Chapter 8 cut material *Windows Into the Soul*
8
Children: Slap That Baby's Bottom, Embed That ID Chip and Let it Begin[1]

Train up a child in the way he should go,
and when he is old he will not depart from it.
Proverbs: 22:6 King James Version

[The material below cut from the book version illustrates the kind of tools that the fictional PISHI group could make available to its adherents; discusses how children may seek to neutralize adult efforts; identifies techno-fallacies particularly applicable to children and considers "safe realism" as a way for parents to respond to the conflicting pressures they face. References are either in the book or at:

http://web.mit.edu/gtmarx/www/childrenandsurveillance.html

That url contains many images as well.]

Monitoring Before the Beginning

The watchful parent-to-be can make use of a number of technologies before conception to ensure that his or her partner will be an appropriate match. Computerized dating services use software to ensure that long-term relationships are no longer left to accidents of contiguity or the attractions of risk taking. Instead, the successful match is determined by scientific search and analysis. At eHarmony (2009), for example, a "patented Compatibility Matching System®" profiles potential partners on the basis of 29 personality Dimensions™ (including "family goals") that are "scientifically-based predictors of long-term relationship success." This system is based (as of 2009) on 35 years of clinical experience and "rigorous" research to determine those qualities that are statistically associated with successful relationships. e-Harmony's "scientifically proven system" enables the service to predict "happier, healthier long-term relationships."

Genetic dating services also analyze buccal swabs to identify matches based on genetic compatibility. For example, ScientificMatch.com (2009b) uses the "science of love" to find "the most perfect matches possible." The advertised benefits include higher rates of fertility and "a greater chance of having healthier children with more robust immune [*sic*]." GenePartner has "isolated the compatibility gene" (Gene Partner 2009a);

it tells its clients that choosing a mate with a matching genetic code will lower the risk of miscarriage (*ibid*) and allow "our offspring [to] prosper" (Gene Partner 2009b).

However, as ScientificMatch (2009a) warns, successful relationships also depend on social compatibility and trustworthiness. To "promote honesty," the company verifies the age, marital status and bankruptcy history of all its members. It also conducts detailed background checks and bans identified felons. Individuals currently in relationships are encouraged to use a number of similar services to reduce the risk of committing to an unreliable partner (see Andrejevic 2005).

"If you date, investigate" advises Datesmart.com (2009), a company offering "Private Investigations and Confidential Background Verification Dedicated to Personal Relationships" to help people find out the "truth" about their partners. Its website warns that, "If that new relationship you're in seems a little too perfect, you're probably right," and promises to help people find out "who's lying next to you [*sic*]." Full confidence at the outset that a partner is who he or she claims to be is needed for a lifelong relationship. That of course does not obviate subsequent checking.
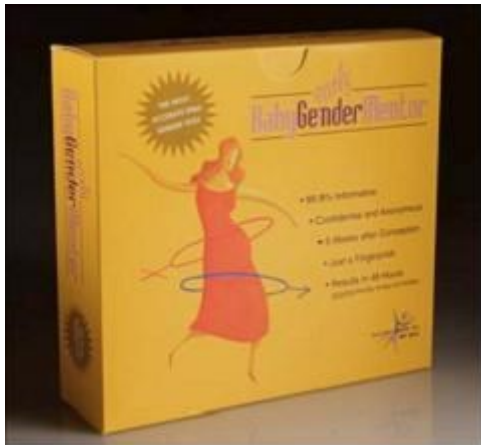
Once the partners decide to have a child, and conception occurs, embryo monitoring can identify genetic diseases such as Down syndrome, Trisomy 18 or an open neural tube defect. Health authorities emphasize the importance of early monitoring: "The earlier a woman sees her health care provider, the more options she will have" (BC Prenatal Screening Program 2009b). Mothers whose results indicate a disease in the fetus are given information regarding options, including having an abortion, putting the baby up for adoption after it is born or making arrangements to care for a special needs child. Although the decision to intervene is "highly personal," mothers are not alone: "Your health care provider, your genetic counselor and your family will help you make a decision about what's right for you and your pregnancy" (BC Prenatal Screening Program 2009a).

Expectant parents can also avail themselves of genetic testing to determine the gender. Baby Gender Mentor (2009) offers a home bloodletting kit to give parents

a"Total Advantage … [a] safe, quick and easy" way to determine if they are having a boy or a girl.

Minding the Kids: Surveillance on Infants and Toddlers

Once the baby is born, two streams of surveillance tools target the young child. Governments continue to exhibit interest in deviations from the norm – whether genetic or behavioral – while parents are encouraged to buy surveillance technologies to keep the child "safe."

Starting with the government side, newborns are screened for dozens of genetic disorders for early diagnosis and potential treatment. A number of states have created databases, without parental consent or knowledge, for storing blood samples routinely taken at birth for neo-natal PKU (Phenylketonuria) screening. While identifying information is stripped from the samples, in principle it could be tied back to a given individual (Stein 2009). For an example, in South Carolina 30 expectant mothers receiving prenatal services were arrested as a result of non-consensual drug testing done on samples gathered for other purposes. The Supreme Court found this unconstitutional (Campbell 2006; Ferguson v. City of Charleston 2001).

Parents are required to disclose a great deal of information when they apply for a birth certificate. In contrast to the early 1900s, when a birth certificate recorded not much more than child and parents' names and date and place of birth, the modern birth certificate application collects several hundred pieces of information, including the parents' race; the child's pulse, respiration, and activity rates at one and five minutes after birth; 12 medical risk factors; 16 possible complications of labor/delivery; and 33 abnormalities (Sweeney 2001). Given an interest in "risk factors," birth certificates now require information about the mother's alcohol and cigarette use during pregnancy and the start date of prenatal medical care. FN2 WAS HERE Risk management is similarly a motivating factor behind the United Kingdom's national database for children (BBC 2009). The database was created after a child was murdered by her guardians in spite of

the fact that authorities knew she was a child at risk. Britain now tracks all of its 11 million children. The information collected includes home address, contact information for parents, doctor's information, school records and information about the child held by social services. The data are periodically reviewed for indications that the child might be at risk, and if so, child protection agents are notified. An earlier version of the database identified "potential criminals" as young as three years of age who exhibited "cheekiness, minor vandalism and causing nuisances"; after a child was identified as such, he or she was monitored at school and on the street (Garrett 2004).[2]

According to a popular conception, an estimated 10 percent of fathers are "deceived" about the paternity of the children they are raising. According to Anderson (2006), however, the number is closer to two percent. Whatever the exact figure, concerned parties can use commercial services to determine paternity or maternity with "99.9999" percent accuracy (easyDNA UK 2009). The test can be conducted with or without the cooperation of both parents, for "medical, legal or personal reasons" (Genetrack Biolabs 2009). Such information can permit the non-responsible adult male to avoid the legal responsibility for raising a child or the biological father to be identified.

Once the child is home, a plethora of surveillance tools are available to keep a child "safe," as well as to promote parental convenience and freedom. Consider the advertisement for baby monitors on TargetWoman (2009): "A new mom cannot stop worrying about the troubles that the newborn will face even if she is away for a few minutes." Safety 1st tells prospective purchasers that "This silent watchman gives you piece of mind every moment you need it" (Crib Source 2009). Babysense says that its Infant Movement Monitor is "A must for any parent, grandparent or day-care provider" delivering "Inexpensive peace of mind!" (Health Check Systems 2009).

