JAMBURA LAW REVIEW
JALREV VOLUME 8 ISSUE 2 2026
ISSN PRINT: 2654-9266
ISSN ONLINE: 2656-0461

Reassessing Children's Rights Protection in Indonesian Electronic System Governance Regulation: A Critical Philosophy of Law Reading

1st Aditya Yuli Sulistyawan
2nd Athanasius Allan Darma Saputra
3rd Misako Shimotsuji

[1,2]Faculty of Law, Universitas Diponegoro, Indonesia.
[3]The Japan Foundation, Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia.

✉ adityayuli38@gmail.com

Article Info

Submitted: February 12, 2026
Revised: October 06, 2026
Accepted: November 17, 2026

Keywords:
Children's Online Protection; Critical Children's Rights Studies; Electronic System Governance; Evolving Capacities; Philosophy of Law.

How to cite *[Chicago Manual of Style 18th edition (full note)]*: Aditya Yuli Sulistyawan, Athanasius Allan Darma Saputra, and Misako Shimotsuji, "Reassessing Children's Rights Protection in Indonesian Electronic System Governance Regulation: A Critical Philosophy of Law Reading" Jambura Law Review 8, no. 1 (2026): 744–777.

Abstract

This study critically examines whether Indonesia's Government Regulation No. 17 of 2025 (PP No. 17/2025) provides adequate safeguards for children as rights-holders in digital environments. It uses doctrinal legal research, drawing on statutory and conceptual approaches informed by Critical Children's Rights Studies. The analysis reads PP No. 17/2025 alongside its elucidation, relevant implementing provisions, the Convention on the Rights of the Child, and interpretive guidance, supported by secondary research. Four dimensions guide the inquiry: evolving capacities and agency; participation and epistemic standing; substantive equality; and the distribution of authority among the State, parents, and electronic system providers. The findings indicate that age differentiation, privacy safeguards, complaint mechanisms, and regulatory oversight provide important protections but require further procedural elaboration. Correcting age-identification errors, considering individual capacities, reviewing parental decisions, and reassessing service risks address distinct concerns. Information and complaint mechanisms do not, in themselves, guarantee meaningful participation, while unequal access and parental support warrant attention. Provider self-assessments and data-processing exceptions require substantive verification. The study recommends developmentally appropriate participation and review procedures, accessible support, accountable oversight, and complementary child rights impact assessments. These findings concern regulatory design and institutional risks rather than demonstrated implementation outcomes.

@2026 – Aditya Yuli Sulistyawan, Athanasius Allan Darma Saputra, and Misako Shimotsuji.
Under the license CC BY-SA 4.0

Introduction

Digital technology has become increasingly inseparable from children's lives. UNICEF reported in 2026 that approximately one in three internet users worldwide is a child, underscoring children's substantial presence in the global digital ecosystem.[1] In Indonesia, expanding internet access has further increased the presence of younger populations in the digital environment. According to Statistics Indonesia (BPS), 77.63 percent of the population aged five and older accessed the internet in 2025, up from 72.78 percent in 2024.[2] By age group, children aged 5–12 accounted for 12.53 percent of all internet users, while individuals aged 13–28 made up the largest group at 32.65 percent. A UNICEF study in Indonesia also found that respondents used the internet for an average of 5.4 hours per day.[3]

Behind these figures, digital technology poses significant threats to children. The *2025 Safe Online* report documents the development of digital risks affecting children and adolescents throughout 2024, including: (1) nearly 300,000 webpages containing images of child sexual abuse or videos depicting children experiencing sexual abuse, a five percent increase from 2023; (2) one in 17 adolescents being directly victimized by deepfake nude images; and (3) cases of financial sexual extortion, with adolescent boys accounting for 78 percent of reported victims.[4] UNICEF data covering the period from 2017 to 2024 across 40 countries further indicate that: (1) children who experienced cyberbullying exhibited significantly lower levels of emotional well-being; (2) exposure to harmful content and online sexual abuse was associated with significantly higher levels of anxiety; and (3) victims of online sexual abuse or cyberbullying faced a higher risk of self-harm and experienced a significant increase in suicidal thoughts and behaviors.[5]

Children's extensive involvement in the digital environment and the risks they face raises philosophical questions about how to understand their digital experiences. Technology also shapes how children relate to others and understand themselves. A study based on focus group discussions with 13 children aged 12–14 in the United Kingdom found that children can reflect on the limitations of digital information in representing individuals and on technology's influence on their relationships and self-understanding.[6] This recognition raises questions of authority: who determines which risks are acceptable for children, how their protection needs are assessed, and how much their views influence

---

[1] UNICEF, *Türkiye Hosted Global Dialogue to Strengthen Child Protection in the Digital Environment*, 2026, https://www.unicef.org/turkiye/en/press-releases/t%C3%BCrkiye-hosted-global-dialogue-strengthen-child-protection-digital-environment.

[2] BPS, *Telecommunication Statistics in Indonesia 2025* (Badan Pusat Statistik Indonesia, 2026), https://www.bps.go.id/id/publication/2026/08/31/49c6f2edbe4fdc176175d833/statistik-telekomunikasi-indonesia-2025.html.

[3] UNICEF, *Online Knowledge and Practice of Children in Indonesia: A Baseline Study 2023* (United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF), 2023), https://www.unicef.org/indonesia/child-protection/reports/online-knowledge-and-practice-children-indonesia-baseline-study-2023.

[4] Safe Online, *Safe Online Impact 2024* (Safe Online, 2025), 8.

[5] UNICEF, *Childhood in a Digital World* (United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF), 2025), 22–25; Megan Gath and Cara Swit, "Digital Media in Early Childhood: Risk Factors for Online Harm and Psychosocial Correlates," *Frontiers in Developmental Psychology* 2 (2024): 1390276, https://doi.org/10.3389/fdpys.2024.1390276.

[6] Valena M. C. Reich et al., "Children's Perception of the World of Technology: Through the Lens of Heidegger," *Philosophy & Technology* 38, no. 4 (2025): 127, https://doi.org/10.1007/s13347-025-00959-5.

decisions? From a philosophical perspective, assessments of children's lives must account for the intrinsic value of childhood experiences and their role in preparing children for adulthood.[7] In the digital context, this perspective highlights children's opportunities to play, explore, and express themselves, and treats these interests as considerations when designing protective measures.

At this point, law plays an important role in protecting children's interests and rights in the digital environment. Children's interests in safety, development, and meaningful digital experiences provide a foundation for legally protecting their rights. In his interest theory of rights, Joseph Raz explains that an individual's interests may be sufficient grounds for imposing duties on others.[8] At the level of legal relations, Wesley Newcomb Hohfeld shows that a right, understood as a claim-right, correlates with a duty owed by another party to the rights-holder.[9] From these perspectives, law protects children's rights by establishing obligations for the State, parents, and service providers, while also specifying actions that must be taken or avoided to safeguard children's interests in the digital environment.

Indonesia has established several legal provisions to protect children in the digital environment. For example, the Indonesian Government has established legal protections against the online sexual exploitation of children through Law No. 1 of 2024 on the Second Amendment to Law No. 11 of 2008 on Electronic Information and Transactions (Law No. 1/2024). However, implementation of Law No. 1/2024 has been hampered by inadequate oversight of digital platforms and by their failure to respond promptly to reports of digital content.[10][11] A study by Yusrizal et al. also identifies weaknesses in Indonesia's legal framework for COP, including tensions among child protection, data privacy, and freedom of expression, as well as inadequate regulation of global technology platforms.[12] To address these challenges, the Indonesian Government adopted Government Regulation No. 17 of 2025 on the Governance of Electronic System Implementation for Child Protection (PP No. 17/2025) as the technical regulatory framework for COP.

Nevertheless, the protective objectives of a legal framework do not, in themselves, guarantee respect for all children's rights. For example, the Chinese Government amended the Minors Protection Law (MPL) in a way that reinforces adult-centrism—an interpretive and institutional orientation that privileges adult perspectives, interests, and

---

[7] Anca Gheaus, "Childhood: Value and Duties," *Philosophy Compass* 16, no. 12 (2021): e12793, https://doi.org/10.1111/phc3.12793.
[8] Joseph Raz, *The Morality of Freedom* (Clarendon Press, 1986).
[9] Paulo Baptista Caruso MacDonald, "Contextualising Hohfeld's Analysis of Rights: Legal Relations and the Rule of Law," *Ratio Juris* 39, nos. 1–2 (2026): 96–115, https://doi.org/10.1111/raju.70018.
[10] See Hesti Septianita, Pujiyono, and Irma Cahyaningtyas, "Online Child Sexual Exploitation and Abuse as Organized Crime: Towards a New International Legal Framework," *LITIGASI* 27, no. 1 (2026): 1–25, https://doi.org/10.23969/litigasi.v27i1.43221; and Sri Rahayu et al., "Legal Protection for Children in Cases of Online Sexual Abuse: A Comparative Study," *Jambe Law Journal* 5, no. 1 (2023): 81–122, https://doi.org/10.22437/jlj.5.1.81-122.
[11] Dwi Nur Fauziah Ahmad and Nucharee Nuchkoom Smith, "Digital Safety for Women and Children: Legal and Policy Challenges in Indonesia, Philippines, and Thailand," *Journal of Law and Legal Reform* 5, no. 4 (2024): 1691, https://doi.org/10.15294/jllr.v5i4.16539.
[12] Yusrizal et al., "Navigating the Digital Dilemma: Protecting Indonesian Children from Cybercrime," *Kanun Jurnal Ilmu Hukum* 27, no. 2 (2025): 413–19, https://doi.org/10.24815/kanun.v27i2.45738.

standards in decisions concerning children and in constructing children's incapacity.[13] Article 72 of the MPL eliminates the dual-consent model, which requires consent from both children and their parents, by denying children under 14 the right to provide individual consent to the processing of their personal information.[14] Children are only entitled to request the correction or deletion of their data after it has been processed. This means that children are not empowered to decide whether their personal information may be processed when they use online services, nor are they allowed to object to such processing in advance. This approach runs counter to the evolving discourse on children's rights in the digital age, which requires interventions and protective measures to take into account children's evolving capacities, agency, participation, and epistemic justice.[15] Against this background, this study examines how PP No. 17/2025 structures and limits the authority of the State, parents, and service providers while also determining the position accorded to children in decision-making concerning matters that affect them.

Building on these considerations, this study critically examines the provisions of PP No. 17/2025 through the lens of Critical Children's Rights Studies (CCRS), a critical perspective on children's rights. CCRS questions the normative assumptions, power relations, and social conditions that shape how children's rights are interpreted and implemented. Reynaert et al. emphasize questioning taken-for-granted assumptions, examining inequalities, recognizing children as sources of knowledge, and developing alternatives that address children's marginalization.[16] In this study, CCRS examines how digital protection regulations understand children's capacities, account for their experiences, and allocate decision-making authority over matters concerning their lives.

Research on child protection in Indonesia's digital environment has identified several legal and institutional challenges. Ahmad and Smith, in a comparative study of Indonesia, the Philippines, and Thailand, highlight limited technical capacity, weak law enforcement and platform oversight, and low digital literacy in addressing child sexual exploitation and online gender-based violence.[17] Yusrizal et al. link gaps in protecting children against cybercrime to fragmented law enforcement, corporate responsibility, parental awareness, and ethical issues in digital governance.[18] More specifically, Nurhikmah et al. examine restrictions on children's internet access following the enactment of PP No.

[13] Mónica González-Contró, "Misopedia, Adultismo y Adultocentrismo: Conceptualizando La Discriminación Hacia Niñas, Niños y Adolescentes," *Revista Latinoamericana de Ciencias Sociales, Niñez y Juventud* 22, no. 3 (2024): 1–29, https://doi.org/10.11600/rlcsnj.22.3.6277.
[14] Guan Zheng and Jinchun Shu, "In the Name of Protection—A Critical Analysis of China's Legal Framework of Children's Personal Information Protection in the Digital Era," *Computer Law & Security Review* 53 (July 2024): 105979, https://doi.org/10.1016/j.clsr.2024.105979.
[15] Sheila Varadan, "The Principle of Evolving Capacities under the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child," *The International Journal of Children's Rights* 27, no. 2 (2019): 306–38, https://doi.org/10.1163/15718182-02702006; Amy Hanna, "Silent Epistemologies: Theorising Children's Participation Rights," *The International Journal of Children's Rights* 31, no. 1 (2022): 40–60, https://doi.org/10.1163/15718182-30040003; Linde Lindkvist, "Five Problems with Children's Participation Rights," in *The Rights of the Child*, ed. Rebecca Adami et al. (Brill | Nijhoff, 2023), https://doi.org/10.1163/9789004511163_016.
[16] Didier Reynaert et al., "Critical Children's Rights Studies: An Introduction," in *Critical Children's Rights Studies: A Research Companion*, ed. Valeria Llobet et al. (Routledge, 2025).
[17] Ahmad and Smith, "Digital Safety for Women and Children."
[18] Yusrizal et al., "Navigating the Digital Dilemma."

