

FRAMING
INTERNET
SAFETY

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THE GOVERNANCE OF YOUTH ONLINE

NATHAN W. FISK

Framing Internet Safety

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Framing Internet Safety: The Governance of Youth Online by Nathan W. Fisk

Framing Internet Safety

The Governance of Youth Online

Nathan W. Fisk

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Series Foreword

In recent years, digital media and networks have become embedded in our everyday lives and are part of broad-based changes to how we engage in knowledge production, communication, and creative expression. Unlike the early years in the development of computers and computer-based media, digital media are now commonplace and pervasive, having been taken up by a wide range of individuals and institutions in all walks of life. Digital media have escaped the boundaries of professional and formal practices and the academic, governmental, and industry homes that initially fostered their development. Now they have been taken up by diverse populations and noninstitutionalized practices, including the peer activities of youth. Although specific forms of technology uptake are highly diverse, a generation is growing up in an era when digital media are part of the taken-for-granted social and cultural fabric of learning, play, and social communication.

This book series is founded on the working hypothesis that those immersed in new digital tools and networks are engaged in an unprecedented exploration of language, games, social interaction, problem solving, and self-directed activity that leads to diverse forms of learning. These diverse forms of learning are reflected in expressions of identity, in how individuals express independence and creativity, and in their ability to learn, exercise judgment, and think systematically.

The defining frame for this series is not a particular theoretical or disciplinary approach, nor is it a fixed set of topics. Rather, the series revolves around a constellation of topics investigated from multiple disciplinary and practical frames. The series as a whole looks at the relation between youth, learning, and digital media, but each contribution to the series might deal with only a subset of this constellation. Erecting strict topical boundaries

would exclude some of the most important work in the field. For example, restricting the content of the series only to people of a certain age would mean artificially reifying an age boundary when the phenomenon demands otherwise. This would become particularly problematic with new forms of online participation where one important outcome is the mixing of participants of different ages. The same goes for digital media, which are increasingly inseparable from analog and earlier media forms.

The series responds to certain changes in our media ecology that have important implications for learning. Specifically, these changes involve new forms of media literacy and developments in the modes of media participation. Digital media are part of a convergence between interactive media (most notably gaming), online networks, and existing media forms. Navigating this media ecology involves a palette of literacies that are being defined through practice but require more scholarly scrutiny before they can be fully incorporated pervasively into educational initiatives. Media literacy involves not only ways of understanding, interpreting, and critiquing media but also the means for creative and social expression, online search and navigation, and a host of new technical skills. The potential gap in literacies and participation skills creates new challenges for educators who struggle to bridge media engagement inside and outside the classroom.

The John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation Series on Digital Media and Learning, published by the MIT Press, aims to close these gaps and provide innovative ways of thinking about and using new forms of knowledge production, communication, and creative expression.

1 Introduction

Online safety? How about real-life safety?

—Student survey participant

For decades, parents, schools, and legislators have attempted to balance the potentials of new personal computer and networking technologies with the risks that they pose to young people. Somewhere amid the pornography, sexual predators, and cyberbullies, a new technological sphere of childhood development has emerged, providing users with unprecedented access to information, tools of creativity, and diverse social networks. Today, discussions of youth and technology invariably mention both the bright potentials and dark horrors of online life, outlining an urgent need for security as connections to information technologies increasingly become markers for both personal and societal development. With such high stakes, interlocking systems of technologies, educational programs, and regulations have been designed to monitor, interpret, and police the social lives of children and teenagers. Tightening the connections between the institutions of childhood (the school and home) these technologies of youth Internet safety operate to produce the competitive cyber citizenry and workforce of the twenty-first-century economy. Unsurprisingly, dissenting voices are rare. Who would be against protecting young people?

Concerns over youth Internet safety serve as a grounding from which to govern information technologies and, by extension, the forms of sociality and society they make possible. The questions become, What forms of existence and social life do the discourses of youth Internet safety produce? How do concepts of youth Internet safety affect youth, adults, and technologies? Although many academic studies have looked at the safety of youth online, there has been relatively little critical examination of the

mechanisms of protection themselves—the discourses and technologies of youth Internet safety. This book critically examines youth Internet safety as a productive force rather than a force of restriction. I argue throughout the book that it is through the mobilization of seemingly “online” threats that the governing potentials of information technologies are explored, allowing for the everyday lives of youth to be further monitored and policed. As each youth Internet safety “panic” becomes conceptually possible, so too do mechanisms for leveraging information technologies to surveil and modulate the social lives of youth.