That peace of mind is delivered through the capacity for constant monitoring of an infant's image, sounds, breathing and/or movement. It is this seamless surveillance that promises "the most comforting feeling ... being able to see your baby snug and safe"

(BabyMonitor.com 2009a). A number of monitors come equipped with infrared night vision so the parents "can see baby in the dark," and the technical capabilities of audio and video components are so advanced that "it's practically like peering over the crib rail."

Surveillance and related communication are offered as tools of responsible parenting and convenience. Parents can "care" for the child without their anachronistic physical presence. For example, BabyMonitor.com (BabyMonitor.com 2009b) says, "Baby monitors give parents the freedom to sleep in a separate room at night or do chores during the day" and Graco tells parents that purchasing a monitor "means you can enjoy dinner on the deck or movies in the basement while still keeping an eye and ear on baby" (Babies R Us 2009). If the baby does need you, monitors enable you to respond remotely by talking through a microphone, or flipping a switch to play soothing music to lull the baby. Similar functionality on Japanese smart toilets allows a parent to record and play a message encouraging their child's toilet behavior without having to accompany the child to the bathroom (live two-way communication can easily be imagined as well). Some smart toilet models sense the identity of the user (through weight and other sensors embedded in the seat) and can be pre-set to automatically turn on the message from mommy. Automated chemical analysis of urine is also possible (perhaps a feature of interest for parents of teenagers).

Surveillance products can also help protect against harm from external dangers that might come into the home. The creator of a line of RFID-enabled infant pajamas was motivated to create an electronic fence around sleeping children because, "You look at these kids and think, 'I would do everything to protect them'" (Sullivan 2009). Parents who buy the infant sleepwear can wire their house with RFID readers so, in the event a predator breaks into the house and tries to remove the baby, the monitors will sound an alarm. The sleepwear comes with an optional SmartWear database that stores photographs of the child and other "vital information" for parents to give to police if their child is kidnapped. The database is linked to police computers and the Amber Alert system so the information can be transmitted "within seconds."

RFID
RADIO FREQUENCY
IDENTIFICATION

His name is NICK. But that's not what he goes by.
Meet Mrs. 274750.5867.058743
and her son, 478037.954.00001

Under development is an RFID tag that works with both an in-house monitoring and alarm system and the retailer's supply-chain tracking system. Privacy concerns are

dismissed because the tag is not linked to the child's name, and the parents control both the tracking system at home and the information that is collected by the database.

Marketing material for nanny cams also emphasizes the need to protect the child from harmful others, even supposedly trusted caretakers. Prospective customers are encouraged to "Protect your child: find out how your nanny treats your child" (MySpyCam 2009). In a testimonial on MySpyCam.com, "Manny" tells a "shocking" story about his nephew's seizures being linked to nanny abuse that was only discovered when he installed a nanny cam. The abuse, harassment and torment he saw "horrified" him, but he "became a hero to my nephew and family" when the nanny cam evidence forced the "evil nanny" to leave (*ibid*).

Jorgensen (2009) found that parents used webcams for a variety of purposes. Some monitored day care workers (as was done in the 2007 film *The Nanny Diaries*). This however was uncommon--constrained by the need to develop a working relationship with the day care worker based on trust. Parents' motives were instead linked to their own emotional needs: to feel they were together with the child and taking part in nursery activities; to feel they were protecting the child and supporting the child's development; and to be entertained and to pass the time. The marketing material also focuses on the parent's need to feel at ease, comfortable and secure. Thus, the technology is offered as a way to fulfill emotional needs and mitigate the effects of separation.

More comprehensively, the child's room itself can become an electronically protected fortress and diagnostic tool as it transmits information to distant centers, blurring the traditional boundaries between home and commerce. The membranes that bring inputs into the home for entertainment, telephones, computers, electric power and heat, as well as various security sensors, send back records of internal activity.

Consider Microsoft's vision of the "teenager's room of the future," presented at the 29th International Conference of Data Protection and Privacy Commissioners (Privacy Commissioner of Canada 2008). The mock-up bedroom, which was ostensibly based on technologies then under development, used photoelectric wallpaper to both display electronic information and capture all of the teen's electronic activities. The collected data could then be sent to the organizations providing online services--permitting the continuous monitoring and adjustment of the teen's environment, "as needed." The walls could also sense the presence of a cell phone. If another teen entered the room with his cell phone on, his text messages would automatically be displayed on the wall.

Kids on the Move: Electronic Fences and Watchdogs

Once the child is old enough to leave the house, the number of potential dangers multiplies, and accordingly, a number of tools are available to track the child's location to keep him safe. The Bladerunner jacket, for example, has a battery-operated device embedded in the seams that tracks a child's position anywhere in the world to within a four meter radius; by interacting with Google maps, it is able to send updates every 10 seconds to the parent's computer, cell phone or personal digital device pinpointing the

child's location (Ubergizmo 2007). The Wherify Wristwatch offers a similar GPS tracking device installed in a child's wristwatch. The watch is locked to the child's wrist to prevent loss or unwanted removal. A remote unlock feature allows the "watchful" parent to govern when the child can take off the watch (e.g., for swimming). If the watch is lost or stolen, the parent can locate it.

Personal GPS devices can be inserted into a child's backpack or pocket to help "Keep a Watchful Eye on Your Wandering Child" (BrickHouse 2009a). Some, like Loc8or Plus, allow parents to set "safety zones"; if your child leaves the pre-selected radius, the device sets off an alarm so the parent is alerted. Devices can also include "panic tags" the child can use to "hit the panic button'" when the child wants to "[call] for assistance" (ChildLOCATOR.com 2009), and automatic "locates" called "breadcrumbs," which "ensure your child arrives safely" as she goes about her day[3] (BrickHouse 2009a). Kiditel can even predict what route children are expected to take based on where they have been (INSTA GPS 2008).

Cell phone companies also offer products and features to track and control children's physical location. Sprint Family Locator's Safety ChecksSM service will automatically notify parents when children arrive at "school on time or at home by curfew." Parents "never need to 'bother' [the child] again, but will always know where they are. Nothing is more comforting than knowing where a child is when you need to" (Sprint 2009a). With Kajeet, "the cell phone service made for kids," parents can remotely turn off their child's phone, "like off during math class," and block calls and texts from "people you don't want." They can also arrange for their own calls to their children "to get through no matter what" (Kajeet 2009).

Parents can also piggyback on school surveillance systems to check up on their children throughout the school day. RFID-enabled school uniforms in Japan, California and the United Kingdom allow both parents and schools to track a child as she goes from class to class, often replacing the taking of attendance (Netwon 2007; Williams 2007). My Nutrikids.com is linked with the school cafeteria payment system, allowing parents to both pre-pay school lunches and monitor exactly what their children are eating

(MyNutriKids.com 2009). GradeSpeed is a web-based system for teachers and school administrators that enables parents to go online and see exactly what homework has been assigned each day and review their child's ongoing test results (GradeSpeed 2009).

In an example of *surveillance* creep (discussed in chapter 5,pp_.), once systems are in place, schools often expand their use to monitor and control student behavior, with benefits claimed for both parents and teachers. For example, fingerprint and iris scanners, originally installed to let children pay for lunch in the school cafeteria or borrow books from the school library, are now being used in some schools to reduce truancy (Mail Online 2007). School bus cameras both "improve behaviour and overall safety" and "offer reassurance to youngsters and their parents" who are worried about bullying and abusive behavior (Encyclopedia.com 2008). Since "Vandalism, abusive behaviour and bullying are unfortunately common problems on school transport vehicles - with the number of reported incidents increasing rapidly over the last few years," cameras are said to deter potential bullies as well as provide evidence that "often leads to temporary or permanent exclusion of [problem] pupils from use of school transport" (and often no doubt from the school) (activcameras 2009). In an irony of social control, this may simply create a new problem, as students are now idle in the streets.

