic sites PornHub Network (34,94%, among which prevalently YouPorn.com, 27,87%, Tube8.com and PornHub.com). Contents of these websites present many common aspects. For usual users, the use of pornographic websites is mainly aimed at sexual excitement and pleasure.

- *Occasional voluntary users* (20%, 41 participants): most occasional voluntary users (74%) declare to visit pornographic sites alone ; but, differently from voluntary usual users, 26% say to visit them with friends. They feel emotions either of excitement (45%, 18), pleasure (10%, 4), and curiosity (25%, 10).
- *Involuntary accidental users* (9%, 18 participants): most of the times involuntary users receive porn images by chance during a normal navigation on the Internet (89%, 16, either through a research browser, mainly Google - 8, or through an email - 4, or with the advertising on a website – 4); therefore, accidental use of porn websites online is the effect of a form of advertising that may target both adult and young people. A minority phenomenon (22%, 4) is the exchange of links amongst friends.

Open answers to online questionnaires explored young people's opinions. Although visiting pornographic sites has been a common practice among boys, the general opinions about sexual contents are mostly negative (42.23%, 87) or neutral (27.18%, 56). Only a minority expresses a positive opinion (11,17%, 23). Most negative opinions consider that pornography does not respect fundamental values of society, including human dignity, love and family; in their view, practices shown are immoral (for example, sex on payment) and they may degrade common morality (6,31%, 13). They also find that sexual life, as a crucial activity in society, is represented through

pornography in the form of a vulgar transgression⁴⁴; sexuality is trivialized and underestimated (2,91%, 6). This twisted vision of sexuality can have a negative effect in particular on children (2,91%, 6). Some young girls perceive pornography as disgusting, embarrassing, disagreeable and revolting (3,4%, 7), when it involves sexual acts with little girls, trans or gay people. Most respondents expressing neutral opinions on pornography are also online voluntary users; they consider this use as both positive and negative. This group recognizes that, while online pornography is a source of excitement (6,31%, 13), it also has negative counter-sides, such as lack of feeling, risk of dependence, immorality and - above all - the possibility to convey a twisted vision of sexuality to children – 4,37%, 9). Only 11,17% of surveyed youths express a positive opinion on pornography. They find these images as exciting (2,91%, 6), others find them educational (1,46%, 3) due to the absence of sexual education at schools.

Most respondents do not share their opinions about online pornography with anyone (53%, 109). Those who shared their opinions (29%, 59 respondents) mostly chose a friend (17,48% of total, 36), a group of friends (16,99%, 35) or their boyfriends/girlfriends (13,59%, 28). Among family members, they mainly prefer their peers (i.e. sisters, brothers, cousins, etc. – 5,34%, 11). Sharing opinions about online pornography takes place most of the times in the peer group (i.e. best friend, group of friends, boyfriend/girlfriend, sister, brother, etc.), parents are almost absent (especially mothers - 3,4%, 7).⁴⁵

Regarding the perception of pornographic images as a reproduction of real sexual life, the majority of young people

⁴⁴ This negative opinion was confirmed by those who found them « disgusting ».

⁴⁵ This paragraph refers to the qualitative analysis of the question « Have you ever shared your opinions with anyone? With whom? ».

interviewed find that pornography doesn't replicate real sexual life faithfully (70%)⁴⁶; one of the main reasons for this common perception is the clear distinction between pornography, as a show of standardized sexual acts, and sexuality as an intimate expression of individual feelings and emotions; in addition, young people find that sexual activities represented overgo the limits of normality (11,65%, 24), for example in terms of physical performances and the bodies of the actors. The only aspect of pornography which is perceived as irrefutably realistic is the act of penetration (2,43%, 5).

The non-representability of sexual acts through pornography is confirmed within focus groups, where young people define pornography as a representation of sex without love, without feelings, without emotions, a reproduction of a physical relationship free from a mental, sentimental and spiritual connection. Young respondents also point out three main differences between love and pornography: intimacy, non-remuneration and spontaneity of feelings⁴⁷. They clearly distinguish women, who make love, from prostitutes, who have sex for payment. On the one hand, boys accuse pornography of being able to confuse their idea on women and inducing them to believe that all women are prostitutes; on the other hand, they keep an image of their girlfriends as women to respect, with whom they cannot do the same activities watched in pornographic videos (such as anal or oral sex). Young people also report sexual objectification of female and male bodies.

Most relevant results of my research derived from six focus groups. During them, some young people defined sexual arousal and masturbatory practices related to the use of these contents as beneficial activities for their psychophysical wellbeing and aimed at

⁴⁶ This paragraph refers to qualitative analysis, relative to the question: « According to you, do pornographic images reproduce real sexual life ? »

⁴⁷ This last opposition also corresponds to the difference tie/relationship and body/soul.

satisfying their needs. They consider this practice as natural and spontaneous, since it concerns their own sexual instincts and attraction toward women. Exchange or production of sexual contents was described during focus groups; they are at the center of more complex and articulated dynamics of filtration and sexual exploration. These dynamics take place in three fundamental moments: first, boys look at profiles of female users on social networks (especially Facebook), with whom they talk in chat possibly on erotic themes; secondly, they propose to pass from Facebook Messenger to MSN in order to exchange private photos; third, they ask to make a videocall either on MSN or through Skype, with the purpose to masturbate. Therefore, boys experience a progressive online contact with girls, who – at the same time - are animators through chat, and actors by sending sexual or naked images and using webcams. The transition from a social network to another is linked to the specific user experience and design of these social networking sites: Facebook is used to select potential partners through real-life pictures and chat, but it is considered as controlled by adults; then, on MSN, perceived as less controlled, they exchange sexual or naked images; finally, for the higher quality webcam, Skype is used in the last stage of sexual proximity. Differently from pornographic sites, webcams are characterized in the narratives of young people as tools offering a greater possibility of intimate interaction in online sexual practices. During focus groups, boys appreciate all these online sexual activities, whereas girls describe their experiences as victims of unknown users in receiving naked images or contacting through webcams. With regards to these online interactions, girls mainly feel shame and embarrassment, whereas boys are proud for their masculinity. Erotic narcissism of boys is also strongly evidenced in their production of pornographic videos. In fact, they produce and show them to their classmates. Girls, on the other hand, declare to be almost never

consenting⁴⁸, except when they want to attract the attention of their classmates or families.

Proceeding from these results, my research has offered interesting considerations on the association between young people and online sexual contents and more generally on the condition of youth in contemporary society. Their psychological isolation from family is a central feature of my research; young people do not talk to their parents about their sexual and sentimental activities, although these are crucial aspects of their development. This distance from parents is compensated by Internet browsing and online uses, which allow young people - isolated in their rooms - to communicate with the outside world; thus, adult life, source of curiosity for young people, is known and explored through audiovisual media freely from parental control. Therefore, the Web incentivizes a "bedroom culture"⁴⁹. Through social networks, the bedroom, which was a place of isolation, becomes an arena to meet with friends and strangers and a space to explore the external world.

Sexual contents and women. Young people emphasize the distinction between a woman, for a sentimental relationship, and a prostitute (or female), for a paid sexual act. Boys emphasize the difference between girlfriends and prostitutes and how pornography can make them believe that all girls are prostitutes. They admit liking a more sexually liberated woman, with whom they can do the same acts watched in sexual contents; at the same time, they do these acts only with girls with whom they have sex. On the other hand, with their girlfriends, they do not reproduce the same acts seen in pornography (like anal or oral sex). Women are represented for their physical appearance, not for their psychological characteristics (such as intelligence, sympathy, etc.). Female bodies become sexual objects,

⁴⁸ Sometimes they are not aware to be filmed or that the videos will be shown.

⁴⁹ Dagnaud, M. (2011). *Génération Y*, Paris : Sciences Po Presses, pp. 24

as much as male bodies. Body reification is attributed by young people either to women or men. Pornography influences the daily lives of young people, especially girls, who on the one hand are inspired by fashion to dress attractively, on the other hand they feel judged by their comrades (either boys or girls) as easy girls, especially when their clothes are attractive.

Sexual contents and children. The relationship between pornography and children has undoubtedly been a central topic of qualitative analysis. The first access of children (11-13 years old) to sexual contents takes place through word-of-mouth with peers; they start very early to exchange these links and images. Access to these platforms is also facilitated either by their ease of use and by children's digital literacy. Main psychological reasons for the first access are emulation of comrades and curiosity towards sexuality. Young people highlight possible negative consequences of premature vision on children, like early sexual experiences, emulation of pornographic actors, a false idea of sexuality or a self-referential sexuality, and a dependence from these images. Among the causes of children visiting pornographic sites, young people consider the lack of parental control and the absence of sexual education either within families or schools. All groups express the common perception that pornography cannot be considered as a mean for sexual education; in fact, it may confuse their ideas about social relationships, and it does not provide information about sexual precautions or diseases. Nevertheless, young people recognize the informative use of pornography with regards to sexual issues, which often compensates the lack of information in family or at school.