17/2025 from the perspectives of administrative law and international children's rights, focusing on proportionality, age verification, privacy, and service provider accountability.[19] Meanwhile, Fahrudin examines the construction of the best interests of the child under PP No. 17/2025 through critical discourse analysis, including tensions between paternalism and participation and the power relations underlying digital governance.[20]

Nevertheless, these studies, including those specifically examining PP No. 17/2025, have not adopted CCRS as their analytical framework. Although they address administrative regulation, privacy, accountability, paternalism, and power relations, they have not systematically integrated critical dimensions of children's rights, particularly evolving capacities and agency, intersectionality and substantive equality, and meaningful child participation. Moreover, based on the literature reviewed for this study, the explicit application of CCRS in scholarship on children's rights in Indonesia and ASEAN remains relatively underexplored, particularly in the context of children's digital rights. Drawing on CCRS, this study develops an integrated analysis of four dimensions: recognition of children's evolving capacities and agency; the quality of participation and the epistemic standing of children; the diversity of children's circumstances and substantive equality; and the distribution of authority among the State, parents, and service providers. This study aims to explain the extent to which PP No. 17/2025 provides safeguards to ensure that the exercise of protective authority continues to respect children as rights-holders, while identifying aspects of the regulation that require further strengthening.

Problem Statement

The research problem concerns the extent to which the protective framework established under PP No. 17/2025, read together with Minister of Communication and Digital Affairs Regulation No. 9 of 2026 (Permenkomdigi No. 9/2026), provides adequate safeguards for children as rights-holders in the digital environment. This study examines the regulatory framework through four interrelated dimensions: children's evolving capacities and agency; meaningful participation and epistemic recognition; substantive equality in diverse circumstances; and the distribution of protective authority between the State and electronic system providers. Accordingly, this study addresses the following interrelated research questions: How do age-based access rules, consent requirements, and parental monitoring under PP No. 17/2025, read together with Permenkomdigi No. 9/2026, accommodate children's evolving capacities and agency? To what extent do the regulatory framework's information, complaint, and service-risk assessment mechanisms recognize children's experiences and knowledge in decision-making, and how do its access, age-verification, and support arrangements promote substantive equality in light of children's diverse circumstances? How does the regulatory framework allocate responsibilities between electronic system providers and the State regarding service-risk assessments, data-processing practices, and compliance oversight, and to

[19] Eka Nurhikmah, Nelvina Djaja, and Laurenzia Luna, "Proporsionalitas dan Akuntabilitas dalam Tata Kelola Digital atas Pembatasan Akses Internet bagi Anak di Indonesia," *Jurnal USM Law Review* 8, no. 3 (2025): 2014–37, https://doi.org/10.26623/julr.v8i3.12924.

[20] Atef Fahrudin, "Constructing 'the Best Interests of the Child' in Digital Space Governance: A Critical Discourse Analysis of Government Regulation No. 17 of 2025," *Jurnal Komputer, Informasi dan Teknologi* 6, no. 1 (2026): 16, https://doi.org/10.53697/jkomitek.v6i1.3802.

what extent do ministerial verification, investigative, and enforcement powers ensure substantive accountability?

Methods

This study uses doctrinal legal research, drawing on statutory and conceptual approaches developed through a critical-philosophical analysis informed by the CCRS perspective. It is anchored in a critical paradigm that understands law as shaped by historical, social, political, cultural, and economic conditions and legal knowledge as mediated by values.[21] The authors approach the subject from a rights-based critical standpoint that treats children as rights-holders and epistemic agents while recognizing parents' and the State's legitimate protective responsibilities. The authors do not claim to speak on children's behalf; rather, this doctrinal analysis examines the legal conditions for recognizing children's views and acknowledges that their lived experiences require participatory empirical inquiry beyond this study's scope. This orientation is operationalized through CCRS by examining tensions between protective objectives and the allocation of authority, recognition, and opportunities to challenge decisions affecting children.

Research materials were gathered through library research. Primary legal materials include the Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC), relevant Indonesian laws and regulations, PP No. 17/2025 and its elucidation, and Minister of Communication and Digital Affairs Regulation No. 9 of 2026 (Permenkomdigi No. 9/2026). General Comments Nos. 12 and 25 provide interpretive guidance on the CRC's provisions. Secondary legal materials comprise books and scholarly articles on children's rights, digital governance, and concepts relevant to the critical-philosophical analysis. The United Kingdom and the European Union were selected as functional comparators because their frameworks illustrate complementary approaches to digital-service oversight. The UK Online Safety Act 2023 combines provider risk-mitigation duties with Ofcom supervision and enforcement, while the EU Digital Services Act requires systemic risk assessments, independent audits, transparency, and oversight by Digital Services Coordinators. The comparison focuses on mechanisms relevant to State oversight and provider accountability, not on wholesale transplantation or a comprehensive comparison.

Secondary literature was identified through searches of academic databases and institutional repositories, supplemented by screening reference lists. Search terms included children's digital rights, CCRS, evolving capacities, participation, epistemic injustice, age verification, parental consent, substantive equality, platform accountability, and oversight. Sources were selected for relevance to CCRS, digital children's rights, the legal mechanisms examined, and Indonesia. Foundational works informed the theoretical framework, while recent scholarship and official reports provided regulatory context rather than evidence of implementation effectiveness. For scholarly works, publication date was not an automatic exclusion criterion. Earlier works were retained when they provided specific conceptual, doctrinal, or issue-based foundations for the analysis, including disability and digital rights (Alper and Goggin); informational self-determination and children's data protection (Buitelaar; Lievens and Verdoodt; Stoilova et al.); child-rights-based approaches (Goldhagen et al.); critical legal paradigms (Indarti); evolving capacities and parental guidance (Kilkelly; Varadan); digital

[21] Erlyn Indarti, "Bridging the Gaps: A Paradigmatic Insight into Philosophy of Law," *Diponegoro Law Review* 1, no. 1 (2016): 1–16, https://doi.org/10.14710/dilrev.1.1.2016.1-16.

monetization (King and Delfabbro); and Child Rights Impact Assessment (Payne). These contributions are complemented by more recent scholarship published between 2022 and 2026.

For analytical purposes, the four dimensions are operationalized using textual and institutional indicators. Adult-centrism is examined by assessing whether protective provisions presume children's incapacity, concentrate decision-making authority in adults without adequately considering children's evolving capacities, or provide insufficient opportunities for children to challenge decisions that affect them. Unequal protection is assessed by examining whether formally uniform requirements may create disproportionate barriers for children with different socioeconomic circumstances, disabilities, geographic conditions, levels of connectivity, and access to parental digital guidance. Epistemic injustice is identified when children's experiences and knowledge are excluded from decision-making processes, their participation is limited to reporting problems after they occur, or their input is not meaningfully considered in the formulation and evaluation of protective measures. The distribution of authority is examined through the allocation of decision-making powers, access to relevant information, transparency of assessments, and the availability of independent oversight and accountability mechanisms.

These indicators serve as analytical criteria, not as presumptions that every age restriction, parental intervention, or regulatory discretion violates children's rights. The analysis considers each provision's protective purpose, its relationship to children's evolving capacities and participation rights, and the availability of safeguards against disproportionate restrictions. Contextual studies and reports are used to identify potential inequalities and institutional risks, not to establish that such effects have occurred in practice in Indonesia.

Children's Rights in the Digital Environment: A Critical-Philosophical Perspective

The international legal foundations of COP are rooted in the Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC), adopted on November 20, 1989, and ratified by Indonesia through Presidential Decree No. 36 of 1990.[22] Although the CRC does not expressly regulate the digital environment as a distinct domain, its provisions remain fully applicable to children's digital experiences. The Committee on the Rights of the Child, through General Comment No. 25 (2021) on Children's Rights in Relation to the Digital Environment (UN Doc. CRC/C/GC/25, hereinafter GC No. 25), provides an authoritative interpretation of children's rights in the digital environment. Although nonbinding, GC No. 25 offers interpretive guidance on applying existing Convention rights to the digital environment. As Lesch and Reiners explain, General Comments may nevertheless function as instruments of informal human rights law-making. Treaty bodies' interpretations, often shaped through expert and transnational networks, can influence how treaty obligations are understood and developed beyond formal treaty-making processes, raising questions about delegated authority, transparency, and representativeness.[23]

[22] Convention on the Rights of the Child, adopted 20 November 1989, entered into force 2 September 1990, 1577 UNTS 3.

[23] Jeffrey Goldhagen et al., "Thirtieth Anniversary of the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child: Advancing a Child Rights-Based Approach to Child Health and Well-Being," *BMJ Paediatrics Open* 4, no. 1

GC No. 25 elaborates on the application of several CRC provisions to the digital environment, particularly Articles 13 (freedom of expression), 16 (right to privacy), 17 (access to information), 31 (rest, leisure, and recreation), and 34 (protection from sexual exploitation and abuse). These rights must be understood alongside the CRC's four general principles: non-discrimination, the best interests of the child, the right to life, survival, and development, and respect for the views of the child (GC No. 25, paras. 8–18). Taken together, these provisions establish that digital protection must address risks to children's safety and privacy without undermining their access to information, participation, freedom of expression, and development. Accordingly, assessing COP requires attention not only to protective measures but also to the conditions necessary for children to meaningfully exercise their rights in the digital environment.

Beyond these substantive rights, the CRC's implementation is guided by four general principles that provide an interpretive basis for all children's rights. First, the principle of non-discrimination (Article 2) requires States to ensure that every child can enjoy their rights without discrimination, including access to and protection within the digital environment. Second, the principle of the best interests of the child (Article 3) requires that the child's best interests be a primary consideration in all actions and policies affecting them. Article 3 must be read in conjunction with Article 12, which provides the procedural means through which children's views are heard and given due weight in assessing their best interests. As the Committee explains in General Comment No. 14,[24] the two provisions have complementary functions. Article 3(1) cannot be correctly applied without fulfilling the requirements of Article 12 (para. 43). Third, the principle of the right to life, survival, and development (Article 6) obliges States to protect children from risks that threaten their safety and development while ensuring that the digital environment supports their physical, mental, social, and intellectual development. Fourth, the principle of respect for the views of the child (Article 12) guarantees children the opportunity to express their views on matters affecting their lives and requires that those views be given due weight in accordance with their age and maturity. Under GC No. 25, these four principles are applied contextually to the digital environment (paras. 8–18). Consequently, child protection must not be limited to risk prevention but must also ensure non-discrimination, development, and children's participation.

Nevertheless, the conceptualization of these rights and the emphasis on the CRC's four general principles are not beyond criticism. The conceptual basis for classifying Articles 2, 3, 6, and 12 of the CRC as general principles, together with the Committee on the Rights of the Child's inconsistent application of these principles, which often leaves them disconnected from discussions of other substantive rights, provides grounds for questioning this approach. As an alternative, a study proposes reconceptualizing these principles as cross-cutting standards that encompass non-discrimination (Article 2), the best interests of the child (Article 3), the evolving capacities of the child (Article 5), and

(2020): e000589, https://doi.org/10.1136/bmjpo-2019-000589; Yohannes Eneyew Ayalew et al., "General Comment No. 25 on Children's Rights in Relation to the Digital Environment: Implications for Children's Right to Privacy and Data Protection in Africa," *Human Rights Law Review* 24, no. 3 (2024): ngae018, https://doi.org/10.1093/hrlr/ngae018; Max Lesch and Nina Reiners, "Informal Human Rights Law-Making: How Treaty Bodies Use 'General Comments' to Develop International Law," *Global Constitutionalism* 12, no. 2 (2023): 378–401, https://doi.org/10.1017/S2045381723000023.

[24] Committee on the Rights of the Child, General Comment No. 14 (2013) on the Right of the Child to Have His or Her Best Interests Taken as a Primary Consideration, UN Doc. CRC/C/GC/14 (May 29, 2013).

the child's right to be heard (Article 12).[25] This proposal positions the evolving capacities of the child as a cross-cutting standard that bridges the need for protection with the recognition of children's autonomy and participation. Accordingly, children's rights should be interpreted in an integrated manner, ensuring that fulfilling one right does not undermine the exercise of others.

However, recognizing children's rights and establishing corresponding State obligations do not, in themselves, explain how those rights are experienced and realized in practice. This limitation calls for a critical examination of the assumptions underlying the legal construction of childhood and children's rights. Drawing on CCRS, Vandenhole and Reynaert emphasize the importance of understanding children not merely as vulnerable subjects requiring protection, but also as rights-holders whose agency, experiences, and social relations shape the realization of their rights.[26] From this perspective, children's rights cannot be assessed solely by the existence of formal legal guarantees; they must also be examined in relation to the social contexts, power relations, and institutional arrangements that influence their exercise.