Offering Peace of Mind in a Dangerous World

All these devices are designed to give "parents peace of mind in a way that simply has not been possible before" (BrickHouse 2009a). BrickHouse Security reminds parents that, "Safety and security are paramount concerns in today's uncertain world. Keeping track of … children is on everyone's mind" (ChildLOCATOR.com 2009).
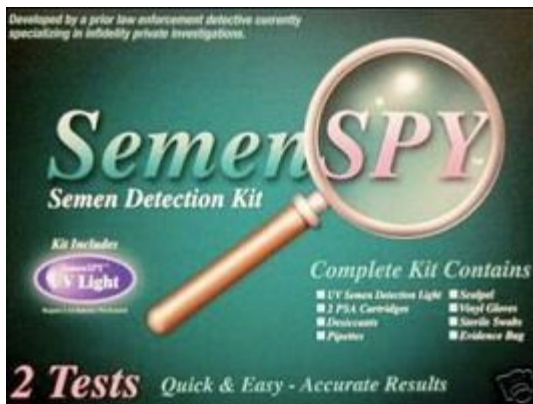
Promotional material emphasizes the sudden risks to children and suggests that these are more pronounced than previously. Manufacturers pepper their sites with factoids about missing children: "It's Not You. All Children Wander; 2,185 Go Missing Every Day." Although "It's a truly sad commentary on society that there's even a need for a tracking system like this, ... given the tragic fates of several young children in California, Oregon, Utah, and other locations over the past couple of years, the need for a device like this is beyond any doubt. Here's all you need to know: [Monitoring] may save the life of your little one" (BrickHouse 2009a).

Responsible parents should be fearful, at least until they purchase the protective product: "We all know what it's like to turn your head for a fraction of a second and lose sight of your child" (*ibid*). That momentary anxiety is normalized as a persistent fear, as Kiditel informs parents it is normal to worry when the children are out of their sight (INSTA GPS 2008).

As children mature and are exposed to more risks, a number of tools can protect them from their own bad judgment and evil influences. Alltrack USA lets parents "see

your teen's car from anywhere in the world, including while at home, at work, on a business trip or on vacation"; but in addition, the black box installed under the dashboard reports the vehicle's speed, hard accelerations, and braking time. Parents can remotely disable the starter and lock or unlock the doors (Alltrack USA 2009c). "It can even optionally beep at the driver if he/she surpasses speed, acceleration and braking levels that YOU define. Wow!" (Alltrack USA 2009a). The Teen Safe Driver Program places a camera behind the rear view mirror that records the view inside and outside the car 10 seconds before and after erratic movements. Staff at DriveCam's Event Analysis Centre reviews the video, and experts provide parents with coaching tips. Parents also receive a weekly driving report that compares their child's score to that of other teens in the program (TeenSafe Driver Program 2009).

Parents who worry that their children are sexually active can "Find Out The Truth With The Semen Spy!" According to the literature, "In today's day and age it's hard for parents to keep a constant eye on their children," so children can "get involved in dangerous activities or with the wrong people without their parents consent" (BrickHouse 2009b). After all, "one of the most harmful" risks a child can take is "their engagement of teen sexual activities" (BrickHouse 2009c). Luckily, parents can "collect evidence for an accurate semen test," "create undeniable evidence," and "Stay Informed By Testing Sexual Activity Instantly." This involves swabbing the child's undergarments with a chemical substance that, within 10 seconds, turns color if the garment has any PSA (protein specific antigen, one of the major proteins found in seminal fluid). In spite of the law enforcement language of the marketing material, the company assures parents that using the Semen Spy will enable them to "prove sexual activity so you can open up an honest dialogue with your child or teen" (BrickHouse 2009b).

A more low-tech preventive means, called "chaste couture" (waitwear 2009), speaks for itself:
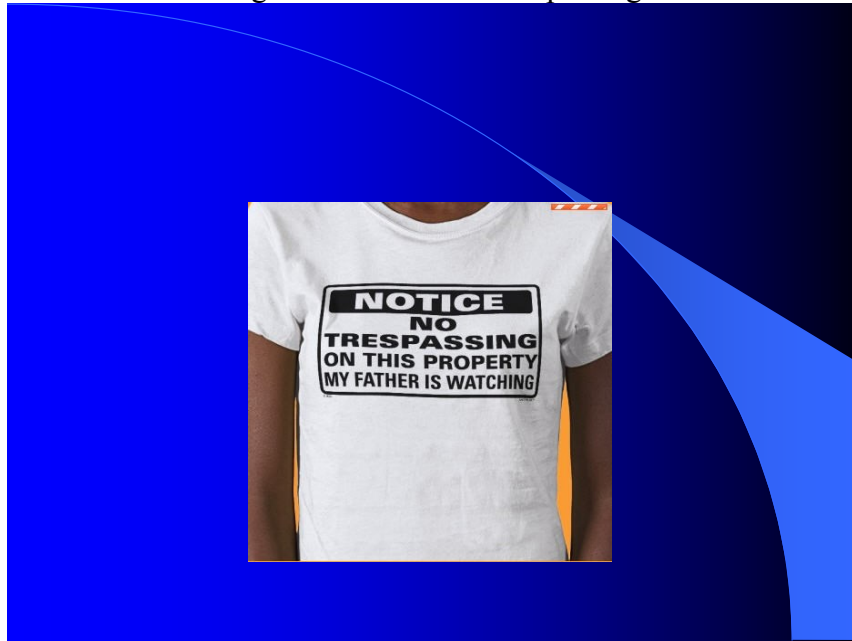
Figure 1: Notice No Trespassing

Figure 2: Virginity T-Shirts

Figure 3: Generation Pure

This organization promotes abstinence through a variety of clothes and other products including messaged pajamas and underwear.

CheckMate has refitted a field rape kit that provides biological and physical evidence used by law enforcements agencies for routine home use for a goal other than determining sexual assault. According to BrickHouse Security, "it's become the rage with parents who aren't sure when to have that conversation about sex with their kids" (BrickHouse 2009c). Parents who want to have a conversation about drug use can purchase a kit to detect traces of marijuana, hashish, cocaine, crack, amphetamines, methamphetamines, and heroin (BrickHouse 2009b).

One at-home drug-testing kit uses a small vacuum cleaner-like device that samples the air around a child's desk in search of tell-tale drug molecules; another uses a spray on personal possessions such as a wallet or books to identify drug residue. But while these may indicate the presence of drugs, they don't reveal how they got there.

Someone else might have contaminated an innocent child's air or property. Urine drug tests, whether done with the child's knowledge or not, is another option. A variety of at-home urine test kits are available.

Firstcheckfamily.com (2009b) reports that it can "provide you results in 5 minutes for urine tests and most products are over 99% accurate." It can identify five prescription and seven illicit drugs and "is committed to be the leader in providing the highest quality home diagnostic kits to assist people in living safer and healthier lives … [and] to give you the answers you need in the privacy of your own home." As satisfied customers report, "this lets my kids know I am serious about drug prevention," and "by setting the box on the table, our family had the best 'drug talk' ever."

The community-minded company "is a proud sponsor and supporter of Project 7th Grade," a national drug prevention program "aimed at parents of middle school students. The project "introduced the concept of home drug testing as a prevention tool for parents and continues to educate parents about how to create a proactive family drug prevention plan" (First Check 2009a).