Concerns over youth Internet safety can be linked to a broader crisis of disciplinary governance that is made visible as information technologies problematize the boundaries and power relations that constitute the home and school. In this sense, youth Internet safety “panics” mark a transition of societal governance from Michel Foucault’s (1977) mechanisms of *discipline* to Gilles Deleuze’s (1992a) mechanisms of *control*. This transition is fundamentally one of technological change, from the ordered spaces of the home and school to the lines of continuous surveillance made possible by mobile parenting applications. Concerns over youth Internet safety are not merely about the lives of youth or the online spaces they populate. Instead, they serve to constitute youth and information technologies in ways that necessitate action, reconfiguring power relations and subjectivities as part of a broader mechanism of governance.

None of this diminishes the lived reality of the risks that young people face online. Supported by information technologies, youth around the globe are unwillingly exposed to obscene content, groomed and manipulated by predators, and harassed by anonymous individuals. In fact, some of the participants in the study that supports this book have reported and reflected on such experiences. However, disconnecting the offline, situated lives of youth from the elements of their lives that are made public through online interactions does a specific form of discursive work. By imagining a form of online life that is distinct from offline social context, the attentions of concerned adults and youth alike are turned away from the social conditions that make young people vulnerable and likely to engage in risky behaviors. By drawing attention to behaviors that become visible through information technologies, the concepts of youth Internet safety mask and protect existing institutions and power relations from criticism while further opening the lives of youth to forms of surveillance and control. Youth

require adult supervision and guidance, but focusing on technologies and individual young people often moves the adults responsible for youth safety to invisibly reproduce the conditions that place youth at risk.

The practice of securing children and teenagers in their lives online becomes a means for conceptualizing and producing a particular form of society while obscuring any discussion of what we might want for society in the process. Through the concepts of various online risks, we move to establish the positions and relations that produce the cybercitizens of the future. In *Framing Internet Safety: The Governance of Youth Online*, I examine youth Internet safety as a technology of governance that penetrates and modulates the everyday lives of both young and adult users through the potentials afforded by information technology. Through anticipating a particular form of future that is populated by future generations of adults, we chart the conditions for the present (Adams, Murphy, and Clarke 2009; Haraway 1994). By a project of reverse engineering, the various mechanisms and lines of power that constitute youth Internet safety discourses can be traced from the large-scale policy narratives down to the everyday lives of children, teenagers, and adults.

Technologies of Governance

Today it is nearly impossible to speak of childhood—the experiences of being a kid, tween, teen, or one of many new phases of extended non-adulthood—without mentioning information technology. It no longer seems remarkable that young people live much of their lives on, with, or through information technologies. From the early days of personal computers, mobile devices, and social networks, young people have been commonly understood to be naturally drawn to and a driving force for new technologies. Similarly, visible consumer technologies, as a form of positional good, are themselves portrayed as youthful (Schulte 2008). Information technologies are portrayed as developmental necessities that provide young people with access to new forms of entertainment, communication, and education. It is the very moment at which personal information technologies begin to appear as old or tired that they become obsolete relics of the past. Further, it is through the widespread and rapidly changing use of information technologies that young people mark themselves as a distinct generation, widening the generation gap as information technologies change the

very way their brains are “wired” (Small and Vorgan 2008). These discourses of youth and technology, whether they are positive “booster” discourses or negative “debunker” discourses (Holloway and Valentine 2001), operate as elements of the now familiar discourse of the digital native (Prensky 2001a, 2001b).