This perspective critiques the power asymmetries between children and adults that shape how children's rights are understood and implemented. Historically, an adult-centered perspective has shaped the construction of children's rights, as reflected in children's limited involvement in drafting the CRC and in provisions that allow restrictions on rights based on age, maturity, and parental authority.[27] This condition is associated with *childism*, which refers to patterns of thought and social practices that position children as subordinate on the assumption that they lack the capacity to articulate their own interests.[28] Unlike adult-centrism, which denotes the broader orientation that privileges adult perspectives in institutional and social decision-making, childism refers to the discriminatory assumptions and practices through which children's subordination is reproduced. This dominance can also produce epistemic injustice when decision-making processes do not afford children's experiences and views equal recognition.[29]

Epistemic injustice takes two distinct forms: testimonial injustice, which occurs when identity-based prejudice causes a speaker's account to be accorded an unfair credibility deficit; and hermeneutical injustice, which arises when structural marginalization leaves a group disadvantaged in the shared interpretive resources needed to make sense of and communicate their social experiences.[30] In the context of children's rights, testimonial

[25] Karl Hanson and Laura Lundy, "Does Exactly What It Says on the Tin?: A Critical Analysis and Alternative Conceptualisation of the So-Called 'General Principles' of the Convention on the Rights of the Child," in *Children's Rights: New Issues, New Themes, New Perspectives*, ed. Michael Freeman (Brill | Nijhoff, 2018), https://doi.org/10.1163/9789004358829_004.

[26] Wouter Vandenhole and Didier Reynaert, "Children's Rights and Critical Children's Rights Studies in the Context of Child and Family Policy, Practice and Research," in *The Routledge Handbook of Child and Family Social Work Research*, 1st ed., ed. Elizabeth Fernandez et al. (Routledge, 2024), https://doi.org/10.4324/9781003241492-4.

[27] González-Contró, "Misopedia, Adultismo y Adultocentrismo."

[28] Rebecca Adami, *Childism, Intersectionality and the Rights of the Child: The Myth of a Happy Childhood*, 1st ed. (Routledge, 2024), https://doi.org/10.4324/9781032638614-1.

[29] Ibid.

[30] Miranda Fricker, *Epistemic Injustice: Power and the Ethics of Knowing*, 1st ed. (Oxford University Press, 2007), https://doi.org/10.1093/acprof:oso/9780198237907.001.0001.

injustice may occur when children's accounts are discounted as immature or unreliable because of age-based assumptions. Hermeneutical injustice, by contrast, may arise when children's experiences are insufficiently represented in the shared interpretive frameworks through which their needs, risks, and interests are identified and understood. These distinctions have also been applied to children's participation rights to explain how children may be silenced not only when their views are dismissed but also when the conditions for articulating and interpreting their experiences are shaped without meaningful regard for their perspectives.[31]

However, recognizing these power asymmetries does not entail rejecting protectionist or vulnerability-centered perspectives, which rightly emphasize children's exposure to harm and the corresponding protective responsibilities of adults and the State. Rather, this study questions approaches that treat vulnerability as a sufficient justification for adult-centered decision-making that displaces children's agency and participation, potentially overlooking other dimensions of their rights.[32] This position is also consistent with critiques of the binary distinction between *competent adults* and *incompetent children*, which emphasize that competence and agency are socioculturally constructed.[33] Children also possess the capacity to articulate and pursue their rights as rights-bearing subjects.[34]

An understanding of how these power asymmetries operate can be developed through the concept of power over, which encompasses three dimensions: decision-making power, non-decision-making power, and ideological power.[35] Decision-making power concerns the ability to determine decisions and their outcomes, whereas non-decision-making power concerns the ability to set agendas and exclude certain issues from deliberation. Ideological power, in turn, concerns the ability to shape individuals' beliefs, perceptions, and understandings of their own interests. In the digital environment, these three dimensions can be used to examine how governments, parents, and other actors determine access restrictions, consent requirements for the use of digital services, and the processing of children's personal data; how children's voices, experiences, and privacy interests may be sidelined in policymaking; and how assumptions about children's vulnerability and immaturity may influence the interpretation of their best interests. Accordingly, the legitimacy of protective measures must also consider who holds decision-making authority, whose interests are prioritized, and how fully children can express their views and participate in decisions affecting them.[36]

---

[31] Hanna, "Silent Epistemologies."
[32] E. K. M. Tisdall and F. Morrison, "Children's Human Rights under COVID-19: Learning from Children's Rights Impact Assessments," *The International Journal of Human Rights* 27, nos. 9–10 (2023): 1475–91, https://doi.org/10.1080/13642987.2022.2036135.
[33] Afua Twum-Danso Imoh, "Destabilizing Images of the Competent Adult vs. the Incompetent Child in Dominant Children's Rights Discourses through the Lens of Akan Notions of Personhood and Social Relations," in *Critical Children's Rights Studies*, 1st ed., ed. Valeria Llobet et al. (Routledge, 2025), https://doi.org/10.4324/9781003510284-9.
[34] Manfred Liebel, "Children's Rights as Counter-Rights," in *Critical Children's Rights Studies*, 1st ed., ed. Valeria Llobet et al. (Routledge, 2025), https://doi.org/10.4324/9781003510284-4.
[35] Hannah Hirst, "Children's Rights and the 'Power' of Power Over," *The International Journal of Children's Rights* 33, no. 1 (2025): 136–69, https://doi.org/10.1163/15718182-33010006; Steven Lukes, *Power: A Radical View*, Third edition (Red Globe press, 2021).
[36] Hirst, "Children's Rights and the 'Power' of Power Over."

Furthermore, children cannot be treated as a homogeneous group, as differences in gender, disability, and socioeconomic conditions may produce distinct experiences and barriers to accessing digital services.[37] For example, the barriers faced by children with disabilities arise not only from physical, intellectual, or sensory conditions but may also be shaped by intersecting experiences involving social class, gender, and ethnicity, among other factors, resulting in distinct experiences and forms of exclusion.[38] In this regard, intersectionality recognizes that different identities intersect with social, economic, cultural, and legal structures to produce multiple, overlapping forms of discrimination and subordination.[39] In the digital environment, these conditions may be reflected in disparities in access to devices and connectivity, accessibility barriers faced by children with disabilities, limited digital literacy, and risks of discrimination in age-verification mechanisms and personal data processing.[40] Accordingly, child protection in the digital environment must account for children's evolving capacities without automatically using them as grounds to restrict children's agency and participation. Such protection must also recognize children's views and objections and take substantive equality into account when exercising their rights.

Another issue that warrants attention is the distinction between the right to participation and children's involvement in decision-making processes. The tendency to understand participation as children's involvement in processes designed and controlled by adults has been criticized because fulfilling the right to participation cannot be shown merely by giving children opportunities to express their views. Participation may remain tokenistic when children are consulted. Their views have no discernible influence on decisions when only certain groups are included or when feedback and accountability mechanisms are lacking.[41] It also requires institutional frameworks that ensure those views are heard and duly considered by those with decision-making authority.[42][43]

Participation does not necessarily entail collaboration with or agreement with adults' decisions; it also encompasses children's ability to express disagreement, refusal, and criticism. Moreover, recognizing the right to participation does not require children

[37] Adami, *Childism, Intersectionality and the Rights of the Child: The Myth of a Happy Childhood*.
[38] Meryl Alper and Gerard Goggin, "Digital Technology and Rights in the Lives of Children with Disabilities," *New Media & Society* 19, no. 5 (2017): 726–40, https://doi.org/10.1177/1461444816686323.
[39] Patricia Hill Collins and Sirma Bilge, *Intersectionality*, 2nd edition, Key Concepts (Polity Press, 2020); Jessica Dixon Weaver, "Intersectionality and Children's Rights," in *The Oxford Handbook of Children's Rights Law*, ed. Jonathan Todres and Shani M. King (Oxford University Press, 2020), https://doi.org/10.1093/oxfordhb/9780190097608.013.10.
[40] See UNICEF, *Accessible and Inclusive Digital Solutions for Girls with Disabilities: A Literature Review and Recommendations* (United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF), 2022), https://www.unicef.org/reports/accessible-and-inclusive-digital-solutions-girls-disabilities; Giovanna Mascheroni et al., "Explaining Inequalities in Vulnerable Children's Digital Skills: The Effect of Individual and Social Discrimination," *New Media & Society* 24, no. 2 (2022): 437–57, https://doi.org/10.1177/14614448211063184.
[41] E. Kay M. Tisdall and P. Cuevas-Parra, "Beyond the Familiar Challenges for Children and Young People's Participation Rights: The Potential of Activism," *The International Journal of Human Rights* 26, no. 5 (2022): 792–810, https://doi.org/10.1080/13642987.2021.1968377.
[42] Compare Nurini Aprilianda et al., "Re-conceptualizing Child Victim Rights: A Normative and Comparative Analysis of Victim Impact Statement in Indonesia's Juvenile Justice System," *Jambura Law Review* 7, no. 2 (2025): 442–67, https://doi.org/10.33756/jlr.v7i2.30132.
[43] Lindkvist, "Five Problems with Children's Participation Rights."

always to exercise their right to express their views.[44] In the digital environment, this perspective requires that children's involvement in policymaking and digital service development go beyond consultation and formal participation, ensuring that their objections and critical views receive due consideration. Furthermore, assessments of children's capacities should not privilege only those who can adapt their communication and reasoning to adult expectations.

Debates about children's evolving capacities become increasingly relevant when digital protection is implemented through age-based restrictions. Studies have criticized rigid age thresholds (bright-line age limits) because chronological age does not necessarily reflect each child's maturity, capacity, or protection needs.[45] Under Article 5 of the CRC, evolving capacities are not intended to restrict the recognition of children's rights. Rather, they require adults to adjust their guidance to children's developing capacities and to give them greater scope to exercise their rights autonomously over time. Children's development does not occur uniformly but is influenced by individual circumstances and experiences, as well as by their social environments. Rigidly applied age restrictions may therefore constrain the agency of children who already have sufficient capacity while failing to protect those who remain vulnerable after crossing a particular age threshold. These restrictions may also have unequal effects, as they can exacerbate existing discrimination experienced by children based on their socioeconomic circumstances or disability.

Indonesia's Regulation on the Governance of Electronic Systems for the Protection of Children's Rights

To strengthen COP in the digital environment, the Government of Indonesia has enacted PP No. 17/2025. This regulation was promulgated pursuant to the mandates outlined in Article 16A paragraph (5) and Article 16B paragraph (3) of Law No. 1 of 2024 on the Second Amendment to Law No. 11 of 2008 on Electronic Information and Transactions. PP No. 17/2025 was enacted and promulgated on March 27, 2025, and entered into force on the date of promulgation, as expressly provided in Article 50. Nevertheless, Article 49 grants Electronic System Providers (ESPs) and other parties involved in providing Products, Services, and Features (PSFs) a transition period of no more than two years from the date of promulgation to bring their governance arrangements into compliance with the regulation. This transition period does not suspend the enforceability of PP No. 17/2025; rather, it gives the relevant parties time to fulfill the governance obligations established therein.

PP No. 17/2025 must be understood within the broader context of Indonesia's national legal framework for child protection, human rights, and digital-environment governance. At the constitutional level, Article 28B paragraph (2) of the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia guarantees every child the right to survival, growth, and development, as well as protection from violence and discrimination. These guarantees must be read in conjunction with the right to freedom of expression (Article 28E paragraph (3)), the right to communicate and obtain information (Article 28F), and the

[44] Ibid.
[45] Sonia Livingstone and Kim R. Sylwander, "There Is No Right Age! The Search for Age-Appropriate Ways to Support Children's Digital Lives and Rights," *Journal of Children and Media* 19, no. 1 (2025): 6–12, https://doi.org/10.1080/17482798.2024.2435015.

right to personal protection and security (Article 28G paragraph (1)). Furthermore, Law No. 23 of 2002 on Child Protection, as amended, most recently by Law No. 17 of 2016, regulates various aspects of the fulfillment of children's rights, including the right to express their views and have them heard, as well as to receive, seek, and impart information in accordance with their level of intelligence and age (Article 10). The law also allocates responsibility for implementing child protection among the State, the Government, society, families, and parents (Article 20), while affirming the State and the Government's obligation to guarantee children's rights without discrimination (Article 21).

Regarding digital activities, Law No. 27 of 2022 on Personal Data Protection also specifically protects children's personal data. Article 4 paragraph (2) letter e classifies children's data as specific personal data. In contrast, Article 25 requires that processing of children's personal data be carried out under specific arrangements and with the consent of parents and/or guardians. These provisions complement the general regulatory framework governing electronic system operations under Government Regulation No. 71 of 2019 on the Implementation of Electronic Systems and Transactions. Accordingly, PP No. 17/2025 establishes a more specific regulatory framework for child-protection electronic system operations, while operating alongside the rights guarantees and obligations established under other laws and regulations.[46]

PP No. 17/2025 applies to ESPs operating in both the public and private sectors (Article 3). It covers two categories of PSFs: those specifically designed for children and those that may be used or accessed by children (Article 4 paragraph (1)). For the latter category, several indicators determine whether a PSF falls within its scope, including ESP policies, the composition of the user base, advertising targets, design elements, and similarities to PSFs used by children (Article 4 paragraph (2)). Furthermore, Article 5 classifies PSFs as high- or low-risk based on seven factors, including exposure to harmful content, the exploitation of children as consumers, threats to personal data, addiction, and psychological and physiological disturbances. Each ESP conducts the assessment independently and then submits it to the Minister for verification and determination of its risk profile (Article 5 paragraphs (6)–(9)). Accordingly, this regulation assigns ESPs responsibility for the initial assessment while granting the Government authority to verify it.