Youths rarely talk about sex in family or school, although it is a topic of great interest to them. Therefore, sexual contents become a source of information especially for the youngest ones; these images can confuse their ideas about social relationships, by considering the

other person as an object of sexual desire and love; in addition, these contents don't provide information about precautions or sexual diseases. Young people recognize that the lack of information from families and schools may be considered as one of the main causes of teenage use of sexual contents; therefore, they recognize that it may be difficult to find a solution, due to the shyness to talk about sexuality with adults. In this respect, boys propose to increase parental control by blocking these contents or even censoring the most violent, transgressive or forbidden images (for example, child-pornography). On the other hand, girls - within female focus groups - propose two solutions, by emphasizing the centrality of families and schools in sexual education. The first proposal is to extend sexual education, from primary until high school. The second proposal is a change in the ways to talk about sexuality: instead than a vertical communication, where young adolescents are "forced" to listen to an institutional source, an horizontal dialogue which allows young people to interact with adults who may help them understand their issues regarding sexuality and love. In addition to a need to change the modality of communication, girls also highlight the need to innovate the sources of information. In fact, they find that neither teachers nor parents are persons with whom they can speak about this subject, but an intermediate and neutral figure between parents and children; this educator, on the one hand, should have the maturity, the right distance and the skills to guide them and, on the other hand, should have the mental openness and ability to listen to them, to understand their experiences and personal issues.

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CERLIS

Médias audiovisuels et contenus sexuels en ligne à l'adolescence

Enjeux politiques en Europe

par Agnese Pastorino

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Abstract

Les médias audiovisuels exposent les adolescents à la vision de contenus sexuels sur la Toile. Dans le débat public, la disponibilité en ligne de matériel « susceptible de nuire » ou « nuisant gravement » aux enfants suscite des formes de panique morale. Une préoccupation majeure dérive des risques de nature sexuelle, comme la pornographie, la texto-pornographie et la pornographie enfantine. Au niveau politico-institutionnel européen, les mesures mises en œuvre reposent sur des solutions d'autorégulation, de co-régulation et de régulation. Parmi ces initiatives, les plus importantes ont été le programme Safer Internet et deux directives respectivement axées sur la protection des mineurs par rapport aux Services de médias audiovisuels (2010/13/UE) et sur la lutte contre les abus sexuels et l'exploitation sexuelle des enfants, ainsi que la pédopornographie (2011/92/UE).

Sur le plan méthodologique, la thèse est basée sur l'analyse de 45 débats au sein du Parlement européen qui ont traité de ces questions entre 2001 et 2016. Ce corpus a été examiné au moyen d'un protocole quali-quantitatif original, avec une analyse de contenu et la méthode Alceste appliquées à l'aide des logiciels ATLAS.ti et IRaMuTeQ. La thèse souhaite contribuer à la recherche sur les médias audiovisuels et les contenus sexuels en ligne face aux adolescents et aux enfants, en proposant un point de vue original sur les enjeux politiques européens.

L'hypothèse principale était que les débats parlementaires européens sont limités en termes de représentativité des cultures nationales. À partir de ce présupposé, nous avons enquêté sur les différents niveaux impliqués : juridique, scientifique, éthique et politique. Les principaux résultats renvoient aux éléments suivants : 1. la variété des interprétations politico-juridiques de certains concepts et des définitions de quelques termes, outre l'étude des principes juridiques impliqués (quatrième chapitre) ; 2. les descriptions des contenus sexuels nuisibles pour les enfants en ligne et les difficultés de la politique européenne relevées dans les débats parlementaires (cinquième chapitre) ; 3. les limites du savoir scientifique européen en termes de représentativité des cultures nationales, par l'analyse des données statistiques et des études citées (sixième chapitre) ; 4. la multiplicité des considérations éthiques, notamment sur la base des différentes cultures nationales (septième chapitre) ; 5. le choix de privilégier des mesures auto-réglementaires (huitième chapitre).

Mots-clés : services de médias audiovisuels, contenus sexuels, pédopornographie, pornographie, violence, réglementation, autoréglementation, adolescents, enfants, politique européenne, Parlement européen.

Abstract en anglais

Audiovisual media and online sexual contents during adolescence. Political issues in Europe

Audiovisual media expose adolescents to the vision of sexual contents on the Internet. Within public debate, online availability of material “likely to harm” or “seriously harming” children generates forms of moral panic. A major concern derives from sexual risks, such as pornography, sexting and child-pornography. At the European political-institutional level, the measures implemented are based on auto-regulatory, co-regulatory and regulatory solutions. Among these initiatives, the most important ones have been the Safer Internet programme and two directives respectively focused on children protection with regards to Audiovisual Media

Services (2010/13/UE) and on combating the sexual abuse and sexual exploitation of children and child pornography (2011/92/UE).

Methodologically, the thesis analyzes 45 debates of the European Parliament which dealt with these issues between 2001 and 2016. This corpus has been examined through an original quali-quantitative protocol, with a content analysis and the Alceste method applied via the softwares ATLAS.ti and IRaMuTeQ. This work wishes to contribute to research on audiovisual media, online sexual contents, adolescents and children, by proposing an original point of view on European policy.

The main hypothesis has been that European parliamentary debates are limited in terms of representativeness of national cultures ; starting from this premise, several aspects have been surveyed, either juridical, scientific, ethical and political issues. The main results respectively refer to different elements : 1. the variety of political-juridical interpretations of some concepts and the definitions of a few terms, besides the study of some juridical principles involved (fourth chapter) ; 2. the descriptions of online audiovisual sexual risks and the difficulties of European policy retrieved within parliamentary debates (fifth chapter) ; 3. the limits of European scientific knowledge in terms of representativeness of national culture, through the analysis of mentioned statistical data and studies (sixth chapter) ; 4. the multiplicity of ethical considerations, even based on different national cultures (seventh chapter) ; 5. the choice to favor self-regulatory measures (eighth chapter).

Keywords : audiovisual media services, sexual contents, child-pornography, pornography, violence, regulation, self-regulation, adolescents, children, European policy, European Parliament.

Abstract en italien

Media audiovisivi e contenuti sessuali online nell'adolescenza. Questioni politiche in Europa

I media audiovisivi espongono gli adolescenti alla visione di contenuti sessuali sulla Rete. Nel dibattito pubblico, la disponibilità online di materiale « potenzialmente » o « gravemente nocivo » per i bambini suscita delle forme di panico morale. Una preoccupazione maggiore deriva dai rischi di natura sessuale, quali la pornografia, il *sexting* e la pornografia minorile. Sul piano politico-istituzionale europeo, le misure implementate si basano su soluzioni di autoregolamentazione, co-regolamentazione e regolamentazione. Tra queste iniziative, le più importanti sono state il programma *Safer Internet* e le due direttive rispettivamente dedicate alla protezione dei minori rispetto ai Servizi dei media audiovisivi (2010/13/UE) e la lotta contro l'abuso e lo sfruttamento sessuale dei bambini, così come la pornografia minorile (2011/92/UE). Sul piano metodologico, la tesi è basata sull'analisi di 45 dibattiti del Parlamento europeo che hanno trattato queste questioni tra il 2001 e il 2016. Il corpus è stato esaminato mediante un protocollo quali-quantitativo originale, con un'analisi del contenuto e il metodo Alceste, applicati mediante i programmi ATLAS.ti e IRaMuTeQ.

La tesi desidera contribuire alla ricerca sui media audiovisivi, i contenuti sessuali online, gli adolescenti e i bambini, proponendo un punto di vista originale sulle questioni politiche europee. L'ipotesi principale è stata che i dibattiti parlamentari europei siano limitati in termini di rappresentatività delle culture nazionali ; a partire da questo presupposto, abbiamo indagato diversi livelli implicati : giuridico, scientifico, etico e politico. I principali risultati si riferiscono rispettivamente a questi diversi elementi : 1. la varietà delle interpretazioni politico-giuridiche di alcuni concetti e delle definizioni di alcuni termini, oltre che lo studio dei

principi giuridici implicati (quarto capitolo) ; 2. le descrizioni dei rischi audiovisivi sessuali online e le difficoltà della politica europea rilevati nei dibattiti parlamentari (quinto capitolo) ; 3. i limiti del sapere scientifico europeo in termini di rappresentatività delle culture nazionali, attraverso l'analisi dei dati statistici e degli studi citati (sesto capitolo) ; 4. la molteplicità delle considerazioni etiche, anche sulla base delle diverse culture nazionali degli oratori (settimo capitolo) ; 5. la scelta di privilegiare delle misure auto-regolamentarie (ottavo capitolo).

Parole chiave : servizi dei media audiovisivi, contenuti sessuali, pornografia minorile, pornografia, violenza, regolamentazione, autoregolamentazione, adolescenti, bambini, politica europea, Parlamento europeo.

Conclusion

La thèse s'inspire d'une participation directe aux phénomènes décrits, d'abord à travers une enquête sociologique auprès des jeunes sur la réception de la pornographie en ligne, puis par l'observation des activités politico-institutionnelles dans le cadre du programme *Safer Internet* de la Commission européenne⁵⁰. À partir de perspectives différentes, notre attention a porté sur le débat parlementaire européen relatif aux médias audiovisuels et aux contenus sexuels accessibles en ligne aux adolescents. L'hypothèse principale qui guide le travail de terrain est que les débats politiques européens présentent des limites en termes de représentativité des cultures nationales, qui se remarquent sur le plan politico-juridique, scientifique, éthique et décisionnel. Les résultats sur lesquels nous avons vérifié cette hypothèse sont les suivants : 1. la variété des interprétations politico-juridiques ; 2. la complexité des enjeux impliqués dans la prise de décision relative aux risques en ligne ; 3. les limites du savoir scientifique européen en termes de représentativité des cultures nationales ; 4. la multiplicité des considérations éthiques ; 5. le choix de privilégier des mesures auto-réglementaires.