The rationale for the program is clear:

> Parents often have the 'not my kid' mentality, thinking, 'My kid would never try drugs.' The truth is, parents don't generally know their kids have tried or have become addicted to drugs until the kids are two years into the addictive behavior. By educating parents of middle school students we can work together to protect children. Middle school students are more likely to still respect and listen to their parents, at least more often than a high school student (*ibid*).

A part of this working together is to present programs to "educate parents and teachers about current drug trends, terminology, and paraphernalia. At the end of the presentation each attendee is offered a complimentary First Check Home Drug Test kit."

Online Fears

The fear that children who are unwatched might make bad decisions is particularly acute in virtual spaces. Online fences, like their GPS counterparts, therefore limit where young people can go and keep a close watch on what they say and do. The Parental Controls in Verizon's Internet Security Suite are typical. The software automatically blocks over 70 million websites that Verizon has identified as "questionable," and parents can block specific sites as well.[4] The Suite also creates a permanent log of the child's online activities, so parents can see exactly what the child is doing, including whether the child tries to access blocked material. Parents can also use

the software to schedule their child's time online, by automatically controlling the length of sessions and restricting access during preset times (Verizon 2009).

Parental monitoring software is marketed as essential because "The Internet Really Is A Dangerous Place For Your Child" (PC Tatteltale 2009). In addition to the questionable content they may access, "Studies have shown that one in five children have received some type of sexual related solicitation online. With an 87% growth rate of children online and not being monitored, now is the best time to begin a proactive stance in your children's lives to prevent your children from being witness to the virtually infinite number of dangers online." Luckily, there are "many tools out there that can keep you, the parent in control" (BrickHouse 2009c). The message from Sentry at Home: "Your Child Online = Danger. Protect Them Now" (Sentry Parental Controls 2009).

Failing to monitor the child's computer "is just asking for trouble" because "No matter how much you trust your child to do the right thing, there are just too many peer pressures and other dangers lurking in cyberspace." With parental monitoring software, "you can relax knowing that you have a 'secret back door' that you can use to see exactly what they see, and what they are doing online. Do NOT risk your child becoming a potential victim. Take Control of Your Child's Online Experiences And Keep Them Safe" (PC Tatteltale 2009).

Tracking – online and offline – is presented as an essential part of effective and loving parenting. The "sensible, safety-conscious parent" will protect their child from the "horrors" of the Internet through constant monitoring. After all, "You don't let your children decorate their rooms with violent or pornographic images … You certainly wouldn't approve of them bringing home friends who call themselves SuicideLullaby or PeeStandingUp. So why would you let them get away with this and more on MySpace?" (ParentalSoftware.org 2009).

In this new world, software scans the child's instant messages, wall posts, emails, comments and profile information to detect – with an "accuracy rating of 98.4%" (imsafer 2009b) – dangers such as "grooming" by pedophiles, bullying and self-harm suicide conversations. Parents "don't have to worry about it" (imsafer 2009a) unless they receive an email indicating that the software has detected "an inappropriate relationship" (imsafer 2009c).

In the real world, the question is, "How much do you love your child? More than the dog you're careful to keep on a leash every time you take him outside for a walk? I'll bet you do." Alltrack USA (2009b) concludes:

The bottom line is that your teenager's life and safety is priceless! Leave Nothing To Chance!! Know everything, and I mean Everything, about your [teen] … ! Better safe than sorry. Your teenager doesn't have the wisdom of an adult yet. That's why they need your close supervision and attention. These products help you do your job of being a parent to keep your [teen] … safe and injury-free.

Marketing messages about the child's safety are mixed in with messages about the convenience of knowing where your "things" are and how they are being used. The child is just one of a plethora of "tagged items" that can be managed through technology: "Loc8or Plus is the solution you've been waiting for! This fantastic handled device allows you to track your personal property, pets and children all with one, simple and easy to use device that you can take with you anywhere. With Alert mode, you can stop losing things in the first place!" (ChildLOCATOR.com 2009).

Parents can also be relieved of the burden of interacting with their children; cell phone monitoring means parents can be "free from the constant cell phones calls [that] used to connect families with constant calls all day long," and instead "quietly keep track of them throughout the day" from the convenience of their home or office (Sprint 2009b).

Spying as an Essential Parenting Tool

In this new world, marketing material soberly reminds parents of their children's tendency to lie and hide bad behavior – a presumed universal truth made more worrying by the availability of new technologies that children use:

--Without Parental monitoring software you have no way of knowing what your kids do or where they go when they're online. And even if they are not supposed to, we all know that your child WILL go online unsupervised if they think that no one will find out! (PC Tatteltale 2009).
--It's no secret that teens drive one way when parents are in the car versus when they're not. … When parents urge their teen to be careful driving, they reply "yeah, yeah, yeah" (Alltrack USA 2009b).
--We are faced with the dilemma that our children know more about the computer than we do and continuously find ways around parental control software… Sentry Parental Controls' products are designed from the ground up to prevent your child

from disabling any of its features, in fact your child won't even know they are being monitored (Sentry Parental Controls 2009).

--The "first step for parents is to get over their fear of monitoring [their children]. Parents must learn how to monitor" (SpyOnYourKids 2009). Then, you can choose to monitor in one of "two different ways. Either you tell your children that you're monitoring [them], which means that they're likely to be much more cautious and sensible – essentially, it'll be as if you're standing next to them, asking 'should you really be doing that'?[5] The other option is to [monitor] in total stealth mode, and find out exactly what your children do and who they talk to when you're not around" (ParentalSoftware.org 2009).

--SpyMasterTools asks:

Is your DAUGHTER wasting her time on that NO GOOD PUNK?

Are your FAMILY members wasting too many unnecessary minutes on your PHONE CONTRACT?

Are your children TEXTING or TALKING on the phone when they should be doing their homework or household chores? (SPY Master Tools 2009).

--Now parents can get the answers they want. Using SnoopStick, a parent can watch their child's computer screen, in real time, from anywhere on the Web. Its components "are completely hidden, and there are no telltale signs that the computer is being monitored" (CYBERsitter 2009a). "You can also remotely cut off Internet access, log off all users, or shut down the computer. There's no revealing message when you cut off the Internet—it just looks like a network problem" (CYBERsitter 2009b).

--PCWebWatcher "redefines Spy Software ... [Its] Unparalleled Invisibility Technology … doesn't appear ANYWHERE. No one will ever know it's there" (WebWATCHER 2009).

--Alltrack USA reassures parents who ask, "Can it be hidden? – Yes, it's usually completely out of sight behind the dashboard" (Alltrack USA 2009b).

--And with Spy Phone, you can turn a cell phone into a surreptitious listening device: "you will be able to dial in and listen to the surrounding sounds and conversations coming from around the target phone from ANYWHERE in the world without any indication of a connected call (The Spy Phone.com 2009).

--A satisfied customer reports:

My teenage daughters were posting 'questionable' pictures on their My Space accounts, and hiding them so that I did not see them. One of them even made a video and posted it. Using PC Tattletale I immediately found out and made them take all that stuff off the internet. They still have no idea how I know, because I use the stealth setting on PC Tattletale. It is an awesome tool! (PC Tatteltale 2009)

--Now that there is a multiplicity of tools to watch your child, "It's OK to SpyonYour Kids! (SpyOnYourKids 2009).