Despite considerable criticism of the term *digital native* (Bennett, Maton, and Kervin 2008; Gardner and Davis 2013; Thomas 2011), the concept has undoubtedly affected a generation of legislators, school administrators, and parents. By widely using mobile phones, accessing the Internet, and engaging with social networking sites, young people have changed the ways that they socialize and interact with the world (Rainie 2014). Perhaps among the lesser discussed aspects of the relationship of youth to technology are the social forces that bring them to adoption in the first place. Increasingly, scholars of youth and the Internet have drawn connections between the draw of information technologies and the highly constrained independent mobility of youth (boyd 2014; Livingstone 2002). As Mizuko Ito et al. (2009, 38) describe,

Young people who have ready access to mobile phones or the Internet view online communication as a persistent space of peer sociability where they exercise autonomy for conversation that is private or primarily defined by friends and peers. Although in most cases they would prefer to hang out with their friends offline, the limits placed on their mobility and use of space means that this is not always possible.

The spaces where young people can be free of adult supervision and “be themselves” are shrinking rapidly (Alparone and Pacilli 2012; Derbyshire 2007; Hillman 2006; Karsten 2005; Karsten and van Vliet 2006; Santos et al. 2013; Woolley and Griffin 2015). Despite a steady decline in violent crime against youth (White and Laurisen 2012), fears over child predation and crime have led parents and responsible adults to restrict the ranges of youth mobility, reducing the ability to walk to school, and severely limiting their travel beyond the spaces of the school and home (Spilsbury 2005; McDonald et al. 2011). Those spaces that youth are allowed in without direct supervision are increasingly marked by technological surveillance, ranging from surveillance cameras to smartphone enabled GPS tracking. Further, the spaces of youth have increasingly fallen under institutional control as schooling extends into earlier and later periods of

life and leisure time becomes increasingly structured and tied to educational and developmental objectives (Prout 2003; Wyness 2000). In this view, kids do not necessarily have a natural inclination toward technology: they are simply looking for spaces where they can socialize with one another. In a recent interview, youth researcher danah boyd described her shock at the extent to which these spaces had become even more limited (Bergstein 2013):

It was shocking how heavily constrained their mobility was. I had known it had gotten worse since I was a teenager, but I didn't get it—the total lack of freedom to just go out and wander. Young people weren't even trying to sneak out [of the house at night]. They were trying to get online, because that's the place where they hung out with their friends.

A lack of mobility further situates youth in ways that make their drive for social connection with one another—hanging out free from supervision—easily commodified. This can be seen in the proliferation of social networks and applications that jockey for young people's attention and acceptance. These services and applications are designed to appeal to youth as adult-free spaces and as new spaces where cool things are happening and everyone is hanging out. By offering “free” ways to maintain a copresence with friends, the administrators of social networks, games, and applications can harvest the various forms of data that youth produce through the process of socializing. When young people are encouraged to “engage” with the services, they post material about themselves, their lives, and their friends, which increases the amount of data available to the service providers and drives more youth to the service by making it appear populated. After these services are established as sites of youth sociality, young people find it difficult to abandon them—even when they know that adults are monitoring the spaces (Madden 2013).

When adults try to protect youth by further restricting their offline independent mobility, they make young people's everyday lives more and more available to adult surveillance and policing. Youth Internet safety discourses problematize youth online social interactions and mark out newly visible forms of social interaction as both distinct from offline “real” life and inherently risky. The risk constituted around online sociality is that of failing to fully realize the potential offered by both information technologies and youth themselves, demanding action by “trusted adults” at all

levels of society. Claudia Castañeda (2002, 80) locates this potentiality in the discursive construction of the child:

figurations of the child as a potentiality include a mechanism by which this possibility might be either realized or squandered. The risk of failure is therefore inherent in the child's potentiality. So, too, the child's value as a potentiality lies partly in the opportunities it affords—indeed requires—for external control and direction. The child is figured as a potentiality in need of control for the realization of that very potential—for while development is full of potential, its outcome is also never simply guaranteed.

One could replace *child* with *technology* in the above statement, to a similar end. The strategic need to realize the potential of childhood is not a recent historical development, and the school and home have operated as central mechanisms through which to achieve that potential. Schools and families are technologies that produce particular kinds of citizens who have been imagined to meet the needs of an anticipated future.