La variété des interprétations politico-juridiques

Le premier de ces résultats est décrit dans le quatrième chapitre de la thèse. Nous avons observé comment les différentes interprétations politico-juridiques sont déterminées par la diversité culturelle et les évolutions technologiques. À cet égard, les orateurs expriment une exigence de flexibilité de certaines définitions, afin qu'elles puissent s'adapter aux changements sans perdre la précision nécessaire pour garantir la protection juridique. La réflexion s'étend ensuite à la nature changeante de l'objet technique, qui est en constante évolution. De plus, les politiques connexes aux technologies en ligne peuvent être inspirées par différents systèmes idéologiques qui, dans notre cas, se différencient entre protectionnistes ou libertaires. La prédominance de l'une ou l'autre position semble être déterminée par une manière différente d'interpréter l'impact de la technologie sur la collectivité. En outre, les difficultés relevées dans la recherche de définitions communes

⁵⁰ Pour en savoir plus, voir la section 1.4. « Itinéraire vers la thèse ».

ralentissent remarquablement les processus décisionnels. La variété des interprétations exprime l'importance d'inclure la protection de la diversité culturelle dans les priorités de la politique des médias européens.

L'application de la méthode Alceste sur les définitions des termes a donné quatre classes, qui mettent en évidence les groupes de mots récurrents dans les débats. Sur le plan sémantique, ces classes ont été respectivement intitulées comme suit : l'importance de la protection des enfants (classe 1, 24,24 %), la difficulté de définir certains termes (classe 2, 24,24 %), la limite d'âge des enfants (classe 3, 18,18 %), la variété des définitions relatives aux services de médias audiovisuels (classe 4, 33,33 %).

Un autre élément interprétatif est lié à la variété des définitions de certains termes en raison des différences culturelles. Des exemples de questions soulevées au regard des médias audiovisuels se réfèrent à la conception de la fonction publique, la définition d'œuvre audiovisuelle et la distinction entre services linéaires et non linéaires. Ces termes ont été débattus dans le processus décisionnel conduisant à la directive Services de médias audiovisuels. Dans ce cas, les différentes conceptions sont ancrées dans le passé historique de chaque pays par rapport à la fonction informative du service public, ou par rapport à la multiplicité des expressions culturelles pour la définition d'*« œuvre audiovisuelle européenne »*. D'autre part, la distinction entre services linéaires et services non linéaires est de nature psychosociale, technologique et économique.

Les différentes interprétations législatives de certains concepts, comme celles d'*« enfant »* et *« contenu nuisible »*, montrent comment les systèmes juridiques reflètent les variations des conceptions culturelles. Un exemple est relatif aux interprétations de contenus *« nuisant gravement »* ou même *« susceptibles de nuire »* aux enfants dans les différents États membres. Néanmoins, certains éléments communs émergent. Par exemple, la quasi-totalité des pays classe la pornographie comme un contenu *« gravement préjudiciable »*. Les seules exceptions sont la France, l'Angleterre, la Lituanie et la Pologne, qui ne la mentionnent pas directement. Parmi les contenus *« susceptibles de nuire »* aux enfants, les contenus sexuels sont nommés de manière différente, en tant que *« pornographie soft »* et *« contenus érotiques ou sexuels »* au Portugal, en Slovénie et en Allemagne, *« situations érotiques »* en Pologne, ou *« sexe »* en Italie et Espagne. Par rapport aux contenus sexuels nuisibles, un accord plutôt répandu sur leurs implications en termes de dommage est remarqué, même si des variations sont relevées sur le niveau de gravité. Un cas plus complexe de différentes conceptions est relatif à l'âge du *« mineur »*. L'âge de la

majorité, qui signe le passage de l'enfance à l'âge adulte, varie dans les pays européens entre 16, 18 ou 21 ans. La question est épineuse dans l'application de l'interdiction de diffusion de certains contenus. Un exemple est la variété des classifications par âge appliquées aux plages horaires de diffusion restreinte à la télévision. Des variations entre 12, 14, 15 et 16 ans sont présentes dans les différents pays. Ces interprétations multiples des restrictions selon l'âge sont débattues au Parlement européen. Par exemple, en 2000, plusieurs orateurs ont mis en évidence que la limite d'âge de 16-18 ans aurait dû être indiquée plus précisément ou qu'elle devrait correspondre à l'âge le plus élevé de 18 ans. Le problème de l'âge est surtout en lien avec la pornographie infantile, afin d'établir l'âge limite auquel la maltraitance des enfants peut être considérée comme abus sur un mineur.

D'une autre nature sont les argumentations relatives aux principes juridiques, qui consistent notamment en la tentative de désigner les organismes chargés de la réglementation et de l'application des sanctions à l'égard des contenus audiovisuels illicites. Dans ce sens, les questions à la base des discussions sur les principes du pays d'origine et de subsidiarité sont les suivantes : le niveau réglementaire est-il national ou international ? Les crimes impliqués par les contenus illicites doivent-ils être sanctionnés dans l'État membre de réception ou dans celui de diffusion ?

Ces interrogations sont soulevées dans le cadre des décisions sur les directives, en particulier dans la série de débats sur la directive Services de médias audiovisuels. Il existe un lien entre les dimensions juridique et économique dans le cas du principe du pays d'origine ; ces discussions sont au cœur du marché unique européen pour la diffusion des œuvres audiovisuelles. Dans les débats antérieurs à 2007 relatifs à la directive Télévisions sans frontières, le principe de subsidiarité est évoqué à plusieurs reprises. L'objectif est d'établir la priorité d'action de l'Union européenne, surtout en termes d'harmonisation et de coopération entre les États membres. Les considérations liées à ces principes expriment la difficulté d'établir un niveau de régulation, qu'il soit national ou international. En ce sens, une priorité est accordée à l'intérêt économique de définir les politiques européennes selon la stratégie de Lisbonne, dont l'objectif était de faire de l'Union européenne « l'économie de la connaissance la plus compétitive et la plus dynamique du monde d'ici 2010 ».

La complexité des enjeux impliqués dans la prise de décision relative aux risques en ligne

Le deuxième résultat, argumenté dans le cinquième chapitre, démontre *la complexité des enjeux impliqués dans la prise de décision relative aux risques en ligne*. Une distinction sur les opportunités et les risques en ligne et la centralité des abus et de l'exploitation sexuelle sont remarquées dans le cadre de l'analyse réalisée à l'aide de la méthode Alceste, qui a abouti à quatre groupes de mots issus de la description des risques audiovisuels en ligne⁵¹. Des quatre classes, deux correspondent à 37,3 % de l'ensemble du corpus, associées à plusieurs risques de violence tels que le harcèlement, la violence, l'intimidation, la pédophilie (classe 3, 23,2 %) et l'abus et l'exploitation sexuels (classe 2, 14,1 %). D'autre part, la description des risques est contrebalancée par un discours sur les opportunités offertes par les technologies en ligne (classe 4, 31,7 %). Enfin, en tenant compte du contexte (le Parlement européen) et des orateurs (les différents membres des institutions européennes impliqués dans les débats), un ensemble de termes se réfère aux mesures politiques européennes (classe 1, 31 %).

Une analyse de contenu plus détaillée a révélé la dualité des descriptions d'Internet. En outre, le risque en ligne est délimité par quatre éléments caractéristiques qui mettent en évidence les défis connexes au processus décisionnel européen : 1. la double nature de la Toile entre dangers et opportunités ; 2. la lenteur du processus décisionnel ; 3. la dimension internationale du numérique ; 4. la pornographie juvénile et l'exploitation sexuelle.

Par rapport au premier élément, à savoir la double nature de la Toile : entre dangers et opportunités, les avantages associés à l'utilisation d'Internet sont largement contrebalancés par plusieurs dangers. Les bénéfices incluent les opportunités cognitives, informatives et communicationnelles, les transformations du monde du travail et de la production, la promotion culturelle, la liberté d'expression, d'action politique et d'association. Ces effets positifs sont mis en opposition avec les risques de facilitation de la diffusion de contenus violents, y compris pornographiques et pédopornographiques, et la disponibilité remarquable de ces matériaux illégaux. La plupart des interventions sur la double nature du Net mettent en parallèle une multiplicité de fonctions positives avec une description restreinte des risques. Ces derniers se limitent aux contenus violents, notamment de nature

51 Le corpus a été composé des parties du texte tirées du code « description du problème ».

sexuelle, et aux matériaux illégaux. Des voix opposées s'élèvent rarement pour mettre en évidence les possibles effets et les contreparties des mêmes caractéristiques ; c'est le cas par exemple de l'accessibilité, la gratuité et la puissance, vues par un orateur comme des éléments facilitateurs des activités des réseaux criminels⁵². Enfin, la double nature de la Toile est connexe à une réflexion sur son utilisation par les enfants seulement dans deux interventions. À cet égard, la diffusion d'Internet, notamment par le biais de dispositifs mobiles, et leurs compétences informatiques augmentent l'exposition des enfants aux dangers en ligne⁵³.