The marketing material conveys the message that children are in need of protection from unseen others, but also are on the edge of being out of control. Products like Semen Spy, CheckMate, PC Tattletale, Alltrack USA and home drug testing kits incorporate crime control language and technologies, and promise to help the parent discipline the child who refuses to stop seeing "THAT NO GOOD PUNK" (SPY Master Tools 2009), posts "'questionable' pictures" on My Space (PC Tatteltale 2009), or commits acts of vandalism on the school bus (activcameras 2009). In addition, parental surveillance both piggybacks on and amplifies other products, such as RFID-enabled school uniforms and programs such as MyNutriKids, which focus on control and efficiency.[6] The child as an active agent can become enmeshed with the child as a victim: surveillance is necessary because the child is equally vulnerable and dangerous, both unable to care for himself and more skilled than the adults in his life.

Tools also promise to relieve parents from the tedium of child raising. From baby monitors to cell phones to parental monitoring software, entrepreneurs promise parents time away from the child to eat dinner, watch movies and work, all without having to physically be with the child. The parent can escape the home (or room where the child is) because the child is tethered by electronic gadgets. Thus the "Portable Video and Sound Monitor" (Amazon.com 2009) is mobile, worn around the parent's waist. Information on older children is available via cell phone and the Internet.

Parents are not alone and should feel no qualms about long-distance parenting. Experts who care are there. Kiditel knows where your child is, MyNutriKids knows what your child eats, the staff at DriveCam watches your child drive and Club Penguin monitors your child's online chat.

Dimensions of Childhood Surveillance Tools

The tools listed in this chapter can be organized in a variety of ways for explanation and evaluation. Some of the distinctions between them reflect inherent material factors, while others depend on policies regarding use:[7] Some concepts from chapter 2 and 3 are most relevant:
--visible or invisible to subject
--subject aware or not
--agent's senses extended or not
-- subject's cooperation needed or not (i.e., subject is passive or active)
--data recorded or not
    --if recorded, record is kept or not
    --if recorded, record stays local or goes onto a network and/or
    to other institutions
--primary goal(s) of discovery, prevention, education, or fun
--emphasis on child as a victim or offender (i.e., who is protected?)
--focus of surveillance as the child or the child's human or non-human environment
--controlled internally by subject or externally by an agent

> --emphasis on hard-engineered forms that prevent an activity or
> on forms that alter cost-benefit ratios for the subject

Playing for the Future

Secrecy and discovery are central to many forms of children's play. Discovering and sharing secrets are fun. Games that are age-old cultural traditions, such as peek-a-boo, hide and seek, and Easter egg and treasure hunts stay local. These games are an end in themselves and fit the classic understanding of play (Goldstein, Buckingham & Brougère 2004). They contrast with commercially sponsored computer play and search technologies that monitor children as they play, reporting on them and others to commercial interests or the state, the kinds of "toys" discussed in the following sections.

Simulations

When children play, they often imitate adult behavior. With Scan It ® the child plays at being an agent. This "Approved Certified Tested Toy" detects metal objects and simulates an X-ray scan as it glides articles over its metal detector path, beeping and lighting up when metallic items are present.

According to the manufacturer, it is designed to help "children become acclimated with airport public space security." The "healthy fun" it provides also generates "education and awareness of the security measures that people face in real life" (Wizard Industries 2009). Additional projects and education on airport and public spaces security is available at a child-friendly webpage: OperationCheckpint.com (2009).

In 1997 President Clinton required government agencies to add child-friendly learning and play material to their websites. Beyond history, safety tips, cartoons and talking animals, these offer mazes, puzzles, code-breaking games, tests on knowledge and pictures to color. Anthropomorphic dogs play a major role on these pages. The National Security Agency (2009a) offers Decipher Dog. The Federal Bureau of Investigation (2009a) takes children on a field trip with bomb-sniffing black Labs Darrel and Shirley. Other creatures have roles as well. The Central Intelligence Agency introduced "Ace Photo Pigeon" Harry Recon and his twin sister Aerial in 2001 (cartome.org 2009), while the National Reconnaissance Office's NRO Jr. site (2009) has moved from using an extraterrestrial called Whirly Lizard to a satellite named Ollie. An eagle called CSS Sam heads Operation: Dit-Dah, a code-breaking game (National Security Agency 2009b).

The FBI site "is designed for children and their parents to learn more about the FBI through age-appropriate games, tips, stories and interactivities. We also introduce you to our working dogs and show how FBI special agents and analysts investigate cases"[8] (Federal Bureau of Investigation 2009a). Children (5-11 years of age) can pretend to be agents and are asked "Can you help Special Agent Bobby Bureau get in disguise for his undercover assignment? He's depending on you ... Help Bobby Bureau Go Undercover" (Federal Bureau of Investigation 2009b).

Older children (12-18 years of age) can take the Special Agent Challenge, described below:

> Presently, you're a New Agent. As a New Agent you are still training at the FBI Academy located in the Marine Corps Base in Quantico, Virginia. You are taking part in 16 weeks of intensive training that includes physical training, firearms, and classroom instruction. You hope to be an FBI Agent in the Anchorage, Alaska Field Office. To be an Agent, you need to know not only FBI procedures and what is being investigated now, but past cases and FBI history. Search our website and increase your knowledge of the FBI. Your position in the FBI as a Special Agent will depend on how well you do!
> Each search task is worth one point. The more points you earn, the higher your position at the FBI will be! Print out this page to keep track of the questions while you search our website (Federal Bureau of Investigation 2009c).

The child-friendly sites of national security and law enforcement agencies are descriptive. They offer an idealized and simplistic view of their organization. The emphasis is on educating children rather than directly cultivating them as sources of information, and their tone contrasts markedly with the fear-mongering of some of those selling surveillance goods and services. However, they do include links to pages to "Submit a Crime Tip," "Report an Internet Crime," or "submit an anonymous tip online," although no guidance about how to use these or how reporting can be misused is offered.

Spy Toys

Most traditional games have a logic and rules of discovery. While secrecy and deception are often present, players are aware of this and seek to protect their own information and to discover that of others. That is, they act as both agents and subjects, and surveillance is reciprocal and symmetrical. In contrast, with spy toys, surveillance is non-reciprocal and can involve unwitting subjects. In extending the senses, these toys are examples of the new surveillance.

"Super Ears" – an early example – can "help you detect even the slightest sounds! Slip on the headset and aim the dish; even if your target is far away, you'll hear every rustle, every footstep, every breath, every word!" A stethoscope-like device permits hearing "quiet breathing, through a concrete wall a foot thick" and with "fidelity good enough to record." Or consider the play and other possibilities with a Dyna-Mike Transmitter: smaller than a quarter, it "will transmit every sound in a room to an FM radio tuned to the proper frequency" up to two miles away. And a voice-activated miniature tape recorder that can be slipped into a pocket, a drawer or under a bed offer other possibilities (Marx 1988).

The "SpyChix Micro Surveillance Kit" offers a cornucopia of contrivance – a pocket-sized audio recorder that doubles as a fashion accessory, a sports watch to "synchronize missions," and a compass to "target your mission." Its "Micro Agent

Listener" has a microphone that extends around corners, through open windows, or over couches, so children can "still get the information." The "Mobile Spy Ear" can hear through walls, the "EyeClops Night Vision Infrared Stealth Goggles" can see in the dark, and the "Spy Audio Car" has a microphone hidden in a remote-controlled toy car.

"No mission is impossible" with the state-of-the-art equipment sold by "Top Secret Spy Gear." Along with its "high-tech listening device that lets you hear conversations up to 40 feet away," it offers rear-view spyglasses, a secret agent walkie-talkie, monocular with a tripod and invisible ink pen. This comes with a warning about CHOKING HAZARD, but no mention of any SOCIAL HAZARD (toys to grow on 2009).

Online Playgrounds: More Than Child's Play

> *I'm a Barbie girl, in a Barbie world. Life in plastic, it's fantastic.*
> *You can brush my hair, undress me everywhere.*
> *Imagination, life is your creation* (Aqua, 1990).