Within the framework of protection obligations, Articles 7 and 8 are the principal provisions. ESPs must obtain parental or guardian consent, prepare a Personal Data Protection Impact Assessment, implement high privacy by default, and provide functions appropriate to children's capacities and ages. ESPs are also responsible for ensuring that cooperating parties comply with these requirements. ESPs must implement these obligations by prioritizing the best interests of the child and giving precedence to fulfilling children's rights and protection over ESPs' commercial interests (Article 8). This provision provides a normative basis for assessing how the regulation positions children's best interests against the authority and economic interests of digital service providers.

[46] See also Bismo Jiwo Agung, "Protection of Children's Personal Data in the Digital World Based on National and International Legal Framework," *Lampung Journal of International Law* 1, no. 1 (2019), https://doi.org/10.25041/lajil.v1i1.2020.

Regarding children's capacities and participation, Article 9 requires parental or guardian consent before children use PSFs. Children aged 17 or older may consent independently, subject to the ESP's obligation to notify their parents or guardians. The Elucidation of Article 9 establishes an opt-in mechanism for children under 17, with 24 hours to obtain parental consent, and an opt-out mechanism for children aged 17 or older, under which parents have six hours to communicate their objection. If an objection is submitted, access may not proceed, and the child's personal data must be deleted. These provisions must be read alongside Articles 20–22, which establish age classifications, account ownership requirements, and age-verification mechanisms based on risk levels. Article 22 also requires data protection throughout the verification process and the deletion of data once the verification purpose has been fulfilled. Taken together, these provisions demonstrate how the regulation allocates decision-making authority among children, parents, and ESPs according to children's age and capacities.

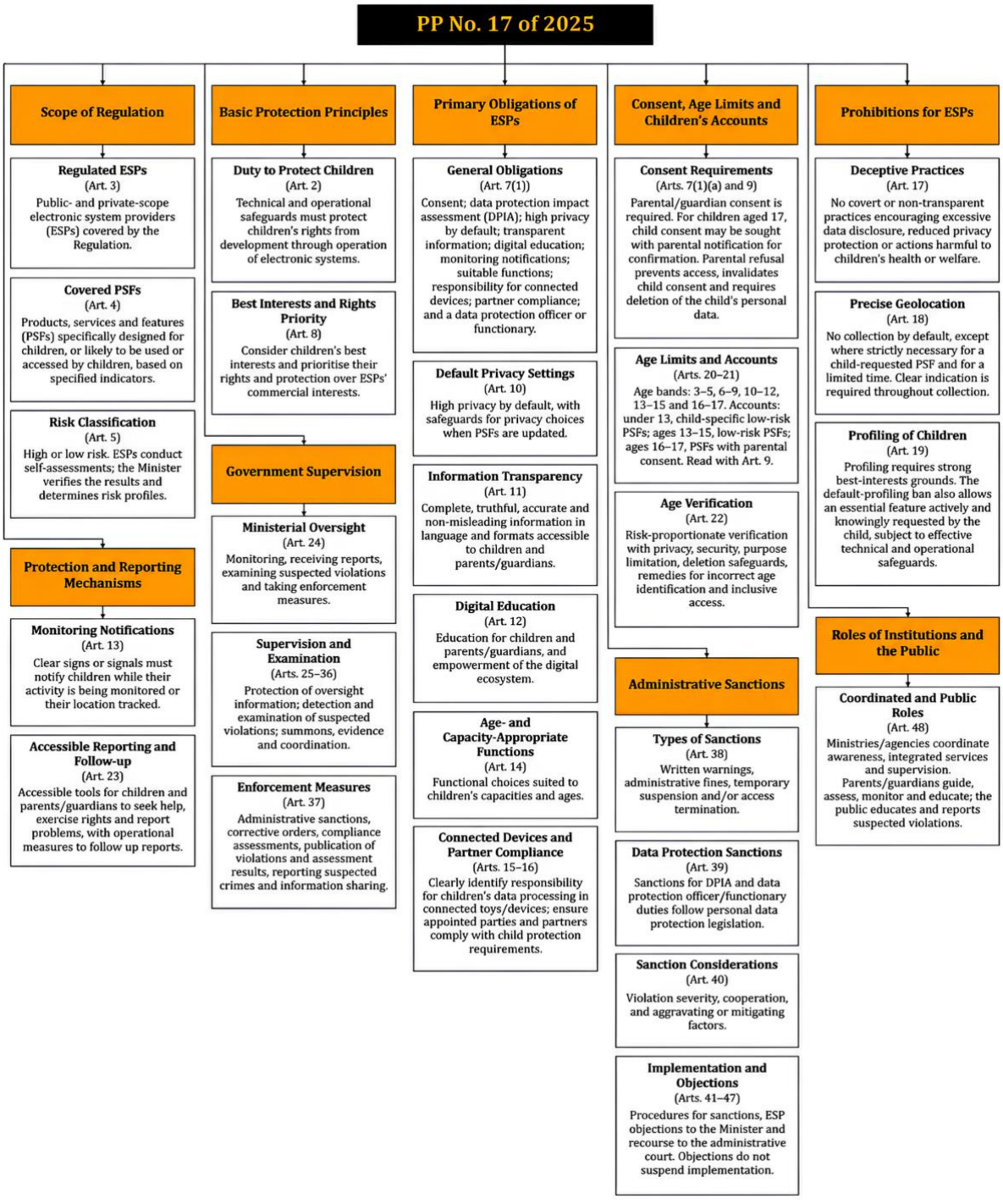
Another central aspect of the regulation concerns restrictions on processing children's personal data. Article 10 requires high-privacy settings by default and mandates that those protections be maintained whenever PSFs are updated. Meanwhile, Articles 17–19 establish three principal prohibitions: covert or nontransparent practices, collecting precise geolocation information, and profiling children. The Elucidation of Article 17 encompasses manipulative practices that exploit psychological biases or distort children's ability to make decisions freely, commonly referred to as *deceptive patterns*.[47] Article 18 provides an exception to the prohibition on geolocation data collection when such collection is strictly necessary as an essential component of a PSF requested by the child, consistent with the child's best interests, and carried out only for a limited period. Article 19, meanwhile, provides exceptions to the prohibition on profiling when compelling grounds relate to the child's best interests or when profiling constitutes an essential feature actively and knowingly requested by the child, subject to additional safeguards. These provisions matter because they show the boundaries between prohibitions on data processing and the discretion still available to ESPs.

Finally, PP No. 17/2025 establishes oversight and accountability mechanisms through Articles 23–24 and Articles 26–40. ESPs are required to provide reporting mechanisms for children and their parents or guardians. At the same time, the Minister is authorized to conduct monitoring, receive reports and complaints, investigate alleged violations, and impose administrative sanctions. Article 38 sets out the types of sanctions for violations of the provisions expressly specified therein, namely written warnings, administrative fines, temporary suspension, and termination of access. Meanwhile, Article 39 links sanctions for violations of the obligations to conduct a Personal Data Protection Impact Assessment and to appoint a personal data protection officer to the laws and regulations governing personal data protection. Article 47 further provides for administrative objections and the possibility of filing a lawsuit before the State Administrative Court (*Pengadilan Tata Usaha Negara* or PTUN) to determine whether a decision and/or action involves an abuse of authority. Accordingly, PP No. 17/2025 not only establishes substantive obligations for ESPs but also creates mechanisms to oversee implementation

[47] Nicholas O'Donnell et al., "From Playful to Manipulative: Exposing Deceptive Patterns in Digital Applications for Young Children," *International Journal of Child-Computer Interaction* 47 (March 2026): 100804, https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ijcci.2026.100804.

and hold them accountable. Furthermore, the provisions of PP No. 17/2025 can be mapped in **Figure 1** below:

Figure 1. *The Anatomy of PP No. 17 of 2025 on the Governance of Electronic System Implementation in Child Protection*



Source: processed by authors

This discussion examines the construction of child protection in the digital environment, as regulated under PP No. 17 of 2025, from a critical philosophy of law perspective. The analysis focuses not only on identifying the legal norms and obligations established by the regulation but also on examining the assumptions, values, and legal consequences arising from its provisions. In this regard, child protection must be understood not merely as an effort to restrict the risks associated with the use of digital technology but also as a question of recognizing children's capacities and autonomy, fulfilling their right to participation, ensuring equal access to protection, and distributing authority among the actors involved in digital governance. To elaborate, the discussion is organized into four interrelated dimensions: age-based regulation and parental authority; recognition of children's agency and participation; protection in diverse circumstances and amid social inequalities; and the distribution of power between the State and electronic system operators.

1. Age-Based Regulation: Parental Authority and Children's Evolving Capacities

One aspect of PP No. 17/2025 that warrants closer examination is its approach to child protection, which relies on age classifications and parental consent requirements. Article 20, paragraph (2), divides children into five age groups: 3–5 years, 6–9 years, 10–12 years, 13–15 years, and 16 to under 18 years. These classifications form the basis for determining access and account ownership, as regulated under Article 21. For PSFs that require registration or account ownership, children under 13 may hold accounts only on PSFs specifically designed for children and classified as low risk. Children aged 13 to under 16 may hold accounts only on low-risk PSFs. Children aged 16 to under 18 may hold accounts with parental or guardian consent.

Age classifications and parental involvement have legitimate protective rationales. Age thresholds provide standards that ESPs can apply consistently, while parental guidance can help children navigate risks they may not yet fully understand. Assessing each child's capacity for every service access decision may also raise concerns about consistency and the need to collect additional information about children. A study by Nurhikmah et al. similarly argues that protective objectives must be assessed alongside the necessity and proportionality of restrictions and their implications for children's access to information and participation.[48] This provides a basis for examining whether specific protective mechanisms preserve opportunities for guidance, participation, and review. Accordingly, age thresholds alone do not demonstrate adult-centrism. However, their justification must be examined alongside the principle of evolving capacities under Article 5 of the CRC and paragraphs 19–21 of GC No. 25, which link protection to children's developing competencies, agency, and support needs. Recognition of children's capacities and developmental stages under Article 14 and Article 20, paragraph (4) of PP No. 17/2025 provides a starting point for assessing whether protective measures allow room for children's views and adapt the form of intervention to their developing abilities.

[48] Nurhikmah, Djaja, and Luna, "Proporsionalitas dan Akuntabilitas."

These issues become more complex when considered alongside Article 9's consent mechanism. For children under 17, parental or guardian consent is opt-in. In contrast, for children aged 17 or older, an ESP may seek consent directly from the child while notifying the parents or guardians so they may confirm through an opt-out mechanism. The Elucidation of Article 9 paragraph (3) even provides parents with 24 hours to approve a child's use of a service for children under 17 and six hours to communicate an objection for children aged 17. Access cannot be granted until the respective period has expired. If a parent or guardian objects, Article 9 paragraphs (4) and (5) prohibit access, render the child's consent void by operation of law, and require the deletion of the child's personal data. This arrangement must be read alongside Article 21 paragraph (1) subparagraph (c), which continues to require parental consent for account ownership by children aged 16 to under 18. Accordingly, although children aged 17 may provide their own consent, their decisions do not fully determine their access to digital services, as access remains subject to the opportunity afforded to parents or guardians to object.

In this context, the principle of evolving capacities requires parental intervention that evolves as children's abilities develop. As children gain knowledge, experience, and understanding, parental guidance should gradually shift toward reminders, advice, and more egalitarian forms of communication.[49] Such adjustments must also take into account children's views and preferences, their capacity for independent decision-making, and their understanding of their own best interests.[50] Parental authority to grant or withhold consent to the use of digital services should not be understood as permanently determining how children exercise their rights.[51] Parental involvement also does not, in itself, guarantee that decisions will always reflect the child's best interests, since not all parents have the knowledge to assess the risks of a particular decision, and relationships between children and their parents do not always support effective communication.[52]

This tendency is also evident in regulations governing parental monitoring of children's digital activities. Article 21 paragraph (2) requires ESPs to provide technologies and operational measures that enable parents to monitor children's use of PSFs through their accounts. Meanwhile, Article 13 requires clear notification to children when an ESP provides PSFs that enable parents, guardians, or other users to monitor children's activities or track their locations. This notification requirement recognizes transparency and children's right to know about actions affecting their privacy. However, children's right to privacy is not limited to being informed about information processing; it also encompasses their interest in exercising progressively greater control over information concerning themselves. In this context, the concept of informational self-determination, as developed by J.C. Buitelaar, is relevant to assessing the extent to which parental monitoring continues to respect children's status as rights-holders with respect to their

[49] Varadan, "The Principle of Evolving Capacities under the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child."
[50] Ursula Kilkelly, "'Evolving Capacities' and 'Parental Guidance' in the Context of Youth Justice: Testing the Application of Article 5 of the Convention on the Rights of the Child," *International Journal of Children's Rights* 28, no. 3 (2020): 500–520, https://doi.org/10.1163/15718182-02803004.
[51] Eva Lievens and Valerie Verdoodt, "Looking for Needles in a Haystack: Key Issues Affecting Children's Rights in the General Data Protection Regulation," *Computer Law & Security Review* 34, no. 2 (2018): 269–78, https://doi.org/10.1016/j.clsr.2017.09.007.
[52] Kilkelly, "'Evolving Capacities' and 'Parental Guidance' in the Context of Youth Justice."

personal information.[53] Although monitoring may be justified as a protective measure, its implementation must consider children's evolving capacities, the purpose of monitoring, and the necessity and proportionality of such measures.[54][55]

Nevertheless, Article 13 does not expressly provide children with a dedicated procedure to object to parental monitoring or to request an individual review of the decision to monitor or track their activities. The regulatory framework does provide general reporting and complaint mechanisms: Articles 23 and 24 of PP No. 17/2025, further implemented through Articles 31 and 35 of Permenkomdigi No. 9/2026, enable children and other parties to report problems or suspected violations of child-protection obligations by ESPs. Children's complaints may also inform the reassessment of a service's risk profile under Article 26 paragraph (2) subparagraph (b) of the Ministerial Regulation. However, these mechanisms do not expressly establish an individual procedure through which children can challenge the necessity, scope, or proportionality of monitoring by parents, guardians, or other users.