Examining the questions of what the work of youth Internet safety discourses is and what kinds of social life they make possible requires examining the mechanisms that allow those safety discourses to operate on populations of youth and the adults charged with protecting them. Foucault (1980, 194) develops the concept of the discursive apparatus (*dispositif*) to describe these complex “systems of relations” that govern societies. For Foucault, apparatuses are the interlinking material-discursive mechanisms of control that constitute and circulate subjectivities and power relations in ways that circumscribe everyday life. Strategy is central to the operation of apparatuses, not in the sense that an overarching power positions and manipulates the elements of the apparatus but rather in the sense that each element operates in ways that respond through various techniques to a dominant urgent need. Further, apparatuses both rely on and produce dominant knowledges, as Foucault (1980, 196) describes:

the apparatus is essentially of a strategic nature, which means assuming that it is a matter of a certain manipulation of relations of forces, either developing them in a particular direction, blocking them, stabilizing them, utilizing them, etc. The apparatus is thus always inscribed in a play of power, but it is also always linked to certain coordinates of knowledge which issue from it but, to an equal degree, condition it. This is what the apparatus consists in: strategies of relations of forces supporting, and supported by, types of knowledge.

The concept of the apparatus, while not explicitly referenced, can be seen to develop from Foucault's work in *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison* (1977), where he traces the historical shift in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries from an order of sovereign power to that of a disciplinary apparatus. This shift from sovereign society to disciplinary society was marked by the circulation and accumulation of a carceral logic that was made visible through the emergence of a variety of new institutional forms. To varying degrees, these institutions relied on a specific mode of confinement as they ordered and made visible individuals in space and time. The prison, military, clinic, school, and family are all examples of carceral technologies that, in service of the state, efficiently order and govern populations.

Within these systems of governance, power is seen by Foucault as a flow and as the operating of the mechanism itself, neither located in any one position nor wielded by individuals. Pervasive and ever present, power in this sense is deeply inseparable from the formation of knowledge. Surveillance becomes a focus for operations of power, making individuals visible and allowing them to be known and operated on. Foucault (1980, 39) described this as the capillary action of power:

in thinking of the mechanisms of power, I am thinking rather of its capillary form of existence, the point where power reaches into the very grain of individuals, touches their bodies and inserts itself into their actions and attitudes, their discourses, learning processes and everyday lives. The eighteenth century invented, so to speak, a synaptic regime of power, a regime of its exercise within the social body, rather than from above it. The change in official forms of political power was linked to this process, but only via intervening shifts and displacements. This more-or-less coherent modification in the small-scale modes of exercise of power was made possible only by a fundamental structural change.

As such, power is ever advancing, seeking to penetrate deeper into the everyday existence of individuals and to capitalize on new governing potentials. This capillary action of power can be observed through the construction of youth Internet safety incidents that operate through legislators, administrators, and parents to further open the lives of youth to surveillance and control. Through the capillary dispersion of suspicion and distrust, youth Internet safety discourses make everyday practices visible as risky or otherwise in need of adult intervention. As described by Nancy Campbell (2004, 79), of key importance

is the decentralization and deinstitutionalization of distrust, the capillary dispersion of distrust and suspicion throughout the carceral society, and the role of distrust in underwriting the development of certain kinds of knowledge systems and technologies, forms of social and cognitive order, and the functional dispersion of police practices to individuals such as parents, teachers, and peers.

Elements of the disciplinary society outlined by Foucault remain highly dominant in the institutions that control and monitor youth today, most notably in the ways they are regimented and made visible in the spaces of the home and school. As I make clear throughout this book, youth Internet safety discourses are frequently disciplinary in nature, both making visible and circumscribing virtual spaces and youth subjects. In various contexts, the discourse of youth Internet safety (Foucault 1980, 193–194)

can figure at one time as the program of an institution, and [in] another it can function as a means of justifying or masking a practice which itself remains silent, or as a secondary re-interpretation of this practice, opening out for it a new field of rationality.

The urgent, strategic needs of youth Internet safety discourses are always apparent: the potentials of young people and information technologies must be protected because visions of the twenty-first-century economy depend on their ongoing and properly guided development.