Le deuxième élément s'est concentré sur la lenteur du processus décisionnel, opposée à la rapidité des évolutions technologiques. Un exemple de ce difficile équilibre est observable dans le changement de dénomination de la directive Télévision sans frontières en Services de médias audiovisuels. Elle inclut les services audiovisuels disponibles par d'autres dispositifs connectés à Internet. La lenteur du processus décisionnel se manifeste également vis-à-vis de la nécessité de retirer rapidement les contenus illicites, l'application des mesures politiques et le lancement d'actions informatives sur les risques. Le problème de cette différence temporelle se pose surtout par rapport à la pédopornographie, dont la diffusion est même accélérée par d'autres phénomènes, tels que le *Dark Web*, le *Deep Web* et le marché noir en ligne.

Dans le cadre du troisième élément, nous avons récolté les références aux limites de la dimension internationale du numérique. L'environnement transnational de la Toile rend difficile l'élimination du matériel illégal, l'identification des criminels et l'application des sanctions. De plus, l'anonymat des utilisateurs de pornographie et pédopornographie, les réseaux des pédophiles et la localisation des serveurs d'images illicites hors des frontières européennes constituent des composantes critiques de l'internationalité. Parmi les solutions aux crimes en ligne, certaines interventions mentionnent l'harmonisation des réglementations européennes, la mise en place rapide de mesures supranationales et le contrôle des crimes par la coopération. L'Alliance mondiale contre la pédopornographie en ligne constitue l'une des initiatives de coopération internationale. Un autre problème associé

52 Thursday, 26 March 2009 - Strasbourg - Explanations of vote.

53 Wednesday 22 October 2008 Explanations of vote ; Wednesday, 11 March 2015 - Strasbourg - Fight against child sexual abuse on the Internet.

à la dimension transnationale de la Toile consiste dans les retards de ratification de certains traités⁵⁴ et l'application des directives⁵⁵.

La sous-section la plus dense, correspondant au quatrième élément, s'est focalisée sur les problèmes les plus urgents, tels que *La pornographie juvénile et l'exploitation sexuelle*⁵⁶. Ces deux phénomènes occupent une grande partie de l'analyse des situations de risque. Ils sont décrits comme des violations des droits fondamentaux en vertu de la Convention des Nations Unies relative aux droits de l'enfant de 1989 et la Charte des droits fondamentaux de l'Union européenne de 2000. À ce propos, l'Union européenne est garante également des droits de l'enfant en ce qui concerne ces questions, selon l'Agenda européen pour les droits de l'enfant (2011) et la directive relative à la lutte contre les abus sexuels et l'exploitation sexuelle des enfants, ainsi que la pédopornographie (92/2011/UE). Cependant, l'efficacité de cette dernière est limitée.

Parmi les causes de l'augmentation de la disponibilité de la pédopornographie en ligne, l'exploitation sexuelle des enfants et la diffusion de la pornographie sont également citées. Cette dernière peut générer des formes de dépendance, comme une drogue, et une tendance à chercher des stimuli toujours plus forts. Particulièrement controversée est la position d'un orateur qui rappelle la liberté sexuelle promise par les partis de gauche dans les années 1960 ; il attribue à cette permissivité la responsabilité de la diffusion de la pornographie et la production de la pédopornographie, la formation de partis politiques pédophiles, et même l'augmentation des divorces et des familles monoparentales.

Par ailleurs, pour plusieurs raisons, Internet facilite la diffusion de ces contenus : il protège l'anonymat des consommateurs et des fournisseurs ; il permet d'accélérer les innovations techniques pour éviter le contrôle étatique ; il facilite la reproduction et la diffusion des vidéos et des images ; il promeut de nouvelles formes de distribution

⁵⁴ Dans les exemples présentés, il s'agit du Protocole facultatif concernant la vente d'enfants, la prostitution et la pornographie mettant en scène des enfants dans la Convention sur les droits de l'enfant (2000), du Protocole additionnel à la Convention des Nations Unies contre la criminalité transnationale organisée visant à prévenir, réprimer et punir la traite des personnes, en particulier des femmes et des enfants, connu sous le nom de Protocole de Palerme (2002), et de la Convention sur la cybercriminalité du Conseil de l'Europe (2001).

⁵⁵ C'est le cas en 2015 de la directive relative à la lutte contre les abus sexuels et l'exploitation sexuelle des enfants, ainsi que la pédopornographie (92/2011/UE).

⁵⁶ Ce résultat est, dans notre analyse, déterminé par le choix du corpus des débats où nous avons privilégié les risques de nature sexuelle. Pour cette raison, une grande partie de notre corpus est composée de débats sur la lutte contre la pédopornographie en ligne et l'exploitation sexuelle.

commerciale et de paiement. L'augmentation de ce type de criminalité et la difficulté de son contrôle sont dénoncées. La Toile a même transformé les modalités des abus sexuels, et a facilité les contacts avec les pédophiles et la production et la diffusion d'images de ces violences.

Sur le plan commercial, de nouvelles formes de distribution et de méthodes de paiement apparaissent sur le *Deep Web* et le *Dark Web*. Ces derniers rendent la détection des crimes en ligne plus difficile. En outre, le marché pédopornographique offre des gains faciles pour les diffuseurs et les producteurs. D'autre part, la demande est concentrée dans les pays riches alors que l'offre d'exploitation sexuelle est présente dans les pays pauvres. En ce qui concerne la maltraitance des enfants, les abus sexuels ne sont pas toujours faciles à prouver et, bien souvent, les sanctions appropriées ne sont pas imposées. L'application de la loi est encore trop limitée vis-à-vis de l'organisation du réseau international de pédophiles et de l'industrie du sexe. La plupart des victimes subissent des dommages du fait de la présence en ligne de leurs images. Des enfants réapparaissent dans le monde de la prostitution ou se rendent coupables des mêmes abus subis. La régulation sur ces aspects de victimisation post-traumatique est encore absente. De plus, les données sur ces phénomènes sont actuellement trop pauvres pour pouvoir reconstruire un cadre correct, par exemple sur l'ampleur du réseau des criminels de pédophilie. Le problème s'étend à d'autres phénomènes sociaux contre les enfants, tels que le tourisme sexuel, la traite des enfants et des femmes. Parmi ceux-ci, l'augmentation de la pédophilie est signalée. Le contact des pédophiles avec les enfants peut être facilité par les réseaux sociaux, également au moyen de fausses identités.

Les organismes judiciaires et policiers devraient renforcer leur capacité à analyser les images d'abus sexuels sur les enfants et à enquêter sur les crimes. Les limites des autorités d'application de la loi permettent un renforcement de l'organisation du réseau international de pédophiles et de l'industrie du sexe. Des formes de coopération entre ces organismes et l'industrie amélioreraient le niveau d'efficacité des mesures.

Les limites du savoir scientifique européen en termes de représentativité des cultures nationales

Le sixième chapitre se concentre sur *les limites du savoir scientifique européen en termes de représentativité des cultures nationales* et met en particulier l'accent sur l'influence des statistiques et des études relatives à la construction de la connaissance scientifique sur les contenus sexuels nuisibles pour les enfants en ligne. Notre objectif a été de vérifier le type de connaissance scientifique mentionnée dans les débats parlementaires, d'en examiner les limites en termes de comparaison interculturelle et d'en comprendre l'influence dans les argumentations sur les phénomènes débattus. Tout d'abord, les données sont produites par des organisations internationales liées aux institutions européennes, telles qu'Eurobaromètre, Europol, Interpol. Leur insuffisance est souvent signalée au cours des débats sur la lutte contre la pornographie enfantine en ligne. Cette série de discussions présente une plus grande variété de sources citées, mais les données diffèrent dans le choix des thèmes qui font référence à des problèmes distincts associés au sujet principal⁵⁷. Les statistiques sur la pornographie infantile sont liées au phénomène de l'exploitation et l'abus sexuels sur les enfants. Dans les débats sur ces thèmes, la multiplicité des sources montre la difficulté et le besoin de comprendre ce problème complexe, provenant également des pays non européens. Puis d'autres études et rapports relatifs au marché européen de la production audiovisuelle sont cités dans la série de débats sur les services de médias audiovisuels. Enfin, une référence minimale est faite à certaines études sur l'autorégulation et l'éducation aux médias.

Les phénomènes dangereux décrits par des données nationales se différencient d'un pays à l'autre. Citons le déclin de l'attention parentale en Lituanie, Estonie et Norvège ; des considérations sur l'exposition aux risques selon le genre en Suède ; l'augmentation de l'accès mobile à Internet ou aux réseaux sociaux en Estonie ; une utilisation accrue des réseaux sociaux en Croatie. Cette diversification des données reflète la variété des priorités politiques. Le plus souvent, les cas nationaux choisis répondent à des objectifs : soit ils

⁵⁷ Les thèmes traités sont similaires à ceux du chapitre précédent (recueillis par le code « description du problème »), mais plus spécifiques ; ce sont l'utilisation risquée d'Internet, les risques en ligne et la pornographie, la pornographie infantile et l'exploitation sexuelle, les services de médias audiovisuels. Les deux premiers thèmes sont principalement présents dans la série de débats sur l'utilisation plus sûre d'Internet et la protection des mineurs, les troisième et quatrième thèmes le sont dans les séries homonymes.

suggèrent des comparaisons internationales à partir du cas présenté, soit ils mobilisent des positions politiques précises.