Capacity assessment must also be distinguished from correcting age identification. Article 22 paragraph (3) subparagraph (g) of PP No. 17/2025 provides a mechanism for objecting to or revising determinations when a user's actual age differs from the identified age. This mechanism addresses errors in factual age; it does not assess whether a child whose age has been correctly identified possesses a particular capacity to use a service. Similarly, age correction does not address how a child's objection to parental refusal or to the scope of monitoring is considered. One remedial mechanism therefore cannot resolve all issues concerning the exercise of children's rights.

The review of service classifications serves a different purpose. Article 26 paragraph (2) subparagraph (b) of Permenkomdigi No. 9/2026 recognizes reports or complaints submitted by children as one of the sources for changing the risk level of PSFs. This provision creates an opportunity for children's experiences to influence service evaluations, but it does not constitute an exception to access restrictions based on an individual child's capacities. Accordingly, the critical finding must be appropriately qualified: the regulation recognizes age differentiation, the correction of age identification, and user input concerning service risks, while the relationship between individual evolving capacities, consideration of children's views, and the review of parental decisions still requires clearer procedural elaboration.

To assess and anticipate tensions among protective objectives, age classifications, parental authority, and children's evolving capacities, a Child Rights Impact Assessment (CRIA) may evaluate impacts on children's rights. CRIA is a systematic process for identifying and evaluating the effects of policies, service designs, and electronic system

[53] J. C. Buitelaar, "Child's Best Interest and Informational Self-Determination: What the GDPR Can Learn from Children's Rights," *International Data Privacy Law* 8, no. 4 (2018): 293–308.
[54] See Ampuan Situmeang et al., "Sharenting and Child Privacy: The GDPR as a Benchmark for Indonesian and Thai Legal Frameworks," *Lex Scientia Law Review* 10, no. 1 (2026): 233–58, https://doi.org/10.15294/lslr.v10i1.29211.
[55] Mariya Stoilova et al., "Digital by Default: Children's Capacity to Understand and Manage Online Data and Privacy," *Media and Communication* 8, no. 4 (2020): 197–207, https://doi.org/10.17645/mac.v8i4.3407.

operations on the full range of children's rights.[56] This process includes identifying affected rights, gathering evidence, involving children, assessing positive and negative impacts, and formulating recommendations for mitigation and monitoring.[57] Accordingly, CRIA enables an assessment of the consequences of digital policies that may not be fully captured by risk assessments focused on specific aspects.

In the Indonesian context, CRIA may serve as a complementary instrument to the PSF risk-level assessment under Article 5 and to the Personal Data Protection Impact Assessment (DPIA) required by Article 7 paragraph (1) subparagraph (b) of PP No. 17/2025, including the self-assessment mechanism further elaborated in Permenkomdigi No. 9/2026. The risk-level assessment under Article 5 addresses various risks to children, while the DPIA focuses on risks arising from the processing of children's personal data. Unlike these two assessments, CRIA broadens the scope of evaluation by examining the impacts of policies and service designs on the full range of children's rights, including privacy, participation, freedom of expression, access to information, and well-being. The findings of these assessments can help ESPs and the Government identify more proportionate protective alternatives and prevent protective measures from restricting other children's rights. Although CRIA is not yet expressly required under either PP No. 17/2025 or Permenkomdigi No. 9/2026, integrating it through strengthened implementation guidelines or by developing existing assessment mechanisms may strengthen a child-rights-based approach to electronic system governance.

2. Recognition of Children's Agency, Participation, and Experiences

Furthermore, the substance of PP No. 17/2025 warrants examination of the extent to which children are positioned as subjects capable of participating in the implementation of digital protection. Article 11 requires ESPs to provide complete, truthful, accurate, and non-misleading information in language and formats that are easily understood by children. Article 12 regulates digital ecosystem education and empowerment for children and their parents or guardians. Meanwhile, Article 23 requires ESPs to provide tools, services, or features that children can use to seek assistance, exercise their rights, and submit reports or complaints about problems they experience.[58]

This arrangement is a hybrid paternalistic-participatory paradigm in which reporting mechanisms afford children limited agency while adults retain decision-making authority.[59] The provisions above indicate that PP No. 17/2025 recognizes children as users entitled to receive information and access protective mechanisms. However, the

[56] Kamrul Faisal, "Reforming Child Consent Under the GDPR: Towards a Harmonised, Risk-Aware and Child-Centred Framework," *Law, Technology and Humans*, ahead of print, September 29, 2025, https://doi.org/10.5204/lthj.3821; Lisa Payne, "Child Rights Impact Assessment as a Policy Improvement Tool," *The International Journal of Human Rights* 23, no. 3 (2019): 408–24, https://doi.org/10.1080/13642987.2018.1558989.
[57] Sonia Livingstone and Kruakae Pothong, "Child Rights Impact Assessment: A Policy Tool for a Rights-Respecting Digital Environment," *Policy & Internet* 17, no. 3 (2025): e70008, https://doi.org/10.1002/poi3.70008.
[58] Compare Apripari et al., "Restorative Justice in Victimless Crimes under the Criminal Procedure Code: Problematics and Solutions," *Jurnal Hukum Novelty* 17, no. 1 (2026): 144–66, https://doi.org/10.26555/jhn.v17i1.31003.
[59] Fahrudin, "Constructing 'the Best Interests of the Child' in Digital Space Governance."

right to obtain information and submit complaints must be distinguished from the right to participate in formulating and evaluating protection policies. This distinction matters when considering Article 5, which positions ESPs as the parties responsible for conducting self-assessments of PSF risk levels before the Minister verifies and determines the results. Although Article 4 paragraph (2) subparagraph (c) of Permenkomdigi No. 9/2026 regulates the involvement of ESPs' internal and external stakeholders in the self-assessment of PSF compliance with children's needs and age groups, this provision does not explicitly guarantee children's involvement in the PSF risk assessment process as regulated under Article 5 of PP No. 17/2025. Accordingly, stakeholder involvement does not necessarily fulfill children's right to participation.

This interpretation must be supplemented by Article 48 of PP No. 17/2025, which regulates the roles of parents or guardians and the public in monitoring, education, and reporting alleged violations. Although children may fall within the definition of the public, this provision does not explicitly establish their role in formulating and evaluating protection policies. Meanwhile, Article 26 paragraph (2) subparagraph (b) of Permenkomdigi No. 9/2026 recognizes reports or complaints submitted by children as one of the sources for changes in PSF risk levels. Accordingly, the issue is not the absence of input channels, but the adequacy of guarantees that children are involved from the initial assessment stage and receive explanations of how their input is considered.

The need to involve children in governing the digital environment is closely tied to their status as stakeholders directly affected by such policies. Multistakeholder approaches to Internet governance continue to struggle to accommodate vulnerable groups, including children, who do not always have opportunities to articulate their interests.[60] In the context of PP No. 17/2025, this issue is relevant to assessing whether the PSF risk assessment process under Article 5 provides room for children's experiences and views. Risk assessments that fail to consider children's perspectives may disproportionately rely on the institutional judgments of ESPs and the Government, without fully reflecting the experiences of child users. Therefore, children's participation should begin at the risk identification stage, not only after problems arise through complaint mechanisms.

This issue must be examined in relation to children's right to be heard, as guaranteed under Article 12 of the CRC. General Comment No. 12 (2009) on The Right of the Child to Be Heard (UN Doc. CRC/C/GC/12, hereinafter GC No. 12), paragraphs 12–13, emphasizes that children's views must be considered in decision-making, policymaking, the drafting of regulations, and the evaluation of measures affecting their lives. Participation is not a one-time act but an ongoing process of exchanging views between children and adults that enables children's views to influence decision-making outcomes. General Comment No. 25 (2021), paragraph 17, further reinforces this principle by requiring States to involve children in developing legislation, policies, programs, and services relating to the digital environment and to ensure that digital service providers actively involve children in product and service development. Children's participation must include involvement

[60] Christian Djeffal, "Children's Rights by Design and Internet Governance: Revisiting General Comment No. 25 (2021) on Children's Rights in Relation to the Digital Environment," *Laws* 11, no. 6 (2022): 84, https://doi.org/10.3390/laws11060084.

in determining policies and protection standards, rather than merely providing opportunities to submit complaints after problems occur.

Participation limitations can also be understood through an epistemic justice lens. Children may experience epistemic injustice when their views and knowledge are insufficiently recognized because of age- and capacity-based prejudices. Such conditions may arise when children's experiences are not solicited from the outset (pre-emptive silence) or when they are treated merely as sources of information without being involved in interpretation and decision-making (epistemic objectification).[61] Children and adolescents have direct experience with digital services and can identify and critically examine how algorithms operate, including data collection and content recommendation practices.[62] Therefore, children's experiences should not be treated merely as supplementary information for adult assessments but should instead be recognized as a relevant source of knowledge for identifying risks and formulating appropriate protective measures.

Recognizing children's experiences must also account for the diversity of their circumstances and backgrounds. GC No. 25, paragraph 18, emphasizes that consultations must be inclusive, including children who lack adequate access to technology or digital skills. Paragraph 30 further encourages collecting data and research disaggregated by age, sex, disability, geographic location, ethnic or national origin, and socioeconomic status, including research conducted with and by children. Accordingly, meaningful participation requires consultation mechanisms that reach diverse groups of children, not only those with adequate digital access and capabilities.

The importance of children's perspectives in risk assessments is evident in the phrase "other content unsuitable for children" used in Article 5 paragraph (3) subparagraph (b) of PP No. 17/2025. The Elucidation of Article 5 merely states "self-explanatory–*cukup jelas,*" while Article 6 delegates the regulation of risk assessment procedures and self-assessments to a ministerial regulation. Further provisions are set out in Article 12 paragraph (3) of Permenkomdigi No. 9/2026, which links this category to information that is inconsistent with children's physical, social, emotional, and/or cognitive development and may impair their mental or physical health. Article 13 subsequently establishes indicators for assessing the risks of exposure to content. Accordingly, the issue is no longer the absence of a definition but rather how this standard is applied, how its application is justified, and how it is made accountable.

Indicators of content exposure must be distinguished from the substantive grounds for determining that particular information is unsuitable for children. Such assessments require explanations of the content's characteristics, the groups of children affected, and the basis for assessing its potential harm. From a CCRS perspective, this interpretive space warrants scrutiny because professional and institutional knowledge may dominate determinations of content suitability when assessments do not adequately consider

[61] Hanna, "Silent Epistemologies."
[62] Virginia Portillo et al., "A Call to Action: Designing a More Transparent Online World for Children and Young People," *Journal of Responsible Technology* 19 (September 2024): 100093, https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jrt.2024.100093.

children's experiences. However, the standard's openness does not, in itself, establish such dominance. The critical issue is ensuring that assessments are grounded in reviewable grounds, account for the diversity of children's experiences, and do not restrict access to information more broadly than necessary to protect their rights.

3. Child Protection in the Context of Diverse Circumstances and Social Inequalities

Another issue is whether the protection measures established under PP No. 17/2025 adequately account for the diverse circumstances in which children access and use digital services. The age classifications and verification mechanisms under Articles 20–22 indicate that the regulation seeks to tailor access to PSFs based on child users' characteristics and the services' risk levels. Article 22 paragraph (3) also requires ESPs to protect users' privacy and personal data, tailor verification mechanisms to the relevant risks and age groups, secure their systems, limit data processing exclusively to verification purposes, and delete data once verification purposes have been fulfilled. These provisions also require ESPs to provide mechanisms for objections or revisions to decisions when a user's actual age does not match the identification results, ensure that ESPs can be contacted easily, and guarantee inclusivity for users with protected characteristics.

These provisions demonstrate normative recognition of the importance of accessibility and inclusivity in child protection. However, this recognition warrants further examination given the diversity of children's experiences. Children with disabilities, those living in areas with limited connectivity, and those from families with different socioeconomic circumstances may face unequal barriers to meeting the requirements for accessing digital services. These differences in circumstances may also shape how their social and institutional environments understand and treat their digital abilities and experiences. A study of three secondary schools in Southern California shows that similar digital skills may receive different levels of recognition and opportunities for further development depending on students' socioeconomic backgrounds.[63] These findings show that equal access to technology does not necessarily translate into equal opportunities. Although the study does not directly examine age-verification mechanisms in Indonesia, it illustrates how social inequalities may affect children's opportunities to benefit from digital technology.