Expanding on the work of Foucault, Jacques Donzelot (1979) outlines the emergence of the modern family in the eighteenth century as the control and management of populations became central concerns of the state. Through an analysis of historical documents, Donzelot describes the conditions by which children came to be “preserved” in the mid-eighteenth century as part of a broader technology of governance for producing a maximally useful population. Responding to the growing mortality rate among working-class youth and the perceived unreadiness of upper-class young men for the workforce when they reached adulthood, a new form of the family was constituted through what Donzelot describes as the regulation of images. The family was reconstituted around the preservation of children through a set of practices that Donzelot identifies as the spread of household medicine and philanthropy. A variety of experts and pedagogical techniques helped to reorganize the family around children as a means of producing a more stable and prepared labor and military force. Through the regulation of images that were strongly differentiated by class, new spheres of development were drawn around the child. Working-class families were

reformed into a relation of circular vigilance so that youth being raised “on the street” could be shepherded back into the family home and school. Upper-class families were reformed by excluding the “negative influences” of working-class domestic servants. These new formations of the family and new pedagogies of family life established young people as useful subjects for the state and as instruments of continued economic viability produced by particular family configurations and modes of surveillance.

The Dispersal of Control

Throughout this book, I draw heavily on the work of Jacques Donzelot both to reconnect youth Internet safety discourses to historical configurations of the family that persist today and to consider the ways in which Internet safety discourses move to reconfigure families around information technologies. In chapter 4, I develop the term *pedagogies of surveillance* to describe the ways in which the youth Internet safety materials that are provided to parents position them as agents of surveillance within the home and in online spaces. Similarly, in chapter 6, I use Donzelot’s concepts of protected liberation and supervised freedom to explain the supervision practices of parents and guardians. Finally, in chapter 5, I use Donzelot’s work on the reconfiguration of families to explain the ways in which youth Internet safety curricula (primarily organized around the problem of cyberbullying) further distribute the practice of surveillance to young people themselves by encouraging them to avoid “being a bystander.” If, as described by Donzelot, the family and school are technologies of governance, then the problematization of youth sociality through the production of youth Internet safety incidents modifies those technologies in predictable and productive ways. By regulating images of what it now means to be a “good” parent, teacher, or kid online, we reconfigure the positions of adults and youth and reconstitute and expand the spheres of childhood development to encompass the technologies that mediate the lives of both young people and adults.

The reconfiguration of the family and the efforts to protect youth online can be considered as part of a “generalized crisis in relation to all the environments of enclosure—prison, hospital, factory, school, family” (Deleuze 1992a, 3–4). Made possible by the widespread adoption of information technologies, this generalized crisis marks the transition from the

disciplinary society to a new configuration of governmentality. Deleuze (1992a) describes this new “monster” as the societies of control that slowly replace the ordered spaces and visibilities of disciplinary technologies with those of smooth, continuous lines of information. Nikolas Rose (2000, 325) expands on Deleuze’s brief outline of the societies of control,

Control is not centralized but dispersed; it flows through a network of open circuits that are rhizomatic and not hierarchical. In such a regime of control, we are not dealing with subjects with a unique personality that is the expression of some inner fixed quality, but with elements, capacities, potentialities. ... Conduct is continually monitored and reshaped by logics immanent within all networks of practice. Surveillance is “designed in” to the flows of everyday existence.

A distinguishing feature of control technology, therefore, is the enabling of continuous choice based on an internalized set of rules. It is perhaps no coincidence that Deleuze (2007) describes the highway—long used as a dominant metaphor for the Internet by policymakers—as a key example of a control technology. A vast array of ever-present sensors, analytics, and logics have emerged from the control society, problematizing existing institutions and technologies of governance while providing productive new opportunities. As I was finishing this manuscript, I was invited to attend a webinar on identifying at-risk students by using predictive data, and the marketing copy announced to potential attendees that “you can gain insights so rich that Ferris Bueller would never have taken a day off.”