L'analyse de contenu menée sur les statistiques a mis en évidence cinq domaines thématiques : 1. l'utilisation risquée de l'Internet ; 2. la pornographie et les autres risques en ligne ; 3. la pornographie juvénile et l'exploitation sexuelle ; 4. les services de médias audiovisuels ; 5. l'autoréglementation et l'éducation aux médias. Cette classification peut être interprétée comme fondée sur les différents degrés de risques pour les enfants. Ils varient alors d'un simple usage abusif d'Internet (1^{er} degré), au partage d'images et informations nuisibles (2^e degré), jusqu'à la conduite d'activités illégales sur les enfants victimes d'agression sexuelle (3^e degré). En outre, ces degrés correspondent à différents niveaux d'implication politique et réglementation internationale.

Par conséquent, les positions idéologiques et les objectifs politiques ont une influence sur les résultats statistiques et le processus décisionnel. Certaines données sont précédées ou suivies de considérations éthiques ou de réflexions politiques, qui soulignent leur connotation culturelle et politique. Cependant, il manque une comparaison interculturelle de statistiques provenant de différents États membres. En réalité, même si les données énumérées incluent plusieurs pays, l'intention est de mettre en évidence les priorités d'un ou plusieurs contextes nationaux.

Sur le plan thématique, la connaissance sur les risques audiovisuels sexuels est construite à partir de données statistiques et d'études relatives à divers phénomènes pertinents, tels que la fréquence d'utilisation, les activités en ligne, le contexte culturel, les typologies de risque et la pornographie juvénile. La fréquence d'utilisation est mesurée sur une base quotidienne ou hebdomadaire, ou bien est simplement remarquée comme étant excessive et associée à une exposition au risque. En ce qui concerne l'utilisation de la Toile, plusieurs facettes sont mises en évidence : l'âge précoce, le type de dispositif utilisé (ordinateur ou appareil mobile) et le médium de distribution (télévision ou Internet). Les activités en ligne répertoriées sont l'utilisation de réseaux sociaux et le téléchargement de contenus controversés. Parmi les risques en ligne, la pornographie et la violence suscitent une préoccupation majeure, suivies de la pédophilie, des sectes religieuses, des sites Web pour apprendre à commettre des crimes ou à produire des drogues, du contenu incitant à la violence, à l'automutilation, au suicide, à l'anorexie ou à la boulimie. En outre, les descriptions des risques sexuels audiovisuels en ligne incluent des activités plus violentes, telles que la pédophilie en ligne, les abus sexuels, la traite négrière, le travail forcé et la pornographie juvénile. En particulier, dans les débats sur la pornographie juvénile, les contenus

sexuels nuisibles sont principalement liés à la violence ; ils incluent la pédophilie, l'esclavage et les abus sexuels.

Des tentatives sont faites pour identifier les groupes de victimes selon leur âge et le type de risque. Plusieurs groupes d'âge sont pris en considération et liés à diverses catégories de risque : pédophilie en ligne, esclavage, abus et exploitation sexuels. Ainsi, l'augmentation des abus sexuels est associée à la croissance de l'utilisation d'Internet. Les parents sont impliqués, par exemple au regard de leur sentiment de préoccupation concernant l'exposition au risque ou le manque de communication avec leurs enfants. Certaines données mesurent l'utilisation des applications de filtrage et la mise en œuvre de programmes éducatifs médiatiques. Par conséquent, les risques en ligne sont repérés différemment dans ces deux groupes de débats selon les priorités politiques, allant des risques néfastes pour les enfants aux activités plus violentes et criminelles.

Selon les contextes culturels, les priorités mises en évidence par les parlementaires varient. La diversité des identités culturelles est alors exprimée dans le choix des phénomènes sociaux qui sont mis en évidence, notamment par des références à la connaissance nationale ou à des expériences personnelles. Dans de nombreuses interventions, on met l'accent sur les thèmes qui, dans la culture d'appartenance de chaque orateur, sont prioritaires. Cette multiplicité engendre des visions variées qui se traduisent par une classification différente des priorités politiques. Ces diverses perspectives nationales dénotent une des difficultés principales pour penser une politique internationale relative aux risques audiovisuels sexuels en ligne.

Un autre élément d'interprétation ancré dans le vécu des locuteurs est leur expérience personnelle de nature politique, professionnelle ou familiale. Quelques exemples sont les rôles joués dans les gouvernements respectifs sur des questions connexes, ou la participation à des événements, des réunions et des consultations. La référence à sa propre expérience légitime une compétence sur les questions traitées. Par ailleurs, les représentants qui participent aux débats du Parlement européen peuvent ne pas avoir les compétences nécessaires pour comprendre les phénomènes qu'ils commentent, observent et sur lesquels ils sont appelés à se prononcer. Bien que le problème du manque de compétence de la part des représentants politiques dans les démocraties soit une vaste question, nous ne voulons pas nous attarder sur cet aspect. D'autre part, il faut dire que, parmi les problèmes observables, figure la procédure concernant les domaines de compétence confiés aux parlementaires. Ceci explique en partie le manque de connaissance des phénomènes sociaux décrits sur lesquels les interventions sont fondées.

La multiplicité des considérations éthiques

Le septième chapitre tient compte de la *multiplicité des considérations éthiques* et de leurs variations sur la base des critères thématiques, culturels et idéologiques. Dans la première section, la méthode Alceste a donné comme résultat une division en six classes relatives aux parties du discours codées comme « réflexions éthiques » ; elles sont centrées sur la protection de la diversité culturelle (classe 1, 15,62 %), la liberté d'expression (classe 2, 18,75 %), la protection des enfants (classe 3, 18,75 %), la protection des consommateurs (classe 4, 12,5 %), le placement de produit et la publicité (classe 5, 15,62 %), la prévention de la violence (classe 6, 18,8 %). Ces classes indiquent notamment des valeurs défendues par les orateurs, qui se distinguent entre libertaires, comme la liberté d'expression (classe 2), et protectionnistes, comme la protection des enfants et des consommateurs (classes 3 et 4). Ces idées protectionnistes sont surtout justifiées par la prévention de la violence (classe 6). D'autre part, les débats relatifs aux services de médias audiovisuels soulèvent des enjeux éthiques différents, liés au placement de produit (classe 5) et à la protection de la diversité culturelle (classe 1). Les principales réflexions éthiques sont motivées par les sujets suivants : 1. la recherche d'un système de médias audiovisuels axés sur le service public ou sur le marché ; 2. les problèmes de la pornographie juvénile et l'exploitation sexuelle ; 3. l'équilibre entre liberté d'expression et risque de censure ; 4. le rapport entre protection des enfants et liberté d'expression. Le premier point souligne la nécessité de trouver un équilibre entre l'offre commerciale et le service public afin de défendre les valeurs démocratiques. Bien que le système dual puisse exprimer l'idée du libéralisme démocratique européen, les paysages médiatiques sont différenciés selon les origines socioculturelles et les priorités politiques et économiques⁵⁸. Plus précisément, les controverses relatives au service public sont soulevées par des représentants des systèmes ex-totalitaires, où l'information publique a été contrôlée par des partis politiques pendant plusieurs années. Par conséquent, ces positions mettent en évidence un risque de réglementation, de contrôle de l'État ou d'ingérence politique excessifs sur l'environnement médiatique. L'influence de la diversité culturelle émerge alors différemment dans les considérations éthiques. Par exemple, les orateurs des pays post-

⁵⁸ Ces arguments ne sont abordés que dans les débats sur la politique et la réglementation audiovisuelle de 2005 à 2013.

totalitaires se concentrent sur la distinction entre le service public et le système commercial des médias audiovisuels. A contrario, les intervenants des démocraties néolibérales donnent la priorité au placement de produit dans la publicité destinée aux enfants. Le choix de ces arguments est explicitement justifié par les événements historiques qui ont caractérisé, par exemple, l'évolution du système des médias dans les pays post-totalitaires de sorte que, selon eux, la valeur du pluralisme reste un idéal à réaliser pour lequel ils ont lutté. Les idéaux politiques ne sont donc pas justifiés par l'appartenance à des partis, mais plutôt par l'expérience historico-culturelle des différentes populations. En outre, la défense des intérêts économiques est contredite par une polémique selon laquelle une télévision de style américain dominée par la publicité devrait être évitée. Les idéologies politiques des partis européens influencent également les points de vue relatifs à l'équilibre entre la publicité et l'information.

Le deuxième point, la pornographie juvénile, soulève des considérations éthiques dans les débats sur la politique et la réglementation audiovisuelles et dans ceux sur la pornographie juvénile⁵⁹. Dans ce cas, les différentes positions idéologiques sont motivées par l'appartenance à des partis politiques ou à des cultures nationales dans lesquelles certaines idéologies politiques ont dominé. Bien que limitées, des positions très controversées sont manifestées à l'égard de ce sujet qui engendre même une attitude extrémiste dans quelques interventions. Nous rappelons en particulier un orateur qui considère la diffusion de la pornographie enfantine comme la conséquence d'une certaine permissivité encouragée par la gauche, en lien avec d'autres phénomènes comme la légalisation de l'avortement et l'acceptation de l'homosexualité. C'est le cas du discours d'un membre du groupe TDI. L'orateur renforce également sa position en insistant sur d'autres problèmes sociaux provoqués par la déviance morale, la solitude, les familles brisées, la toxicomanie, la promiscuité sexuelle, les sectes et l'alcoolisme. Cette intervention a été très controversée au sein du Parlement européen, et a provoqué de fortes réactions.