Kinnula and Iivari's study offers an additional perspective through the concept of genuine participation, which emphasizes that inclusivity in the digital environment must account for differences in each child's background, experiences, abilities, and circumstances.[64] In this regard, meaningful participation must consider accessibility, equality of opportunity, and the risk of excluding particular groups. Even activities involving digital technology development may generate disparities if participation is limited to children with particular characteristics and opportunities.[65] From an intersectional perspective, the

[63] Matthew H. Rafalow, "Digital Equality Requires More than Access," *Phi Delta Kappan* 102, no. 6 (2021): 26–29, https://doi.org/10.1177/0031721721998150.
[64] Marianne Kinnula and Netta Iivari, "Manifesto for Children's Genuine Participation in Digital Technology Design and Making," *International Journal of Child-Computer Interaction* 28 (June 2021): 100244, https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ijcci.2020.100244.
[65] Ibid.

barriers children experience may intersect with broader social, economic, and institutional structures. Therefore, implementing age verification must be accompanied by adequate accommodations to ensure that protection not only satisfies formal equality but also guarantees substantive equality in enjoying digital rights.

Inequalities in digital opportunities are also evident in Indonesia. *Profil Anak Indonesia* 2025, based on the 2024 National Socioeconomic Survey (*Susenas*) conducted by BPS, indicates that 63.41 percent of children aged 5–17 in the lowest welfare group had ever used the internet, compared with 84.20 percent in the highest welfare group.[66] This disparity shows that access to digital services is not equally distributed across households. Although these data do not directly measure barriers to age verification, they provide a basis for assessing whether implementing protective mechanisms requires devices, connectivity, or support that certain groups may find harder to obtain.

Inequalities in protection must also be examined in relation to families' capacity to provide digital guidance. A UNICEF baseline study found that only 39.9 percent of parents felt they had sufficient online knowledge to assist their children, and 20.6 percent knew how to report negative content.[67] A study in Aceh, Indonesia, also found that participants with higher digital literacy were more likely to use parental controls and digital monitoring.[68] These findings indicate that granting parents monitoring authority must be accompanied by adequate support to enable them to exercise it effectively. The education obligations under Article 12 of PP No. 17/2025 must be assessed for accessibility and responsiveness to families' needs, including their ability to use protective features and complaint mechanisms.[69]

4. Distribution of Power among the State, Parents, and Electronic System Operators

PP No. 17/2025 also establishes a power relationship between the State and electronic system operators. This is evident in Article 5, which assigns ESPs responsibility for conducting self-assessments of PSF risk levels and grants the Minister authority to verify those assessments and determine the corresponding risk profiles. This allocation of authority allows ESPs to apply their technical expertise but also raises accountability concerns, since the parties conducting the self-assessments have commercial interests and direct control over the services being assessed. Accordingly, substantive verification mechanisms are necessary to ensure that such assessments do not merely reflect service providers' interests. Another study similarly identifies the regulation's state-centered governance structure and emphasizes transparency in verification and risk-profile determinations.[70] Building on this concern, the present analysis examines the

[66] KemenPPPA RI, *Profil Anak Indonesia 2025* (Kementerian Pemberdayaan Perempuan dan Perlindungan Anak Republik Indonesia (KemenPPPA RI), 2025).
[67] UNICEF, *Online Knowledge and Practice of Children in Indonesia: A Baseline Study 2023*.
[68] Febri Nurrahmi et al., "Digital Literacy and Parental Mediation Strategies in Managing Children's Online Behavior in Aceh," *Communicatus: Jurnal Ilmu Komunikasi* 10, no. 1 (2026), https://doi.org/10.15575/cjik.v10i1.53320.
[69] See also Dian Ekawaty Ismail et al., "Cyber Harassment of Public Figures: Causes and Importance of Legal Education," *E3S Web of Conferences* 594 (2024): 03005, https://doi.org/10.1051/e3sconf/202459403005.
[70] Fahrudin, "Constructing 'the Best Interests of the Child' in Digital Space Governance."

informational conditions under which ministerial verification can scrutinize providers' assessments and justifications.

For example, a study of children's data governance in the United Kingdom's use of educational technology shows that educational institutions have limited expertise and resources to understand and oversee the full scope of data processing by technology providers. Conversely, technology providers have greater latitude to define and interpret data-processing practices.[71] In the broader context of digital governance, interviews with 21 professionals from 19 oversight bodies in the United Kingdom and the European Union indicate that compliance examinations still rely heavily on documentation provided by the entities subject to oversight, including policies, internal reports, and self-assessments. This reliance may create a gap between formally declared compliance and actual practices, particularly when service providers strategically select or frame the information they provide.[72] Both studies demonstrate that inequalities in access to and control over information can undermine the effectiveness of accountability mechanisms for digital service providers.

In this context, platforms do not merely provide services; they also control access management, visibility, and content moderation. On profit-oriented platforms, particularly those that rely on personal data collection, advertising, and increased user engagement, tensions can arise between providers' commercial interests and users' interests in protection.[73] Such tensions are also evident in digital gaming ecosystems, where commercial interests are pursued through monetization architectures such as loot boxes, gacha systems, pay-to-win designs, limited-time offers, and in-game purchases integrated into the gaming experience.[74] These mechanisms may encourage repeated spending through reward uncertainty, persuasive interfaces, and social comparison pressures.[75] These conditions show that ESPs' commercial interests influence not only data and content management but also service designs that shape children's behavior and economic decisions.

Nevertheless, PP No. 17/2025 includes several provisions designed to limit the dominance of ESPs' commercial interests. Article 8, paragraph (b), expressly requires

[71] Emma Day et al., "Who Controls Children's Education Data? A Socio-Legal Analysis of the UK Governance Regimes for Schools and EdTech," *Learning, Media and Technology* 49, no. 3 (2024): 356–70, https://doi.org/10.1080/17439884.2022.2152838.

[72] Anna Ida Hudig and Jatinder Singh, "Transparency and Digital Governance: How Oversight Bodies Access Information, What Hinders Them, and How They Respond," *Proceedings of the 2026 ACM Conference on Fairness, Accountability, and Transparency*, June 25, 2026, 2681–704, https://doi.org/10.1145/3805689.3806741.

[73] Stephanie Law, "Effective Enforcement of the Online Safety Act and Digital Services Act: Unpacking the Compliance and Enforcement Regimes of the UK and EU's Online Safety Legislation," *Journal of Media Law* 16, no. 2 (2024): 263–300, https://doi.org/10.1080/17577632.2025.2459441.

[74] Isharyanto et al., "Regulatory Gaps in Protecting Children's Constitutional Rights against Digital Microtransactions in Indonesia's Online Gaming Ecosystem," *Khazanah Hukum* 8, no. 1 (2026): 143–68, https://doi.org/10.15575/kh.v8i1.51532.

[75] Weihang Han et al., "Adolescents and Loot Boxes: A Systematic Review of Behavioral Mechanisms and Problematic Outcomes," *Addictive Behaviors* 181 (October 2026): 108738, https://doi.org/10.1016/j.addbeh.2026.108738; Daniel L. King and Paul H. Delfabbro, "Predatory Monetization Schemes in Video Games (e.g. 'Loot Boxes') and Internet Gaming Disorder," *Addiction* 113, no. 11 (2018): 1967–69, https://doi.org/10.1111/add.14286.

ESPs to prioritize children's rights and protection over their commercial interests. Furthermore, Article 17 prohibits covert or nontransparent practices that encourage children to disclose excessive personal data, undermine privacy-protection functions, or threaten their well-being. The Elucidation of Article 17 also recognizes that such practices may exploit children's psychological biases, including through designs that make ESP-favored options easier, more attractive, or quicker to select than other available options. In addition, Article 18 restricts the collection of precise geolocation information, while Article 19 prohibits the profiling of children, subject to certain exceptions.

Furthermore, the scope of such protection must be examined alongside the provisions governing the exploitation of children as consumers. Article 5 paragraph (3) subparagraph (c) of PP No. 17/2025 already includes the exploitation of children as consumers as one of the factors considered when assessing risk levels. These provisions are further elaborated in Articles 14 and 15 of Permenkomdigi No. 9/2026. Article 14 defines this risk as the possibility of children being targeted with offers of goods or services through PSFs, whereas Article 15 paragraph (1) identifies several indicators, including targeting children through advertisements or paid content, providing one-time paid or subscription-based services, offering payment system facilities, and optimizing advertisements, pricing, and sales strategies based on children's profiling to increase profits. Nevertheless, these provisions do not explicitly specify particular monetization mechanisms in digital games, such as loot boxes, gacha systems, and pay-to-win designs. At the same time, the regulatory issue concerning monetization mechanisms lies not only in the absence of recognition of the risks of children's economic exploitation, but also in the extent to which these general provisions can identify and control the specific characteristics of monetization designs that may encourage repeated spending.[76]

However, the effectiveness of these restrictions ultimately depends on how the exceptions and authority granted to ESPs are interpreted and enforced. Article 18, subparagraph (a), provides an exception to the default prohibition on collecting precise geolocation information only when such collection is strictly necessary to provide a PSF requested by a child and is carried out for a limited period. Meanwhile, Article 18, subparagraph (b), continues to prohibit collecting geolocation information without providing clear notification to the child. Article 19 also distinguishes between exceptions to two forms of profiling prohibition. Article 19, paragraph (2), permits the profiling referred to in paragraph (1), subparagraph (a), if an ESP can demonstrate compelling grounds that the practice serves the child's best interests. Meanwhile, Article 19, paragraph (3), provides an exception to the default prohibition on profiling where compelling grounds relate to the child's best interests or where profiling is an essential component of a PSF the child actively and knowingly requested.

Applying the best-interests standard under Article 19 raises a question of normative indeterminacy. Although flexibility is necessary to accommodate children's individual circumstances, insufficiently guided discretion may lead to arbitrary or generalized

[76] Elena Petrovskaya and David Zendle, "Predatory Monetisation? A Categorisation of Unfair, Misleading and Aggressive Monetisation Techniques in Digital Games from the Player Perspective," *Journal of Business Ethics* 181, no. 4 (2022): 1065–81, https://doi.org/10.1007/s10551-021-04970-6.

assessments.[77] Recent scholarship also recognizes the standard's indeterminacy while cautioning against assuming that alternative decision-making thresholds necessarily confer greater certainty.[78] Under Articles 19(2) and 19(3)(a), ESPs bear the initial burden of demonstrating compelling grounds when invoking the best-interests exceptions. Although the Minister's supervisory and investigative powers under Articles 24 and 30(2) provide mechanisms for examining providers' compliance, the Regulation does not set out detailed evidentiary criteria or a dedicated procedure for reviewing each invocation of these exceptions. This leaves room for interpretive discretion that requires transparent justification and effective regulatory scrutiny.

The application of these exceptions must also be assessed in light of the relationship between Articles 3 and 12 of the CRC. Where an exception is justified by a child's best interests, the assessment should incorporate the child's views and give them due weight in accordance with the child's age and maturity. When assessments operate at the service or group level, appropriate and inclusive consultation with affected children is necessary to avoid reducing their best interests to the assumptions of adult decision-makers or service providers. Accordingly, an ESP's assertion that profiling serves a child's best interests, or that a service has been actively and knowingly requested by a child, should not alone determine the legitimacy of the exception; the assessment must remain transparent, reasoned, and subject to external scrutiny. Because ESPs have greater knowledge of and control over service design and data-processing practices, decisions on such exceptions should not depend entirely on providers' interpretations. Oversight mechanisms are necessary to scrutinize the grounds and evidence ESPs rely on to justify these exceptions.

In this context, the Minister's supervisory authority under Article 24 and the mechanisms for handling alleged violations under Articles 26–38 are key elements of the accountability framework. Pursuant to Article 30 paragraph (2), the Ministry may, in conducting further examinations, summon ESPs, request explanations, data, information, and documents, examine electronic systems, obtain access to necessary data, and/or appoint third parties. The Elucidation of Article 30 paragraph (2) subparagraph (b) covers system design, logic, and functionality; algorithm testing; the design or a copy of the DPIA; aggregate service usage data; age-assurance governance; and internal studies and reports. Such administrative sanctions also require consistent, transparent, and nondiscriminatory enforcement to support accountability.[79][80] Building on this concern, the present study examines how existing investigative powers can address information asymmetries between regulators and providers, particularly when compliance assessments depend on providers' own documentation.

---

[77] Jenny Krutzinna, "Who Is 'The Child'? Best Interests and Individuality of Children in Discretionary Decision-Making," *The International Journal of Children's Rights* 30, no. 1 (2022): 120–45, https://doi.org/10.1163/15718182-30010005.

[78] David Archard et al., "How Should We Decide How to Treat the Child: Harm versus Best Interests in Cases of Disagreement," *Medical Law Review* 32, no. 2 (2024): 158–77, https://doi.org/10.1093/medlaw/fwad040.

[79] See also Dian Ekawaty Ismail et al., "Collocation of Restorative Justice with Human Rights in Indonesia," *Legality: Jurnal Ilmiah Hukum* 32, no. 2 (2024): 394–417, https://doi.org/10.22219/ljih.v32i2.35374.

[80] Nurhikmah, Djaja, and Luna, "Proporsionalitas dan Akuntabilitas."