Most of the spy, detection, adventure and protection themes in the toys previously discussed are not connected to an online network, and children are free to do as they wish (or at least can) with them. No record of their activity is produced or sent to unseen others. This contrasts with online playgrounds, like Barbie.com, Neopets, and Webkinz, which began appearing as soon as the Internet became a mass phenomenon. Some such as Barbie.com are explicitly gender linked. Typically, these sites collect information from the children, both directly and indirectly, in order to extend the reach of the marketing messages embedded on the sites. The crux of the system rests on surveillance (Steeves 2006, 2007). The child is watched throughout his or her play, and data are collected about the child's preferences, activities, location, purchasing habits, communications, and friendships. This information is used for market research purposes and the delivery of contextual or targeted marketing.

Throughout their play, children on these sites are warned of the dangers of talking to people online, who may be disguising themselves. However, the child is encouraged to "talk" to the corporation, and the fact the child is subject to constant scrutiny is viewed as normal. As with Club Penguin's spy program, the child is encouraged to report suspicious behavior to the corporation, which will then "keep the child safe" (Steeves 2007).

The online playground is attractive to corporations precisely because it opens up the child's private play to surreptitious corporate surveillance, and enables the corporation to interact directly with the child. Children are likely to be blissfully unaware that they are providing marketing data or that the fun they have can be accompanied by sugar coated, disguised, commercial messages tailored to the child. But marketing in this environment is more than the delivery of advertising; it is a way to steer the child's play and embed the brand into the child's sense of identity (*ibid*). The use of virtual spokes-characters and other branded content creates a relationship between the child and the

brand, increasing the levels of intimacy between marketers and children by dissolving the boundaries between content and commerce (Montgomery 2000) and playing and purchasing.

The toys and games children play on their own differ in important ways from the play tools that online services provide. In much local play, as with hide and seek, relationships are relatively equitable (a feature in respecting the rules and in fairness), and the goals are manifest. Children are aware of the pretend quality of the surveillance and reciprocally respond. The activity is fun and its own end. Any data gathered are of no consequence beyond the play itself. Involvement in simulated surveillance can be a socializing experience and permits learning about information revelation, concealment, deception and trust. The child may come to see secrecy and discovery as normal (as in routine or ordinary). Additionally such play may be preparation for later agent and subject roles. New issues appear when commercially generated, and networked play involves ongoing, direct, low (or invisible) communication between the child and the merchant. Chapter 13 offers a general framework for the ethics of surveillance. However, several

New issues appear when commercially generated, networked play involves ongoing, direct, low (or invisible) communication between the child and the merchant. Chapter 13 offers a general framework for the ethics of surveillance. However, several issues such as the meaning of informed consent and of manipulation are particularly important for children. Whether some things--such as a young child's imagination--ought to be beyond the reach of the computer-marketing-savvy corporation without full parental consent and genuine understanding merits more attention than it usually receives.
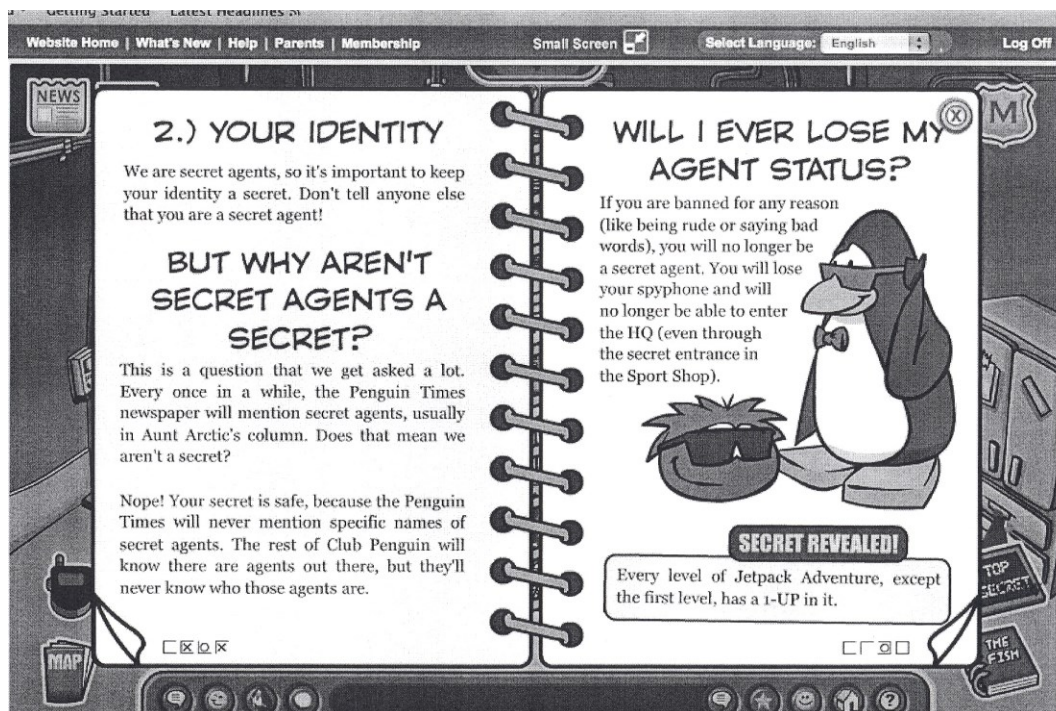
Children as Informers

"Who denounced you?" said Winston. "It was my little daughter … She listened at the keyhole. Heard what I was saying and nipped off to the patrols the very next day. Pretty smart for a nipper of seven, eh? I don't bear her any grudge for it. In fact I'm proud of her. It shows I brought her up in the right spirit, anyway"
Orwell *1984*

Children learn early that good citizenship in any group involves obeying the rules. They also learn that they have an obligation to report violations and that democratic orders value citizen participation. Siblings are encouraged to look out for each other, and for some parents, that means reporting misbehavior. [9] Children are encouraged to report swearing and bullying on the playground. Hall monitors in grammar schools report on running in the halls.

The same kind of behavior is encouraged in the online world. For $5.95 a month Club Penguin, a virtual community, permits young children to customize and interact with penguin characters and chat and play games with other penguins. After the first month they receive an invitation to become a member of the Penguin Secret Agency (P.S.A.) complete with a spy phone, the F.I.S.H. (Factual Informative Spy Book) and the

ability to enter HQ. Virtual rewards are offered for good spying. Members are told that "*your duty*" (as an agent) is to report any penguin that says bad words, asks or reveals personal information, or is rude, mean or breaks any of the other rules. (italics added) Clicking on the penguin's player card activates reporting.

Figure 4: F.I.S.H. Your Identity

Agents also have a duty to "Keep your identity and the identity of the other Secret Agent Penguins a secret" (Club Penguin 2009). As Figure 4 suggests, publicizing the fact that there are secret agents, but keeping their identity secret, is intended to create conformity through uncertainty, to catch malefactors in the act, and to protect agents from cyber-retribution.

Modern society, in adding a duty of loyalty to the state and organizations alongside loyalty to family and kin generates conflicting pressures. This is taken to an extreme in cases where states (or rigidly doctrinaire sectarian groups) demand absolute loyalty, even if it means reporting on the violations of family members and friends (often along with self-confessions).

The archetypical case is Pavlik Morozov, a 15 year old who, in the early 1930s is said to have denounced his own father as a counter-revolutionary *Kulak*[10] to the Soviet authorities. He claimed he did it for the revolution. Along with his 9 year old brother, he reportedly later informed on peasants who were hoarding grain and speaking against the government. Under unclear circumstances the boys were killed. After a politicized trial, four relatives, including his grandmother, were executed for murder.