En outre, la pornographie juvénile est combinée à d'autres formes graves de violence contre les enfants, comme l'exploitation sexuelle, la dépravation, la pornographie en ligne et le tourisme sexuel. Afin de contraster certains de ces crimes contre l'humanité, des orateurs proposent la réintroduction de la peine de mort. Le troisième point oppose les valeurs de la liberté d'expression

⁵⁹ Les débats ont eu lieu respectivement en 2000 et 2006 pour le premier thème, et en 2009 et 2015 pour le deuxième.

à la censure dans les débats sur la liberté d'expression en 2006 et 2009. La défense de la liberté d'expression s'oppose à une restriction réglementaire excessive et à d'autres formes de censure acceptées par des entreprises occidentales, y compris européennes, dans certains pays extra-européens. En conséquence, le besoin de gouvernance de la Toile à l'encontre des violations des droits de l'homme est mis en évidence. Les limites à la liberté d'expression sont discutées afin d'éviter la propagation d'informations anti-démocratiques et immorales. Enfin, le quatrième point souligne l'équilibre difficile entre la liberté d'expression et la protection des enfants dans les débats sur la liberté d'expression en 2006 et la pornographie juvénile en 2015, avec des références au contenu violent et surtout à la pédopornographie. Dans le premier groupe de débats, cette dernière est considérée – comme l'extrémisme de droite – en tant que prétexte pour restreindre les libertés fondamentales. En outre, certains intervenants considèrent que même la protection de l'enfance a été utilisée comme un « prétexte » ou un « cheval de Troie » pour contrôler le Web. Les raisons des abstentions posent la nécessité de trouver un juste équilibre entre la protection de l'enfance et la liberté d'expression. Selon un orateur, l'objectif est de défendre les vraies libertés qui ne dérivent pas des formes d'anarchie. Ainsi, les cas présentés dans les débats donnent lieu à des polémiques sur les limites de la liberté d'expression en matière de droits de l'homme, tout en créant une description hégémonique d'Internet comme espace libéral. Ce dernier est désigné comme un medium dont la liberté doit être défendue, et où les activités criminelles doivent être limitées. Les exemples envisagés portent sur des systèmes autorisant la censure pour des raisons politiques, comme la Chine, Cuba, la Birmanie, la Biélorussie ; les seules exceptions sont les États-Unis, où le contrôle est justifié par des raisons juridiques et éthiques, pour défendre la société civile contre les criminels.

Le choix de privilégier les activités d'autoréglementation de la Toile

Le huitième chapitre se concentre sur les *activités d'autoréglementation* et le programme *Safer Internet*, en élargissant la réflexion à une comparaison interculturelle. Les solutions auto-réglementaires répondent à la difficulté d'établir des réglementations internationales. Elles s'expriment dans des initiatives de dialogue entre les différentes parties prenantes visées dans la définition et l'approbation de codes de conduite et d'outils technologiques de protection ; d'autre part, elles se manifestent par des mesures de sensibilisation et d'éducation aux médias, financées

et organisées par des programmes spécifiques. Le chapitre relève trois aspects clés relatifs à l'autorégulation : les raisons avancées pour la défense de ces solutions (première section), la variété des initiatives d'autoréglementation mises en place (deuxième section), les mesures auto-réglementaires dans le programme *Safer Internet* et la directive Services de médias audiovisuels (troisième section).

Parmi les motivations pour privilégier les mesures auto-réglementaires, figure à plusieurs reprises l'importance de la responsabilisation des acteurs impliqués dans ces initiatives. Quelques intervenants sont conscients de l'inefficacité de ces mesures, pour lesquelles une définition des contours pour une implémentation correcte est exigée et un risque de déréglementation envisagé. À ce propos, est suggérée la mise en œuvre d'une « approche à plusieurs niveaux » qui entraîne tous les acteurs, y compris les familles et les enfants. Une implication majeure de l'État est proposée, par exemple avec l'inclusion des codes dans la structure législative. D'autre part, l'intervention étatique peut prendre la forme d'une répression totalitaire, comme dans certains pays extra-européens, où des entreprises ont même passé des accords avec les gouvernements. Les arguments portés à l'égard des diverses formes d'autoréglementation ont été analysés à l'aide de la méthode Alceste et d'une analyse de contenu.

Premièrement, nous avons considéré les actions de sensibilisation organisées par le programme *Safer Internet* par l'analyse de contenu, qui confirme la variété des solutions relevées à propos de l'autoréglementation. Nous l'avons simplifiée en quatre groupes thématiques : 1. l'éducation aux médias ; 2. l'autoréglementation des entreprises ; 3. les lignes d'assistance ; 4. les filtres de contrôle parental et d'autres solutions technologiques. En ce qui concerne l'éducation aux médias, nous soulignons l'importance des programmes et des financements. Les groupes bénéficiaires de ces initiatives sont les jeunes, mais aussi les adultes en charge de leur éducation. Un parallèle est fait avec les mesures éducatives appliquées aux dangers de la vie réelle, et nous mettons en évidence l'exigence de faire de la Toile un espace sûr. Le rôle des industries est crucial dans la mise en œuvre des initiatives auto-réglementaires. Un exemple important de Coalition est celle des PDG, visant à prendre des décisions communes et à trouver des solutions. Cependant, les intervenants soulignent la nécessité de faire pression sur les industries pour l'efficacité de leurs actions de protection. Le programme *Safer Internet* a eu comme priorité l'implémentation de lignes directes d'écoute dans les pays membres, ce qui a été le résultat d'un long processus. Par ailleurs, la connaissance de ces lignes directes et d'assistance est encore limitée. L'application de filtres de

contrôle parental figure parmi les mesures dont l'efficacité est évaluée par le programme *Safer Internet* ; à cet égard, le problème de sa mise en œuvre correcte est soulevé.

Les résultats tirés de la méthode Alceste ont été articulés en sept classes, ce qui démontre la variété et l'ampleur du sujet. Les groupes de mots relevés sont distingués selon les initiatives et les acteurs impliqués : les mesures politiques adressées à l'industrie (classe 1, 14,52 %) ; les initiatives de sensibilisation (classe 2, 12,9 %) ; plusieurs mesures visant à la sécurité des enfants (classe 3, 12,1 %) ; le réseau de lignes d'écoute et forces de police contre les crimes (classe 4, 16,13 %) ; la variété de solutions appliquées par les fournisseurs vis-à-vis des contenus illégaux, tels que les codes de conduite, les labels de qualité, la vérification de l'âge, les filtres (classe 5, 16,94 %) ; la responsabilité des entreprises (classe 6, 12,9 %) ; l'éducation aux médias (classe 7, 14,52 %). L'intégration de ces mesures auto-réglementaires dans le texte de la directive Services de médias audiovisuels constitue un élément nouveau dans le panorama européen. Cela fait partie d'une possible « autoréglementation contrôlée » vis-à-vis d'une multitude de solutions techniques.

Certaines interventions montrent les différences d'implémentation du programme *Safer Internet* dans les pays européens. Par exemple, les orateurs citent les acteurs qui s'occupent de sa gestion, tels que l'ONG *Naše dit ?* en République tchèque, les retards dans l'activation des lignes directes en Hongrie, les résultats de l'enquête *EUKidsOnline* dans un pays comme la Suède. Plus généralement, les mesures nationales sont citées comme exemples en matière d'autoréglementation.

Perspectives

Les résultats de la thèse pourraient évoluer vers d'autres travaux futurs portant sur des aspects liés à nos objets d'étude, qui pourraient être explorés selon d'autres perspectives. Premièrement, le même type d'enquête pourrait être appliqué aux fausses nouvelles ou à d'autres types de risques. Deuxièmement, une analyse du registre européen de la transparence pourrait être menée pour explorer les relations entre les parlementaires et les parties concernées. Une troisième idée pourrait être une observation participante mieux documentée relative aux activités du Parlement européen. Ou bien une étude par entretiens avec les principaux acteurs pourrait apporter une contribution significative de type qualitatif. Un autre objet de réflexion intéressant pourrait être l'observation des évolutions idéologiques sur un axe chronologique. Enfin, les identités des orateurs du

Parlement européen pourraient être explorées par l'analyse de leur appartenance politique, leur origine culturelle, leur sexe et/ou l'implémentation d'un sociogramme.

Face à cette multiplicité de futures pistes d'exploration, nous souhaitons souligner l'un des enseignements principaux reçu dans ce parcours, à la fois humain et professionnel. La recherche en sciences humaines et sociales nous met face à une multiplicité de choix méthodologiques et théoriques. Cependant, notre expérience nous a enseigné l'importance de trouver un équilibre entre les limites temporelles, les possibilités matérielles, les compétences des chercheurs impliqués et les responsabilités politiques et sociales connexes aux résultats. Cette réflexion a été le critère pour orienter nos choix en tenant toujours compte de nos limites et ambitions exploratoires.