The importance of external oversight of service providers' responsibilities is also reflected in the regulatory approaches adopted in the United Kingdom and the European Union.[81] The Online Safety Act 2023 establishes a co-regulatory model, assigning service providers responsibility for identifying and mitigating risks while positioning OFCOM as the regulator responsible for oversight, investigation, and enforcement. Meanwhile, the Digital Services Act establishes an oversight mechanism through Digital Services Coordinators, which have investigative and enforcement powers, including the authority to request information and to impose corrective measures and sanctions on providers that fail to fulfill their obligations. The regulation of very large platforms is further reinforced by independent audits and transparency obligations regarding their risk assessments. This comparison shows that involving service providers in risk assessment and mitigation does not eliminate the State's responsibility to ensure compliance through independent, accountable oversight mechanisms.

The State's responsibility to protect children's rights in the digital environment should not end with enacting regulations. It must also include oversight of the private sector's fulfillment of its responsibilities. Digital service providers' obligations to conduct child rights impact assessments and implement safety-by-design principles must be backed by effective oversight and enforcement mechanisms so that compliance does not depend solely on companies' internal commitments.[82] Weak oversight and enforcement of laws governing educational technology providers give companies considerable latitude in interpreting and implementing provisions on children's data protection.[83] Without adequate oversight, self-assessment mechanisms risk making the effectiveness of child protection dependent on compliance standards set by the providers themselves rather than on protection standards that can be independently scrutinized and enforced.

These two risks should not be viewed as a hierarchy of significance. Excessive State and parental control may undermine children's evolving capacities, agency, participation, and access to digital services. Conversely, insufficient oversight of ESPs may leave decisions about service design, data processing, and risk assessments inadequately accountable. Both risks are equally significant to the realization of children's rights, even though they stem from different forms of power imbalance and require distinct safeguards. Effective digital governance must address both the proportionality of protective interventions and service providers' accountability.

Conclusion

PP No. 17/2025, read with Permenkomdigi No. 9/2026, establishes child-protection measures through age-based access rules, parental consent and monitoring, ESP obligations, and state oversight. Nevertheless, the analysis identifies gaps in securing children's rights as rights-holders. First, although age classifications and parental involvement serve legitimate protective purposes, the framework does not clearly explain how children's evolving capacities and views should inform consent, parental

[81] Law, "Effective Enforcement of the Online Safety Act and Digital Services Act."
[82] Eva Lievens, "Growing Up with Digital Technologies: How the Precautionary Principle Might Contribute to Addressing Potential Serious Harm to Children's Rights," *Nordic Journal of Human Rights* 39, no. 2 (2021): 128–45, https://doi.org/10.1080/18918131.2021.1992951.
[83] Day et al., "Who Controls Children's Education Data?"

refusal, and monitoring decisions. Age-identification corrections address factual errors, not a child's objection to parental refusal or to the scope of monitoring. Second, information and complaint channels, and the possibility of children's input into service-risk reviews, do not guarantee their participation in initial risk assessments or explain how their views are considered. Accessibility and inclusivity provisions also require practical support to address disparities in connectivity, disability, socioeconomic circumstances, and parental digital literacy. Third, ESP self-assessments and interpretations of data-processing exceptions require substantive state scrutiny. The Minister's verification, investigative, and enforcement powers provide a basis for oversight, but their effective exercise is essential. The framework should therefore strengthen child-responsive participation and review procedures, accessible support, and evidence-based oversight. CRIA may complement existing service-risk and data-protection impact assessments.

References

Adami, Rebecca. *Childism, Intersectionality and the Rights of the Child: The Myth of a Happy Childhood*. 1st ed. Routledge, 2024. https://doi.org/10.4324/9781032638614-1.

Agung, Bismo Jiwo. "Protection of Children's Personal Data in the Digital World Based on National and International Legal Framework." *Lampung Journal of International Law* 1, no. 1 (2019). https://doi.org/10.25041/lajil.v1i1.2020.

Ahmad, Dwi Nur Fauziah, and Nucharee Nuchkoom Smith. "Digital Safety for Women and Children: Legal and Policy Challenges in Indonesia, Philippines, and Thailand." *Journal of Law and Legal Reform* 5, no. 4 (2024): 1673–96. https://doi.org/10.15294/jllr.v5i4.16539.

Alper, Meryl, and Gerard Goggin. "Digital Technology and Rights in the Lives of Children with Disabilities." *New Media & Society* 19, no. 5 (2017): 726–40. https://doi.org/10.1177/1461444816686323.

Aprilianda, Nurini, Febrianika Maharani, Nadhilah A. Kadir, Ardi Ferdian, and Solehuddin Solehuddin. "Re-conceptualizing Child Victim Rights: A Normative and Comparative Analysis of Victim Impact Statement in Indonesia's Juvenile Justice System." *Jambura Law Review* 7, no. 2 (2025): 442–67. https://doi.org/10.33756/jlr.v7i2.30132.

Apripari, Dian Ekawaty Ismail, Ahmad, Vivi Oktaviani Pulukadang, and Novendri M. Nggilu. "Restorative Justice in Victimless Crimes under the Criminal Procedure Code: Problematics and Solutions." *Jurnal Hukum Novelty* 17, no. 1 (2026): 144–66. https://doi.org/10.26555/jhn.v17i1.31003.

Archard, David, Emma Cave, and Joe Brierley. "How Should We Decide How to Treat the Child: Harm versus Best Interests in Cases of Disagreement." *Medical Law Review* 32, no. 2 (2024): 158–77. https://doi.org/10.1093/medlaw/fwad040.

Ayalew, Yohannes Eneyew, Valerie Verdoodt, and Eva Lievens. "General Comment No. 25 on Children's Rights in Relation to the Digital Environment: Implications for Children's Right to Privacy and Data Protection in Africa." *Human Rights Law Review* 24, no. 3 (2024): ngae018. https://doi.org/10.1093/hrlr/ngae018.

BPS. *Telecommunication Statistics in Indonesia 2025*. Badan Pusat Statistik Indonesia, 2026. https://www.bps.go.id/id/publication/2026/08/31/49c6f2edbe4fdc176175d833/statistik-telekomunikasi-indonesia-2025.html.

Buitelaar, J. C. "Child's Best Interest and Informational Self-Determination: What the GDPR Can Learn from Children's Rights." *International Data Privacy Law* 8, no. 4 (2018): 293–308.

Caruso MacDonald, Paulo Baptista. "Contextualising Hohfeld's Analysis of Rights: Legal Relations and the Rule of Law." *Ratio Juris* 39, nos. 1–2 (2026): 96–115. https://doi.org/10.1111/raju.70018.

Collins, Patricia Hill, and Sirma Bilge. *Intersectionality*. 2nd edition. Key Concepts. Polity Press, 2020.

Committee on the Rights of the Child. *General Comment No. 12 (2009): The Right of the Child to Be Heard*. UN Doc. CRC/C/GC/12 (July 20, 2009).

Committee on the Rights of the Child. *General Comment No. 14 (2013) on the Right of the Child to Have His or Her Best Interests Taken as a Primary Consideration (art. 3, para. 1)*. UN Doc. CRC/C/GC/14 (May 29, 2013).

Committee on the Rights of the Child. *General Comment No. 25 (2021) on Children's Rights in Relation to the Digital Environment*. UN Doc. CRC/C/GC/25 (March 2, 2021).

Day, Emma, Kruakae Pothong, Ayça Atabey, and Sonia Livingstone. "Who Controls Children's Education Data? A Socio-Legal Analysis of the UK Governance Regimes for Schools and EdTech." *Learning, Media and Technology* 49, no. 3 (2024): 356–70. https://doi.org/10.1080/17439884.2022.2152838.

Djeffal, Christian. "Children's Rights by Design and Internet Governance: Revisiting General Comment No. 25 (2021) on Children's Rights in Relation to the Digital Environment." *Laws* 11, no. 6 (2022): 84. https://doi.org/10.3390/laws11060084.

European Parliament and Council of the European Union. *Regulation (EU) 2022/2065 of 19 October 2022 on a Single Market for Digital Services and Amending Directive 2000/31/EC (Digital Services Act)*. Official Journal of the European Union L 277 (October 27, 2022): 1–102.

Fahrudin, Atef. "Constructing 'the Best Interests of the Child' in Digital Space Governance: A Critical Discourse Analysis of Government Regulation No. 17 of 2025." *Jurnal Komputer, Informasi dan Teknologi* 6, no. 1 (2026): 16. https://doi.org/10.53697/jkomitek.v6i1.3802.

Faisal, Kamrul. "Reforming Child Consent Under the GDPR: Towards a Harmonised, Risk-Aware and Child-Centred Framework." *Law, Technology and Humans*, ahead of print, September 29, 2025. https://doi.org/10.5204/lthj.3821.

Fricker, Miranda. *Epistemic Injustice: Power and the Ethics of Knowing*. 1st ed. Oxford University Press, 2007. https://doi.org/10.1093/acprof:oso/9780198237907.001.0001.

Gath, Megan, and Cara Swit. "Digital Media in Early Childhood: Risk Factors for Online Harm and Psychosocial Correlates." *Frontiers in Developmental Psychology* 2 (2024): 1390276. https://doi.org/10.3389/fdpys.2024.1390276.

Gheaus, Anca. "Childhood: Value and Duties." *Philosophy Compass* 16, no. 12 (2021): e12793. https://doi.org/10.1111/phc3.12793.

Goldhagen, Jeffrey, Andrew Clarke, Peter Dixon, Ana Isabel Guerreiro, Gerison Lansdown, and Ziba Vaghri. "Thirtieth Anniversary of the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child: Advancing a Child Rights-Based Approach to Child Health and Well-Being." *BMJ Paediatrics Open* 4, no. 1 (2020): e000589. https://doi.org/10.1136/bmjpo-2019-000589.

González-Contró, Mónica. “Misopedia, Adultismo y Adultocentrismo: Conceptualizando La Discriminación Hacia Niñas, Niños y Adolescentes.” *Revista Latinoamericana de Ciencias Sociales, Niñez y Juventud* 22, no. 3 (2024): 1–29. https://doi.org/10.11600/rlcsnj.22.3.6277.

Han, Weihang, Ruoquan Li, and Yujun Lin. “Adolescents and Loot Boxes: A Systematic Review of Behavioral Mechanisms and Problematic Outcomes.” *Addictive Behaviors* 181 (October 2026): 108738. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.addbeh.2026.108738.

Hanna, Amy. “Silent Epistemologies: Theorising Children’s Participation Rights.” *The International Journal of Children’s Rights* 31, no. 1 (2022): 40–60. https://doi.org/10.1163/15718182-30040003.

Hanson, Karl, and Laura Lundy. “Does Exactly What It Says on the Tin?: A Critical Analysis and Alternative Conceptualisation of the So-Called ‘General Principles’ of the Convention on the Rights of the Child.” In *Children’s Rights: New Issues, New Themes, New Perspectives*, edited by Michael Freeman. Brill | Nijhoff, 2018. https://doi.org/10.1163/9789004358829_004.

Hirst, Hannah. “Children’s Rights and the ‘Power’ of Power Over.” *The International Journal of Children’s Rights* 33, no. 1 (2025): 136–69. https://doi.org/10.1163/15718182-33010006.

Hudig, Anna Ida, and Jatinder Singh. “Transparency and Digital Governance: How Oversight Bodies Access Information, What Hinders Them, and How They Respond.” *Proceedings of the 2026 ACM Conference on Fairness, Accountability, and Transparency*, June 25, 2026, 2681–704. https://doi.org/10.1145/3805689.3806741.

Indarti, Erlyn. “Bridging the Gaps: A Paradigmatic Insight into Philosophy of Law.” *Diponegoro Law Review* 1, no. 1 (2016): 1–16. https://doi.org/10.14710/dilrev.1.1.2016.1-16.

Indonesia. *Undang-Undang Nomor 23 Tahun 2002 tentang Perlindungan Anak* [Law No. 23 of 2002 on Child Protection]. State Gazette of the Republic of Indonesia 2002, No. 109, Supplement No. 4235, as amended by Law No. 35 of 2014 and Law No. 17 of 2016.

Indonesia. *Undang-Undang Nomor 11 Tahun 2008 tentang Informasi dan Transaksi Elektronik* [Law No. 11 of 2008 on Electronic Information and Transactions]. State Gazette of the Republic of Indonesia 2008, No. 58, Supplement No. 4843, as amended by Law No. 19 of 2016 and Law No. 1 of 2024.

Indonesia. *Undang-Undang Nomor 27 Tahun 2022 tentang Pelindungan Data Pribadi* [Law No. 27 of 2022 on Personal Data Protection]. State Gazette of the Republic of Indonesia 2022, No. 196, Supplement No. 6820.

Indonesia. *Peraturan Pemerintah Nomor 71 Tahun 2019 tentang Penyelenggaraan Sistem dan Transaksi Elektronik* [Government Regulation No. 71 of 2019 on the Implementation of Electronic Systems and Transactions]. State Gazette of the Republic of Indonesia 2019, No. 185, Supplement No. 6400.

Indonesia. *Peraturan Pemerintah Nomor 17 Tahun 2025 tentang Tata Kelola Penyelenggaraan Sistem Elektronik dalam Pelindungan Anak* [Government Regulation No. 17 of 2025 on the Governance of Electronic System Implementation in Child Protection]. State Gazette of the Republic of Indonesia 2025, No. 36, Supplement No. 7105.