Given the dispersed, open circuitry of societies of control, the strategically aligned concept of the apparatus as provided by Foucault begins to break down. As an alternative means of conceptualizing the organization of material and discursive elements, Deleuze and Félix Guattari (1987) propose the concept of assemblage. Assemblages do not align through a broad, strategic coherence but instead dynamically emerge from the largely independent movements of a dispersed set of elements. Extending Foucault’s concept of strategy, Michel de Certeau (1984) distinguishes between strategies and tactics as a means to theorize everyday life. Strategies for de Certeau are the systematic, technical alignments of institutions and government, and tactics are the everyday practices of existence that work within, through, and around institutional strategies. Assemblages can be said to emerge from the loose, working organization of both strategic and

tactical operations. The concept further provides for a means by which to understand the process of becoming, in that “‘Assemblage’ in this case is a verb as much as a noun, a process of becoming as much as a state of being” (Palmås 2010, 340).

When I attended presentations for young people and adults and talked with students, parents, and administrators, I soon understood that the everyday operation of youth Internet safety discourses was not always strategic. Although at the macro level, youth Internet safety discourses moved toward specific strategic goals through policies, media discourses, and curricula, the micro interactions were far more ad hoc and were full of functional coincidences and moments of tactical resistance. In this book, I sometimes use the concept of apparatus to describe the strategic coordination of policy and curricula and use the concept of assemblage to conceptualize micro-level working arrangements between adults, youth, and newly developed information technologies. As I describe in chapter 3, the governing potentialities of control technologies first become visible as they interrupt or complicate the efficient functioning of existing disciplinary institutions. Youth Internet safety issues can be seen as a problematization of those interruptions, allowing for the transitional exploration of control technologies and establishing positions and power relations that further disperse the operation of power.

Similarly, the works of Deleuze and Rose have been taken up by a number of scholars to consider the implications of information technologies for studies of governmentality (Galloway 2004; Poster 2001). Of particular relevance to this project is the work of Raiford Guins (2009), who locates technologies of control in forms of contemporary media censorship that provide parents with technologies for monitoring and blocking media consumption practices by their children. Parental control technologies allow for a dispersal of control, shifting the work of disciplinary institutions away from those institutions and instead to the individual decisions of parents—what Guins (extending the work of Rose) calls the “parent function.” For Guins, however, the implications of the parent function go beyond simply securing families and move to mobilize the family as a larger strategy of control. As Guins (2009, 10) describes:

Performed as a parental function, family is instead a strategy of rule that operates through culture to further an ethos of security that instrumentalizes cultural

practices as they flow freely as solutions to the problematic of securitization. In its enhancement, the “family-machine,” as Rose might say, or, as I prefer, the parental function, becomes the normative basis for “goodness” and the administration of ways of being “good” through the surveillance, perfection, and maintenance of disciplined freedom.

Although Guins does not cite the work of Donzelot, there is a resonance between Guins’s concept of “disciplined freedom” and the pedagogical practices (supervised freedom, protected liberation) targeted at the family as outlined by Donzelot. The parental function operates as a much broader strategy as developers build forms of parental control in various media technologies, including social networks, video game consoles, and mobile devices. Through the affordances of information technologies, security becomes individualized. Where Guins focuses primarily on parental control, I argue in chapter 7 that youth Internet safety curricula further aim to individualize security through the process of distributing control to youth themselves.

To summarize, the adult surveillance of children and teenagers in their everyday practices—made visible as they hang out by using publicly visible online services—further reduces the spaces where they can be free of the adult gaze. Although adults usually do know best and youth typically want them to know best, there is value to having spaces where young people can learn lessons for themselves. This is perhaps particularly true in cases where adults are “better off not knowing” (see chapter 6) about what young people are up to. At one time, young people were able to “get away with” engaging in activities that are appropriate for the young but are inappropriate under adult supervision, but they now must be concerned that such activities will fall under the increasingly persistent gaze of adult surveillance. Similarly, the wider visibility of such events places adults in a web of mutual surveillance as well, bringing the gaze of other adults and authorities to bear on the disciplinary practices of parents. In this way, youth Internet safety discourses are highly productive. The production of youth Internet safety problems necessitates surveillance practices that are made possible by new information technologies—frequently through the further dispersal of power that seeks to control the everyday lives of individuals, both online and off.