Pavilck was made into a cult hero of the Pioneers, the communist youth organization. In sacrificing his own father, he was held up as a positive example for Soviet children. Writer Maxim Gorky called for a national monument to the youth and said he "understood that a relative by blood may also be an enemy of the spirit, and that such a person should not be spared" (Figes 2006, p.124).

While very different in the goals espoused, the simulated and real policing efforts of the more than 2,000 American Explorer Scout groups have some functional parallels. These groups are attached to units such as the Border Patrol and the Federal Bureau of Investigation, where they practice law enforcement techniques and engage in playful competitions.. Consider eight teenage boys and girls ages (14 and older) responding to (simulated) mayhem in Imperial, California, where a distraught "pretend" gunman has killed several people. As one participant described it, they face "tripwire, a thin cloud of poisonous gas and loud shots –BAM! BAM!—fired from behind a flimsy wall. They move quickly, pellet guns drawn and masks affixed. 'United States Border Patrol! Put your hands up!'" A sheriff's deputy who led one group stated, "This is about being a true-blooded American guy and girl" (Steinhauer 2009). According to a news account, such programs are training thousands of young people in skills used to confront terrorism, illegal immigration, and escalating border violence" (*ibid*).

Chilling content and national efforts to mobilize informing among family and friends is offensive to democratic sensibilities that value the borders of civil society and respect for the individual. Yet in times of perceived crisis and moral panics, paler versions of children as informers may appear. This is made easier with efforts to increase citizen reporting.

For example, the United States Customs and Border Protection Agency has enlisted children in the fight against smuggling. Customs created a Trading Card program for children aged 5-14 honoring 81 drug-sniffing dogs. The trading cards were distributed to schoolchildren at "Detector Dog Demonstrations" as part of a Customs' anti-drug outreach program. The attractive cards feature color portraits of friendly-looking dogs such as "Honey Bee" and "Rocky" surrounded by a border of blue stars. As with sports trading cards, the reverse side offers statistics such as age, weight, year started and some specific to canines such as breed and most notable drug seizure.[11] Alongside is the request to report suspicious activities: "YOU CAN HELP [dog's name] STOP DRUG SMUGGLING. TO REPORT SUSPICIOUS ACTIVITIES, CALL 1-800-BE-ALERT" (Marx 2009b; Washington Post 1997). The meaning of suspicious activity is undefined.

This contrasts with children as agents in other civic activities involving non-criminal matters such as fire prevention and energy conservation. I still have my "Junior Fireman" badge and certificate awarded for identifying fire hazards in the homes of family and neighbors.

Figure 5: Climate Cops

A program used in British schools created by German energy company npower invites children to "save the planet this summer" by becoming "climate cops." See Figure 5 for an image of a father found guilty of "climate crime" as a result of falling asleep with the TV still on (Booker 2008). For more information and "interactive games and fun downloads," readers are invited to contact the Climate Cops website (2009). In comic book format, this tells children how to identify seven "climate crimes," such as leaving the TV on standby, putting hot food in a refrigerator or freezer, and not using low-energy light bulbs. Identified offenses can be recorded in a "climate crime case file." Resource materials for teachers are provided.

Well-meaning programs for children may have unwanted consequences. The emphasis on drug education has seen some cases of children reporting parental drug use to authorities. After hearing a police lecture, a 13-year-old girl turned in her parents, who were arrested for possession of cocaine[12] *(Los Angeles Times,* August 14, 1986). Soon after, an 11 year old girl who had heard from Project DARE about the dangers of drugs complained to police that her parents were using marijuana. Police went to her home and confiscated a 3 ½ foot tall marijuana plant *(Los Angeles Times,* September 10, 1986).

The controversial use of minors as informants and operatives in criminal cases has accompanied the war on drugs. Consider an Orange County, California, boy. After an arrest for drugs he agreed to participate in a supervised undercover drug buy. He was killed shortly after that, before he turned 18 (*Wall Street Journal*, April 4, 1998). As a result of such cases, many states have legislation restricting the use of minors, although an exception is made for cases involving undercover purchases of cigarettes.

Children's Responses: Neutralization and Counter-Neutralization

The behavior of parents, teachers, and guards as surveillance agents varies by gender, race and class. There has been little research on these differences, although see Nelson, 2010, contrasts the "hypervigilance" of the professional middle class with other groups). But how do children respond to parental efforts?

In spite of the exaggerated claims of some advertisers, resource-rich conflict settings, such as families rarely witness a final victory in the surveillance game. Children act back. Irony is no stranger to social control efforts. Any tool represents forgone opportunity costs and may solve one problem while creating another. The limits of mechanical control in many conflict settings are a reminder of the advantages of open communication and trust.

As chapter 6 suggested, surveillance subjects –whether adults or children–respond in a variety of ways, including resisting control efforts and turning tools to their own ends, which prompts surveillance agents to adopt counter-strategies. Consider examples such as creating code language, using websites that offer anonymity, using clean urine in a drug test, and offering false information to a web request.

A number of studies report that children routinely use similar strategies, such as minimizing screens, deleting surfing histories and instant messaging logs, and using slang, to evade surveillance by parents and teachers (Livingstone 2006; Livingstone & Bober 2003, 2004; Media Awareness Network 2004; Hope 2005, Steeves 2006). Younger children often choose to communicate online rather than face-to-face or on the telephone because it makes it more difficult for parents, siblings and teachers to overhear them (Livingstone & Bober, 2003, 2004). Such resistance tactics can offer space to try on new identities, experiment with social roles, communicate honestly with peers, and glimpse an adult world that is otherwise closed to children.

Surveillance entrepreneurs accordingly offer counter-neutralization techniques, such as the teen chat decoders that translate "teen speak" into English (Teen Chat

Decoder 2009), in a type of surveillance arms race. Merchants urge parents to spy because of the evasive actions children take.

Children under surveillance may experience it as equivalent to having their pockets picked (Livingstone & Bober, 2003, 2004) or being stalked (Burkell, Steeves & Micheti, 2007). They may complain that monitoring to protect them from the "evils" of the world is patronizing, and that it demonstrates a "lack of respect for the abilities of young people to make responsible decisions and choices" (Media Awareness Network 2004).

Children tolerate the constant monitoring by online corporations but they don't necessarily welcome it. They typically "click through" meaningless consent options so they can play or chat with friends, and many of them lament their inability to go about their business without being watched. As a 15 year old girl puts it, "Like, if we had a choice to say no, I would choose no. We can't or else we can't go on the thing for some of them" (Burkell, Steeves & Micheti, 2007, 14). This lack of options can translate into a general distrust of the corporations that house the sites they visit. As a 17 year old boy said, "Well, they're taking advantage of you, that your friends have a Hotmail account, they're on Messenger, like you have to have Messenger... It's another way to control you" (*ibid*).