Indonesia. *Peraturan Menteri Komunikasi dan Digital Nomor 9 Tahun 2026 tentang Peraturan Pelaksanaan Peraturan Pemerintah Nomor 17 Tahun 2025 tentang Tata Kelola Penyelenggaraan Sistem Elektronik dalam Pelindungan Anak* [Minister of Communication and Digital Affairs Regulation No. 9 of 2026 on the Implementing Regulation of Government Regulation No. 17 of 2025 on the Governance of Electronic System Implementation in Child Protection]. State Gazette of the Republic of Indonesia 2026, No. 163.

Isharyanto, Achmad Fawaid, and Ismail Marzuki. "Regulatory Gaps in Protecting Children's Constitutional Rights against Digital Microtransactions in Indonesia's Online Gaming Ecosystem." *Khazanah Hukum* 8, no. 1 (2026): 143–68. https://doi.org/10.15575/kh.v8i1.51532.

Ismail, Dian Ekawaty, Yusna Arsyad, Ahmad Ahmad, Novendri M. Nggilu, and Yassine Chami. "Collocation of Restorative Justice with Human Rights in Indonesia." *Legality: Jurnal Ilmiah Hukum* 32, no. 2 (2024): 394–417. https://doi.org/10.22219/ljih.v32i2.35374.

Ismail, Dian Ekawaty, Jufriyanto Puluhulawa, Novendri M. Nggilu, Ahmad Ahmad, and Ottow W. T. G. P. Siagian. "Cyber Harassment of Public Figures: Causes and Importance of Legal Education." *E3S Web of Conferences* 594 (2024): 03005. https://doi.org/10.1051/e3sconf/202459403005.

KemenPPPA RI. *Profil Anak Indonesia 2025*. Kementerian Pemberdayaan Perempuan dan Perlindungan Anak Republik Indonesia (KemenPPPA RI), 2025.

Kilkelly, Ursula. "'Evolving Capacities' and 'Parental Guidance' in the Context of Youth Justice: Testing the Application of Article 5 of the Convention on the Rights of the Child." *International Journal of Children's Rights* 28, no. 3 (2020): 500–520. https://doi.org/10.1163/15718182-02803004.

King, Daniel L., and Paul H. Delfabbro. "Predatory Monetization Schemes in Video Games (e.g. 'Loot Boxes') and Internet Gaming Disorder." *Addiction* 113, no. 11 (2018): 1967–69. https://doi.org/10.1111/add.14286.

Kinnula, Marianne, and Netta Iivari. "Manifesto for Children's Genuine Participation in Digital Technology Design and Making." *International Journal of Child-Computer Interaction* 28 (June 2021): 100244. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ijcci.2020.100244.

Krutzinna, Jenny. "Who Is 'The Child'? Best Interests and Individuality of Children in Discretionary Decision-Making." *The International Journal of Children's Rights* 30, no. 1 (2022): 120–45. https://doi.org/10.1163/15718182-30010005.

Law, Stephanie. "Effective Enforcement of the Online Safety Act and Digital Services Act: Unpacking the Compliance and Enforcement Regimes of the UK and EU's Online Safety Legislation." *Journal of Media Law* 16, no. 2 (2024): 263–300. https://doi.org/10.1080/17577632.2025.2459441.

Lesch, Max, and Nina Reiners. "Informal Human Rights Law-Making: How Treaty Bodies Use 'General Comments' to Develop International Law." *Global Constitutionalism* 12, no. 2 (2023): 378–401. https://doi.org/10.1017/S2045381723000023.

Liebel, Manfred. "Children's Rights as Counter-Rights." In *Critical Children's Rights Studies*, 1st ed., edited by Valeria Llobet, Didier Reynaert, Afua Twum-Danso Imoh, and Wouter Vandenhole. Routledge, 2025. https://doi.org/10.4324/9781003510284-4.

Lievens, Eva. "Growing Up with Digital Technologies: How the Precautionary Principle Might Contribute to Addressing Potential Serious Harm to Children's Rights."

Nordic Journal of Human Rights 39, no. 2 (2021): 128–45. https://doi.org/10.1080/18918131.2021.1992951.

Lievens, Eva, and Valerie Verdoodt. "Looking for Needles in a Haystack: Key Issues Affecting Children's Rights in the General Data Protection Regulation." *Computer Law & Security Review* 34, no. 2 (2018): 269–78. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.clsr.2017.09.007.

Lindkvist, Linde. "Five Problems with Children's Participation Rights." In *The Rights of the Child*, edited by Rebecca Adami, Anna Kaldal, and Margareta Aspán. Brill | Nijhoff, 2023. https://doi.org/10.1163/9789004511163_016.

Livingstone, Sonia, and Kruakae Pothong. "Child Rights Impact Assessment: A Policy Tool for a Rights-Respecting Digital Environment." *Policy & Internet* 17, no. 3 (2025): e70008. https://doi.org/10.1002/poi3.70008.

Livingstone, Sonia, and Kim R. Sylwander. "There Is No Right Age! The Search for Age-Appropriate Ways to Support Children's Digital Lives and Rights." *Journal of Children and Media* 19, no. 1 (2025): 6–12. https://doi.org/10.1080/17482798.2024.2435015.

Lukes, Steven. *Power: A Radical View*. Third edition. Red Globe press, 2021.

Mascheroni, Giovanna, Davide Cino, Jakub Mikuška, and David Smahel. "Explaining Inequalities in Vulnerable Children's Digital Skills: The Effect of Individual and Social Discrimination." *New Media & Society* 24, no. 2 (2022): 437–57. https://doi.org/10.1177/14614448211063184.

Nurhikmah, Eka, Nelvina Djaja, and Laurenzia Luna. "Proporsionalitas dan Akuntabilitas dalam Tata Kelola Digital atas Pembatasan Akses Internet bagi Anak di Indonesia." *Jurnal USM Law Review* 8, no. 3 (2025): 2014–37. https://doi.org/10.26623/julr.v8i3.12924.

Nurrahmi, Febri, Cut Lusi Chairun Nisak, Laila Sari, and Eman Alkhomees. "Digital Literacy and Parental Mediation Strategies in Managing Children's Online Behavior in Aceh." *Communicatus: Jurnal Ilmu Komunikasi* 10, no. 1 (2026). https://doi.org/10.15575/cjik.v10i1.53320.

O'Donnell, Nicholas, Madison Klarkowski, Janelle MacKenzie, et al. "From Playful to Manipulative: Exposing Deceptive Patterns in Digital Applications for Young Children." *International Journal of Child-Computer Interaction* 47 (March 2026): 100804. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ijcci.2026.100804.

Payne, Lisa. "Child Rights Impact Assessment as a Policy Improvement Tool." *The International Journal of Human Rights* 23, no. 3 (2019): 408–24. https://doi.org/10.1080/13642987.2018.1558989.

Petrovskaya, Elena, and David Zendle. "Predatory Monetisation? A Categorisation of Unfair, Misleading and Aggressive Monetisation Techniques in Digital Games from the Player Perspective." *Journal of Business Ethics* 181, no. 4 (2022): 1065–81. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10551-021-04970-6.

Portillo, Virginia, Liz Dowthwaite, Helen Creswick, et al. "A Call to Action: Designing a More Transparent Online World for Children and Young People." *Journal of Responsible Technology* 19 (September 2024): 100093. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jrt.2024.100093.

Rafalow, Matthew H. "Digital Equality Requires More than Access." *Phi Delta Kappan* 102, no. 6 (2021): 26–29. https://doi.org/10.1177/0031721721998150.

Rahayu, Sri, Monalisa, Yulia Monita, and Melyana Sugiharto. "Legal Protection for Children in Cases of Online Sexual Abuse: A Comparative Study." *Jambe Law Journal* 5, no. 1 (2023): 81–122. https://doi.org/10.22437/jlj.5.1.81-122.

Raz, Joseph. *The Morality of Freedom*. Clarendon Press, 1986.

Reich, Valena M. C., Peter E. J. Kemp, Jessica M. M. Hamer, and Megan Copsey-Blake. "Children's Perception of the World of Technology: Through the Lens of Heidegger." *Philosophy & Technology* 38, no. 4 (2025): 127. https://doi.org/10.1007/s13347-025-00959-5.

Reynaert, Didier, Wouter Vandenhole, Afua Twum-Danso Imoh, and Valeria Llobet. "Critical Children's Rights Studies: An Introduction." In *Critical Children's Rights Studies: A Research Companion*, edited by Valeria Llobet, Didier Reynaert, Afua Twum-Danso Imoh, and Wouter Vandenhole. Routledge, 2025.

Safe Online. *Safe Online Impact 2024*. Safe Online, 2025.

Septianita, Hesti, Pujiyono, and Irma Cahyaningtyas. "Online Child Sexual Exploitation and Abuse as Organized Crime: Towards a New International Legal Framework." *LITIGASI* 27, no. 1 (2026): 1–25. https://doi.org/10.23969/litigasi.v27i1.43221.

Situmeang, Ampuan, Abdurrakhman Alhakim, Ruetaitip Chansrakaeo, Winda Fitri, and Winsherly Tan. "Sharenting and Child Privacy: The GDPR as a Benchmark for Indonesian and Thai Legal Frameworks." *Lex Scientia Law Review* 10, no. 1 (2026): 233–58. https://doi.org/10.15294/lslr.v10i1.29211.

Stoilova, Mariya, Sonia Livingstone, and Rishita Nandagiri. "Digital by Default: Children's Capacity to Understand and Manage Online Data and Privacy." *Media and Communication* 8, no. 4 (2020): 197–207. https://doi.org/10.17645/mac.v8i4.3407.

Tisdall, E. K. M., and F. Morrison. "Children's Human Rights under COVID-19: Learning from Children's Rights Impact Assessments." *The International Journal of Human Rights* 27, nos. 9–10 (2023): 1475–91. https://doi.org/10.1080/13642987.2022.2036135.

Tisdall, E. Kay M., and P. Cuevas-Parra. "Beyond the Familiar Challenges for Children and Young People's Participation Rights: The Potential of Activism." *The International Journal of Human Rights* 26, no. 5 (2022): 792–810. https://doi.org/10.1080/13642987.2021.1968377.

Twum-Danso Imoh, Afua. "Destabilizing Images of the Competent Adult vs. the Incompetent Child in Dominant Children's Rights Discourses through the Lens of Akan Notions of Personhood and Social Relations." In *Critical Children's Rights Studies*, 1st ed., edited by Valeria Llobet, Didier Reynaert, Afua Twum-Danso Imoh, and Wouter Vandenhole. Routledge, 2025. https://doi.org/10.4324/9781003510284-9.

UNICEF. *Accessible and Inclusive Digital Solutions for Girls with Disabilities: A Literature Review and Recommendations*. United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF), 2022. https://www.unicef.org/reports/accessible-and-inclusive-digital-solutions-girls-disabilities.

UNICEF. *Childhood in a Digital World*. United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF), 2025.

UNICEF. *Online Knowledge and Practice of Children in Indonesia: A Baseline Study 2023*. United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF), 2023. https://www.unicef.org/indonesia/child-protection/reports/online-knowledge-and-practice-children-indonesia-baseline-study-2023.

UNICEF. *Türkiye Hosted Global Dialogue to Strengthen Child Protection in the Digital Environment*. 2026. https://www.unicef.org/turkiye/en/press-releases/t%C3%BCrkiye-hosted-global-dialogue-strengthen-child-protection-digital-environment.

United Kingdom. *Online Safety Act 2023*, c. 50.

United Nations. *Convention on the Rights of the Child*. Adopted November 20, 1989. Entered into force September 2, 1990. 1577 UNTS 3.

Vandenhole, Wouter, and Didier Reynaert. "Children's Rights and Critical Children's Rights Studies in the Context of Child and Family Policy, Practice and Research." In *The Routledge Handbook of Child and Family Social Work Research*, 1st ed., edited by Elizabeth Fernandez, Penelope Welbourne, Bethany Lee, and Joyce L. C. Ma. Routledge, 2024. https://doi.org/10.4324/9781003241492-4.

Varadan, Sheila. "The Principle of Evolving Capacities under the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child." *The International Journal of Children's Rights* 27, no. 2 (2019): 306–38. https://doi.org/10.1163/15718182-02702006.

Weaver, Jessica Dixon. "Intersectionality and Children's Rights." In *The Oxford Handbook of Children's Rights Law*, edited by Jonathan Todres and Shani M. King. Oxford University Press, 2020. https://doi.org/10.1093/oxfordhb/9780190097608.013.10.

Yusrizal, Ferdy Saputra, Hadi Iskandar, Romi Asmara, and Laila Muhammad Rasyid. "Navigating the Digital Dilemma: Protecting Indonesian Children from Cybercrime." *Kanun Jurnal Ilmu Hukum* 27, no. 2 (2025): 398–426. https://doi.org/10.24815/kanun.v27i2.45738.

Zheng, Guan, and Jinchun Shu. "In the Name of Protection—A Critical Analysis of China's Legal Framework of Children's Personal Information Protection in the Digital Era." *Computer Law & Security Review* 53 (July 2024): 105979. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.clsr.2024.105979.