Reverse Engineering

Conceptualizing youth Internet safety as a discursive apparatus requires an examination of the heterogeneous, strategically coordinated elements that are intended to protect young people online—including policies, curricula, gray literatures, technologies, institutions, and the linkages that bind them together. As Deleuze (1992b, 159) describes, “Untangling these lines within a social apparatus is in each case like drawing up a map, doing cartography, surveying unknown landscapes, and this is what [Foucault] calls ‘working on the ground.’” This book traces the lines of capillary power, starting with the broad, strategically aligned discourses of legislators and Internet safety curricula, moving through the institutions of the school and family, and ending with the everyday microphysics of tactical discourse among youth and adults. In analyzing the discursive assemblage of youth Internet safety, this book reflects the organization of an assemblage where each piece works together and also stands on its own. The chapters are arranged in order of scale from macro (research/policy) to micro (adults/youth) and in loose chronological order (most evident in the chapters on policies and youth curricula).

Support for this book was drawn from a mixed-methods research project that took place in six school districts in New York state. Within each district, focus groups were held with parents and young people (students in grades 6 to 9 and grades 10 to 12 were interviewed separately), interviews were conducted with school administrators, and an online survey with both quantitative and qualitative elements was given to students ($n = 3,337$). Each chapter loosely groups different actors as they became apparent through an analysis of the data. Chapter 3 focuses on news media and legislative discourses of youth Internet safety, which were found to exist in a dialectical relationship in which they variously supported and opposed each other at different historical moments. School administrators (broadly defined as the various school staff members I interviewed in each district) have no chapter of their own and instead are included in the chapters on pedagogy, adults, and youth.

I begin the next chapter by discussing my own experiences with researching youth Internet safety because they became an important part of the analysis when the project began to be circumscribed by the very processes I was seeking to analyze. I describe the ways in which the project

was colonized by the methods of developmental psychology to produce specific forms of knowledge about young people and the Internet and provide an overview of sociological approaches to childhood as a critical response to developmental psychology. In chapter 3, a historical analysis of youth Internet safety policies in the United States situates past panics in patterns of technological adoption by youth. Instead of conceptualizing youth Internet safety in terms of moral panic (see Buckingham and Strandgaard Jensen 2012), I explain the emergence of key youth Internet safety issues as part of the securitization of information technologies, focusing on the productive elements of federal youth Internet safety policies. Chapter 4 outlines what I describe as pedagogies of surveillance and examines a process that uses youth Internet safety curricula to position adults to become agents of surveillance. I argue that instead of being ready participants in surveillance activities, adults must be trained to make sense of both youth and information technologies in ways that produce actionable, institutionally legitimate data. In chapter 6, I turn to the youth Internet safety curricula that are aimed at youth audiences and focus on the shift away from Internet safety from cyberbullying and to newer concepts of online reputation management. Chapters 6 and 7 move to “the ground” of the everyday practices of adults and young people as described by focus group and student survey participants. In chapter 6, parent focus group participants explain their strategies for monitoring their children online, making visible the ways in which these practices subject young people and their parents to online surveillance. Chapter 7 presents the results of the student survey, returns to the issue of cyberbullying (by explaining the ways that young people and adults use youth Internet safety terms to constitute particular power and knowledge relationships), and recommends a “cybersafety of everyday life” that connects youth Internet safety concepts to dominant trends in national infrastructure protection and corporate information assurance.

Children and teenagers face considerable risks in their everyday lives and need adult support as they navigate those risks, and information technologies have presented new possibilities for victimization and crime. But my work here does not suggest that adults are tyrannically cracking down on young people’s freedoms or that they are not committed to youth safety and positive use of information technology. As Rose (1990, 125) notes,

the extension of social regulation to the lives of children actually had little to do with recognition of their rights. Children came to the attention of social authorities as delinquents threatening property and security, as future workers requiring moralization and skills, as future soldiers requiring a level of physical fitness—in other words, on account of the threat which they posed now or in the future to the welfare of the state. The apparent humanity, benevolence, and enlightenment of the extension of protection to children in their homes disguised the extension of surveillance and control over the family.

As a colleague from an earlier project on youth Internet safety once told me, “No one can say no” to the protection of children. For this reason, programs concerned with the safety of children must be critically examined so that the assumptions and relations of power that they produce can be understood.

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