Implications pour la politique

L'analyse décrite amène plusieurs réflexions, avec d'importantes implications politiques. Une première observation concerne la difficulté à définir les risques audiovisuels de nature sexuelle, qui met en évidence une accumulation de dangers possibles et une déshumanisation des usages de la technologie. Bien que la frayeur provoquée par la diffusion des contenus sexuels nuisibles pour les enfants soit d'ordre moral, la transformation des mœurs sexuelles et les différences culturelles sont très peu prises en considération. Ces facteurs complexes, plus simples à mesurer dans les cultures locales, déterminent fortement l'exposition au contenu sexuel. Le problème est alors que les enquêtes internationales sur lesquelles repose la formulation de politiques européennes ne sont pas suffisantes pour construire une connaissance scientifique des phénomènes locaux. Un manque de représentativité des cultures nationales est remarqué, ce qui fait que les interventions se concentrent sur les mesures statistiques de l'usage incorrect des technologies et non sur ses conséquences sur la santé psychique et physique. À cela s'ajoute une carence de précisions dans la définition des contenus sexuels nuisibles et dans la compréhension de leur impact, qui exige une attention majeure vers les dangers définis et leurs conséquences réelles. Par exemple, bien que la pornographie soit considérée comme l'un des risques principaux, le discours n'inclut pas de réflexions sur la transmission de maladies infectieuses, les grossesses précoces et l'avortement, entre autres. De cette représentation des risques sexuels en ligne résulte une politique déshumanisée, qui pourrait avoir un impact sur la santé physique et psychique des enfants, des adolescents et des jeunes. À ce propos, une solution totalement absente de l'agenda politique

européen est la création de programmes d'éducation sexuelle. Des descriptions des problèmes basées sur des connaissances scientifiques dérive une simplification qui souvent ne coïncide pas avec la grande complexité du problème traité. Par conséquent, tout en facilitant la communication interculturelle, la vivacité du débat international en ressort diminuée par des propositions simplistes. Cette réflexion, sur laquelle nous avons eu l'occasion de discuter avec différents experts, est en partie connue des spécialistes et des observateurs les plus attentifs. Mais nous nous interrogeons sur les raisons pour lesquelles cette machine bureaucratique, dont on relève tant d'inefficacité et de lenteurs, ne soit pas rénovée afin que les représentants de la citoyenneté au Parlement européen puissent donner une voix à la richesse de sa diversité culturelle⁶⁰.

La responsabilité de cette lacune coïncide probablement avec le manque correspondant de contributions scientifiques qui représentent les institutions européennes dans leur diversité culturelle, plutôt qu'en tant qu'organisations internationales. L'Europe par conséquent, comme union de peuples et d'échanges culturels, devrait être observée par des intellectuels et des politiciens qui en ont fait l'expérience. Il s'agit peut-être d'une génération qui a grandi avec des projets européens, des programmes Erasmus, des initiatives de recherche et de culture internationales, ayant des compétences d'intégration linguistique et culturelle dérivées des expériences vécues au contact avec plusieurs identités européennes. Cette génération pourra alors observer courageusement la diversité culturelle, en faisant de l'Europe un lieu de cultures, de traditions et de patrimoines. Pour cette génération de jeunes Européens, heureusement désormais dans la trentaine, l'Europe et ses institutions ne peuvent pas se limiter à une union économique et financière, pour laquelle les élites politiques se préoccupent davantage du marché unique et de compétitivité. Ces groupes politiques européens devraient donc être rajeunis avec ces nouveaux esprits, de jeunes Européens qui voyagent, parlent plusieurs langues, ont vécu dans différents pays européens et aiment l'Europe, non seulement comme un espace pour la circulation des biens, produits et services mais ainsi en tant que lieu plurilinguistique, multiculturel et transfrontalier.

Une deuxième observation concerne l'importance des limites du multiculturalisme. La dimension interculturelle du débat européen constitue un obstacle pour la mise en œuvre des processus décisionnels. D'autre part, ce ralentissement dans le cadre des politiques liées à la Toile

⁶⁰ Même sur le plan politique, en analysant les résultats des votes des débats parlementaires (en annexe), nous remarquons que la diversité des opinions est résolue dans un consensus majoritaire concernant les décisions proposées par les institutions, même sur les questions les plus controversées. Nous n'avons pas voulu approfondir ce résultat, qui laisse à penser que le Parlement européen a une influence limitée dans le processus de prise de décision politique.

est confronté à la rapidité du développement technologique. Par conséquent, seuls les États membres peuvent prendre des décisions qui accélèrent ces processus dans le respect des diversités nationales. Cette exigence se manifeste surtout à l'égard de phénomènes récents, comme le terrorisme, la violence, la pornographie juvénile, qui rappellent l'urgence de mettre en place des mesures réglementaires efficaces. Sans vouloir soutenir des solutions répressives ou qui puissent dériver vers une censure de la Toile, nous considérons comme nécessaire une action rapide vis-à-vis de l'exposition aux risques les plus dangereux pour la société. La conscience des ralentissements impliqués dans les mécanismes de réglementation et de transposition soulève des questions spécifiques de gouvernance de la Toile. Les temps des processus décisionnels ont été établis selon les rythmes d'un monde qui ne connaissait pas encore l'accélération impliquée par le numérique. Faudrait-il alors les repenser ? Aux experts de ces processus, il faudrait demander si leurs temps d'application ne pourraient pas être reconstruits et adaptés au rythme rapide de la transformation technologique. Si oui, de quelle manière ?

D'autre part, le problème se pose sur les dangers pour lesquels les conséquences sont plus difficiles à mesurer, comme dans le cas de la pornographie. Même en étant reconnu comme « nuisant gravement », ou « susceptible de nuire » aux enfants dans la plupart des cultures européennes depuis des années, le contenu pornographique peut circuler encore librement dans les dispositifs en ligne des enfants. À toutes les heures, tous les jours, ces images risquées sont visionnées par des personnes de plus en plus jeunes, face à la difficulté d'en limiter l'accès par les élites intellectuelles, politiques, économiques et les instances éducatives. Ainsi, une plus grande attention est consacrée à des formes de criminalité plutôt qu'à la protection, l'éducation des enfants et leur équilibre psychosocial.

Une troisième observation est que les solutions d'autoréglementation du marché s'inspirent d'une idéologie néolibérale. Face à un équilibre difficile entre liberté d'expression et protection des enfants, l'Europe se caractérise dans le panorama international par des conceptions différentes de la liberté d'expression par rapport à celle défendue aux États-Unis, notamment en Californie. Par conséquent, l'environnement multiculturel européen renvoie à différentes limites éthiques sur ce principe. L'influence de la culture américaine sur l'espace européen ne peut pas ne pas tenir compte de la protection de la diversité culturelle. Actuellement, le paradigme dominant, qui oppose réglementation des contenus illicites et autoréglementation des contenus nuisibles, suit un modèle libéral californien. Cependant, un tel libéralisme n'est pas adapté aux exigences européennes des

différentes cultures. La prévalence de ce paradigme dans la réglementation de la Toile dépend de nombreux facteurs, intrinsèques dans son design et sa conception originale. Par ailleurs, dans l'espace public européen, un tel paradigme devrait être – il l'est déjà en partie – contrebalancé par des positions qui tiennent compte des identités locales. Une telle redéfinition de la pensée européenne par rapport aux technologies digitales pourrait se nourrir d'une connaissance scientifique commune, distincte de celle des États-Unis. Au contraire, l'Europe protège la diversité culturelle sans arriver à définir une identité commune qui la distingue des autres continents. Bien que le risque associé à une unification culturelle excessive soit évident, sa conséquence ne peut pas être immédiate. Face à l'hégémonie libérale diffusée par les réseaux sociaux, il est nécessaire de trouver des réponses, des idéaux et des valeurs communes. La mise en valeur des anciennes traditions culturelles semble être éclipsée par un souci envers la Toile conçue en tant qu'objet technique. La dérive de l'idéologie libérale américaine consiste en une déréglementation des entreprises et des utilisateurs, qui se manifeste actuellement dans la diffusion de fausses nouvelles ou de discours de haine. Cependant, les grandes compagnies de réseaux sociaux, comme Facebook, ne veulent pas se considérer responsables des contenus générés par les utilisateurs et diffusés sur leurs plateformes. Par conséquent, il est urgent de se demander quelles limites il est juste de poser à la liberté d'expression dans un espace supranational.

Une quatrième observation est que les interlocuteurs et les secteurs aptes à s'impliquer dans les processus décisionnels politiques ne sont pas seulement les entreprises actuellement entraînées dans des initiatives comme la *ICT* et la *CEO Coalition*, ou la *Alliance to Better Protect Minors Online*⁶¹. Tout en étant conscients que ces initiatives peuvent avoir une valeur politique et symbolique importante dans les relations internationales entre les institutions européennes et l'industrie multinationale des TIC, l'attention devrait se recentrer sur la recherche de solutions et sur leur efficacité. Alors, ne convient-il pas d'entraîner aussi d'autres entreprises ou interlocuteurs ? Parmi eux, nous pensons aux plateformes qui hébergent les contenus pornographiques – en particulier, celles américaines⁶² – qui pourraient être invitées à des réunions institutionnelles spécifiques.

⁶¹ D'autres initiatives auto-réglementaires ont été la *GSM Association (GSMA)*, l'Alliance mondiale contre l'abus sexuel d'enfants en ligne, le système d'information paneuropéen sur les jeux vidéo (*PEGI Pan-European Game Information*) et l'Alliance mondiale *WePROTECT* pour mettre fin à l'exploitation sexuelle en ligne des enfants, ou encore le Code de conduite pour contrer le contenu de haine illégal en ligne (*Code of Conduct on countering illegal hate speech online*).

⁶² Nous soulignons qu'il s'agit de l'un des secteurs technologiques les plus innovants et les plus rentables.