If We Say It, They Will Believe It

The PISHI program and the ads it is drawn from offer the beguiling certainty of platitudes and sweeping generalizations--rather than the deranging uncertainty of nuance and qualifying statements. The claims and background assumptions of the PISHI program and the real-world marketing material on which it is based contain many *techno-fallacies* characteristic of other surveillance contexts such as work, consumption or government. These are beliefs about technology that are empirically or logically fallacious or ethically dubious. They are analyzed in detail in Chapter 12. Those most applicable to the selling of surveillance devices for children include:

--The fallacy that for every problem there is a solution (and a technical one at
 That, which is to be preferred to other kinds of solutions)
  --The fallacy that greater expenditures and more powerful technology yield
   benefits in a linear fashion
  --The fallacy that the business is meeting rather than creating consumer needs
  --The fallacy of the fail-safe system
  --The fallacy of a passive, non-reactive environment
  --The fallacy that the facts speak for themselves
  --The fallacy that individuals are best controlled through fear
  --The fallacy of the free lunch or painless dentistry
  --The legalistic fallacy that just because you have a legal right to do something,
   it is the right thing to do
   --The fallacy that personal information is just another kind of property to be
   bought and sold

--The fallacy that if some information is good, more is better
--The fallacy that technology will always remain the solution rather than become the problem

Such claims and counter-claims and background assumptions need to be questioned. But in addition, conflicts between values and/or goals, awareness of the limits and unwanted consequences of mechanical means of control, and the frequent need for communication, negotiation and compromise need acknowledgement.

Safe Realism

Parents, the private sector, or a state that are overly intrusive and unrestrained in their ability to cross personal, family and place borders are hardly desirable. But neither is a situation in which there is indifference to risks and the need to protect the young and vulnerable. Extreme surveillance positions that justify indiscriminately crossing personal borders for a worthy goal are no more appropriate than extreme anti-surveillance positions that deny the appropriateness of crossing personal borders under limited conditions. The challenge is in deciding on those conditions.

Between the extremes of parents who emphasize abstinence and those who emphasize permissiveness (or at least indifference) is a middle position of safe realism. The PISHI manifesto recognizes that no child can avoid our sexualized culture or puberty and the opportunities our mobile culture offers for privacy. Nor can the culture's emphasis on alcohol and drugs as recreation and components of a sophisticated lifestyle be censored away. To deny these realities and to rely on external mechanical means of enforcement can be seen as an insult to the child's intelligence and a denial of the message bearer's persuasive power.

On the other hand, to take just one example, to deny the dangers that can be associated with drugs and sexual activity identified in the opening PISHI statement is naïve and irresponsible. The waters are indeed filled with sharks and worse, but there are reasonable protections as well. A position of safe realism begins with acknowledging the availability of alcohol, drugs and sex. It then emphasizes the role of the child as a moral actor capable of reasoned choices when given information.[13] For those who seek these activities, the parental goal should be to help children be safe by making them aware of options and of the likely consequences of their actions.[14]

Related to this is the need to ask how real and harmful a risk is (both as to likelihood and as to severity) and to be sensitive to the complex issues in defining and measuring these. Reduced to essentials this suggests a typology involving improbable events with minor consequences at one extreme and probable (or at least those that are not improbable) events with very harmful consequences at the other (Table 1). Understanding how individuals assess risk and probability is an important task for research.

Table 1: Probability and Harm

Improbable and Minor	Probable and Minor
Improbable and Major	Probable and Major

What do individuals conclude about their responsibility in the face of improbable events with extreme consequences and probable events with minor consequences? One does not need to read French philosophers to know that drug addiction, sexually transmitted diseases and drunk driving are dangerous and warrant preventive action. But even so, as the chapter on ethics suggests, questions about the fit between means and ends must be considered. Can a particular surveillance tactic work to prevent such dangers? What other means are available (whether involving material or non-material technologies)? Among the latter are communication and openness.

Parents need to develop surveillance sophistication in response to the array of products they are offered and to link it to safe realism. This involves awareness of the techno-fallacies that are so deeply embedded in North American (and perhaps increasingly world) culture. Careful analysis is needed of the claims undergirding bright, shiny, gee-whiz tools that promise salvation amidst the horror awaiting parents who fail to purchase the solution.

Realistic assessments, awareness of developmental needs, communication, listening, weighing (but not necessarily balancing) conflicting interests are central, particularly for issues involving teenagers. These factors can be acknowledged without falling into an immoral or amoral relativism. Some things clearly ought not be negotiable nor made to seem as though one size fits all.

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[1] This chapter draws significantly from Marx and Steeves (2010). References not in book's bibliography can be found there.

[2] President Nixon explored (but did not act upon) a proposal by his personal physician to scan pre-school children for criminal tendencies.

[3] Some devices will beep when a child arrives at a pre-determined location. Others will send a message to a computer or cell phone at regular intervals showing the child's location on a map. However unless a chip is embedded in the child or otherwise uses a biometric, what it actually shows is the location of the transmitting device. This permits spoofing by nefarious others or a mischievous child.

[4] Netcraft (2009) estimates that, as of October 2008, there were 182 million sites on the Web. Verizon is therefore censoring approximately 39% of all web sites.

[5] In that sentence "cautions" presumably refers to careful and conforming but it also, perhaps unwittingly conveys the accurate message that the child can become alert to the need to hide or otherwise defeat the oversight.

[6] Consider laptops given to children by schools with a video cam, location and use devices that permit authorities to remotely monitor students activities in the home and elsewhere (Philly, 2010).

[7] For simplicity of classification the dimensions below are offered as dichotomous. Some are certainly continuous. These are analytic distinctions and they are often entangled in a given empirical case. Nor are they necessarily mutually exclusive. The initial task is to note how these may cluster and to suggest their social implications (e.g. those that have low visibility or can be done remotely offer distinct temptations for abuse and are in need of greater regulation).

[8] Shirley the talking dogs says, "So, you've been thinking about working for the FBI? When I was a small pup, I wanted to work for the FBI, too. I want you to meet some of the people who work with me" (Federal Bureau of Investigation 2009).

[9] Here information flows from siblings to parents and reproduce some of the issues around information flows from the family to the broader society.

[10] Kulak is a vague term referring to privileged peasants. Its elasticity created fear and suspicion among citizens and gave authorities discretion to justify endless investigations.

[11] The dogs are a varied and engaging lot. The smallest is Sparky, a two year old Spaniel hailing on the job in Chicago, Illinois weighing in at 28 ½ pounds. S'Alka, a 100 pound Labrador/Ridgeback working out of Nogales, Arizona is the largest and Elf, a German Shepherd out of Detroit, Michigan is the oldest at 10. Their personal bests vary from "awesome Dawson's" discovery of $1,300,000 in drug money to Jack's discovery of 92 lbs. of heroin in a shipping container filled with 2,500 boxes of soy sauce. Then there was Sparky's discovery of 20 grams of marijuana in the sock of a passenger arriving from Jamaica –hardly a world-class performance, but then he is only two (Marx 2009b)). http://web.mit.edu/gtmarx/www/sinbad.html

[12] Echoing Gorky, a letter to the editor suggested that the girl "should be proclaimed a national heroine for her accomplishments in our nation's war against drugs." Nancy Reagan also reflects Gorky in praising the girl for showing the "right spirit" and said "she must have loved her parents a great deal." The girl's father, reminiscent of the Orwell quote that opened this section said, "I don't bare her any grudge for it. In fact I'm proud of her. It shows I brought her up in the right spirit, anyway" (L.A. Times, August 26, 1986).

[13] This emphasis on the child's subjectivity and development is consistent with a human rights approach for protecting privacy and autonomy. It contrasts with a data protection

approach which emphasizes the child as a presumably savvy consumer who can contractually consent to give up privacy.

[14] Sex and alcohol which are, or will soon, become legal for the teenager obviously contrast with illicit drugs. Absent the higher justifications of civil disobedience involving basic human rights, parental neutrality in the face of a child's potential illegalities is not desirable. In some states the penal risks from even a small amount of marijuana are serious. But any discussion of this also needs to acknowledge other ways of framing the topic and the contested nature of criminalizing the behavior of drug users.