Une réflexion supplémentaire concerne l'inséparabilité des mesures réglementaires et des solutions technologiques pour la gouvernance de la Toile. Les décisions relatives à la réglementation d'Internet ne peuvent pas éviter une restructuration des codes, du design ou de l'expérience des utilisateurs. Un exemple efficace est le site touristique de commerce électronique Airbnb dans lequel, afin d'assurer la sécurité des transactions financières, un mode de vérification de l'identité de l'utilisateur *via* les téléphones mobiles et les cartes d'identité a été adopté. Ces formes de vérification d'identité – tout sauf envahissantes dans la liberté d'utilisation – garantissent que les utilisateurs sont habilités, car ils sont juridiquement responsables de tout dommage causé aux autres. De plus, la sécurité de la communauté Airbnb est garantie par la réputation des utilisateurs et leurs comportements. L'application d'un tel système de sécurité à la pornographie permettrait d'identifier l'âge des utilisateurs mineurs. Vis-à-vis de la facilité d'accès à ces sites, nous nous demandons alors quel est l'apport des experts du code informatique et des hackers dans la définition des politiques.

Une dernière observation se réfère à la couverture médiatique limitée des activités des institutions européennes. C'est le cas par exemple du programme *Safer Internet*, dans lequel les centres *Safer Internet* sont situés dans les grandes villes et ils ont peu de contacts avec le reste de la population nationale. À cela s'ajoute le fait que le Parlement européen est décentré par rapport aux institutions nationales. Par conséquent, l'engagement actif des participants au débat politique international est beaucoup moins fort. Cependant, ces décisions – surtout dans le cas d'Internet – ont un impact aussi important que la prise de décision locale ; elles sont peu contrôlées médiatiquement par l'opinion publique. Le débat national reste ainsi fermé aux identités des différents pays. Il n'est donc pas surprenant qu'il y ait une sorte de déresponsabilisation qui émerge à l'égard des thèmes présentés. Cette caractéristique de la classe politique par rapport aux enjeux éthiques n'affecte pas seulement les mineurs, mais aussi les pauvres, les malades, ceux qui n'ont pas de voix dans les débats politiques. Ainsi, la dernière question que l'on se pose est la suivante : comment le débat politique européen peut-il être repensé vis-à-vis des changements remarquables et rapides liés aux risques en ligne pour les démocraties occidentales ?

United Nations News articles

Social media giants meet at UN to address online terrorism

11 December 2017

General News

The UN Security Council has called for dialogue with major social media companies in order to limit terrorists' ability to recruit and operate online.

To that end, last month saw the [launch](#) of the [Tech Against Terrorism](#)'s Knowledge Sharing Platform, at UN Headquarters in New York, involving some major players in the field, including Google, Facebook, and the NGO ICT4Peace.

The support of big information technology companies will enable medium and small-scale companies - especially start-ups – to also join the fight against terrorism going forward.

Agnese Pastoring reports.

Teaching students to be 'analytical thinkers' thanks to Anne Frank

23 November 2017

Interviews

More than 500 students came to UN Headquarters in New York this month to mark the [70th anniversary of the publication of the diary of Anne Frank](#) and celebrate the “deep connection” they feel with the young Holocaust victim.

Her famous diary written as she and her family hid from the Nazis in an Amsterdam attic, has inspired several generations since World War Two, and is a testament to the need for greater cultural understanding and respect for diversity.

During the UN event, students were encouraged to become “analytical thinkers” when it comes to modern refugees and migrants, fleeing hatred and persecution.

Agnese Pastorino was there.

Duration: 4'4"

Health services for young migrants are crucial, UNFPA expert says

2 December 2017

Interviews

Safeguarding human rights, ensuring a safe and orderly journey and guaranteed health services are some of the key issues facing young migrants.

That's highlighted by Romesh Silva, technical specialist for the [UNFPA](#), who was at UN Headquarters for an event on [Health and Human Mobility](#) this week.

One of UNFPA's goals is improving available data on young migrants.

The hope is that innovation will lead to real-time information gathering, to define detailed migration paths.

Mr Silva spoke to Agnese Pastorino, and brought up the example of an innovative project developed by UNFPA, in partnership with the Danish Refugee Council and what's known as the Regional Mixed Migration Secretariat.

Sex abuses in Iraq perpetrated frequently: UN expert

11 November 2017

Interviews

In Iraq, investigating the numerous and unique cases of sexual violence has been a "very difficult" experience.

That's according to Rabiaa, former investigator for UN Women missions in Iraq and Syria on sexual violence in conflict-related areas.

Her hope is that the database of collected cases she helped form, will be useful for studying and preventing this "world problem," that extends beyond conflict zones.

Rabiaa talked to Agnese Pastorino about the strategies and findings of her research.

Duration: 4'54"

Online media under “significant threat” around the world: UN expert

25 October 2017

General News

Online media outlets face “significant threats” from some governments around the world which are trying to quash dissent by accusing journalists of peddling “fake news”.

That’s one of the concerns voiced on Wednesday by [David Kaye](#), who is the UN Special Rapporteur on the promotion and protection of the right to freedom of opinion and expression.

Many of the Special Rapporteurs – independent experts appointed by the Human Rights Council – are at UN Headquarters this week, to deliver their annual reports to the General Assembly.

Mr Kaye outlined some of the main points in his report to Agnese Pastorino.

Duration: 4'20"

Protecting culture promotes peace and security: UNESCO

23 October 2017

General News

The rise in terrorism is posing a challenge to global efforts to safeguard cultural heritage and identity.

That’s according to the Director of the New York liaison office of the UN Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization ([UNESCO](#)).

Marie Paule Roudil was speaking following a meeting at UN Headquarters on Italy’s experience in protecting endangered cultural heritage.

She told Agnese Pastorino that the country’s cooperation has been critical to an ongoing [UNESCO](#) campaign called [Unite4Heritage](#).

Duration: 4'04"

Immediate investment needed for violence-free world by 2030

18 October 2017

General News

Urgent investment is needed in order to reduce violence against children in line with the 2030 Sustainable Development Agenda.

That's according to Marta Santos Pais, the [UN Special Representative on Violence against Children](#).

She says that although some progress has been made, the "clock is ticking" and if more action is not taken "we won't get there."

Last week she launched at UN Headquarters in New York the book "[Celebrating Childhood: a journey to end violence against children](#)", published by her office.

Ms Santos Pais spoke to Agnese Pastorino.

Duration: 07:09'

Documentarian seeks to "amplify" voices of trafficking survivors

8 October 2017

General News

A new documentary which its director hopes will amplify the voices of trafficking and sex-abuse survivors, has been screened at UN Headquarters.

I am Jane Doe explores the harrowing themes of trafficking and sexual exploitation of children online.

Director Mary Mazzio says she wants policymakers around the world to listen to the voices of those who have lived through terrible ordeals and abuse.

In an interview with Agnese Pastorino, Mary Mazzio explained why she had wanted to make the film.

Duration: 5'07"

“Let youth lead” when it comes to non-violence urges expert

2 October 2017

General News

“We are built for peace, but we are trained for violence”.

That’s the assessment of one expert who came to UN Headquarters in New York on Monday to help mark the [International Day of Non-Violence](#).

Kit Miller is the Director of the M. K. Gandhi Institute for Non-Violence and she’s spent years working on the ground with young people whose lives have been affected by violence.

Her vocational path was grounded in personal experience, when she decided to stay at home with her children, to help erase her own childhood scars.

She shared her story and her reasons for coming to the UN, with Agnese Pastorino.

Duration: 5'29"

Tackling child exploitation online focus of event at UN Headquarters

28 September 2017

General News

Governments must allocate more resources towards stamping out online child pornography and child sexual exploitation, issues that affect all countries worldwide.

That’s the opinion expressed by Camille Cooper of the US-based [National Association to Protect Children](#), which trains wounded war veterans to work with law enforcement to combat these crimes.

Ms Cooper is at UN Headquarters this Thursday for a meeting on children and the slave trade in the digital age, which brings together representatives from more than 20 countries as well as civil society.

She spoke to Agnese Pastorino ahead of the event.

Duration: 2'17"

Nigerian teacher wins UNHCR Refugee Award

21 September 2017

General News

A teacher and school-funder who helped the release of some of the Chibok girls from Boko Haram extremists in Nigeria, has been declared the winner of this year's [Nansen Refugee Award](#), sponsored by the UN Refugee Agency ([UNHCR](#)).

Zannah Mustapha has opened schools in the conflict zone of north-east Nigeria, where the Boko Haram group first began its terror campaign.

He provides free education to child victims of violence.

The Norwegian Refugee Council's Secretary General, Jan Egeland, said that Mustapha's "brave work" highlighted the importance of education "for the future of Nigeria."

Zannah Mustapha spoke to Agnese Pastorino following the announcement of the award.

Duration: 4'26"

Scalable solutions critical to reducing violence against children

9 October 2017

General News

Ramya Subrahmanian attended the high-level event on Achieving the [Sustainable Development Goals for Children: Collective Actions and Innovative Solutions](#) held at the UN Headquarters.

The main challenge in the achievement of the sustainable development goals for children by 2030 is the scale. 1.7 billion children in 2015 have experienced interpersonal violence, both from their parents and among peers.

Small scales programs around the world "are making a huge difference for communities and families" but "we need to go to scale if we're going to make a difference into the lives of these children now".

Ramya Subrahmanian, executive director of a global learning initiative called *No Violence in Childhood* based in New Delhi, talked to Agnese Pastorino.

Duration: 5'22"

Data visualization

Data visualization



*ECU: Elementary Contextual Unit